

# EPIGRAPHICA

LXXX, 1-2  
2018



FRATELLI LEGA EDITORI  
FAENZA



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## THE RESIDENTS OF SISCIA: A POPULATION STUDY

### ■ *Abstract*

The population of Siscia and its territory has been assessed in this article, primarily on the basis of onomastics and the known careers of some of the individuals. *Siscia/Segest(ica)* was an important Pannonian emporium, conquered by Octavian in 35 BC, which became a legionary fortress after the Roman conquest and *colonia Flavia* under Vespasian, settled with fleet veterans. The publication of 1123 *tesserae*, recovered from the Kupa River, has significantly modified the onomastic pattern of the residents of the city. The names of the inhabitants documented on stone monuments and curse tablets are discussed in the light of the names from the *tesserae*. An *interim* list of their *nomina gentilitia* and *cognomina* (including those of the inhabitants of Siscia attested abroad) is appended, based mainly on the evidence collected in the *Epigraphik-Datenbank Clauss / Slaby*.

*Keywords:* Pannonia, *colonia Flavia Siscia*, epigraphy, onomastics, population study.

### *Siscia and the epigraphic evidence of its inhabitants*

The knowledge of names borne by the inhabitants of Siscia has been greatly advanced by the publication of 1123 *tesserae*, lead tags recovered from the Kupa River, mainly in the vicinity of the Roman harbour on the right bank of the river. *Siscia/Segest(ica)*, an important Pannonian emporium, had been conquered by Octavian in 35 BC (1) and had since then been a significant legion-

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(1) ŠAŠEL KOS 2005, pp. 437-442; RADMAN-LIVAJA 2014, pp. 13-14, with earlier literature. My sincere thanks are due to Ivan Radman-Livaja and Francis Tassaux for having kindly read my paper and offered valuable comments.

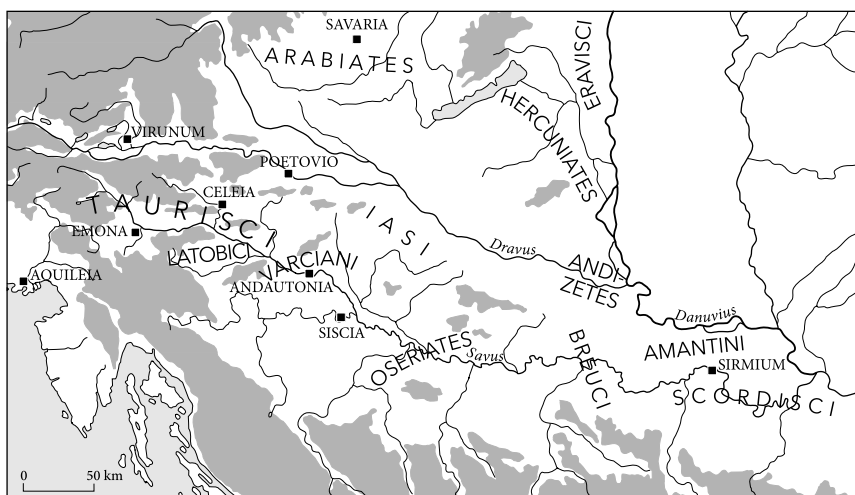


Fig. 1. Map of western Pannonia and adjacent regions. Computer graphics: Mateja Belak.

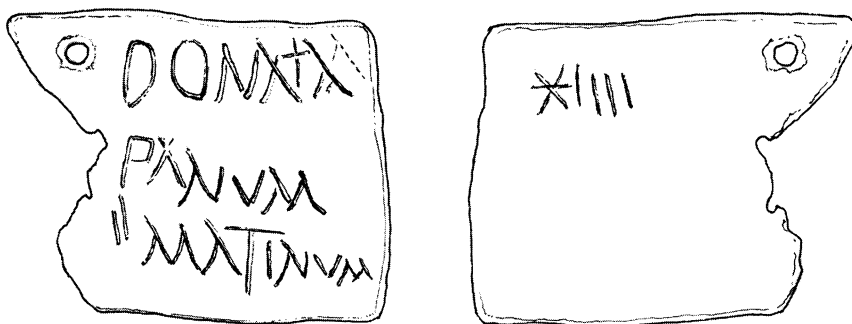


Fig. 2. Tessera of a *Donata*, referring to a piece of red cloth. From RADMAN-LIVAJA 2014, 323 no. 01. 39 (courtesy of Arheološki muzej u Zagrebu).

ary fortress (2), until it became a *colonia Flavia* under Vespasian, settled with fleet veterans (Fig. 1). The Roman citizens living in the town were inscribed in the voting tribe *Quirina*, while *Flavia* appears a few times as *pseudo-tribus* (3). *Aelia* appears once in the list of praetorians as the title of the city, *Aelia Siscia*, rather

(2) See, for various possibilities (mainly IX *Hispana* or XV *Apollinaris*), RADMAN-LIVAJA 2010; RADMAN-LIVAJA 2012 (Army), pp. 162-165; 169-170, with earlier citations; RADMAN-LIVAJA, VUKELIĆ 2015, pp. 400-401; cf. MÓCSY 1974, pp. 43; 48; WILKES 2000, p. 116; BISHOP 2012, pp. 101-102.

(3) FORNI 1985, p. 83, cf. also pp. 20; 56; 66.



than a *pseudo-tribus* (4). The town remained a fleet station and acquired the title *Septimia* under Septimius Severus; close connections of the city with the Severan dynasty are also indicated by the fact that the consort of Caracalla, Fulvia Plautilla, was honoured with a public monument (5). Siscia was a significant Pannonian administrative centre, where the provincial archives (*tabularium provinciae*) are attested, as well as a station of the *beneficarii consularis* (6). In the second half of the third and in the fourth century AD, it was the seat of an imperial mint (7).

The *tesserae* were used in the textile industry of the town and the individuals recorded on them must mainly have been customers of fullers and dyers in Siscia (8). Most of the lead tags can be dated to the first and the first half of the second centuries AD, more exactly between the reigns of Claudius and Hadrian, while some may be later but not extending beyond the Severan period (Fig. 2). This is indicated by the fact that many Flavii are attested on them, as well as several Iulii, Claudii, and Ulpii, but only one Aelius and only one Aurelia (9). Ivan Radman-Livaja analyzed 743 names borne by 949 individuals, of which over 110 are documented for the first time; more than 40% of the names are female (10). Latin names predominate – they count 386 examples – while 163 should perhaps be classified as Celtic and about 50 as Illyrian or Pannonian. Some presumably Celtic names have already been revised recently (11). Compared to the names from stone inscriptions and curse tablets, in which the indigenous element is very weak, a much larger percentage of Celtic and ‘Illyrian’ names occurs on the *tesserae*. ‘Illyrian’ in inverted commas does not mean Illyrian as had been spoken in the former Illyrian kingdoms in northern Albania and southern Dalmatia, but refers to the Roman

(4) ŠAŠEL 1974, p. 736 (1992, p. 617); less likely a pseudo-tribe: despite FORNI 1985, p. 53 and GALSTERER-KRÖLL 1972, p. 125: a praetorian in Rome from AD 209: [---]lus Ael. Siscia (CIL VI, 32533 col. b frg. 9 v. 11 = DOBÓ 1975, 63b = EDR122314).

(5) CIL III, 3968 = 10850 = AIJ 560 = BUZOV 2008, pp. 476-478; 488 (= AEp 2008, 1079) = HD066898; cf. MÓCSY 1974, p. 219. Plautilla was also honoured by the nearby *respublica Iasorum* (*Aquae Balissae*, present-day Daruvar): AEp 2007, 1144 = HD065289; MRÁV 2007, pp. 84-85.

(6) NELIS-CLÉMENT 2000, pp. 49-50 ; 183-186; 194-196; 255; 515; RADMAN-LIVAJA, VUKELIĆ 2016.

(7) On Roman Siscia see: ŠAŠEL 1974 (1992); HOTI 1992; BUZOV 1996; LOLIĆ 2003; cf. MROZEWICZ 2015, p. 152. For archaeological investigations of the cemeteries: BURKOWSKY 1996 and BUZOV 2002; cf. KOVÁCS 2014, pp. 74-75; 100; 186.

(8) RADMAN-LIVAJA 2013.

(9) RADMAN-LIVAJA 2014, p. 145; on chronology: pp. 144-147.

(10) RADMAN-LIVAJA 2013, p. 94.

(11) FALILEYEV 2014 and FALILEYEV, RADMAN-LIVAJA 2016.

Illyricum, mainly to the provinces of Dalmatia and Pannonia (12). This usage has lately also been adopted by Radman-Livaja and Alexander Falileyev (13). Several languages must have been spoken in the vast regions of the western Balkans and Pannonia before the arrival of the Romans, some no doubt surviving well into the Roman period. However, having a name that belonged to a certain language does not necessarily mean that this language was spoken by the person bearing it or by the parents who had given it, particularly not after the arrival of the Romans. After the foundation of a colony in Siscia, Latin was not only the official language, but it was in any case also a *lingua franca*.

Although the quantity of attested names on the *tesserae* has introduced entirely new perspectives in terms of the study of the town population, it should nonetheless be emphasized that the nature of the evidence is still very precarious and random, as is also true elsewhere in the Roman Empire (14). The number of inscribed monuments and objects is too small or one-sided to draw any far-reaching conclusions regarding the residents of Siscia; however, some results are nonetheless thought provoking. It seems worthwhile to compare names attested on stone monuments and on some previously published small objects with the names that appear on the *tesserae*; these have considerably changed the earlier assessment of the society in Siscia by also shedding some light on its lower classes, since the services offered by the textile craft were within the reach of almost everyone (15).

The definition of the «native» inhabitants of Siscia is not easy to assess, since the Pannonian or 'Illyrian' linguistic component of their names was mixed with the Celtic one, and hence the Celtic attribution of some names should ultimately remain uncertain. *Segestica/Siscia* was inhabited by the Segestani, who may have been partly of Celtic origin, as were very probably also the Varciani, who inhabited the region of Andautonia and bordered on the territory of Siscia in the north. Much (if not all) of the *civitas* of the Colapiani, a mixed Iapodian ('Illyrian') and Pannonian people, was probably incorporated into the territory of Siscia to the

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(12) ŠAŠEL KOS 2005, pp. 240-244.

(13) RADMAN-LIVAJA 2014, 291 («l'anthroponymie illyrienne au sens large du terme »);  
FALILEYEV 2014, p. 111; 133.

(14) ECK 2007.

(15) RADMAN-LIVAJA 2011.

west (Fig. 1) (16). The Segestani were regarded as Pannonians by Appian, thus it is evident that even before Roman rule the ethnic situation in *Segestica/Siscia* cannot be clearly defined. Moreover, the town was a significant emporium, where transit traffic played a major role, hence its society must have been even more composite. The definition of the ethnicity of the inhabitants of *Segestica/Siscia* before the Roman conquest can be regarded as problematic, and even more so after the establishment of a Flavian colony in Siscia. The native element was pushed into the background, and immigration from northern Italy must have been very common, as well as immigration from more distant regions, which is particularly evident from the *tesserae* (17), but is especially clear from the curse tablet addressed to Savus, in which a person from Hispania and one from Narbo in Gallia are mentioned (see *infra*). Immigration from Dalmatia is particularly difficult to detect, since a person called Dasius, an 'Illyrian' name (18), for example, could equally have been a local native inhabitant, or have come from Dalmatia or elsewhere in Pannonia.

Roman civilization was introduced gradually in the late second and the first centuries BC, and massively after the conquest of Pannonia, lasting from 35 BC to AD 9. Acculturation, based on the influence of Roman culture and an interaction with the native way of life, played a significant role, resulting in a process that was reciprocal. The impact of Romanization is not least reflected in the fact that the majority of the documented names are Latin. Giving names has always depended very much also on fashion. Trade and traffic, economic and other migrations, the arrival of colonists and other foreigners, mixed marriages, all contributed to the creation of a composite provincial society in this prosperous Pannonian city, where cultural and ethnic diversities were its main characteristic. Indigenous anthroponymy does not necessarily equal local personal names distinctive to Siscia. Celtic names could have also been borne, for example, by immigrants from northern Italy. In any case, only a few names of the Sisciani, known from stone inscriptions, are indigenous, and they are all rather late, such as a *hapax* Sipa, Dasius, Tato, and perhaps Ammianus (19). Arsaces

(16) BOJANOVSKI 1988, p. 337; RADMAN-LIVAJA, IVEŽIĆ 2012, pp. 138-139.

(17) RADMAN-LIVAJA 2016.

(18) SOLIN, TUOMISTO 2016, p. 172, for the latest reference to the name Dasius.

(19) RADMAN-LIVAJA, IVEŽIĆ 2012, p. 142; cf. FALILEYEV 2014, p. 112.

(possibly Arsacus, since it is attested in the genitive, *Arsaci*, if not fragmentary or wrongly copied) (20) has erroneously been classified among these names (21). Arsaces had been the founder of the Arsacid dynasty in Parthia; the name was the dynastic name of several Parthian and Armenian kings of the Arsacid dynasty. It was not infrequent in Greek-speaking regions and not least in Asia Minor, notably in Lycia, where some other Iranian names have also been attested (22).

### *Family names attested in Siscia*

Disregarding the most common *Aurelii*, other more frequent *gentilicia* in Siscia are the imperial *Iulii*, *Claudii*, *Flavii*, *Ulpii*, *Aelii*, and *Septimii*. Among the non-imperial *gentes*, *Antonii*, *Caecilii*, *Cassii*, *Crispii*, *Domitii*, *Genucii*, *Lucil(l)ii*, *Minicii*, *Titii*, and *Valerii* should be mentioned, which can be supplemented by several more Latin *nomina gentilia* attested on the *tesserae*. Of these, only a few appear more than once, such as *Aponii*, *At(t)ii*, *C(a)esii*, *Licinii*, *Oclatii*, *Pac(c)ii*, *Octavii*, *Plustii*, *Pontii*, *Statii*, *Sulpicii*, and *Vibii*. Several others are rather rare and some have not been attested yet in Pannonia, such as *Abullii*, *Aterii*, *Campii*, *Cinii*, *Nigidii* (not rare in northern Italy), *Planii*, *Plinii*, *Silii*, *Urbanii*, *Vellei*, and *Vesidii*. Some others may be added to these, already documented once or several times in Pannonia: *Albanii*, *Appulei*, *Cavarii*, *Cladii*, *Clodii*, *Coponii*, *Marcii*, *Papirii*, *Pompei*, *Publili*, *Rufii*, and *Vedii* (23). The mere names documented on the *tesserae* do not tell us anything about the social status of their bearers, except that those who had a *gentilicium* were Roman citizens. However, it is to be expected that for the sake of brevity, several family names might have been omitted on the tags (24). Most of the persons mentioned on the *tesserae* were probably from Siscia, although it should not be automatically assumed that all were residents of the town. This is indicated by the abbrevia-

(20) *CIL* III, 3994 = *EDCS*-28800754.

(21) FALILEYEV 2014, p. 112, warned against explaining the name Arsaces as Celtic.

(22) ZGUSTA 1964, p. 99 (§ 107-13); cf. PAPE, BENSELER 1911, p. 144. The name is sporadically attested also in the western part of the Empire, mainly in Rome (Epigraphik-Datenbank Clauss / Slaby).

(23) RADMAN-LIVAJA 2014, s.vv.

(24) RADMAN-LIVAJA 2014, pp. 130-137.

tions *AND* and *ANDAV*, which appear on 13 tags and can most plausibly be supplemented as «(from) Andautonia». The fact that inhabitants from the neighbouring Andautonia travelled to Siscia to buy precious and expensive items or to visit fuller's and dyer's workshops should not be regarded as surprising, since Andautonia was a much smaller and much less significant town, where certain commodities were not available (25).

### *Municipal upper class*

Society at Siscia was quite stratified, which is epigraphically well-attested. Certain families, whose members held high posts in the city administration, belonged to the municipal aristocracy, and their *gentilicia* will be discussed separately. The family of the Idimii can certainly be classified among the well-to-do inhabitants of Siscia, since they possessed several *liberti* and *libertae*. Their tombstone is unfortunately very fragmentary. They were most probably members of the municipal upper class, yet more so if Quintus Idimius, whose cognomen is illegible, would indeed have been *v(ir?) l(audabilis?)* (26). However, this title, which was not in use much before the fourth century AD and certainly not earlier than the mid-third century, does not seem to be particularly compatible with the formula *libertis libertabusque*, mentioned on the tombstone, nor with the formula that the tombstone should not be inherited (27). Among the *gentilicia* attested in Siscia on monuments other than *tesserae*, Idimius is the only non-Latin family name. It should most likely be regarded as an indigenous name, from which the *gentilicium* was derived in the manner of Latin *gentilicia*. It could perhaps be explained as Celtic, since names with *idi-* commonly appear in various Celtic areas, but the etymology is so far unknown (28).

(25) RADMAN-LIVAJA 2014, pp. 76-78.

(26) CIL III, 3978 = HD074383 = EDCS-28800742: *Q(uintus) Idimi[us] / LIFEG v(ir?) l(audabilis?) Iar[...]/ avo[...]/ an(norum) LXIII f[...]/ IPLM Syr[...]/ a[...]/ nit[...]/ Q(uinto?) Idimi[...]/ Q[...]/ i[...]/ III[...]/ Patero[...]/ an[...]/ T[...]/ Q(uinto) Idim[...]/ fil(io?) [...]/ Viator[...]/ A[...]/ III / liber(tis) liber<t=F>ab(us)q(ue) / posterisq(ue) suis. / H(oc) m(onumentum) l(ibertos) n(on) s(equetur).*

(27) For *vir laudabilis* see *Diz. ep.*, s.v. MIHAILESCU-BÎRLIBA 2006, pp. 74-75, noted that the formula *libertis libertabusque* is mainly used in Dalmatia in the first century AD; however, it was much in use also in the second century AD.

(28) Prof. Alexander FALILEYEV, personal communication.

An altar dedicated to Iuppiter Optimus Maximus Nundinarius (patron of the *nundinae*) was found at Degoj on the Kupa River. It was erected for the prosperity of the emperor Gordian in AD 238 (under the consuls Pontius Proculus Pontianus and Fulvius Pius) (29), by Gaius D() Victorinus, his son Gaius D() Victorinianus, and Victorinus' wife Lucilia Lucilla (30). The only *gentilicium* beginning in *D* that has to my knowledge so far come to light in Siscia, both on stone monuments and on the *tesserae* (31), as well as on various inscriptions of the inhabitants of Siscia found elsewhere in the Roman Empire, is Domitius. It may therefore be cautiously suggested that father and son belonged to the *gens Domitia*; both were members of the equestrian order and *decuriones* in Siscia, the father was also *duumvir* and high priest of Upper Pannonia (*sacerdos p(rovinciae) P(annoniae) Sup(erioris)*) (32). His wife Lucilla styled herself as *coniux sacerdot(alis)*, referring to her husband's post as a past priest of the province.

One Titus A[-] Iulianus – his family name is fragmentary – was *duumvir*, almost certainly in Siscia, where the fragment was found. His wife (her name has not been preserved) was *usu stolae ornata* (33); she was honoured with the use of the *stola*, a long upper garment, which was a sign of social prestige and respectability, and a special distinction of well-to-do married women. A close parallel for the *stolae* in genitive is to be found on a tombstone discovered at Vetus Salina (present-day Adony), on which Valeria Aemilia, the wife of a tribune of the cohort *III Batavorum* Valerius Timotheus and the mother of three children, members of the equestrian order (*trium liberorum equitum Romanorum mater*), was described as distinguished with the use of *stola* (*usu stolae exornata*) (34). The use of *stola* was a significant feature of high social status; in the late second and in the third centuries AD this was an indicator of equestrian rank (35).

Members of the municipal aristocracy also included the Ingenuii, since Gaius Ingenuius Rufinianus, known from a marble

(29) *PIR*<sup>2</sup>, P 818 and F 553.

(30) *CIL* III, 3936 = 10820 = *ILS* 7116 = *AIJ* 500 = *HD*071792 = *lupa* 20218.

(31) RADMAN-LIVAJA 2014, p. 200.

(32) FISHWICK 2002, 274; SZABÓ 2006, 244 P 37.

(33) *Lupa* 22444 = *EDCS*-62500014 (no publication cited). *Usu* is missing, but is required by the genitive, *stolae*.

(34) PONGRÁCZ, KOVÁCS 2003, pp. 369-373 (*AEp* 2003, 1453 = *HD*045137).

(35) HOLTHEIDE 1980.

altar dedicated to Hercules, was a town councillor (*decurio*) of the *colonia Septimia Siscianorum Augusta*, as well as a financial officer (*quaestor*) and a prefect of the college of craftsmen of cloth and clothing (*praefectus collegii centonariorum*), who may have occasionally also been firemen (36). His wife was Ingenuia Rufina, bearing the same *gentilicium*, which means that they had either been of freedman origin or belonged to two branches of the Ingenuii. The *nomen*, which does not appear on the *tesserae*, is relatively rare, occurring sporadically in northern Italy, Germany, and Noricum, as well as once in Gallia Narbonensis and Dacia; in Pannonia it only occurs in this inscription (37), while in Rome it was borne by a praetorian soldier who may well have come from Noricum or Pannonia (38).

The Valerii must have been one of the most distinguished upper class families in Siscia, as is indicated by a dedication to Nemesis in Savaria, in which a *decurio* and *duumvir* of Siscia, Lucius Valerius Valerianus, is recorded, who was also *flamen divi Claudii* and a high priest of Upper Pannonia in Savaria, the seat of the provincial council (39). The Valerii were frequent all over the Empire (40) and also in other Pannonian towns such as Poetovio, the hometown of one of the rare known Pannonian senators, Marcus Valerius Maximianus (41). They had probably come from northern Italy, since many are attested in Aquileia (42). Several other Valerii are known from Siscia, such as one Valeria Saturnina, who dedicated an altar to Liber Pater together with Gaius Volcenius Lupercus, undoubtedly her husband (43). Volcenius is a Latin *gentilicium* (44), possibly also attested in a dedication to Isis on a bronze *tabula ansata* by one Vol(cenia) Maxima (45); elsewhere it only occurs twice in northern Italy (46). Some Valerii were mem-

(36) CIL III, 10836 = AIJ 528 = HD056618 = lupa 5731; SANADER 1994, pp. 105-106 no. 35; LIU 2009, p. 382 no. 228; cf. BARKÓCZI 1964, p. 301; 29/38 (p. 330). On textile guilds and their hypothesized role as firemen, which is still disputed: PERRY 2006, pp. 7-18; LIU 2009, pp. 57-96.

(37) SOLIN, SALOMIES 1994, p. 96; OPEL II, 194.

(38) CIL VI, 2468 = EDR104045.

(39) BALLA 1971, p. 89 no. 38 = AEp 1972, 389 = RIU 20 = HD009523 = lupa 7957; FISHWICK 2002, p. 273; SZABÓ 2006, p. 221 P 70; 244 P 70; ŠAŠEL KOS 2017, forthcoming.

(40) OPEL IV, pp. 143-146.

(41) ŠAŠEL 1982, pp. 567-568 (1992, pp. 176-177); FILIPPINI, GREGORI 2014.

(42) Indexes of *Inscr. Aquil.*; cf. MÓCSY 1959, p. 160; ŠEGVIĆ 1988, p. 60.

(43) CIL III, 3956 = 10834 = AIJ 540 = HD071824 = lupa 11578.

(44) SOLIN, SALOMIES 1994, p. 212; OPEL IV, 182 (only the dedication from Siscia is cited).

(45) AIJ 531 = SIRIS 653 = RICIS 2, 613/0202 = HD071810; SELEM 1997, p. 138 (8.26).

(46) In Ravenna, CIL XI, 59 (Volcenia Severa) and Opitergium: AEp 1979, 280 (Volcenia

bers of the Roman army, such as a veteran of the legion *XV Apollinaris*, Lucius Valerius Verecundus from Siscia, whose tombstone was found at Topusko (47). Valerius Saturninus, a soldier of an unknown legion, is known from a tombstone found within the limits of the territory of Siscia, in the village of Svojić, 24.5 km southwest of Karlovac. His head is portrayed in the niche above the inscription field (48). Gaius Valerius Spectatus from Siscia, a soldier of the 8<sup>th</sup> Praetorian Cohort, who died at the age of 24, is known from a tombstone in Rome (49).

Another upper class family in Siscia were the Titii, who were very likely immigrants from northern Italy (50). The name also appears on a lead tag, but in this case it may have been a personal name, rather than a *gentilicium* (51). A base and a statue of Hadrian (the statue is lost) was commissioned in AD 124 by Lucius Titius Proculus (52), who is most probably also known from a fragmentary building inscription referring to a portico, a provision-market (*macellum*), and basilica. Proculus, a member of the equestrian order, donated (or had perhaps renovated) all these public buildings to the town of Siscia in memory of his father Gaius Titius [-] and his brother Gaius Titius Materninus. Proculus was *pontifex*, a priest of the imperial cult (*flamen*), probably a *duumvir* and *duumvir quinquennalis*. After a successful municipal career, he was granted a public horse and was enrolled in the five panels of judges (*adlectus in quinque decurias*) (53). Similar municipal-equestrian careers were not rare in the reigns of Trajan and Hadrian. Lucius Titius Proculus must have been one of the most illustrious inhabitants of Siscia in his time. A freedman Gai-

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Marcellina). MÓCSY 1959, 57/21 (p. 212) claimed that Saturnina and Lupercus had come from Dalmatia, but there is no evidence for that.

(47) *ILJug* 3117 = HD035205 = *lupa* 5740; ŠEGVIĆ 1988 (*AEp* 1989, 617); MOSSER 2003, p. 102; 258 no. 182.

(48) *CIL* III, 14333,1 = HD032859 = *lupa* 22325; MIGOTTI 2010: *D(is) M(anibus). / F(---) T(---) et I(---) C(---) / titulum po/sueru<nt> fi/lío suo Vale/rio Saturni/no mil(iti) l(egionis) M D / CONARIVS / annos vi<x>(it) // XXX*. It is expected that his father's family name should likewise be Valerius; however, the abbreviation *F* is clearly seen on the stone.

(49) *CIL* VI, 2689 = DOBÓ 1975, no. 63 = EDR102983; RICCI 1993, p. 186 no. P. 69.

(50) MÓCSY 1959, 57/18 (p. 212), also suggested Dalmatia as a possibility; HARDING, JACOBSEN 1988, p. 160; 195; cf. SOLIN, SALOMIES 1994, p. 187.

(51) RADMAN-LIVAJA 2014, p. 272.

(52) *CIL* III, 3968a = *AIJ* 559 = HD072112 = *lupa* 5734.

(53) *CIL* III, 6476 = 10856a-c. e-h = *AIJ* 561 = HD012614 = *lupa* 6021; restored and related to the already known L. Titius Proculus by CHRISTOL, DEMOUGIN 1986 (*AEp* 1987, 820). Cf. VUKELIĆ 2011, pp. 238-239. For the five panels of judges see DEMOUGIN 1975.





Fig. 3. Marble stele erected by *Cenius [...]*ianus.

us Titius Agathopus was *Augustalis* both in Siscia and Sarmizegetusa, attaining the highest position within the middle class (54).

An elegant and expensive stele of Pohorje marble (imported from the Poetovio area) with an invocation to the eternal home and lasting security (*domu(!) aetern(a)e et perpe[t]u(a)e securitati*) was erected by *Cenius [...]*ianus, in his lifetime, for a family of probably four or perhaps five persons (Fig. 3). As is indicated by the hairstyles of the deceased, the stele should not be earlier than the reigns of the Severan dynasty, but the second half of the third or the first half of the fourth centuries AD may not be excluded either. A couple and two daughters are depicted in the niche with

(54) *AEp* 1914, 109 = DOBÓ 1975, no. 556 = *IDR* III 2, 165 = HD021011 = *lupa* 15172.

a shell-like background and framed with spiral columns, along with another man on the left; the lower part of the stele is missing (55). Cenius was a member of the equestrian order (*vir egregius*) and it seems that he had the stele bought for the family of one Flavius Tibe[rian?]i[cus?], the first mentioned person who had been buried below it. Tiberianicus was at least 30 years old, but was possibly older, since the inscription is broken off on the left, where the letters referring to his age might have continued. He was married to [---]nia Ursa, who may have been Cenia and possibly a relative of Cenius [...]ianus. The daughter of the deceased couple, 4 years old, is mentioned next, of her name only [---]n(a)e has been preserved, confirming that she was a girl. The older daughter, for whom neither elements of name nor age have been preserved, is depicted next to her.

The identity of the first man on the stele, portrayed slightly in the background, is not entirely certain: he could have been Cenius, as proposed by Branka Migotti, who suggested that he may have been the brother of the deceased [Ce?]nia Ursa, the mother of the two depicted girls (56). If indeed the first man should be recognized as Cenius, this would be understandable primarily in the case that *et sibi* had been mentioned in the missing part of the epitaph, i.e. that he had the tombstone erected also for himself. Ortolf and Friederike Harl (*lupa*) explain the portraits as representing the deceased couple with a grown son and two small daughters («Ehepaar mit erwachsenem Sohn und zwei kleinen Töchtern»). The first man would in this case be their son, mentioned in the missing part of the epitaph; he may have still been living at the time when the stele was commissioned and would have therefore been mentioned last. It is not clear what was the relationship of Cenius to the family: *socer?*, *pater?*, *avus?* has been proposed in the *lupa*. The first depicted man is young; if he were Cenius, he could have been the brother of Ursa. If the portrait is that of the son, the three suggested explanations, i.e. father-in-law, father, grandfather, would come into consideration, while other possibilities should also not be excluded. Cenius was not neces-

(55) CIL III, 3985 = GREGL, MIGOTTI 2001 (*AEp* 1999, 1245) = HD048572 = *lupa* 8817: *Domu(!) (a)etern(a)e et perpe/[ti]u(a)e securitati C(a)enius / [---]ianus v(ir) e(gregius) v(ivus) f(ecit) Fl(avio) Tibe/[rian?]i[co?] q(ui) v(ixit) an(nos) XXX / [---]ni(a)e Ursa(a)e q(uae) v(ixit) an(nos) / [---]n(a)e q(uae) v(ixit) an(nos) IIII / [---] q(uae) v(ixit) an(nos) / [---];* MANDER 2013, p. 297 no. 654. The reading in the CIL is inadequate.

(56) GREGL, MIGOTTI 2001, p. 141.

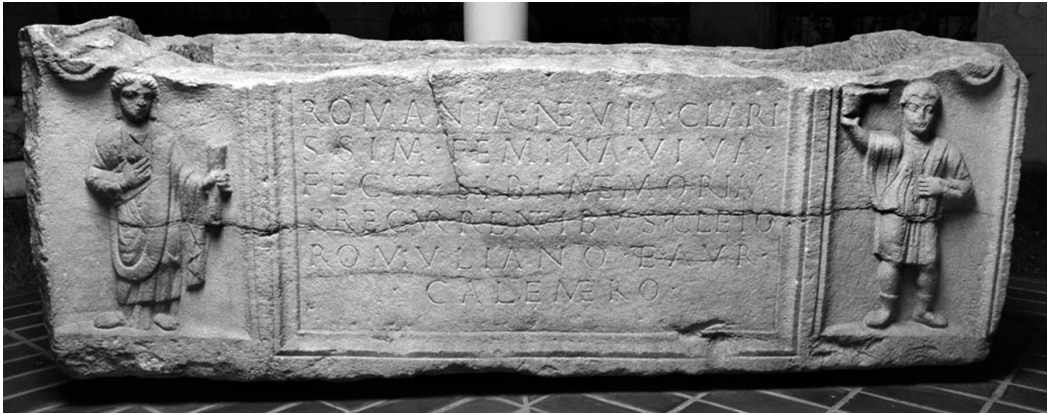


Fig. 4. Sarcophagus of *Romania N(a)evia*.

sarily a relative of the family depicted on the tombstone. C(a)enius is a rare Latin *gentilicium*, attested a few times in Italy (three times in Tarquinia and once in Aquileia), twice in Gallia Narbonensis, once in Dalmatia and Sicilia, and three times in Pannonia (57). The name Tiberianicus has not been attested to date in northern Italy and the western provinces, but only once in Pannonia, at Vindobona, borne by a tribune of the legion X *Gemina* (58). The Latin name Ursus (Ursa) is a frequent name; in the Celtic-speaking regions it may have been a 'translation' name, and it was also popular among Christians (59). *Domus aeterna* and *securitas* are also mentioned on a tombstone from Aquileia (60).

An unusual case is a marble sarcophagus erected by *Romania N(a)evia* (Fig. 4), most probably in the second half of the third century AD, which may be supported by the fact that coins of Valerian and Aurelian from the years 253 to 275 were discovered in the vicinity. She, as a *clarissima femina*, belonged to the upper class of Roman society in general, not merely to the municipal upper class in Siscia. *Nevia* had a memorial (*memoria*) made for herself in her lifetime, as well as for *Cletius Romulianus* and *Aurelius Calemerus*, who had passed away before her (61). The iden-

(57) SOLIN, SALOMIES 1994, p. 40 (Caenius); 52 (Cenius); OPEL II, 18, s.v. Caenius; in Aquileia: *Inscr. Aquil.* 938.

(58) CIL III, 4558 = CBI 362 = HD072247; cf. OPEL IV, 121.

(59) LOCHNER VON HÜTTENBACH 1989, p. 172; MINKOVA 2000, p. 169.

(60) *Inscr. Aquil.* 2980 = EDCS-08000212.

(61) CIL III, 10852 = AIJ 569 = HD047135 = lupa 3803; BUZOV 2002, p. 177 fig. 3;

tity of the two men mentioned on the sarcophagus is not entirely clear, but it seems most plausible to interpret them as the two husbands of Romania Nevia, who had each in turn predeceased her. Most probably her father must have belonged to the highest order, particularly if neither of her husbands was a senator (62). Romania Nevia would have kept her title of *clarissima femina* even if she were married to men of non-senatorial, perhaps equestrian rank (63). The Romanii are documented in Italy, particularly in Cisalpine Gaul, as well as in Gallia Narbonensis, elsewhere they are rare (64); in Pannonia, the *gentilicium* is only known from this epitaph and possibly from one *tessera* (65). The family name Clelius has not been attested to date in the Roman Empire (66).

Many high state officials must have been active in such an important city as Siscia, spending long or brief periods in the town, where they would have supervised the tasks of their subordinates. However, evidence of their presence is very scarce. A fragmentary building inscription from the Tetrarchic period reveals that some significant building activity took place at that time under the supervision of one Flavius Severus (67), whose rank, however, is not certain. He may indeed have been a provincial procurator, but not necessarily; he could have been a member of the municipal aristocracy or perhaps a centurion or *beneficiarius consularis* (68).

Flavius Verus Metrobalanus dedicated an altar to Jupiter, Best and Greatest, Fulminator and Fulgurator. He was an imperial procurator, probably during the reign of Commodus or the Severi. He was also in charge of the revenue from the iron mines (*praepositus splendissimi vectigalis ferrarium*). He fulfilled his vow through one Asclepiades, who was a treasurer of the office in Siscia (*arkarius stationis Siscianae*) (69). Hans-Georg Pflaum tenta-

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GRAČANIN 2004, pp. 35-36; MIGOTTI 2007 (*clarissima*); MIGOTTI 2013, pp. 189-190, type II.3.1, fig. 9; on p. 190 the find of the coins is noted.

(62) BARBIERI 1952, p. 384 no. 2198.

(63) Cf. ALFÖLDY 2001, p. 237.

(64) OPEL IV, 31; ALFÖLDY 1969, p. 115.

(65) RADMAN-LIVAJA 2014, p. 254.

(66) SOLIN, SALOMIES 1994, p. 57; OPEL II, 64.

(67) CIL III, 10851 = AIJ 564 = HD072118 = *lupa* 22359.

(68) FITZ 1994, p. 1157 no. 837; cf. 1133 and 1995, 1421. HOFFILLER (AIJ) suggested a supplement [*v(iro) e(gregio)*?], but with no arguments.

(69) CIL III, 3953 (p. 1742) = ILS 03049 = EDCS-28701037 (ILS and EDCS transmit the corrected reading 'Myrobalanus' that has not been accepted by others); his name is Greek: PAPE, BENSELER 1911, p. 918; PIR<sup>2</sup>, F 396 (as M[y]robalanus); WINKLER 1970; FITZ 1993, pp. 738-739 no. 422; cf. p. 405; SINOBAD 2010, p. 154; 156; 208-209 no. 172.

tively regarded Metrobalanus as *procurator vectigalis ferrariarum Pannoniae Superioris* (?) (70). However, it is more plausible to explain his two titles as referring to two different offices: he can be regarded as a *procurator*, who may have been in charge of four provinces (Noricum, both Pannonias, and Dalmatia) (71), and to have additionally held the office of a supervisor (*praepositus*) of the revenue from the Pannonian iron mines, rather than holding first the office of imperial procurator and subsequently that of a *praepositus* (72). *Statio Sisciana* was probably responsible for the Ljubija iron mines and may have been the headquarters of this mining district, if not even the seat of the financial procurator for Pannonia Superior (73); Metrobalanus' office as *praepositus* was probably temporary (74).

### *The municipal middle class*

The above-mentioned Gaius Titius Agathopus, *Augustalis* in Siscia and Sarmizegetusa, is known from a dedication to Aesculapius and Hygia, found at Sarmizegetusa (75). Another documented *Augustalis* in Siscia was Pontius Lupus (Fig. 5), who was also in charge of public records (*scriba*) at *municipium Faustinianum*, an Upper Pannonian town that has not yet been located. In small Pannonian towns like Faustinianum, the *scriba* may have been the main official in charge of municipal affairs (76). The sar-



Fig. 5. Sarcophagus of *Augustalis* Pontius Lupus.

(70) PFLAUM 1961, p. 1064.

(71) Or even more provinces: MÓCSY 1962, p. 594; HIRT 2010, p. 138; 239.

(72) FITZ 1993, pp. 738-739 no. 422; HIRT 2010, p. 245.

(73) HAENSCH 1997, pp. 352-353: there is evidence for procurator's seat in Upper Pannonia both at Poetovio and Siscia; HIRT 2010, p. 162.

(74) DUŠANIĆ 1977, p. 85 (2010, p. 520).

(75) ŠAŠEL KOS 2017, forthcoming.

(76) MÓCSY 1974, p. 222; on the complex public role of the *Augustales*: ABRAMENKO 1993,

cophagus was erected for him in the second half of the second century AD by his sister Pontia Victorina and Domitius Crescens, whose relationship to the deceased is not known. Three letters (A() D() E()) are visible after his cognomen at the end of the inscription, which are explained as abbreviations that could possibly have recorded Crescens' kinship to Pontius Lupus (77). However, the remains of two more letters seem to be visible after *E*, hence the meaning of these letters is quite uncertain. Crescens may have been the husband of Pontia Victorina. On the front side, the mourning *erotes* are depicted next to the inscription field, while the iconography on the two side panels is somewhat unusual. The Dioscuri are depicted, each holding a standard similar to a *vexillum*, which may have symbolized the association of the *Augustales* and would refer to the imperial cult and Lupus' rank (78). The Pontii must have been of a certain significance in Siscia, since the name is attested twice on the commercial tags, once certainly as a *gentilicium*, and once perhaps – but not necessarily – as a personal name (79). The *gentilicium* is frequent in Italy, from where most probably the patron of Lupus and his sister, or the patron's family, originated; the Pontii are sporadically attested almost everywhere in the western provinces (80). Victorinus/a, derived from Victor and very popular in Pannonia, occurs much more frequently after the Marcomannic Wars, while the name Lupus was often attested among slaves (81); it is therefore not surprising that neither appears on the *tesserae*. Brother and sister must have belonged to the indigenous Siscian community.

Titus Aurelius Anicetus, *Augustalis* in Siscia, dedicated an altar to Silvanus Augustus (82). As has been mentioned, the *gentilicium* Aurelius is only attested on one lead tag, recording Aurelia Prima, which is understandable since the *tesserae* are dated before

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pp. 43-82 and *passim*; MOURITSEN 2011, pp. 248-261. It is interesting to note that at Siscia only *Augustales* have been documented to date, no *seviri* or *seviri Augustales*: DUTHOY 1976, p. 187.

(77) CIL III, 3974 = *lupa* 4310 = EDCS-28701050: D(is) M(anibus) / Pontio Lupo Aug(ustali) col(oniae) / Sisc(iae) scribae munic(ipii) Faus(tiniani) / Pontia Victorina soror / et Domit(ius) Crescens A() D() E()++ ?; ŠAŠEL 1974, p. 715 no. 9; MIGOTTI 2005 (Dioscuri); MIGOTTI 2013, pp. 183-187, type II.1.1 fig. 4; MIGOTTI 2016; cf. BUZOV 2002, pp. 176-177 fig. 2.

(78) MIGOTTI 2005 (Dioscuri).

(79) RADMAN-LIVAJA 2014, p. 246.

(80) *Ibid.*; SOLIN, SALOMIES 1994, p. 147; MÓCSY 1959, p. 158; ALFÖLDY 1969, p. 112; OPEL III, 153.

(81) Victorinus/a: OPEL IV, 168-169; BARKÓCZI 1964, p. 328; LOCHNER VON HÜTTENBACH 1989, p. 182; Lupus: OPEL III, 39; LOCHNER VON HÜTTENBACH 1989, p. 96; SOLIN 1996, p. 157.

(82) CIL III, 3961 = EDCS-28701043.

the *constitutio Antoniniana* (83). Marcus Mulvius Narcissianus, who died at the age of 26, is noted as *Augustalis* of the *colonia Septimia Siscia* on the family sarcophagus, commissioned for him by his mother Mulvia Furnia (?), whose husband, Narcissianus' father Marcus Mulvius Narcissus, 60 years old, was also buried in it (84). Neither the names Mulvius nor Narcissus occur on the *tesserae*; the Greek cognomen Narcissus, not particularly rare and often attested among freedmen (85), might not have been popular before the third century AD.

Publius Aelius Iulianus, a member of one of the units of the association of timber workers (*ex numero collegii dendrophorum*), is recorded on a sarcophagus, provided by him for Aurelia Veneria, his «most devoted girl, snatched by a sudden death» (86). It is not clear what was the relationship of Publius Aelius Iulianus to the girl; he was certainly not her father, but perhaps her (future?) husband. The *collegium dendrophorum*, an indication for the existence of the cult of Cybele at Siscia (87), was one of the three best documented *collegia* in the western part of the Roman Empire, next to the *collegium fabrum* and the *collegium centonariorum* (*tria collegia principalia*) (88). In these colleges, which were a significant manifestation of Roman as well as provincial Romanized societies, members of the middle class could display their social and economic success. They carried out important municipal work as members of fire-brigades, craftsmen, artisans, and builders, and were socially respected (89). The *collegium dendrophorum* (established *ludorum* or *sacrorum causa*) seems to have been particularly active in the municipal religious sphere including cult performances during the *Megalensia*, the festival of Magna Mater that took place in April (90).

(83) RADMAN-LIVAJA 2014, p. 170 and 144.

(84) *CIL* III, 3973 = *lupa* 4313 = EDCS-28701049; MIGOTTI 2013, p. 187, type II.2.1; cf. BUZOV 2002, pp. 176-177, fig. 2. The first letter in the mother's *cognomen* is not certain.

(85) LOCHNER VON HÜTTENBACH 1989, p. 112; very frequent among slaves in Rome: SOLIN 1996, p. 521.

(86) *CIL* III, 10858 = *lupa* 4318 = EDCS-29900787: *Aurel(iae) Veneriae ob hon(orem) / et flore(m) iuventu[ti]s subit(a) / morte occupatae mi(hi ?) pient(issimae) / virgini P(ublius) Ael(ius) Iulianu[s] / ex num(ero) colleg(ii) dendro(pborum) / [v(ivus) fecit]*; SELEM 1980, pp. 201-202 no. 8; VUKELIĆ 2011, p. 113, 177; BUZOV 2002, pp. 177-178; MIGOTTI 2013, pp. 196-197, type II.5.2 fig. 16; cf. BURKOWSKY 1996, p. 70 n. 13.

(87) Cf. VAN HAEPEREN 2012, p. 61.

(88) Thus called, e.g., in *CIL* XI, 5749 = EDR016319 from Sentinum.

(89) LIU 2008, p. 65; HAEUSSLER 2013, p. 286.

(90) VAN HAEPEREN 2012; VILOGORAC BRČIĆ 2015.

### *Roman soldiers in Siscia*

Many Sisciani served in the Roman army abroad (91), but several soldiers are also documented at Siscia. A tombstone from the first century AD was erected to Tiberius Claudius Pontius, a 25 year old centurion of the legion *XV Apollinaris*, by his heir (92). He attained the rank of a *centurio* very young and could perhaps have been stationed at Siscia with his legion at the time of his death. Alternatively, however, he may have been on a mission in the town. His father, who may himself have served in the Roman army, must have been awarded citizenship during the reign of Claudius or even as early as under Tiberius. The family was possibly from Siscia (93), but not necessarily, because the funerary monument was commissioned for Pontius by his heir (94). If his family had been of local origin, the centurion would have belonged to the indigenous elite, which would explain his high rank in the legion. At the time of the revolt of the three Pannonian legions in AD 14, after the death of Augustus, the *XV Apollinaris* may have indeed been based for a few years at Siscia. Since the early Claudian period, the legion was stationed in Carnuntum; before its arrival in Carnuntum, however, it had its camp for a short time at Vindobona (95). The name Pontius in the feminine form is attested on two *tesserae*, once as a *gentilicium*, but once perhaps as a personal name (96), and as such it is also known from the territory of Andautonia (97).

As can be inferred from the tombstone of Marcus Mucius Hegetor, who was a physician of the cohort *XXXII voluntariorum* (Fig. 6), his cohort had presumably been stationed at Siscia in the first century AD, until the reign of Vespasian, when it was transferred to Germania; it belonged to the first auxiliary units stationed in Pannonia (98). The funerary monument was erected

(91) ŠAŠEL KOS 2017, forthcoming.

(92) *CIL* III, 10853 = *HD*073473; FITZ 1993, p. 325 no. 222; MOSSER 2003, p. 261 no. 188; RADMAN-LIVAJA, VUKELIĆ 2015, pp. 401-402.

(93) This was noted as a possibility by MÓCSY 1959, 57/1 (p. 211).

(94) See also RADMAN-LIVAJA, VUKELIĆ 2015, p. 401.

(95) ŠAŠEL KOS 1995, p. 237; MOSSER 2002; MOSSER 2003, p. 141; 261 (Siscia); pp. 144-145 (Vindobona); RADMAN-LIVAJA 2012 (Army), pp. 162-165; 169-170, with earlier citations; ŠAŠEL KOS 2014, p. 80; RADMAN-LIVAJA, VUKELIĆ 2015, p. 401.

(96) RADMAN-LIVAJA 2014, p. 246.

(97) *CIL* III, 15183 = *AII* 483 = *HD*071783 = *lupa* 3790. Pontius as a *cognomen* or personal name is very rare, *OPEL* III 153.

(98) LŐRINCZ 2001, p. 44; 57-58 (cf. SPAUL 2000, pp. 47-48, not plausible); RADMAN-LIVAJA 2012 (Army), p. 171.





Fig. 6. Tombstone of *Marcus Mucius Hegetor*.

by Mucia Corinthia to her patron; Hegetor was recruited in one of the eastern provinces, as is not least indicated by his Greek cognomen (99). The name Mucius also appears on the *tesserae*, on which it may or may not have been a *gentilicium* in a few instances; however, on more than 40 of them, Mucc(i)us is a personal name, resulting in the most frequently attested name on the lead tags (100), which has no connection with the not too frequent Latin *nomen* Mucius, attested several times in Italy, Africa pro-

(99) *CIL* III, 10854 = *ILS* 2601 = *AIJ* 567 = *HD*072121 = *lupa* 3073; BRUNŠMID 1909, pp. 154-155 no. 346; GUMMERUS 1932, no. 392; MÓCSY 1959, 57/3 (p. 211); DAVIES 1969, p. 98 no. 54; LŐRINCZ 2001, p. 297 no. 479 (cf. 131).

(100) RADMAN-LIVAJA 2014, pp. 233-234; see below.

consularis, and Numidia, and a few times elsewhere, notably in Dalmatia (101).

An *optio* from the legion *XIV Gemina*, Publius A() Ci[t]us, dedicated an altar to the Genius of the province, perhaps in the late first or in the second centuries AD (102). A *cornicularius* (adjutant) from the same legion, Gaius Sempronius Severus, is known from a cinerary urn; he died at Siscia at the age of 41 years. His wife Iulia Florentina had the monument commissioned for her husband, probably towards the end of the second or in the third centuries AD (103). Since this legion was stationed at Carnuntum, the two soldiers might have either been sent to Siscia on a special mission, or, which seems more likely, Severus was buried there because he originated from the town and had family there (104). It may be noteworthy that his and his wife's names are also documented on the *tesserae* (105); the name Severus, which occurs on twelve tags, is particularly well attested (106).

After the establishment of the Flavian colony in Siscia, the military presence mainly consisted of the *beneficiarii*, who are very well attested in the town. While Quintus Iulius Moderatus, Tiberius Claudius [---]atu[s], and perhaps Gaius Veratius Hispanus and Titus Flavius Campester were *beneficiarii procuratoris*, others were *beneficiarii consularis*: Aurelius Quint(us?-illus?), Gaius Apuleius Sabinus, Marcus Ennius Dexter, Lucius Virilius Pupus, Titus Flavius Candidus, Lucius Domitius Constitutus, Gaius Iulius Flav(u)s, Marcus Aurelius Diogenes, and Gaius Livius Moderatus (107). Mention should be made of an altar, erected by Aurelius Quint(us?-illus?), because it is not dedicated to Jupiter, as would be expected from the *beneficiarii*, but to Liber Pater and Silvanus Domesticus (108). This is one of five altars dedicated to Silvanus Domesticus; Silvanus was one of the most popular gods at Siscia and in the neighbouring settlements (*see below*).

(101) SOLIN, SALOMIES 1994, p. 122; ALFÖLDY 1969, p. 100; OPEL III, 89; Epigraphik-Datenbank Clauss / Slaby.

(102) CIL III, 3943 = EDCS-28701031.

(103) CIL III, 3972 = 10855 = AIJ 568 = HD072122 = *Iupa* 3802; MIGOTTI 2013, pp. 188-189, type II.2.2, fig. 7; cf. BUZOV 2002, p. 186. On the *cornicularii*, see GAWROŃSKI 2016.

(104) See also RADMAN-LIVAJA, VUKELIĆ 2015, p. 402.

(105) RADMAN-LIVAJA 2014, s. vv.

(106) RADMAN-LIVAJA 2014, p. 263.

(107) RADMAN-LIVAJA, VUKELIĆ 2015, pp. 403-404; RADMAN-LIVAJA, VUKELIĆ 2016, with references; on the significance of the station: NELIS-CLÉMENT 2000, pp. 49-50; 183-186; 194-196; 255; 515.

(108) CIL III, 3957 = CBI 302 = HD072012; DÉSZPA 2012, p. 166.

The text on the altar erected to Jupiter, Best and Greatest, Heliopolitanus, by the above-mentioned Lucius Virilius Pupus, who was in terms of origin no doubt from the East, is unusual (109). He was worried that someone might lead pigs to the altar (to sacrifice them or merely to lead them near the altar), since sacred spaces should not be polluted and pigs were regarded as impure in the Syrian cult of Heliopolitanus (110). Luccius Varro was a centurion recorded on a Haguenau type helmet; the name of another centurion, Marcius P[-], was inscribed on a mattock, and the name of one Veturius Vivus on curb bits (111). All these soldiers were residents of Siscia for a limited time and only some of them may have had any closer relationship with the city.

Five veterans are known, who chose to live in the town of Siscia, either because they were born there or they had decided to settle in Siscia for other reasons: they may have been stationed in the town, may have married a local woman, or were perhaps attracted by the economic possibilities offered by this flourishing Pannonian city. Siscia was colonized under Vespasian with fleet veterans from the Roman navy of Ravenna. This is known from a military diploma, issued under Vespasian on 5 April AD 71 (112), where it is stated that the veterans who had served in the navy of Ravenna under Sextus Iulius Bassus were settled in Pannonia (... *veteranis qui militaverunt in classe Ravennate sub Sex. Iulio Basso ... sunt deducti in Pannoniam* ...). The case of Marcus Minicius Saturninus, veteran and former *optio* of the praetorian navy from Ravenna, could perhaps be linked to this first phase of colonization, if indeed his tombstone could be dated to the late second half of the first century AD, which seems plausible. He had a family tombstone erected in his lifetime for himself and his wife Crispia Celerina, as well as for his sons Minicii Celer, Certus, and Gratus, and to his parents Minicii Calvus and Prisca (113). It should be noted that his parents had the same *gentilicium*, which probably

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(109) CIL III, 03955 = ILS 4293 = CBI 304 = HD072017; SELEM 1980, pp. 270-271 no. 2: *I(ovi) O(ptimo) M(aximo) / Heliopolitano / L(ucius) Virilius / Pupus b(ene)ff(iciarius) co(n)s(ularis) / v(otum) s(olvit) l(ibens) m(erito)*. / *Ne quis in hac / ara porcos agi / facere velit*.

(110) SELEM 1980, p. 270; NELIS-CLÉMENT 2000, p. 194.

(111) RADMAN-LIVAJA 2004, pp. 68-71 no. 126; RADMAN-LIVAJA 2012 (Mattock); RADMAN-LIVAJA 2004, p. 102 no. 388; RADMAN-LIVAJA, VUKELIĆ 2015, pp. 400-401.

(112) CIL XVI, 14 = ILS 1991 = EDCS-12300218 (MESIHOVIĆ 2011, p. 306; GRBIĆ 2014, pp. 125-126 no. 57); CHIRIAC, MIHAILESCU-BÎRLIBA, MATEI 2004.

(113) CIL III, 3971 = HD074365 = lupa 4312 = EDCS-26600430; RADMAN-LIVAJA, VUKELIĆ 2015, p. 399; 404; cf. MROZEWICZ 2015, p. 152.

sheds light on their freedman origin; it has been suggested that they originated from Dalmatia, but this is far from certain (114). The *gentilicium* Minicius, which is particularly frequent in Italy and Hispania (115), does not occur elsewhere in Siscia and is not present on the *tesserae*, but the name Saturninus (a very popular cognomen in Italy and all the western provinces) is attested on seven lead tags (116), Celer and Gratus on two, Calvus on one, and Prisca on five, while Crispus, Celerina, and Certus are not documented (117). In the opinion of Andreas Mócsy, Crispia Celerina would have been a native of Siscia (118); this does seem plausible, because the *gentilicium*, although rare otherwise, has been attested altogether three times at Siscia, also occurring several times in Gallia Narbonensis (119).

Less clear is the case of Gaius Antonius Sentinus, a veteran of the legion XIV *Gemina Martia Victrix*, who died at the age of 50. His tombstone from the late first or the beginning of the second centuries AD, a fragmentary stele with remains of once rich decoration, was erected for him by his heir. The scene in the niche can be reconstituted despite the fact that it was badly damaged: the deceased was depicted reclining on a *klinē* with a servant turned towards him. In front of the *klinē*, a tripod was placed with a *kantharos* on it, as well as a jug to the left of the tripod and a bottle to the right. Similar funerary monuments were produced for legionaries in both Germanias during the reigns of the Flavian emperors and Trajan, particularly at Mogontiacum (Mainz) and Colonia Agrippina (Köln) (120). Sentinus' family name is not particularly characteristic, and he may well have been recruited around the mid-first century AD from northern Italy or some early Romanized western province, where one of the Celtic languages predominated, if indeed his otherwise Latin cognomen (121) could be explained as having certain Celtic affinities and/or phonetic coincidences (122). The *gentilicium* Antonius is also attested on

(114) MÓCSY 1959, 57/2 (p. 211).

(115) OPEL III, 82; Epigraphik-Datenbank Clauss / Slaby.

(116) OPEL IV, 51-53; RADMAN-LIVAJA 2014, p. 259.

(117) RADMAN-LIVAJA 2014, p. 184 (Celer); 213 (Gratus); 178 (Calvus); 248 (Prisca).

(118) MÓCSY 1959, 57/2 (p. 211).

(119) OPEL II, 85; Crispus and Crispinus are very well documented on the *tesserae*,

RADMAN-LIVAJA 2014, p. 192.

(120) ŠKRGULJA, MIGOTTI 2015.

(121) SOLIN, SALOMIES 1994, p. 400.

(122) DELAMARRE 2007, p. 166; see, on this phenomenon, also RAEPSAET-CHARLIER 2012.

a *tessera*, as the family name of one Sido, whose ancestors or he himself undoubtedly originated from one of the eastern provinces of the Empire, where the Antonii were very frequent (123).

After the great Pannonian-Dalmatian Revolt, the legion XIV *Gemina* had been transferred, probably in AD 9, from Illyricum to Mogontiacum in Upper Germania, where it stayed until AD 43, when it was sent to Britannia. There it remained until AD 70, having acquired the title *Martia Victrix* under Nero in AD 61. In AD 68, the legion was temporarily sent either to Pannonia or Dalmatia. Since AD 70, however, it had once again been in Mogontiacum until it was transferred to Carnuntum, probably after AD 92, most likely in preparation for Domitian's war in Pannonia against the Marcomanni and Quadi in AD 96, which was ended under Nerva (124). It is not impossible to conjecture that for a short time under Domitian, the legion had been stationed at Mursella near Mursa, while a vexillation of this legion may have been sent to Siscia; hence Sentinus could have known the town from the period of his service (125).

A large cinerary urn, made in a workshop at Siscia under the influence of the Poetovio production centre, belonged to Marcus Aurelius Glabrio, a veteran of the legion XIV *Gemina*, a former *beneficiarius consularis*, who had the monument made in his lifetime for himself and his wife Septimia Matrona (126). Glabrio may have been stationed at Siscia as a *beneficiarius consularis* (127). The urn is from the third century AD, thus it is not surprising that these names are not attested on the *tesserae*. Matrona, however, does occur another time in Siscia: one Aelia Matrona is known from a sarcophagus, which she had erected in her lifetime for herself and her family (128). She has been classified as an indigenous inhabitant of Siscia (129), and if she could indeed be regarded

(123) RADMAN-LIVAJA 2014, 163.

(124) FRANKE 2000, pp. 197-198; STROBEL 2010, p. 155 (the third Pannonian war); RADMAN-LIVAJA 2012 (Army), pp. 170-171.

(125) RADMAN-LIVAJA 2012 (Army), p. 170; 175; DUŠANIĆ 1983, pp. 20-21 (2010, pp. 958-959); HOTI 1992, p. 143; ŠKRGULJA, MIGOTTI 2015, p. 39.

(126) *CIL* III, 3970 = *AIJ* 566 = *CBI* 313 = *HD*072027 = *lupa* 3801; MIGOTTI 2005 (Glabrio); MIGOTTI 2013, pp. 192-193, type II.3.5 fig. 13.

(127) See also RADMAN-LIVAJA, VUKELIĆ 2015, p. 399; RADMAN-LIVAJA, VUKELIĆ 2016, p. 211.

(128) *CIL* III, 3981 = *lupa* 22319; BUZOV 2002, pp. 177-178 fig. 4; MIGOTTI 2013, pp. 195-196, type II.5.1.

(129) MÓCSY 1959, 57/6 (p. 211).

as such, perhaps Septimia Matrona had also been a native-born inhabitant.

An unusual case is that of Sapia, son of Sarmosus, from Anazarbus in Cilicia, who served in the cohort *I Antiochensium* in Moesia Superior before his retirement; he is known from a military diploma of AD 100, found at Sisak (130). On the basis of this diploma, it has erroneously been assumed that the cohort was stationed in Pannonia under Vespasian (131), but neither this nor other documents relating to the cohort can serve as an argument for this hypothesis (132). The diploma would rather suggest that for one reason or another Sapia had settled at Siscia, where perhaps he had married; it certainly seems less likely that he would have stayed only a short time in the town while travelling, and had then lost his diploma. He may have become acquainted with Siscia during some unrecorded detached service (133). A similar case could be that of an anonymous soldier documented on a fragmentary diploma from the first half of the second century AD, also discovered at Sisak (134). The soldier's name is damaged, only his father's name Saraba has been preserved.

### *Some other families from Siscia*

While several residents of Siscia are attested abroad (135), many individuals must have come for longer or shorter periods to Siscia from elsewhere, but their place of origin is only exceptionally recorded on stone monuments. Such is the case of Titus Tullius Tertius, of the voting-tribe *Pupinia*, who was from Tergeste (modern Trieste). He died at Siscia in the first half of the first century AD, at the age of 50 (Fig. 7). Nothing more is known about him, not even who had commissioned his tombstone. It can only be hypothesized that he was most probably a merchant, businessman, or artisan (136). The *tesserae*, on the other hand, shed a most

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(130) *CIL* XVI, 46 (*AEp* 1912, 128) = *ILS* 9054 = *HD*028179; for the name Sapia, see ZGUSTA 1964, p. 456 § 1372a (from Lycia).

(131) WAGNER 1938, pp. 86-87; KRAFT 1951, p. 166 no. 1030.

(132) MÓCSY 1962, p. 621; LŐRINCZ 2001, p. 46.

(133) Cf. RADMAN-LIVAJA, VUKELIĆ 2015, pp. 399-400; 404.

(134) *CIL* XVI, 103 = *HD*027802; cf. *RMD* V, p. 702; for the name: MÓCSY 1959, 57/23 (p. 212).

(135) ŠAŠEL KOS 2017, forthcoming.

(136) *AIJ* 575 = *HD*023446 = *lupa* 3807; ZACCARIA 2015, p. 298 no. 6.

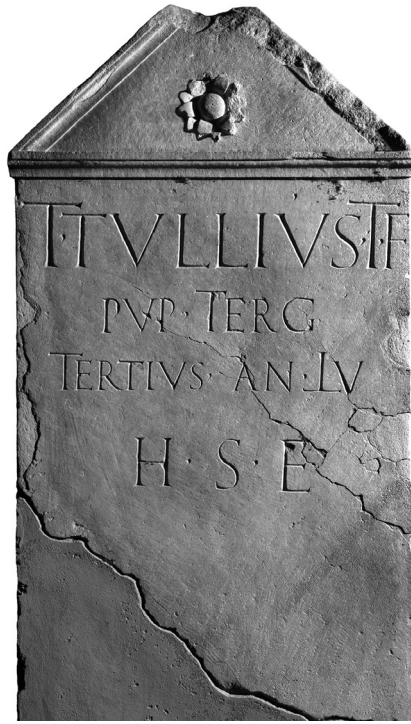


Fig. 7. Stele of *Titus Tullius Tertius*.

interesting light on the foreign origin of several clients of fullers and dyers in Siscia, from Orientals and Iberians to Africans and others; many must also have come to the city with the army (137).

Several residents of Siscia are recorded on dedications to various divinities (138); some dedicators bear other *gentilicia* than those that have already been commented, while some monuments deserve, for one reason or another, to be mentioned and discussed. Titus Aetius, with a damaged cognomen, erected an altar to Jupiter (139). His Latin *gentilicium* has not been documented to date in the western provinces and northern Italy (140), but it occurs a

(137) RADMAN-LIVAJA 2016.

(138) All are collected, including statuettes and other depictions, by BUZOV 2012; for Egyptian cults in Siscia see SELEM 1997; for the oriental deities in general: SELEM 1980, pp. 6-10; 182-186; 201-207; 217-223; 270-271 and *passim*.

(139) *CIL* III, 3946 = *EDCS*-28701033; SINOBAD 2010, p. 207 no. 165.

(140) SOLIN, SALOMIES 1994, p. 8; *OPEL* I does not record it.

few times in Rome and once perhaps in Dalmatia (141). One Marcus Iulius Vesnis is known from a dedication to Jupiter and to the Genius of the *colonia Siscia* (142). Vesnis is a name that cannot be linguistically defined with certainty, but it is probably not Celtic. According to Wolfgang Meid, the dedicator would not have been an indigenous inhabitant from Siscia, but had very likely come from Italy (143); earlier, it had been suggested that he might have originated from one of the western provinces (144).

An altar to Jupiter and the *Genius loci* was erected by an unknown dedicator (or dedicators?) for the well-being (*pro salute*) of Gaius Heius Capito and his wife Caecilia Rufina (145). Heius is a very rare family name, attested more frequently only in Hispania, while in Pannonia it only occurs in this case. Since the cognomen Capito is also well documented in the Iberian peninsula, more than anywhere else (146), this individual may have come from there to Siscia. One Aurelius Eutyches dedicated an altar to Sol invictus Mithras for the well-being of either Caracalla or Elagabalus (AD 211-222) (147). His Greek cognomen may indicate his origin in one of the eastern provinces, which would be in accordance with the eastern origin of the cult of Mithras. Two more dedications to Mithras are known from Siscia, one is a bronze *tabula ansata* dedicated by the «brothers» Aurelius Heraclides and Aurelius Agathopus (they, too, bearing Greek *cognomina*); probably they were not *fratres* by blood, but rather followers of the same cult association. The other dedication is an altar erected by an Imperial slave Iucundus, who held the responsible task of an Imperial treasurer in Upper Pannonia (*dispensator provinciae Pannoniae Superioris*) in the mid-second century AD or later (148). His dedication is a testimony to the existence of a sanctuary of Mithras in Siscia, since Iucundus made a vow to finance a portico and a place or room where preparations for the act of sacrifice (*apparatorium*)

(141) Epigraphik-Datenbank Clausz / Slaby; cf. *ILJug* 2568,3161.

(142) *CIL* III, 3951 = *EDCS*-28701036; *SINOBAD* 2010, p. 208 no. 170.

(143) *MEID* 2005, p. 306.

(144) *MÓCSY* 1959, 57/13 (p. 212).

(145) *CIL* III, 3952 = *AIJ* 538 = *EDCS*-26600422; *SINOBAD* 2010, p. 208 no. 171.

(146) *OPEL* II, 175 (Heius); 33 (Capito).

(147) *CIL* III, 3958 = *AIJ* 543 = *CIMRM* 1476 = *HD071830* (with additional literature); *SELEM* 1980, pp. 81-82 no. 10: several homonymous individuals were employed in the context of the *vectigal Illyrici*.

(148) «Brothers»: *CIL* III, 3959 = *AIJ* 544 = *CIMRM* 1477 = *HD071837* (with additional literature); *SELEM* 1980, p. 83 no. 13; *dispensator*: *CIL* III, 3960 = *CIMRM* 1478 = *HD071853*; cf. *WEAVER* 1972, p. 251; *SELEM* 1980, p. 82 no. 11.



could be carried out. Another interesting monument is a stone relief representing Cautes, with the inscribed name of a municipal slave Urbicus (149).

Silvanus was a popular god in Pannonia and Dalmatia and thus also at Siscia (150), where nine altars were dedicated to him. An altar was erected to Silvanus Domesticus by one Octavius Cornelianus (151). Octavii are attested almost everywhere and also in Pannonia, the name additionally occurring on three *tesserae*; it has been presumed that the dedicator had come from northern Italy (152). Silvanus with the epithet Domesticus was one of the most popular gods in Pannonia (153). Silvanus and Magla, rather than Silvanus Magla, were worshipped by Longinia Ingenua (154). Magla was a Celtic goddess: her name is derived from the Gallic *\*magalo-* (syncopated *\*maglo-*), corresponding to the Latin *magnus* and used as a substantive (155). Not much could be inferred from her name, but it can be assumed that her cult was complementary to that of Silvanus. A similar case is that of Vidasus and Thana from Topusko and its thermal springs (156), where otherwise Silvanus was the most worshipped divinity (157). Thana is an epichoric Pannonian name for Diana, while Vidasus could be linguistically compared to Silvanus, since his presumed Pannonian name (*\*Vidasas*) is based on the Old Indo-European word for «wood, tree, forest» (158). Until recently, Magla was interpreted as a Celtic epithet of Silvanus (and indeed Silvanus Magnus has been documented several times) (159), but there is no doubt that Magla or Magula was a Celtic goddess, who has also been attested at Carnuntum in association with Silvanus three or

(149) *CIL* III, 3977 = *AIJ* 556 = *CIMRM* 1473 = *lupa* 6028 = *HD*071852; SELEM 1980, pp. 83-84 no. 14: *Urbicus // Sisci/ano/rum*.

(150) DORCEY 1992, p. 72; 130 and *passim*; Map 6; PERINIĆ MURATOVIĆ, VULIĆ 2009; cf. MATIJAŠIĆ, TASSAUX 2000; DÉSZPA 2012, pp. 165-168 referring to Siscia.

(151) *CIL* III, 3962 = *EDCS*-28701044.

(152) On the *tesserae*: RADMAN-LIVAJA 2014, p. 239; from northern Italy: MÓCSY 1959, 57/15 (p. 212).

(153) PERINIĆ MURATOVIĆ, VULIĆ 2009.

(154) *CIL* III, 3963 = *AIJ* 548 = *HD*071838; PERINIĆ 2016, p. 97 no. 11.

(155) I am indebted to Luka REPANŠEK for the explanation.

(156) *AIJ* 516 = *HD*071802 = *lupa* 11599; *AIJ* 517 = *HD*052277; *AIJ* 518 = *HD*032883; *CIL* III, 3941 = *HD*071804; cf. DÉSZPA 2012, pp. 170-171.

(157) PERINIĆ 2016, pp. 9-10; 97, and *passim*.

(158) MEID 2005, pp. 51-52.

(159) Such as *ILJug* 3100 = *HD*027210 and *CIL* III, 13460 = *HD*016064; Magla as an epithet of Silvanus: DORCEY 1992, 72; 130; MEID 2004, p. 194; MEID 2005, pp. 50-51; PERINIĆ MURATOVIĆ, VULIĆ 2009, pp. 172-173; BUZOV 2012, p. 71; DÉSZPA 2012, p. 167 (quoted an obsolete explanation of Magla as a Celtic word for *puer* or *iuvenis*); cf. FALILEYEV 2014, 112.

four times (160). The worship of Silvanae at Siscia is proven by an altar found in the not too distant village of Topolovac, dedicated by one Marcus Iulius Ingenuus (161).

An Imperial freedman (*Augg. nn. libertus*) Augustinus, *tabularius provinciae*, dedicated an altar to Venus (162). The central office of the archives of Upper Pannonia (*tabularium*) was situated at Poetovio, but various *tabularii* were also active in other large Pannonian cities. An office was undoubtedly located at Siscia, as is indicated by the presence of Augustinus in the town.

One Ulpus Priscianus set up a dedication to all the gods and goddesses (163). The Ulpii are attested several times at Siscia, also on six lead tags (164). Hercules was worshiped by the above-mentioned Gaius Ingenuus Rufinianus, town councillor and *quaestor* of Siscia, and as *Herculeus Augustus* by one Lucius Spurius Restutianus (165). An altar was erected to Iuno Regina, and the goddess was worshipped with Jupiter, Best and Greatest, by two *magistri*, Aelius Valerius and Aelius Secundinus (166). Iuno was probably also honoured together with Iuppiter Optimus Maximus Conservator, Sol, and *Genius loci* by one Aurelius Antiochianus (167). An altar to Mars Marmogius was erected by two *magistri* of the religious association responsible for the cult of the god, Iunius Philocrates and Iulius Crispinus, who dedicated a statue on a semicircular couch to him (*signum cum stibadio*) (168).

Other hitherto not mentioned *gentes* are known from funerary inscriptions. An epitaph has been preserved on a sarcophagus, dedicated to the spirits of the departed, which Cassia Candida had erected for her dearest daughter Septumia Marcella, who was

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(160) TAEUBER 2005; BEUTLER 2012, pp. 19-21 (*AEp* 2012, 1156 and 1157); cf. KREMER 2012, p. 237 no. 506.

(161) *CIL* III, 10847 = *AIJ* 550 = *HD071847* = *lupa* 22539.

(162) *CIL* III, 3964 = *EDCS*-28701045; ŠAŠEL 1974, p. 736 (1992, p. 617); FITZ 1993, p. 392.

(163) *CIL* III, 10835 = *EDCS*-29900780.

(164) RADMAN-LIVAJA 2014, p. 276.

(165) For Ingenuus: *AIJ* 528 and the note above; for Restutianus: *CIL* III, 10837 = *AIJ* 529 = *HD056617*; see below.

(166) *CIL* III, 10845 = 15179 = *AIJ* 539 = *HD071823* = *lupa* 11531; *CIL* III, 10845 is only the lower part of the altar that was erroneously attributed to Mars (?) Custos, see *EDCS*-29900783.

(167) Iuno Regina: *CIL* III, 10838 = *AIJ* 532 = *HD071816* = *lupa* 6025; *IOMC* and other deities: *CIL* III, 10841 = *AIJ* 536 = *CIMRM* 1479 = *HD071820*; SELEM 1980, 83 no. 12; the dedicatory was not necessarily from Antiochia, see on such *cognomina*, GREGORI 1999, p. 91.

(168) *CIL* III, 10844 = *ILS* 4574 = *AIJ* 542 = *HD067309* = *lupa* 11579; HAINZMANN 2011, p. 213 no. 6.

only 20 years old (169). The *gentilicium* Cassius is frequent in the Roman Empire, but only one more Cassia is known in Siscia: Cassia Ignastia appears on a *tessera*, Ignastia being a *hapax* (170). The name Candidus/a, on the other hand, was a very popular name among the Sisciani, since it is attested nine times on stone monuments, as well as on seven *tesserae* (171). The name Marcellus/a does not appear on the tags, but Marcellinus/a does (172).

Other *gentilicia* that appear on the epitaphs of Siscia are Numisius, Pomponius, Ravonius, Sempronius, Valentinus, Vitalius, and Urbicius. None of these, except Numisius, are recorded on the *tesserae*, on which *tria* or *duo nomina* are relatively rarely mentioned. Sempronius mentioned on a tag as Seppronius was probably a personal name (173). A tombstone from the territory of Siscia belonged to the family of Gaius Numisius Ursinus and Pomponia Iuventilla, while one Numisia Tripena is attested on a lead tag. Tripena may well have been an indigenous Pannonian name, hence she could have been of a freedman origin; the Numisii had most probably come from Italy or perhaps from Hispania to settle at Siscia (174). The *gentilicium* Pomponius is also well documented in Italy and Hispania, as well as in Dalmatia, while it is rare in Pannonia, where it is only attested three times (175).

In the late Roman period, children were only given one personal name, and the previously usual three or two names, a typically Roman onomastic formula, gradually disappeared. An epitaph from the fourth century AD for a small boy, whose age at death was stated exactly to the hour, is touching in its very precision: «Eternal dwelling. To Gaudentius, the most devoted son, who lived 6 years, 6 months, 10 days, 8 hours of the night. He fulfilled the duty imposed upon him by fate» (176). The mention of the *Domus aeterna* does not necessarily mean that the tombstone is Christian, although the reference to it is also found in Christian

(169) CIL III, 3992 = *lupa* 4311; BUZOV 2002, pp. 176-177; MIGOTTI 2013, pp. 190-191, type II.3.2.

(170) RADMAN-LIVAJA 2014, pp. 182-183.

(171) RADMAN-LIVAJA 2014, p. 179.

(172) RADMAN-LIVAJA 2014, p. 226.

(173) RADMAN-LIVAJA 2014, p. 261.

(174) RADMAN-LIVAJA 2014, p. 239; 274.

(175) OPEL III, 151-152.

(176) CIL III, 15181,2 = AIJ 572 = ILCV 3659a = HD072124 = *lupa* 3805; MIGOTTI 1997, p. 52, III.c.9; cf. BUZOV 2002, p. 187; ŠAŠEL KOS 2006, pp. 196-197: *Dom(us) aet[erna]. / Gaudenti[o] / filio piissim[o] / qui vix(it) an(nos) VI, / m(enses) VI, d(ies) X, b(orae) n(octis) / VIII. Fati m(unus) c(omplevit).*

epitaphs (177). The name Gaudentius was much more popular in the late Roman period and among the Christians than earlier (178). Because the inscription is fragmentary, the name is damaged and has therefore been explained by Viktor Hoffiller (*AIJ*) either as the name of the son (*Gaudenti[o], filio piissimo*) or as the name of the father (*Gaudenti[us] filio piissimo*). However, there is hardly any doubt that the name Gaudentius refers to the son, since it is to be expected that the name of the deceased should be mentioned in an epitaph (179). The first three lines should preferably be read as *Dom(us) aet[erna] / -ernalis] / Gaudenti[o] / filio piissim[o]* etc., «Eternal home of Gaudentius, etc.», since in vulgar Latin the dative could have been used in place of the genitive (180).

A specific case is represented by an unusual late Roman tombstone made of reddish limestone, now in the Hungarian National Museum in Budapest, which was erected for a master of the entertainment actors in mimes (Fig. 8). He was a centenarian. It reads: «To the divine spirits of the departed. Here lies Leburna, master of mime actors, who lived more or less a hundred years. I died several times but never in this manner. I hope you are well in the upper



Fig. 8. Tombstone of *Leburna*, master of mime actors.

(177) *ILCV* 3650-3680.

(178) KAJANTO 1965, p. 260; ALFÖLDY 1969, p. 209.

(179) See *ILJug*, add. p. 6\*.

(180) As in *ILCV*; kindly confirmed by Denis FEISSEL.

world» (181). The name Leburna is a *hapax*, obviously derived from the Liburni, who lived along the northern coastal regions of the eastern Adriatic and on the islands. The name Liburnus, too, only occurs once in Dalmatia (182). A similarly witty funerary text, written in Greek, has come to light in Aquileia, erected for a mime actress (*mima*) Bassilla by one of her co-actors (*biologos*) Heraclides (183). Actors and actresses in comic performances are epigraphically well documented, particularly in Rome and other Italian cities (184), but more rarely in provincial towns. Leburna's relatives or co-actors, or possibly his heir, clearly wished that even after his death his epitaph should reflect his profession of entertaining the audience.

### *The case of an inscribed bowl fragment*

A specific case is represented by a list of persons inscribed on a fragment of a bowl (Fig. 9), which seems to be unique in southern Pannonia. This ceramic bowl or plate was found in 2001 during archaeological excavations in the centre of Sisak, in front of the Holy Cross Church on Ban Jelačić Square, where the remains of the southwestern city walls, a tower, and a *horreum* were discovered. Similar ceramic plates and shallow bowls from the second and early third centuries are known elsewhere in Pannonia (185). On the bottom of the fragmentary bowl a list of ten or eleven names is inscribed: [F]irmianus / Rufin[a?] / Victorine / Valeri / [C?]larevinator / Sextilla / Kardo / Sasura / Salviane / Silvane (186). Each line contains one name, except probably the fifth; the editors prefer to read two names in this line: (C)larus and Vinator, which they explain as Venator. They would rather regard the first name as Clarus and not Larus (the first letter may be missing because of the break), and Venator as a name and not as Clarus' occupation, i.e. a hunter (187). Presumably all names ex-

(181) *AIJ* 570 = *CIL* III, 3980 = *ILS* 5228 = *HD*072123 = *lupa* 3804; BUZOV 2002, pp. 186-187 fig. 15; ŠAŠEL KOS 2006, pp. 195-196 fig. 4.

(182) *OPEL* III, 25.

(183) *Inscr. Aquil.* 710; ZACCARIA 1994, p. 86 no. 1: ... πολλάκις ἐν θυμέλαις, ἀλλ' οὐχ οὕτω δὲ θανούση.

(184) See, for Cisalpina, ZACCARIA 1994.

(185) WIEWEGH 2001.

(186) DEMICHELI, RADMAN-LIVAJA, WIEWEGH 2012.

(187) *IIDEM*, pp. 188-189; Venator is a very rare *cognomen*, but it occurs twice in Pannonia: *OPEL* IV, 153.

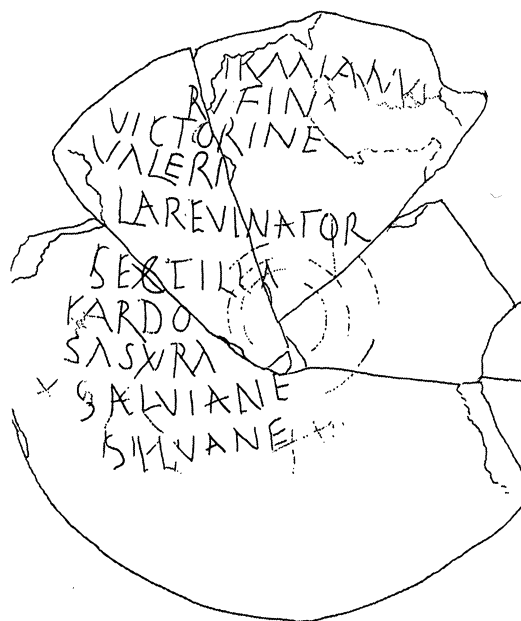


Fig. 9. Inscribed fragment of a ceramic bowl.  
From DEMICHELI, RADMAN-LIVAJA, WIEWEGH 2012, 189.

cept the first one are in vocative. Some of the names, such as Firmianus (derived from the common name Firmus), or Victorinus, would rather point to the third century, and the editors would be inclined to date the inscription to the Severan period. As they have observed, it is not possible to say what had been the social status of the persons mentioned in this list, which they tentatively explained as a list of guests invited to a feast, or as the names of persons involved in a joke or a game (188).

The fact that nobody has a *gentilicium* does not necessarily mean that they did not possess Roman citizenship, because such lists often only note the cognomen. It can also be observed that no names are characteristic of slaves (189). Rufina, Victorinus, Valerius, Salvianus, and Silvanus are all Latin names, which are rather frequent in Pannonia (190). Most interestingly, in Siscia the female name Rufina occurs several times (once as Rufinna),

(188) DEMICHELI, RADMAN-LIVAJA, WIEWEGH 2012, pp. 190-191.

(189) IDEM, 190.

(190) OPEL, s.v.

but not the male counterpart, Rufinus, which occurs twice on the *tesserae* (191); all in all, the name is very well attested in the town. Victorinus is a well documented name in Siscia (see above, for a member of the upper and middle class) and is twice also attested as a cognomen of citizens from Siscia serving abroad (192). The personal name Victorinus is further known from a Christian epitaph found in the town (193). Expectedly, no Victorini are documented on the *tesserae*, since these are mainly dated to the first two centuries AD (194).

Valerius is attested as a cognomen elsewhere in Pannonia (195) and notably also in Siscia, in a dedication to Jupiter, Best and Greatest, and Juno, erected by the two *magistri* (chief officers of the religious association) Aelius Valerius and Aelius Secundinus (196). However, the Valerii, a very common *gentilicium*, were, as has been noted, one of the best documented families in Siscia, known both as members of the municipal aristocracy and members of the Roman army (see *supra*). The name Valerius also occurs on several *tesserae*, as a *gentilicium*, a cognomen, and a personal name (197). Neither Salvianus nor Silvanus have so far been attested at Siscia, but Salvius and Salvia are known from the *tesserae* (198). The Latin names Firmianus and Sextilla are relatively rare (199), and neither appears elsewhere in Siscia.

While Clarus is a frequent Latin name, particularly in Italy, but much less so in Dalmatia and Pannonia (200), Larus has so far not been attested, although a Latin *gentilicium* Larius is known (201). Kardo is an interesting cognomen, which the editors defined as presumably Latin (note the initial K instead of C) and a *hapax*, and indeed, according to Heikki Solin, it should be compared to names such as Fenestra, Ianua, Murus, which Iiro Kajanto classi-

(191) RADMAN-LIVAJA 2014, p. 254.

(192) *CIL* VIII, 2586, v. 22 = *ILS* 2381 = *CBI* 783 = *AEP* 2010, 1828 = *EDCS*-58800037; *CIL* III, 3166 = *DOBÓ* 1975, no. 262 = *NOLL* 1986, p. 69 no. 275 = *HD*056762.

(193) *CIL* III, 3996a = *ILCV* 1686 = *MIGOTTI* 1997, 41 = *EDCS*-29200145.

(194) RADMAN-LIVAJA 2014, pp. 144-147.

(195) *OPEL* IV, 142: relatively frequently attested.

(196) *CIL* III, 10845 = 15179 = *AJJ* 539 = *HD*071823 = *Iupa* 11531.

(197) RADMAN-LIVAJA 2014, p. 278.

(198) RADMAN-LIVAJA 2014, p. 257.

(199) *OPEL* II, 141; IV 79; *SOLIN, SALOMIES* 1994, p. 402 (for Sextilla).

(200) *OPEL* II, 59; see also *SOLIN, SALOMIES* 1994, p. 314.

(201) *SOLIN, SALOMIES* 1994, p. 101; *DEMICHELI, RADMAN-LIVAJA, WIEWEGH* 2012, pp. 188-189.

fied in the group of names derived from parts of a building (202). The name would in this case be derived from *cardo* in the meaning of a pivot forming the hinge of a door. The only name that would have been Celtic or perhaps Pannonian (?) is the so far unattested Sasura, for which some parallels could be found in Celtic speaking regions, such as Saserus or Sasouna (203).

### *Two curse tablets*

The curse tablet, in which the river god Savus was invoked to harm the adversaries of the authors of the text in some lawsuit, is written in Latin and represents an unusual case of a judicial curse tablet. It was found in 1913 at Sisak among material dredged from the Kupa River (called the Colapis in antiquity) (204). The names of six legal opponents appear on the inner side of the small lead tablet; not only Savus but also Muta Tagita – most probably Tacita Muta, the goddess of silence – were asked to silence them (205). An appeal to Savus was also inscribed on the exterior side; no other curse tablet is known in the western part of the Roman Empire, in which a river deity would have been invoked. The text was composed in vulgar Latin. The adversaries were not local people, but partly individuals from abroad and partly from another Pannonian town, shedding light on the lively commercial activities at Siscia. The town was situated along a significant navigable route at the juncture of the Colapis and the Savus, which continued further along the Danube. Siscia was also well placed on the main and only direct continental route linking the Appenine and Balkan peninsulas.

Three adversaries were most probably from Cibalae (present-day Vinkovci), a town in Lower Pannonia since the division of the province under Trajan, which became a *municipium* under Hadrian and *colonia Aurelia* under Caracalla (206). These were Gaius Domitius Secundus, Lucius Larcus, and Secund(i)us Va-

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(202) DEMICHELI, RADMAN-LIVAJA, WIEWEGH 2012, p. 189; SOLIN 2015 (*Analecta*), p. 198; KAJANTO 1965, p. 347.

(203) DEMICHELI, RADMAN-LIVAJA, WIEWEGH 2012, pp. 189-190.

(204) *AIJ* 557 = *HD*027805; KROPP 2008, 8.1.1; MARCO SIMÓN, RODÀ DE LLANZA 2008 (*AEp* 2008, 1080); cf. *AEp* 2010, 109.

(205) MARCO SIMÓN, RODÀ DE LLANZA 2008, pp. 172-176.

(206) ISKRA-JANOŠIĆ 2004.



carus; the first two are mentioned twice in the text. Domitii are relatively frequent in the Roman Empire and are also documented at Siscia (207), while Larcii are only attested a few times in northern Italy, Dalmatia, and Pannonia, but are more numerous in Rome and the rest of Italy (208). The name *Vacarus* is a *hapax* (209). Publius Citronius Cicorellius from Narbo in Gallia and Lucius Licinius Sura from Hispania are mentioned next. Lucilius Valens, the last individual, is mentioned without an *origo*. Lucilii are frequent in northern Italy and Gallia Narbonensis, but also in Dalmatia and Pannonia (210). Perhaps he was from Siscia, where the family is attested three or four times on stone monuments, and also on *tesserae* (211), on which the cognomen Valens is well documented (212). Citronius is an extremely rare family name, only known three times in Italy and once in Rome (213), while the cognomen Cicorellius has not been attested elsewhere. Recently, Lucius Licinius Sura has been identified with the Roman senator, probably from Tarraco, three times consul (*ordinarius* in AD 102 and 107) (214) and a close friend and adviser of Trajan (215). However, it seems most unlikely that he would have been involved in a lawsuit at Siscia, together with a group of quite insignificant individuals (216). Obviously some Hispanic Licinii chose the name Sura for their son (217), since it was a well-known phenomenon that families of various social classes sometimes chose a famous name for their child (218).

A lead tablet found in 1898 in the river bed of the Kupa (Colapis) is also quite interesting, a *defixio* inscribed with Greek letters

(207) *OPEL* II, 105-106.

(208) *OPEL* III, 19; Epigraphik-Datenbank Clauss / Slaby; Epigraphic Database Roma.

(209) Only the *defixio* from Siscia is quoted in the *OPEL* IV, 137.

(210) *OPEL* III, 35; also attested as a *cognomen*; in Siscia documented both as *gentilicium* and *cognomen*.

(211) RADMAN-LIVAJA 2014, p. 224.

(212) *OPEL* IV, 139-140; RADMAN-LIVAJA 2014, p. 277.

(213) *OPEL* II, 58; *CIL* VI, 15498 = *EDCS*-09600373; *CIL* XI, 2073 = *EDR* 144603.

(214) Tarraco: RODÀ 2014, especially 31; consul: ECK 2009, p. 168; 173.

(215) RODÀ 2014; ECK 1970, p. 144 n. 137; 150; 152; ECK 1985, pp. 155-156?; cf. BENNETT 1997, p. 88; STROBEL 2010, pp. 236-301, on both Dacian wars, on Sura *passim*, particularly pp. 158-163.

(216) Thus also JONES 1970, p. 100 n. 30.

(217) According to *OPEL* (IV, 101), Sura was a relatively rare name, attested, e.g., four times in northern Italy and three times in Hispania, but it occurs often on the tags. However, in several of these cases Sura was a female name, corresponding to the masculine Surus: RADMAN-LIVAJA 2014, p. 269.

(218) SOLIN 2015 (*Nomen*), p. 31.



Fig. 10. *Defixio* from the Kupa River, inscribed with Greek letters.  
From CURBERA, JORDAN 1996, Pl. 3.

(Fig. 10). It has five nail-holes: the tablet was thrice folded horizontally before it was pierced. It contains 29 names, while below them five magical *characteres* were inscribed, not noticed by the first editors (219). According to Jaime Curbera and David Jordan, the letter-forms suggest the third century AD; the most noteworthy linguistic feature is the doubling of *t* after other consonants (Kallistos, Opttata, and Kertta). When the tablet was first published (220), it was believed that the fourth line and the first word of the fifth were not names but referred to Eupor, who would have had the curse written (*Eupor epiteúxas apósima*). In actual fact, the tablet is only inscribed with names: Genealis, Ianuaria, Seranos, Eupor, Epiteuxsis, Posilla, Festa, Ouitales, Kosmos, Philetos, Opttata, Karpe, Mammos, Preibatos, Eutychas, Heraklas,

(219) *AIJ* 526 = CURBERA, JORDAN 1996 = KOVÁCS 2007, no. 69 = HD035604.

(220) *AIJ* 526.

Apreion, Felix, Attikos, Euplous, Kallisttos, Hermes, Sosis, Laberis, Doryphoros, Kreskes, Gratos, Kertta, Gratiola. 19 names are masculine, 8 feminine, and 2 ambiguous (Genealis, Ouitales). The editors classified 16 names as Latin (Posilla is the frequent name Pusilla) and 12 as Greek, while Mammos should be regarded as «Lallname», occurring in several linguistic areas (221).

The Greek names are Eupor (Latinized for Eúporos), Epiteuxsis, Kosmos, Philetos, possibly Karpe, Eutychas (i.e. Eutyches), Heraklas (!), Euplous, Kallisttos, Hermes (222), Sosis, and Doryphoros. However, Curbera and Jordan expressed doubts about Sosis being a Greek name and would prefer to explain it as a syncopated Latin *gentilicium* Sosius/Sossius. Nothing much can be said about the social status of the persons listed in the *defixio*, as in such texts the names of individuals are usually rendered with single names, i.e. mainly with *cognomina*. Only one name is undoubtedly a *gentilicium*: the syncopated Laberis for Laberius, frequent particularly in Italy and Hispania; hence, it seems that Sosis should rather be regarded as a Greek name. Most of the Latin names on the tablet frequently occur in northern Italy, such as Festus, Pusilla, Vitalis, Optatus, Aprio, Laberius, and Gratus, which is in accordance with immigration from this area to Pannonia (223). On the other hand, it is quite striking that a name such as Gratiola, derived from Gratus, has not been attested to date in northern Italy and the western provinces (224). Curbera and Jordan presume that she could have been the daughter of Gratus, mentioned in the same line (225). Preibatos, i.e. Privatus, is a frequent name, especially also in northern Italy, but is much more widespread in Dalmatia and Noricum than in Pannonia (226). Seranus is documented particularly in Hispania and it would not be unusual to see another *Hispanus* in Siscia, in addition to Lucius Licinius Sura mentioned in the *defixio* addressed to Savus (227); several immigrants from Hispania may be attested on the *tesserae* (228).

(221) CURBERA, JORDAN 1996, p. 45.

(222) *Hermes* must have been one of the most popular Greek names, DRAGOSTIN 2013, pp. 90-91 (annexe 2).

(223) MÓCSY 1959, pp. 94-100; HARDING, JACOBSEN 1988; cf. also GREGORATTI 2013.

(224) Not a single instance is cited in the *OPEL*.

(225) CURBERA, JORDAN 1996, p. 46 n. 2 and 48.

(226) *OPEL* III, 164.

(227) *OPEL* IV, 71; CURBERA, JORDAN 1996, p. 46 n. 2.

(228) RADMAN-LIVAJA 2016.

Some of the names from the curse tablet also appear on the lead tags; most notably Ianuarius/ Ianuaria, which occurs on six of them. Due to the great popularity of the name in Pannonia (and elsewhere in the Celtic speaking provinces, because of similarity with certain Celtic names) (229), this is not at all surprising. Sulpicia Ianuaria had Roman citizenship (Sulpicii are otherwise not attested in Siscia), others such as Candida Ianuari, Ianuaria Crescentis, and Ianuarius Successi were of peregrine status (230). Pusillus and Pusilla also appear on the tags, Spuria Pusilla was most probably a Roman citizen (231), and it should be noted that Spurii have already been documented in Siscia: the above-mentioned Lucius Spurius Restutianus erected an altar to Hercules (*Herculeni(!) Augusto*). He perhaps came from northern Italy to settle in the town (232), but the evidence is not conclusive. Festus and Festa were most popular names in Siscia (and also elsewhere), both on stone monuments and on the lead tags, where they appear 19 times. All bearers of the name seem to have been of peregrine status, except perhaps Festa Fortunata, in which case Festa may have been a *gentilicium* as is known from Cisalpine Gaul, in Verona (233). However, the tag may have referred to two women (234). Vitalis, frequent everywhere, is attested once on a stone monument and 8 times on the *tesserae*; this may have either been a masculine or a feminine name (235).

Philetus is also attested on a *tessera*, as a cognomen borne by one Flavius, a Roman citizen and possibly a freedman (236). Flavii are very well attested at Siscia, eleven times including members of the Roman army serving abroad, which is not at all surprising for a *colonia Flavia*, settled with fleet veterans. Consequently, several freedmen of the Flavii are equally to be expected in the town. Optata is documented once on a lead tag, it is possibly a slave's name (237). The origin of the name Karpe is not clear and it should be noted that on two tags the name Carpo or Carpus are

(229) OPEL II, 189-190; WEDENIG 2014, pp. 342-343; 347.

(230) RADMAN-LIVAJA 2014, pp. 215-216.

(231) RADMAN-LIVAJA 2014, p. 250.

(232) CIL III, 10837 = *AIJ* 529 = SANADER 1994, 105 no. 34 = HD056617 = *lupa* 11526; cf. MÓCSY 1959, 57/16 (p. 212).

(233) CIL V, 3638 = EDCS-04202691 (Festa Corollina); SOLIN, SALOMIES 1994, p. 78.

(234) RADMAN-LIVAJA 2014, p. 205.

(235) RADMAN-LIVAJA 2014, p. 284.

(236) RADMAN-LIVAJA 2014, p. 244.

(237) RADMAN-LIVAJA 2014, p. 240; SOLIN 1996, pp. 110-111.

documented. *Carpus* is not a frequent name, occurring – according to the evidence in *OPEL* – seven times in northern Italy, four times in Hispania and Dalmatia, three times in Gallia Narbonensis, and sporadically elsewhere. The name is difficult to explain but *Carp(i)us* may be an indigenous name in Illyricum, characteristic of the *Delmatae*, *Iapodes*, and *Pirustae* (238). Ivan Radman-Livaja hypothesized that *Carpo* on one of the tags could be in the nominative (and not in dative masculine) and thus this would be a female name; he cited the name from the *defixio* as a parallel (239). *Mam(m)a* appears three times on the tags; in two cases where it is inscribed alone, the origin of the name is unclear, it may be autochthonous or Latin, or even more likely a «Lallname», but in one instance the name is documented as *Mamma Acutia*, in a probably inverted order of the two names, since seemingly *Acutia* is a *gentilicium* and should have been inscribed first (240).

*Privatus* (rendered in Greek letters as *Preibatos*) is a relatively common name, twice attested on the tags, once probably borne by a Roman citizen: *T. A(u)gustius Privatus*. The *gentilicium*, derived from the cognomen *Augustus* (*Agustius* would have been a *bapax*), occurs once in Gallia Lugdunensis and a few times in Gallia Belgica and Germaniae; the man may perhaps have come to Siscia from one of these provinces (241). It should be noted that *tria nomina* occur rather seldom on the tags. *Felix*, which could have also been a feminine name, is documented four times on the tags; the first person styled himself as *P(ublii) Abuli(i) Felix*, and was most probably a slave of a Roman citizen *Publius Abulius*. The *gentilicium* is rather rare (242); according to *OPEL*, it would have only been documented in Hispania to date. It is interesting that one *(H)ispanus Felicis* was named on another tag; he was not necessarily from Hispania, as his father may have given him the name after the legion *IX Hispana*, stationed in the early first century in Siscia (243), and there are other possibilities of how he could have acquired his name. However, links with Hispania

(238) KATIČIĆ 1963, p. 265; RENDIĆ-MIOČEVIĆ 1989, p. 754 (according to him, once at *Alburnus* in Dacia, once in Dalmatia, at *Udbina*, Lika, *CIL* III, 10030 = *HD061299*); cf. also ALFÖLDY 1969, p. 171.

(239) RADMAN-LIVAJA 2014, pp. 181-182.

(240) RADMAN-LIVAJA 2014, p. 226.

(241) RADMAN-LIVAJA 2014, p. 169 (*A(u)gustius*); 248 (*Privatus*); *OPEL* I, 95 (*Augustius*); III, 164 (*Privatus*).

(242) RADMAN-LIVAJA 2014, p. 156; 205.

(243) *Ibid.*

did exist in Siscia, as is attested beyond doubt by the case of Lucius Licinius Sura «Isspanus» on the curse tablet addressed to the river god Savus.

Atticus also appears once on a tag. It is a frequent Latin cognomen, especially in Italy, but it was particularly popular also in the Celtic-speaking provinces, including Noricum (244), perhaps due to a certain similarity with Celtic names. In Pannonia it only occurs three times. Atticus may have come from the mentioned regions, or may have been a (Celtic speaking) native from Siscia. Since the *gens Nigidia* is mentioned on the other side of the tag (in genitive plural: *Nigidiorum*), he could have been employed by the family or may have even been their slave (245). Also Callistus is known from a tag, and since this is one of the most frequent Greek names appearing in Latin inscriptions, and often given to slaves, he may have been a slave, like Kallisttos on the curse tablet, which of course is not at all certain (246). The name Gratus appears on two *tesserae* as a patronymic of one Vitalis and Acutus; the latter appears six times on the tags, Vitalis eight times (247). As was already mentioned, Vitalis could have been a masculine or a feminine name, and obviously it was very popular in Siscia. Gratus is also known from the above-mentioned interesting epitaph from Siscia, as the name of one of the sons of Marcus Minicius Saturninus, veteran of the praetorian navy from Ravenna (248).

Crescens must have been one of the most popular *cognomina* and personal names in Siscia, since it occurs on 17 tags and also on the above-mentioned tombstone of Pontius Lupus, *Augustalis*, on which one Domitius Crescens is mentioned (249). In five cases it is written as Cresces (and once as Cresses), in a similar vulgar Latin manner as our Kreskes. Since the name is so frequent in the Roman Empire, particularly also in northern Italy (250) (which undoubtedly influenced its frequency in Siscia), and characteristic of all social classes, it is not possible to say much about the origin or social status of its bearers. Most of the persons named

(244) OPEL I, 89.

(245) RADMAN-LIVAJA 2014, p. 169.

(246) RADMAN-LIVAJA 2014, p. 178. SOLIN 1996, pp. 394-395.

(247) RADMAN-LIVAJA 2014, p. 213 (Gratus); 157 (Acutus: possibly a slave name, SOLIN 1996, p. 60); 284 (Vitalis).

(248) CIL III, 3971 = *lupa* 4312; cf. RADMAN-LIVAJA, VUKELIĆ 2015, p. 399; 404.

(249) Tags: RADMAN-LIVAJA 2014, pp. 190-191; tombstone: CIL III, 3974 = *lupa* 4310.

(250) OPEL II, 83-84.

on the tags must have been of peregrine status, rather than slaves, although the name was also popular as a slave name (251). Only one of them was certainly a Roman citizen: Lucilius Cresce(n)s.

### *The limited implications of the names*

The majority of the *cognomina* borne by the inhabitants of Siscia are Latin, many are very common, such as Candidus, which must have been – as has been seen – particularly popular in Siscia. Some *cognomina* are rare or unusual, such as Corinthia, which is only documented as a *gentilicium* in Aquileia (252). Cognomina that do not appear in the *Repertorium* of Latin names of Solin and Salomies and are not Greek (not counting the names on the *tesserae*), are as follows: Sapia (a man's name) and Sarmosus from Cilicia, Aucissa, Cicorelliu(s), Ciles, [C]rasarus ([C]rasari, in genitive), Creciana (?Gr(a)eciana?), Mammos (also on three tags as Mam(m)a), Pelo, Pritimve(ius?), Sasura (which may be Celtic or Pannonian), Sipa, Solo, Tato, Vacarus, and Vesnis. Tato and Vacarus may have been indigenous 'Illyrian'-Pannonian names. In most cases nothing precise can be established about the origin or ethnic identities of the persons bearing these names, except in rare cases when this is recorded, such as the mentioned Sapia and Sarmosus or the discussed case of Lucius Licinius Sura, Hispanus.

Several Greek *cognomina* and personal names have already been discussed when commenting on the curse tablet written in Greek. Among other Greek names the following can be listed: Acastus (the name was borne by one of the Argonauts), Agathopus, and Alexsius, which is a Latinized and slightly corrupted form of the Greek name Alexios; the name was particularly popular in the later Byzantine Empire. Further Greek names are Antioc(h)ianus, Appianus, Artemas, Asclepiades, Calemerus, Diogenes, Doryphoros, Epiteuxsis, Eulymenus, Gaeianos, Hegector, Heraclides, Metrobalanus, Narcissianus, Narcissus, Nicander, Philocrates, Sosis, and Treptus. Several more are documented on the lead tags, where altogether 47 names have been identified as Greek or probably Greek (253).

(251) SOLIN 1996, pp. 51-52.

(252) SOLIN, SALOMIES 1994, p. 482; *Inscr. Aquil.* 1032; 2121.

(253) RADMAN-LIVAJA 2014, p. 292.

Although the majority of the names on the *tesserae* are Latin (386 of 743 attested), 163 names have been classified as Celtic or probably Celtic, while 51 names could be identified as 'Illyrian'/Pannonian, or 'Illyrian' in the broad sense of the word (254). Some names from these two groups will certainly be revised and some have been so already, by the author himself and Alexander Falileyev. As they noted: «Indeed, although the examination of this data has shown the dominance of Roman and Italian names (53%) on the lead *tesserae* found in the area, there is still a significant amount of Celtic anthroponyms, such as *Atedunus*, *Bouda*, *Conertus*, *Congonius*, *Exomnius* (or *Exomnus*), *Mogio*, and *Resimarus*» (255). There are other unproblematic names, such as *Saetibogus*, *Verca*, *Verina*, and *Vinda*, as well as two names not attested elsewhere, *Adgenunus* and *Pisstana*, while in terms of Celtic identity, the names *Ricirenos* and *Vercocongos* are problematic, and the name *Unuavus* should preferably be explained as 'Illyrian' and not Celtic (256).

Several names appear more frequently on the *tesserae* than others. The following occur five or more times, which means that they were popular in the first two centuries AD, more precisely from the second half of the first century to the Severan period. Who were their bearers is generally difficult to establish, since they could be local people or immigrants, or individuals in transit, who only stopped at Siscia when travelling or on a business trip. Of these frequent ones, the imperial Flavii (and Domitii that occur four times), Iulii, and Ulpii are among the indisputable *gentilicia*, except possibly a few cases of Iulii. Others are *cognomina* or personal names, while a few are used both as a *gentilicium* or a personal name. In this group of frequent names the following should be listed (feminine forms are not mentioned separately): *Acutus*, *Adiutor*, *Bato*, *Breucus*, *Candidus*, *Capito*, *Celsus*, *Censorinus*, *Claudius*, *Crescens*, *Crispinus* and *Crispus*, *Cupitus*, *Dasius*, *Domesticus*, *Festus*, *Firmus*, *Fortis*, *Fuscus*, *Gemellus*, *Ianuarius*, *Ingenuus*, *Iustus*, *Liccaius*, *Licinius*, *Lucilius*, *Lucius*, *Marcus*, *Maximus*, *Mucc(i)us*, *Nigellus*, *Niger*, *Primus*, *Proculus*, *Roman(i)us*, *Sabinus*, *Saturninus*, *Scenua* (feminine name), *Secundus*, *Severus*, *Sextus*, *Speratus*, *Statius*, *Successus*, *Sura* and

(254) RADMAN-LIVAJA 2014, pp. 288-291.

(255) FALILEYEV, RADMAN-LIVAJA 2016, p. 49.

(256) FALILEYEV 2014, p. 110; 130-133 (for *Unuavus*).



Surus (28 times), Tertius, Titus, Tritus, Urbanus, Valerius, Vera (attested is only the feminine form), Vibius, and Vitalis.

Mucc(i)us is the name that is most frequently attested on the *tesserae*, although the frequency of this name very probably does not mean that so many clients were called Mucc(i)us. It occurs on 46 tags and may have been a personal name rather than a *gentilicium*, suggesting that one Muc(i)us was a fuller or launderer or dyer, or perhaps an owner of a fuller's shop (257).

The corpus of names from the lead tags is an excellent starting point for further onomastic research. Most of the languages that were spoken in the Adriatic and eastern Alpine regions, as well as in the Balkans, are unidentifiable or only known to a limited extent, based on the epigraphically attested Roman period personal names and a known geographical distribution of peoples and tribes. The names can often be classified as belonging to a particular language, but they do not tell us whether their bearers actually spoke this language. A person with a Greek or a Celtic name did not necessarily speak Greek or Celtic. Greek names are typical of slaves, but an individual with a Thracian name at Siscia would presumably have been a Thracian. Based on the results of the historical and prosopographic research, the names can shed light on the imperial policy of municipalisation, on the impact of rich and influential families, and occasionally on the origin of individuals, but also on more or less short-lived fashions and the popularity or prestige of certain names at a certain time, characteristic of different social groups of the population.

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(257) RADMAN-LIVAJA 2014, pp. 233-234.

## Appendix

An *interim* list follows of the *nomina gentilicia* and *cognomina* of the inhabitants of Siscia (including those attested abroad), based mainly on the evidence collected in the *Epigraphik-Datenbank Clauss / Slaby* (258).

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<b><i>Gentilicia</i></b>	M. Aurelius Diogenes	P. Crescentinius Fl(avius?) Saturninus
P. A() Citus	Aurelius Eutyches	Crispia []
T. A[-] Iulianus	M. Aurelius Firmus	Crispia Celerina
C. Aconius Maximus	M. Aurelius Glabrio	Q. Crispus Gallicanus
Aelia Matrona	Aurelius Heraclides	G. D(---) Q(uirina?) Victorinus
P. Aelius Iulianus	M. Aurelius Licinius	G. D(---) Victorinianus
Aelius Lucius	M. Aurelius Lucius	G. Dometius Secundos (!)
Aelius Secundinus	Aurelius Macrinus	L. Domitius Constitutus
Aelius Silv[inus?]	Aurelius Maturinus	Domitius Crescens
Aelius Valerius	M. Aurelius Nero	Flavia Ianuaria
P. Aelius Valentinus	Aurelius Nicander	T. Flavius Campester
T. Aelius Victorinus	Aurelius Quint(us?)	T. Flavius Candidus
Aemilia Maximiana	Aurelius Reginus Alexsius	T. Flavius Festus (Siscianus?)
T. Aetius AEOV	M. Aurelius Saturninus	Flavius Maximianus
Anicetus	Aurelius Saturnio	T. Flavius Provincialis
Antonius Octavianus (?)	Aurelius Tato	T. Flavius Ser()
P. Antoni[us]	M. Aurelius Valentinus	Flavius Severus
C. Antonius Sentinus	M. Aurelius Verus	Flavius Tibe[rianicus?]
C. Apul(eius? -ius?) Sabinus	Aurelius [-]orus	Flavius Ursinus
C. (?) Art(---) Saturninus	Aurelia Veneria	Flavius Verus
C. Artorius	Caecilia Rufina	Metrobalanus
Art(orius) Saturninus	Caenius [...]ianus	L. Gellius
P. Atius Prim[-]	Cantabriaca Exsorata	L. Genucius Exsoratus
T. Attius Paternus	Cassia Candida	L. Genucius Honoratianus
Aurelia Rufinna	P. Citronius Cicorelliu(s)	L. Genucius Kapito
Aurelius Agathopus	Claudius Auctus	L. Genucius Lucianus
T. Aurelius Anicetus	Ti. Claudius [---]	L. Genucius Lucius
Aurelius Antioc(h)ianus	Ti. Claudius [---]atu[s]	Glauc[---] Marcellinus
Aurelius Calemerus	Ti. Claudius Pontius	(Glaucēus or Glaucilius?)
M. Aurelius Candidus	Claudius Sab()	C. Heius Capito
M. Aurelius Dasius	Claudius Titianus (Siscianus?)	
	Cletius Romulianus	

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(258) The list will be supplemented, when the corpus of Roman inscriptions of Siscia and its administrative territory will be published (Hana IVEŽIĆ). A prerequisite is a study, in which the (hypothetical) borders of the Siscia *ager* will be determined.

Q. Idimius (?) []	Numisia Marcellina	<i>Cognomina</i>
Q. Idimius Viator	Numisia Rufina	<i>(Personal names)</i>
Ingenuia Rufina	C. Numisius Rufus	
G. Ingenuius Rufinianus	C. Numisius Ursinus	Acastus
M. Iu[]	Octavius Cornelianus	Agathopus
Iulia Florentina	Paulinius?, see Paulinus	Agilis
Sex. Iulius Augurinus	M. Plusiu(s) Ammianus	Alexsius
Iulius Crispinus	Pomponia Iuventilla	Ammianus
C. Iulius Flav(u)s	Pontius Lupus	Antioc(h)ianus
M. I(ulius) Ing(enuus)	Pontia Victorina	Appianus
Q. Iulius Moderatus	C. Publicius Priscilianus	Apreion
Iulius Nigellio	Ravonius Fortunatus	Arsacus / Arsaces?
M. Iulius Vesnis	Romania N(a)evia	Artemas
M. Ennius Dexter	Roscia Saturnina	Ascanius?
Iunius Philocrates	M. Rutilius Hermes	Asclepiades
Licinii	(Siscianus?)	Attikos
L. Licc<i>nus(!)	Secun[---] Valentinus	Aucissa
Sura	G. Sempronius Severus	Auctus
C. Livius Moderatus	Septimia Matrona	Augurinus
Longinia Ingenua	L. Septimius Lucanus	Augustinus
L. Lucanus Festus	Septumia Marcella	Calemerus
Luccillius(!) Vallen<s>(!)	Solimarius Pe()	Calvus
Luccius Varro	L. Spurius Restutianus	Campester
Lucius Larcio(s)(!)	L. Tarius Rufus	Camurus (Camuri gen.)
Lucilia Lucilla	C. Titius Agathopus	Candida
M. Lucilius Proculus	C. Titius [-]	Candidus
M. Lucilius Saturninus	C. Titius Materninus	Capito (cf. Kapito)
(Siscianus?)	L. Titius Proculus	Cara?
Luc(ilius?) Vindex	L. Titius Proculus	Celer
M. Maesius	T. Tullius Tertius	Celerina
L. Marcius	M. Ulpus Nigrinus	Kertta
Marcus P[-]	Ulpus Priscianus	Certus
L. Marius Candidus	M. Ulpus Victor	Cicorelliu(s)
M. Minicius Saturninus	C. Urbicius Firmus	Ciles
Minicius Calvus	Valentinia Festa	Citus
Minicius Celer	Valentinia Serena	[C?]larus
Minicius Certus	Valeria Saturnina	Constitutus
Minicius Gratus	Valerius Saturninus	Corinthia
Minicia Prisca	C. Valerius Spectatus	Cornelianus
M. Mucius Hegetor	L. Valerius Verecundus	Costinus
Mucia Corinthia	G. Veratius Hispanus	[C]rasarus ([C]rasari,
M. Mulvius Narcissus	Veturius Vivus	gen.)
M. Mulvius Narcissianus	L. Virilius Pupus	Creciana (? , Gr(a)eciana?)
Mulvia Furnia (?)	C. Vitalius Vital[is?]	Crescens (cf. Kreskes)
Mun(atius) Treptus	Vol(cenia?) Maxima	Crispinus
Nerius (cogn. or nomen?)	C. Volcenius Lupercus	Crispus Mac(---)
		Dento

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Dexter	Iulianus	Nerius (possibly <i>gentilicium</i> )
Diogenes	Iustinus	Nero
Doryphoros	Iuventilla	Nicander
Epiteuxsis	Kallisttos	Nigellio
Eulymenus	Kapito	Nigrinus
Euplous	Kardo	Octavia[---]
Eupor	Karpe	Optata
Eutyches; Eutychas	Kosmos	Paternus
Exsorata	Kreskes	Paulinus
Exsoratus	Laberis	Pelo
Fa(v)or	Larcio(s)(!)	Philetos
Felicio	Larus (or [C]larus?)	Philocrates
Felicissima	Leburna	Pontius
Felix	Lic()	Posilla
Festa	Licinius	Preibatos (Privatus)
Festus	Lucanus	Prim[-]
Firma	Lucerinis	Prisca
Firmianus	Lucernio	Priscianus
Firmus	Lucilla	Priscilianus
Flav(u)s	Lucianus	Pritimve(ius?)
Florentina	Lucius	Privatus (see Preibatos)
Fortis	Lupercus	Proculus
Fortunatus	Lupus	Provincialis
Furnia	Macrinus	Pupus
Gaeianus	Mammos	Quint(us?-illus?)
Gallicanus	Marcella	Reginus
Gaudentianus	Marcellianus	Restutianus
Gaudentius	Marcellina	Romanus
Genealis	Marcellinus	Romulianus
Glabrio	Materninus	Rufina (Rufinna)
Gr(a)eciana (? see Creciana)	Matrona	Rufinianus
Gratiola	Maturinus	Rufus
Gratus	Maximiana	Sab()
Hegetor	Maximianus	Sabinus
Heraclides	Maximilla	Salvianus
Heraklas	Maxima	Sapia
Hermes	Maximus	Saraba
Hilarus	Mercurialis	Sarmosus
Hispanus	Messilla	Sasura
Honoratianus	Moderatus	Saturnina
Ianuarina	Murrus (M(u)rri: gen.)	Saturninus
Ianuarius	Metrobalanus	Saturnio
Ingenua	N(a)evia	Secundinus
Ingenus, Ingenus	Narcissianus	Secundus
Iucundus	Narcissus	Secundo(s)(!) Vacarus
Iuliana	Nepos	Sentinus
	Neri (genetiv?)	Ser()

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Seranos	Sura (H)isspan(us)(!)	Valerius
Serena	Tato	Varro
Serenus	Tertius	Veneria
Severilla	Tibe[rianicus?]	Verus
Severus	Titus	Vesnis
Sextilla	Treptus	Viator
Silus	Urbicus (Siscianorum)	Victor
Silvanus	Ursa	Victorina
Silvinus?	Ursinus	Victorinianus
Sipa	Vacarus	Victorinus
Solo	Vallen<s>(!)	Vinator(!) (Venator?)
Sosis	Valentinus	Vitalis (Ouitales)
Spectatus	Valerianus	Vivus

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## LITERATURE

### Abbreviations

- EDCS = *Epigraphik-Datenbank Clauss / Slaby*.  
 EDR = *Epigraphic Database Roma*.  
 HD = *Epigraphic Database Heidelberg*.  
 lupa = F. und O. HARL, [www.ubi-erat-lupa.org](http://www.ubi-erat-lupa.org) (Bildatenbank zu antiken Stein-  
 denkmälern).  
 CBI = E. SCHALLMAYER, K. EIBL, J. OTT, G. PREUSS, E. WITTKOPF, *Der römische  
 Weihebezirk von Osterburken I. Corpus der griechischen und lateinischen  
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