

SITULA 41

THE
AUTONOMOUS TOWNS
OF NORICUM AND
PANNONIA

DIE
AUTONOMEN STÄDTE
IN NORICUM UND
PANNONIEN

Noricum

PANNONIA I

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NARODNI
MUZEJ
SLOVENIJE



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EMONA WAS IN ITALY, NOT IN PANNONIA

Marjeta Šašel Kos

GENERAL CONSIDERATIONS AND THE NATURE OF THE EVIDENCE

The starting point for the present contribution is the article of J. ŠAŠEL on the administrative status of Emona,¹ in which he collected all the relevant evidence, emphasizing the exceptional importance of the geo-strategic position of the Nauportus-Emona area. This was situated between Noricum and Pannonia and on the border with Italy, to a large extent oriented towards the latter, commanding the most convenient passage between the Balkan and Apennine peninsulas through the Italo-Illyrian Gates at Postojna. All traffic passed through the region of Emona, and this was reflected in its political, economic, and cultural development.

Herodian is the earliest literary source in which Emona is *expressis verbis* attested as an Italian city (8.1.4); some scholars have accepted this fact as being valid also for the early Principate,² while several scholars interpreted the data in Pliny the Elder, who placed the town in Pannonia (*N. h.* 3.147), in terms of an administrative arrangement and argued that the city belonged to the province of Pannonia in the first two centuries AD.³ ŠAŠEL himself analysed the subject in two earlier studies. In the article about the recruitment of the praetorians, he showed that Emona must have belonged to Italy at least as early as the reign of Hadrian, but most probably even earlier.⁴ In his contribution about the early history of *legio XV*, he argued that the Emona basin had been part of Cisalpinia under Caesar, i.e. that Illyricum – later Pannonia – had never extended so far to the west as to include the Nauportus-Emona region.⁵ In a few articles I also dealt with problems concerning the date and the nature of the foundation of *colonia Iulia Emona* and the eastern bor-

ders of Cisalpine Gaul in Caesar's time, arguing that the Nauportus-Emona region had never belonged to Illyricum.⁶ Nonetheless, according to the prevailing opinion, Emona is considered a Pannonian city,⁷ and only recently – and occasionally – has the evidence, presented in the mentioned contributions, been accepted as valid.⁸

ŠAŠEL collected and commented on the evidence concerning the administrative position of Emona in 25 paragraphs.⁹ In order to better estimate the entire *état de question*, it is indispensable to consult his article, as I shall merely recapitulate the main points briefly, adding some new evidence, which in my opinion corroborates the hypothesis that, from the very beginning of its existence as a Roman city, Emona belonged to Italy, rather than to Pannonia. This does not exclude the possibility that temporarily – e.g. in times of danger such as the insurrection of Pannonian legions – it was directly dependent on the governor of Illyricum/Pannonia who had three legions at his disposal, while (apart from at Rome) there was no army stationed in Italy. ŠAŠEL listed the relevant documents in chronological order, beginning with a passage in Velleius Paterculus and ending with the Anonymous Geographer of Ravenna. Since it is not questioned that from the beginning of the 3rd century AD onwards Emona belonged to Italy, I shall not discuss the documents after no. 16 (*IIA, v. Maximini* 21.1, the same episode from the march of Maximinus Thrax to Italy as described by Herodian), and shall concentrate on some of the first fifteen. The first is a passage from Velleius Paterculus (2.110.4), referring to the great Pannonian-Delmataean rebellion of AD 6–9, in which the Nauportus-Tergeste region is defined as a border zone of Italy. The second is the imperial building inscription *ILJug* 303 of early AD 15, referring to some important construction in

¹ ŠAŠEL 1989, 169–174 (= *Opera selecta*, 707–714). I would like to thank Prof. Dr. Claudio Zaccaria for having kindly read my text and offered his opinions on this still somewhat controversial subject.

² MOMMSEN, *CHL* III, p. 483; DETLEFSEN 1886, 548; 552–555 (although he concedes that in Pliny's time, Emona did officially belong to Pannonia, since Pliny would have used an official Augustan list of provinces and their administrative organization); KUBITSCHKE 1889, 111.

³ ŠABHA 1938, 253; DEGRASSI 1954, 87.

⁴ ŠAŠEL 1972, 474–480 (= *Opera selecta*, 379–385).

⁵ ŠAŠEL 1985, 547–555 (= *Opera selecta*, 469–477).

⁶ ŠAŠEL KOS 1995, 227–244, Tab. IV, figs. 4, 5; ŠAŠEL KOS 1998a, 317–329; ŠAŠEL KOS 2000, 279 ff., especially 294–297.

⁷ Despite the fact that in the map attached to the book of Mócsy (*Pannonia*), Emona is actually placed outside the borders of Pannonia.

⁸ See, e.g., MAINARDIS – ZACCARIA 1998, 455–458. See also FITZ 1998, 128 n. 8, where Emona's administrative position is considered uncertain.

⁹ See n. 1.

Emona, planned under Augustus (probably shortly before his death) and carried out by Tiberius. The third is the imperial title of *colonia Emona, Iulia*. Nos. 4 and 5 comment upon the specific features of the institution of *Augustales* in Emona. No. 6 is the tombstone of T. Iunius Montanus, who died as *pro legato* in Emona (AIJ 173). No. 7 is the mentioned passage from Pliny; no. 8 is a tombstone from Ulpia Noviomagus, in which Emona is for the first time epigraphically attested as a colony (CIL XIII 8735). No. 9 discusses a passage from Tacitus (Ann. 1.20), referring to the mutiny of the Pannonian legions in AD 14, while nos. 10, 12, and 13 discuss the data in Ptolemy's *Geography* (1.16; 2.14.5; 8.7.6, ed. Nobbe). In nos. 11, 14, and 15, the recruitment of praetorians, the organization of toll-collecting, and *praetentura Italiae et Alpium*, all in relation to Emona, are discussed.

As we have seen, the evidence comes from literary and epigraphic sources, while it is also of a geo-strategic nature. Unexpectedly, a boundary stone between Aquileia and Emona, made of Aurisina/Nabrežina limestone, was discovered in the summer of 2001 in the bed of the Ljubljana River below Bevke, some 13 km to the south-east of Ljubljana. It is most probably dated to the Augustan period and is certainly pre-Claudian; it now proves beyond doubt that the two communities involved belonged to the same administrative unit, i.e. that Emona had never been part of Illyricum/Pannonia (Fig. 1).¹⁰ However, it is nonetheless worth while to examine all the available additional evidence, which independently supports the fact that Emona indeed administratively belonged to *Regio X*. This evidence should be considered in addition to that collected by J. ŠASEL and to the Bevke boundary stone.

GEO-STRATEGIC ARGUMENTS

From geographical and political points of view, the Nauportus-Emona area should be considered as a unit, since the importance of the respective settlements was complementary in chronological terms. Nauportus was an important prehistoric settlement which developed into a Roman *vici* governed by two *magistri vici*, very similar to a *municipium* (Tac. Ann. 1.20.1: ... *direptisque proximis vicis ipsoque Nauporto, quod municipii instar erat* ...).¹¹ The epigraphic evidence (corroborated by archaeological material) indicates that it must have reached its zenith in the late Caesarian, early Augustan periods.¹² Nauportus was overshadowed by the foundation of *colonia Iulia Emona* some time after the Illyrian Wars of Octavian in 35–33 BC, probably after Actium, and had considerably declined by the end of the Julio-Claudian dynasty. The geo-strategic arguments can be summarized as follows:

1. Nauportus was an important prehistoric *emporium* (closely connected with Aquileia from the first half of the 2nd century onwards) at the beginning of the most important river route passing through Illyricum, its significance being reflected in the myth about the



Fig. 1: The Bevke boundary stone. Phot. T. LAUKO (courtesy of the National Museum of Slovenia)

return route of the Argonauts. This river system consisted of the Ljubljana (Nauportus/Emona), Sava (Savus), and Danube (Danubius) Rivers. Emona was the next river port and station in the direction of Segesta/Siscia, and both were conveniently situated along the ancient Amber Route; transportation had always played an important role in the economy of both settlements.¹³

2. The Nauportus-Emona basin was the starting point to conquer Illyricum, later Pannonia, and possibly also parts of Dalmatia, e.g. some areas inhabited by the Iapodes.

3. The Nauportus-Emona basin was a key area for any military actions that were intended to secure or prevent passage through the Italo-Illyrian Gates at Postojna (Fig. 2). In the late Roman period, the first belt of fortifications, part of the *Clastra Alpium Iuliarum* system for the protection of Italy, was constructed precisely in this region.¹⁴

¹⁰ ŠASEL KOS 2002.

¹¹ On Nauportus in general, see HORVAT 1990. On the epigraphic and literary evidence: ŠASEL KOS 1990, 17–33 (pp. 143–159).

¹² ŠASEL KOS 1998, 101–112.

¹³ ZAGARIJA 1989, 22–33.

¹⁴ ŠASEL – PETRI 1971.

Fig. 2: The so-called
"Italo-Illyrian Gates" below
Oera Mt. (= Nanos).
Phot. D. GROSMAN



LITERARY EVIDENCE (PLINY THE ELDER, PTOLEMY)

Pliny

The only two literary sources in which Emona is mentioned by name before Herodian's *History*, are Pliny's *Naturalis historia* and Ptolemy's *Geography*. Their data are used as strong arguments against the thesis that Emona would have belonged to Italy in the first two centuries AD. Pliny's testimony is the most controversial of all, since he is considered a reliable source deserving full attention; he explicitly placed Emona in Pannonia. However, his data could be explained in purely geographical terms, and consequently has no bearing at all on Emona's administrative position. Administrative boundaries do not always coincide with geographical ones, thus a geographical description of an area does not necessarily allow for any conclusions concerning its administrative arrangement.

Pliny is the first to mention Emona as a Roman colony (*N. h.* 3.147). The passage is short and begins by stating that the regions of Pannonia are rich in acorn, that the Alpine chain gradually becomes less steep, gently sloping to the right and left as it traverses Illyricum from north to south, and that the part of Illyricum oriented towards the Adriatic is called Dalmatia, the part towards the north, Pannonia; the latter is bounded by the Danube. The colonies of Emona and Siscia are located in it: *Inde glandifera Pannoniae, quamitescentia Alpium iuga per medium Illyricum a septentrione ad meridiem versa molli in dextra ac laeva*

devexitate considunt. Quae pars ad mare Hadriaticum spectat appellatur Delmatia et Illyricum supra dictum; ad septentriones Pannonia vergit: finitur inde Danuvio. In ea coloniae Emona, Siscia, amnes clari et navigabiles ... It is placed in a broad context of the description of both Adriatic coasts and their hinterlands. The paragraph continues by listing the mentioned navigable rivers, as well as the peoples and tribes living along them, down to Sirmium and Taurunum. In the preceding, shorter, paragraph (146), the Norican towns are listed, along with Lake Pelso, *deserta* Boiorum, Savaria, and Scarbantia.

It is clear that the passage in which Emona is mentioned is taken from a geographical description of Pannonia. This is also confirmed by a recent structural analysis of that part of Pliny's 3rd book in which the eastern Adriatic is described.¹⁵ Y. MARION divided the whole text into consecutive sections, according to the different nature of the sources they were supposedly taken from. She came to the conclusion that Pliny used at least four different sources for his encyclopaedic narrative: a periplous, as reflected in passages with data concerning navigation, as well as descriptions of coasts and islands, various lists, mainly taken from *formulae provinciarum*, a historical source, and a geographical description of the regions. She defined the beginning of paragraph 147 as being taken from an official provincial document, whereas the first part of the sentence: *In ea coloniae Emona, Siscia ...*

¹⁵ MARION 1999, 119–135; see, for Pliny's sources, also SALLMANN 1971.

would have originated from a geographical source.¹⁶ In my opinion, both could be considered as originating from a geographical description, especially because in the Julio-Claudian period the province seems to have officially still been called Illyricum,¹⁷ while unofficially, the names Pannonia and Dalmatia may have been used for the future provinces as early as at the end phase of the Pannonian-Delmataean rebellion.¹⁸ Unless Pliny did not have a most recent knowledge of contemporary administrative changes, with his Pannonia he could not intend the province but rather the region of Pannonia. In any case, in so far as the position of Emona is concerned, it is agreed that it was described in geographical terms, and such was also opinion of J. ŠASEL.¹⁹ To conclude: Pliny's data does not state anything concerning Emona's administrative status, therefore it cannot and does not contradict the hypothesis that the town would have actually belonged to Italy.

Ptolemy

Ptolemy mentioned Emona in two passages in his *Geography*. First at the end of chapter 14 in his 2nd book (ed. Nobbe), in which he defined the geographical position of Upper Pannonia and listed the Upper Pannonian tribes and towns (πόλεις), including their geographical coordinates. In paragraph 7, he stated that Emona is located "between Italy and Pannonia, below Noricum", or: "between (that part of) Italy (which is situated) below Noricum, and Pannonia" (Μεταξὺ δὲ Ἰταλίας ὑπὸ τὸ Νωρικὸν Παννονίας πάλιν Ἡμωνα);²⁰ the meaning of the sentence is not greatly modified in either translation. That the geographical definition of this area was currently problematic is reflected in Ptolemy's criticism of Marinus of Tyre; citations from his geographical work of Hadrianic date are preserved only in Ptolemy. Marinus earned Ptolemy's reproach for several errors, including not having correctly defined the boundaries of Pannonia. While he allegedly claimed that Italy in the north bordered not only on Raetia and Noricum, but also on Pannonia, he made, contradictingly, Pannonia border in the south merely with Dalmatia and not with Italy (1.16). It may be hypothesized that Marinus used different sources for different countries, containing either political-administrative or geographical data, or both. As has been shown, political-administrative and geographical data did not coincide, hence the contradictory statements.

In another passage (8.7.6, ed. Nobbe), Ptolemy placed Emona in Upper Pannonia as one of the three towns serving as geographical measurement points from Alexandria, along with Poetovio and Scarbantia. The passage is purely geographical in context. In a manner analogous to the description of Emona, Iulium Carnicum is also defined by Ptolemy as being located between Italy and Noricum (2.13.4: Μεταξὺ δὲ [τῆς] Ἰταλίας καὶ Νωρικοῦ Ἰούλιον Καρνικόν), while in

another passage the town is placed in Noricum (8.7.5), again in the same geographical context of measurement points, parallel to Emona being situated in Upper Pannonia. Since it is clear that Iulium Carnicum, which may have temporarily been under the influence of the Norican kingdom in the late Iron Age,²¹ always belonged to Italy and before that for a considerable time to Cisalpine Gaul,²² it is at least plausible to assume the same for Emona. Both towns bore the same title *Iulia* and their inhabitants were inscribed in the same voting tribe of *Claudia*. H. GRASSL, who analyzed all the passages in Ptolemy in which towns are defined as being situated between (μεταξύ) two regions, has been led to the conclusion that metaxú had always been used in geographical terms by Ptolemy, never in political.²³

To recapitulate: neither Pliny's nor Ptolemy's data refer to the political-administrative settlement of the border region between Italy, Noricum, and Pannonia, thus they cannot be used to define the administrative status of Emona. These data can merely be considered as evidence for Emona's geographical position in a triple border area, which in the course of its history belonged to different political formations. It may have been dependent upon the Norican kingdom in the early 1st century BC and earlier, some time around Caesar's reign it was most probably a part of Cisalpine Gaul, and when Cisalpina ceased to be a province, it belonged to Italy. In geographical and ethnic terms, it was closely related to the Pannonian regions settled by the Taurisci, thus it is not surprising that Greek and Roman geographers linked the town with Pannonia. Also, it cannot be entirely excluded that for a short time it may have been dependent on the governor of Illyricum and his army when the province was established, probably late in the Augustan reign. Whenever an intervention of the Roman army was necessary, an officer or a military unit would have been detached from one of the Pannonian legions, as was the case in the boundary dispute between the Rindictes and C. Laecanius Bassus at the outskirts of the *ager* of Tergeste during the reign of Claudius (*Ins. It.* X 4, 122 = *ILS* 5889). However, geo-strategic reasons – and exclusively these – dictated that the region of Emona should administratively be united with Italy, but they were decisive. As long as the Roman state could control this area *trans Alpes*, it remained within Italy.

CONVENTIONAL ROMAN VIEWS ON THE ITALIAN BOUNDARIES

Any ancient geographer, who described the boundaries of Italy, would have considered the seas and the Alps as the natural boundaries of the country. The imposing chain of the Alps was always regarded a natural bulwark of Italy (e.g. Livy 21.35.8–9), which is also well reflected in Polybius, Strabo, Pliny, and several

¹⁶ MARION 1999, 125.

¹⁷ See ŠASEL KOS 1997a, 41–42; FITZ 1998, 127–128; cf. also the most recently discovered early military diploma of AD 61, in which the Pannonian units are mentioned as being: in *Illyrico sub Lucio Salvidieno Salviano Rufo*, DUŠANIĆ 1998, 51–62.

¹⁸ NAGY 1970, 459–466.

¹⁹ ŠASEL 1989 (cit. from *Opera selecta*), 709.

²⁰ The latter translation was preferred by GRASSL 1994, 519.

²¹ According to EGGER 1957, 392–393, Ptolemy committed merely a small error to claim that Iulium Carnicum was in Noricum, since it was controlled by the commander of the 15th legion who also controlled Noricum.

²² See MAINARDIS 1994, 75–76.

²³ GRASSL 1994, 520–521.

other historians and geographers.²⁴ Unless a writer specifically wished to refer to the political division of the area, none of them would say that Emona belonged to Italy, since it was located *trans Alpes*. According to Strabo, Odra Mt. was the lowest part of the Alps (4.6.9 C 207: Ἡ δὲ Ὀκρά τὸ ταπεινότατον μῆρος τῶν Ἀλπεῶν ἐστὶ ...), the most convenient pass to cross over to the cities on the Adriatic coast, and at the same time the direct entrance into Italy – as understood in geographical terms.²⁵ Regions situated on the other side of the Odra pass (from the Italian perspective), were transalpine regions, such as the country of the *Galli transalpini* (Livy 39.54.3), who were most probably the Taurisci.²⁶ The Nauportus-Emona basin, as well as the regions to the east of Emona, were settled by the Taurisci. Although the area was Romanized early,²⁷ Emona could *a priori* not be considered to have belonged to Italy, either geographically or ethnically.

But while a geographical situation never changes, political and administrative arrangements, on the contrary, are constantly subject to modifications. When under Caesar, and even earlier, Italy began to expand towards the north and the east, Cisalpine Gaul extended – with the territory of Iulium Carnicum – as far north as the Norican kingdom, while to the east it included, as it seems, the Nauportus-Emona basin.²⁸ When Cisalpina became a part of Italy under the triumvirs, in 42 BC, the situation did not change. By directly dominating this area, the Roman state ensured a much greater safety for Italy, because any possible hostile invasion or attack could more easily be prevented.

Emona was founded as a colony most probably under Octavian.²⁹ He continued Caesar's policy of the colonization and municipalization of former Cisalpina and Histria, later the *X Regio* (Iulium Carnicum, Forum Iulii, Concordia, Tergeste, Pola, Parentium, some of them Caesarian foundations, although the chronology is not entirely clear).³⁰ Its foundation may well be considered in the broad context of Octavian's colonization after Actium and later, in which the whole of Italy was involved.³¹ Even if we assume that Emona was colonized no earlier than under Augustus, it would have still been founded half a century before the first Pannonian colony Savaria, *colonia Claudia*. Such a large chronological gap rather points to two different administrative units, where urbanization developed according to different principles.

EPIGRAPHIC EVIDENCE

Both in the case of Emona and Iulium Carnicum, epigraphic monuments and other archaeological material are important evidence, on the basis of which it is possible to better define the administrative organization of these cities. Such evidence helps to establish

what were their institutions, their atmosphere (partly deciphered from the preserved tombstones and altars), their cultural and economic development, in short: were they Italian rather than provincial cities? I shall limit myself to the epigraphic evidence from Emona, partly to the material that had not yet been analyzed in this context by ŠAŠEL, and partly to those inscriptions already commented on by him but which may need additional observations. It can be said in general that the inscribed stone monuments show several similarities with northern Italian epigraphy, while they differ from the Norican (e.g. Celeia, Virunum, Flavia Solva) or Pannonian (e.g. Savaria, Scarbantia, Poetovio, Neviodunum, Andautonia, Siscia).

MAGISTRI VICI

In the late Republican period, both Nauportus and Iulium Carnicum were organized as Roman *vici* and governed by two *magistri vici*, who were freedmen, and – in the case of Nauportus – members of important Aquileian families. Both settlements were closely connected with Aquileia and were most probably administratively dependent on the regional metropolis. Romanization began very early and the connections with Aquileia strengthened in time.³² The role of Nauportus was taken over by Emona in the Augustan period, when the colony became the most important regional centre.

VETERANS AND OTHER COLONISTS

Close relations with Aquileia are further reflected in various parallel institutions, customs, and certain characteristic patterns in the structure of inhabitants. Both in Emona and Aquileia, as no doubt also in some other northern Italian towns, several veterans of *legiones VIII* and *XV* were settled in the Augustan age,³³ some of them possibly having been recruited in northern Italian regions late under Caesar and under the Triumvirs.³⁴ The bulk of inhabitants, however, consisted of branches of Aquileian families and families from other towns of northern Italy, such as the Aelii, Aemilii, Appulei, Barbii, Caesernii, Cantii, Castricii, Claturnii, Clodii, Dindii, Marcii, Petronii, Vellii, and others.

SEVIRI AND AUGUSTALES

The existence of pre-Augustan *seviri* (*nude dicti*), as well as the ratio between *seviri*, *seviri Augustales*, and *Augustales* in Emona is in many aspects reminiscent of

²⁴ See the most recent summary by GRASSL 1996, 534–535, with cited literature; see also FELLMEYER 1996, 79–86, especially 82.

²⁵ VEDALDI LASBEZ 1994, 96–100.

²⁶ SARTORI 1960, 1–40 (= 1993, 3–37).

²⁷ ŠAŠEL KOS 1998.

²⁸ See notes 10 and 11.

²⁹ Earlier, the foundation of Emona was dated, under the influence of SARRA's article, to the reign of Tiberius, SARRA 1938, 245–255; ALFÖLDY 1961, 59 ff., where Emona, Iulium Carnicum, and Concordia are all considered Tiberian. Recent analyses have shown that an earlier date is

more plausible, see e.g. ŠAŠEL KOS 1995; MAINARDIS 1994, 67 ff.; ZACCARIA 1995, 175–186.

³⁰ See for Forum Iulii: GIANNITTO 1998, 195 ff.; for Tergeste: ZACCARIA 1992, 139 ff.; for Pola: FRASCHETTI 1983, 77–102.

³¹ KÉPPE 1983; see most recently, PACI 1998, 209–244.

³² ŠAŠEL KOS 1998; MAINARDIS 1994, 78 ff.; VIČIĆ 1993, 153–201 and 1994, 25–80.

³³ ŠAŠEL KOS 1995.

³⁴ KÉPPE 1997, 89–90.

that attested in Aquileia and some other cities of the *X Regio*.³⁵ Two inscriptions are especially characteristic in this respect: the late Republican tombstone of an Aquileian *sevir* T. Caesernius Diphilus, freedman of T. Caesernius Assupa, who died at Emona (ŠAŠEL KOS 1997, no. 3), and may have been in charge of organizing municipal life in the town, including cults. Organized religious life with various festivities was always one of the main features of municipal organization. However, the sphere of activities of the Republican period *sevir* has not yet been sufficiently defined.³⁶ The second is a dedication, probably from the 1st century AD, to Diana by two freedmen of one T. Vellius Onesimus (Fig. 3), who was *sevir* and *Augustalis* in Emona, *quinquevir* in Aquileia, and *Augustalis* in Parentium (ŠAŠEL KOS 1997, no. 9). These functions were performed by one man in three different towns, which indicates that these towns were in one way or another closely connected. Very likely all of them belonged to the *X Regio*.

LEGACIES OF MONEY

Inscriptions mentioning legacies of money bestowed by the deceased on their heirs, or the societies or communities to which they belonged, to provide for flowers and other burial arrangements, for constructions or the organization of festivities at various anniversaries of the deceased, are typical of northern Italian epigraphy. Outside Italy they are largely unattested. The easternmost documents in which financial bequests are mentioned come from the territory of Emona. The first is the tombstone of one L. Caesernius Primitivus and his wife Ollia Primilla from Spodnje Gameljne near Ljubljana (Fig. 4), erected to them by their son who bore the same name as his father (*CIL* III 3893 = *AIJ* 209). Primitivus was *quinquevir* and ex-decurio of the *collegium fabrum* of Emona, who testamentarily bequeathed to the four *decuriae* of his association, together with his wife, 200 *denarii* to bring roses to their grave at the festival of Carna (perhaps an important anniversary of the family or an important date for the *collegium*). The second inscription is an as yet unpublished fragment from Zavoglje near Ljubljana, in which a similar legacy of 250 *denarii* is mentioned, also bequeathed by a member of the *collegium fabrum* of Emona, to buy flowers for his grave from the interest each year.³⁷

ABSENCE OF BENEFICIARII CONSULARIS

Beneficarii consularis (or *procuratoris*, such as in Celcia and elsewhere in provinces governed by a procurator) were detached from the army stationed in the province to perform special, mainly administrative, tasks for provincial governors at specific stations or various provincial towns, where their service was in many ways similar to that of police and financial po-



Fig. 3: Votive altar to Diana in memory of T. Vellius Onesimus, *sevir* and *Augustalis* (ŠAŠEL KOS 1997, no. 9). Phot. T. LAUKO (courtesy of the National Museum of Slovenia)

lice.³⁸ They are epigraphically attested from the middle of the 2nd century AD onwards. Characteristically, no *beneficarii consularis* are attested in the inscriptions of Emona, in marked difference to the neighbouring Pannonian and Norican towns, where they are well documented on altars to *Iuppiter Optimus Maximus* and other official gods and goddesses, and where

³⁵ ŠAŠEL KOS 1999.

³⁶ FISHWICK 1991, 609.

³⁷ BOŽIČ, *AV*, forthcoming.

³⁸ See on the subject two recent books: OTT 1995 and NELIS-CLEMENT 2000.

AN AMANTINE HOSTAGE IN EMONA

An interesting case which may be cited as testimony to illuminate the position of Emona in Italy under Augustus, rather than in the province of Illyricum (later Pannonia), is an inscription on a cenotaph for a ten year old Amantine boy [S]cemaes (perhaps [S]cenas?), of the gens *Undia* (probably named after an ancestor called *Vendo*),⁴¹ and of the second *centuria*, who had been taken as a hostage to Emona, where he drowned in the Emona River.⁴² The funerary monument was discovered in the village of Putinci in eastern Syrmia (CIL III 3224: [S?]cemaes Liccav[i] / f. Amantinus, ho[s]b[us]ses, amnorum (!) dec[em] / m, gente Undius, / centuria secun[da], in flumen per[it] Hemonia. Posu[er]e Liccaus pater Loricus et Licaios cognati). The inscription, long lost, is usually cited in relation to the Pannonian-Delmataean rebellion of AD 6–9,⁴³ yet historically it may also refer to Tiberius' negotiations with the Pannonian Amantini during the Pannonian wars of 12–9 BC, but probably not earlier,⁴⁴ since it would hardly be possible to expect a pre-Augustan (or early Augustan) inscription in the region of Sirmium. The boy, along with other unmentioned hostages from the same and other tribes – delivery of hostages was a common practice in Roman dealings with (potentially) hostile peoples, from Polybius and other Achaean hostages onwards –⁴⁵ was undoubtedly of noble origin. There were many hostages, thus Appian reported on a hundred of them, taken by Octavian from Segesta (later Siscia: *Illyr.* 23.67), and also seven hundred children delivered by the Delmatae in the course of the same war (ibid. 28.81), thus the *centuria secunda* mentioned in the inscription may theoretically refer to a Roman division of hostages and not to the division of the gens.⁴⁶ They seem in general to have been kept on the Italian soil,⁴⁷ both for reasons of safety and to get acquainted with the Roman way of life. However, the inscription cannot be regarded as proof that Emona belonged to Italy.

Until the discovery of the Bevke boundary stone we could hardly expect to have a single conclusive proof that would ultimately confirm Emona's administrative position. Yet through accumulating evidence, it could have been concluded even earlier that the town most probably belonged to Italy ever since its foundation as a Roman colony, while for military reasons it could occasionally – and temporarily – come under the supervision – and the jurisdiction – of the governor of Upper Pannonia (formerly Illyricum). The Bevke boundary stone can now be considered material evidence which proves beyond doubt that Emona always belonged to Italy.

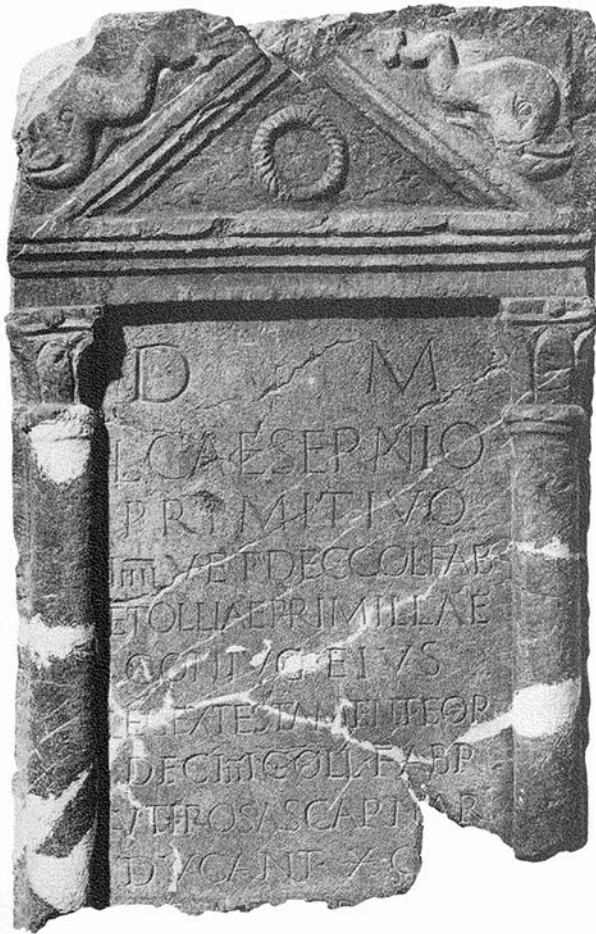


Fig. 4: Tombstone for L. Caesernius Primitivus and Ollia Primilla (AU 209). Phot. T. LAUKO (courtesy of the National Museum of Slovenia)

they performed active service.³⁹ Their absence confirms the supposition that Emona was an Italian, rather than provincial, town. Some *beneficarii consularis* are actually attested in Italian cities, but these are soldiers who must have been recruited in Italy and upon their retirement returned to their home towns. They are mainly known from tombstones, which reveal their careers in various Roman provinces, not in Italy.⁴⁰

³⁹ SCHALLMAYER et al. 1990, 192–345.

⁴⁰ *Ib.*, 661 ff.

⁴¹ DUŠANIĆ 1967, 67–69.

⁴² Cf. also MIKL-CURK 1996, 1–3.

⁴³ DUŠANIĆ 1967; see also ČAČE 1985, 601.

⁴⁴ Despite my recent suggestion in this sense: ŠAŠEL KOS 1998, 112.

⁴⁵ As reported by ancient authors, e.g. App., *Illyr.* 13.37; 21.59; 22.62; 23.67; 28.81; 28.82.

⁴⁶ The latter explanation is preferred by ALFOLDY 1963, 83.

⁴⁷ See SCARDIGLI 1994, 117–150.

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