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THE ROMAN INSCRIPTIONS
OF CELEIA COMMEMORATING EMPERORS

Estratto da

VARIA EPIGRAPHICA

Atti del Colloquio Internazionale di Epigrafia
Bertinoro, 8-10 giugno 2000

a cura di

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Over 220 Roman inscriptions have been discovered to date in the town of Celeia, including fragments and *falsae*, but not the inscribed stone monuments found in the city *ager*. Of these 220, about 55 are votive altars, with slightly fewer inscriptions referring to various honours, while the rest are mainly tombstones (1). An interesting group is represented by the inscriptions commemorating emperors; these throw specific light on certain aspects of the city's history, but because of their scarcity they do not mirror imperial policy in Noricum. They should be considered as chance finds that cannot permit any general conclusions. However, the evidence offers a few interesting glimpses of imperial dealings in the city, and of the indirect presence of some of the emperors there.

Celeia was a *municipium Claudium* (2), as were most of the other southern Norican towns: Virunum, Teurnia, Aguntum, as well as Juvavum – Pliny called them *oppida* (N. h. 3.146) – except Flavia Solva (fig. 1) (3). The Norican kingdom had always had friendly contacts with the Romans (*hospitium publicum* had al-

(1) The inscriptions of Celeia and its territory are published in *CIL*, III, *ILJug*, and by V. Kolšek in several volumes of «Arheološki vestnik», to be reproduced in *Année épigraphique* (e.g. the latest: V. KOLŠEK, *Napisi iz Celja in njegove okolice* (Inscriften aus Celje und Umgebung), «Arh. vest.», 46, 1995, pp. 279-289). See also KOLŠEK, *Celeia – kamniti spomeniki* (Kulturni in naravni spomeniki Slovenije-Zbirka vodnikov 7), Ljubljana 1967 (German edition: *Celeia-Steindenkmäler* [Kultur-und Naturdenkmäler in Slowenien. Führer-Sammlung 7], Ljubljana 1967).

(2) J. ŠAŠEL, *Celeia*, in: *RW Suppl.* XII (1970), coll. 139-148 (= *Opera selecta*, Ljubljana 1992, 583-587); I. LAZAR, *Municipium Claudium Celeia*, in: «Lungo la via dell'Ambra. Apporti altoadriatici alla romanizzazione dei territori del Medio Danubio (I. sec. a.C.-I. sec. d.C.)», *Atti del Convegno di Studio Udine-Aquileia 16-17 settembre 1994*, ed. M. Buora, Udine 1996, pp. 327-333.

(3) See in general on Norican towns G. ALFÖLDY, *Noricum*, London, Boston 1974, *passim*. Several towns were published in *ANRW*, II 6 (1977), thus H. VETTERS, *Virunum*, pp. 302-354; W. ALZINGER, *Das Municipium Claudium Aguntum. Vom keltischen Oppidum zum frühchristlichen Bischofssitz*, pp. 380-413; E. HUDECZEK, *Flavia Solva*, pp. 414-471. A new synthetic survey of the Norico-Pannonian autonomous towns will be published in «*SITULA*, 40» (Ljubljana).

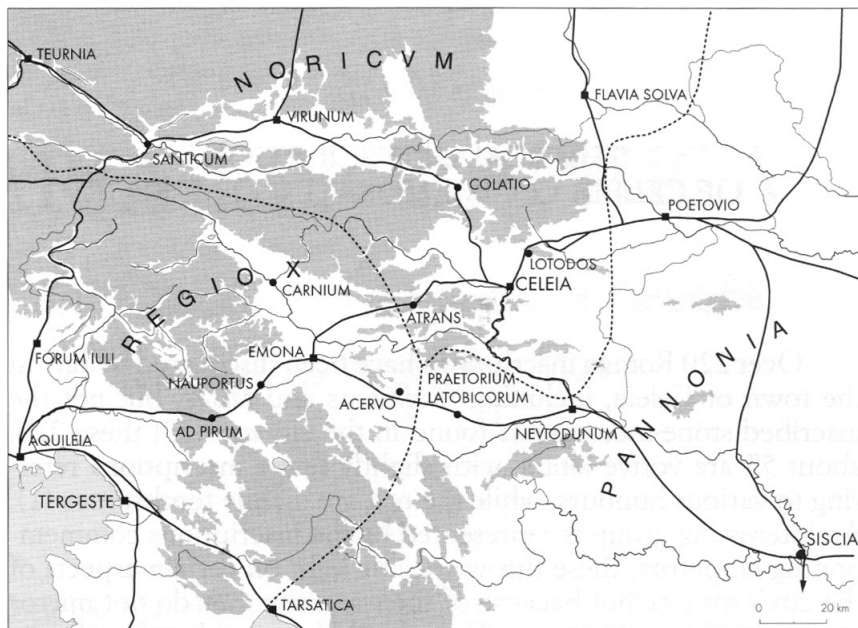


Fig. 1. Norican Celeia between Regio X and Pannonia. Computer generated map: Mateja Belak.

ready existed at the time of the invasion of the Cimbri and the battle at Noreia in 113 BC (4), and by 15 BC it seems to have been annexed to the Roman state (5). Descendants of the Norican kings may have served as prefects, as e.g. in the Cottian kingdom. At the latest under Claudius, but perhaps already under Caligula, it was organized as a province, governed by a presidial procurator (6). Noricum cultivated commercial connections with Italy very early and the kingdom was attractive to the Roman

(4) G. DOBESCH, *Zum hospitium publicum zwischen Rom und dem Regnum Noricum*, «Römisches Österreich» 4 (1976), pp. 17-37.

(5) See, recently, M. ŠASEL KOS, *The End of the Norican Kingdom and the Formation of the Provinces of Noricum and Pannonia*, in: «Akten des IV. intern. Kolloquiums über Probleme des provinziälrömischen Kunstschaffens / Akti IV. mednarodnega kolokvija o problemih rimske provincialne umetnosti. Celje 8.-12. Mai / maj 1995», eds. B. DJURIĆ, J. LAZAR (Situla 36), Ljubljana 1997, pp. 21-42, where earlier literature is cited.

(6) ALFÖLDY, *Noricum* (note 3), 78 ff.; G. WINKLER, *Die Reichsbeamten von Noricum und ihr Personal*, Österr. Akad. Wiss., Phil.-hist. Kl., Sitzungsber. 261, 2, Wien 1969; see also B. E. THOMASSON, *Provinces et gouverneurs sous Claude*, in: «Claude de Lyon-Empereur romain, Actes du Colloque Paris-Nancy-Lyon, Nov. 1992», eds. Y. Burnand, Y. Le Bohec, J.-P. Martin), I. Paris 1998, pp. 229-242, on Noricum: pp. 232, 238.

merchants, especially due to its mineral wealth; during the late Republic, Virunum/Magdalensberg was to a large extent a settlement of the Italici (7). The indigenous Celtic population gradually became acquainted with the Italian way of life, and by the end of the Republican period, it became sufficiently romanized to respect and appreciate privileges that were bestowed on some members of the upper class. As early as the reign of Augustus, many natives were granted Roman citizenship and the number of Roman immigrants steadily grew (8). Like at Virunum/Magdalensberg, a small garrison of the Pannonian legion VIII Augusta may also have been permanently stationed in the pre-Claudian period in Celeia (*CIL*, III, 5220) (9); this is not certain, however, but it is probable, since the town was situated in the strategically exposed triple border region between *X Regio* with its northeasternmost city of Emona, and Pannonian Neviodunum.

Augustus

Augustus, who was otherwise far less generous in awarding citizenship than Caesar, is known to have granted citizenship on a *viritim* basis to numerous Noricans living mainly in the southern and central parts of Noricum (present-day Carinthia and Styria). The best known example is the tombstone of a member of the Celeian Celtic upper class, C. Iulius Vepo, who erected it for himself – while still alive – for his wife Boniata, the daughter of Antonius, and for his family. It was carved on a large (99 × 117 cm) white Pohorje marble moulded slab and discovered reused in the pavement of the parish church in Celje in 1840; it is now kept in the Regional Museum in Celje (inv. no. L 137; *CIL*, III, 5232 + p. 1830; *ILJug*, 392 [without the text]; *ILS*, 1977; *ILLPRON*, 1690; see fig. 2) (10):

(7) G. PICCOTTINI, *Die Stadt auf dem Magdalensberg – ein spätkeltisches und frühromisches Zentrum im südlichen Noricum*, in: ANRW, II 6 (1977), pp. 263–301; G. DOBESCH, *Zu Virunum als Namen der Stadt auf dem Magdalensberg und zu einer Sage der kontinentalen Kelten*, «Carinthia», I, 187 (1997), 107–128, plausibly argued that it was actually called Virunum, like the later *municipium* in the plain of Zollfeld (Gospodsvetsko polje) beneath.

(8) M. HARDING, G. JACOBSEN, *Norditalische Zuwanderung nach Celeia während der ersten zwei Jahrhunderte n. Chr.*, «Acta Arch. Acad. Scient. Hung.» 41/1–4 (1989), pp. 227–232.

(9) ALFÖLDY, *Noricum* (note 3), p. 66.

(10) ŠAŠEL, *C. Iulius Vepo* (*CIL* III 5232 Celeia, Nor.), «Živa antika», 4 (1954), pp. 346–363 (the English translation in: *Opera selecta*, Ljubljana, 1992, 31–43). See also KOLŠEK, *Celeia* (note 1),



Fig. 2. Tombstone of C. Iulius Vepo (ILJug, 392). Courtesy of the Regional Museum in Celje.

C(aius) Iulius Vepo, donatus / civitate Romana viritim / et in immunitate ab divo Aug(usto), / vivos fecit sibi et /⁵ Boniatae Antoni fil(iae), coniugi / et suis.

Both his and his wife's names are Celtic, characteristic particularly for southern Noricum (11). He noted in the very beginning of the text that he was given both citizenship and *immunitas* by Divus Augustus. His tombstone, composed in perfect Latin and erected in an entirely Roman manner of setting up sepulchral monuments, would indicate that Vepo belonged to a well-to-do romanized indigenous family. Very probably he was granted both privileges for special merits acquired during the Augustan conquest of the southeastern Alpine regions. Vepo could retain them under Tiberius, who continued Augustus' policy in Noricum (12); elsewhere, however, Tiberius abruptly departed from his predecessor's course. Suetonius reports that he took previously awarded immunity and other benefits away from entire communities as well as from individual citizens (*Tib.*, 49.2). An exemption from

1967, p. 9, fig. 3; F. F. ABBOTT, A. C. JOHNSON, *Municipal Administration in the Roman Empire*, New York 1926 (repr. 1968), p. 342 n. 42.

(11) ŠASEL, *Vepo*, cit.

(12) ALFÖLDY, *Noricum* (note 3), p. 76.

munera granted to Vepo would confirm that the Norican kingdom was indeed annexed to the Roman state ca. 15 BC; it is certainly one of the most weighty indications against the hypothesis that the kingdom would have remained independent until the creation of the province (13). Vepo's inscription throws an interesting light on the relatively high degree of romanization of Celeia during the Augustan period. It presupposes the existence of a stone carving workshop and consequently an already developed stone-cutting craft, a broad enough knowledge of Latin among the indigenous population, at least among members of upper class society, and an administratively organized urban and extraurban territory, which allowed, for example, for the allotment of grave parcels to individual families.

Members of Augustus' family are also epigraphically documented at Virunum/Magdalensberg, where on three fragmentary marble slabs, broken into 16 fragments, Livia, Augustus' daughter Iulia, and Agrippa's daughter Iulia were honoured some time between 10 and 9 BC by eight Norican *civitates*: the Norici, Ambilini, Ambidravi, Uperaci, Saevates, Laianci, Ambisontes, Elveti, perhaps on the occasion of their visit to Virunum while the court resided in Aquileia (14).

Claudius

Whether or not Noricum was organized as a province under Claudius, the reign of this emperor was nonetheless important for Noricum, since five indigenous towns were granted the status of *municipia* (see supra), among them Celeia. Most probably they were awarded *ius Latii*, as is indicated by specific municipal careers in these towns, which mainly ended after one, or at the most two, offices (15), and by the fact that as late as the end of the 2nd century AD, a large percentage of the population was still peregrine (16). A fragment of Pohorje marble was found in Celje

(13) P. KNEISSL, *Zur Entstehung der Provinz Noricum*, «Chiron», 9 (1979), pp. 261-273.

(14) ŠASEL, *Huldigung norischer Stämme am Magdalensberg in Kärnten. Ein Klärungsversuch*, «Historia», 16 (1967), pp. 70-74 (= *Opera selecta*, Ljubljana 1992, 280-284).

(15) B. GALSTERER-KRÖLL, *Zum ius Latii in den keltischen Provinzen des Imperium Romanum*, «Chiron», 3 (1973), pp. 302-305.

(16) ALFÖLDY, *Noricum* (note 3), p. 84 ff.

in 1948, in one of the central areas of Roman Celeia (Stanetova St.), where several altars of the *beneficarii* were also discovered. It belonged to a monumental, probably building, inscription, as is indicated by the large size of the surviving letters, which measure 24 cm (Regional Museum in Celje, inv. no. L 192; *ILJug*, 388; *ILLPRON*, 1600; see fig. 3):

[- - -] *Brit[anniae? ---]* / [---] *mur[os --- dederunt?]*.

According to J. Šašel, the original slab with the inscription must have been at least four to five meters long and should – judging by the letter forms – certainly be assigned to the 1st century AD. He ascribed it to Claudius' son Britannicus, who was given the title of Caesar probably in AD 43, since up to Commodus no Roman emperor bore the title of *Britannicus* (17). However, it seems more probable that *Brit[]* would refer to the *victoria Britannica* or *reges XI Britanniae*, commemorated in sev-



Fig. 3. *ILJug*, 388. Courtesy of the Regional Museum in Celje.

(17) D. KIENAST, *Römische Kaisertabelle: Grundzüge einer römischen Kaiserchronologie*, Darmstadt 1990, p. 93, for Britannicus, and *passim*, for the lack of this title in the nomenclature of other emperors.

eral monumental inscriptions throughout the empire (18). That the monumental letters would refer to the province of Britannia, e.g. in an inscription containing a *cursus honorum*, seems unlikely. Šašel also suggested that such an inscription could have been erected on the occasion when Celeia was elevated to the rank of a *municipium*.

The Flavian dynasty

The civil war in AD 69, in the course of which Vespasian became emperor, signified the first – although very brief – period of military insecurity in the province of Noricum. The Norican army, consisting of a few auxiliary units, adhered to the decisions of the neighbouring Pannonian legions. In the spring of the same year, the presidial procurator Petronius Urbicus supported Otho against Vitellius, disposing the Norican units along the Inn River and cutting the bridges to prevent Vitellius' general A. Caecina Alienus from a possible invasion of Noricum from Raetia. After the defeat of Otho's party, Urbicus was replaced by Sextilius Felix, who went over to Vespasian's side. He did not have occasion to fight for Vespasian in Noricum where he, in addition to his nine auxiliary units, also armed the Norican *iuventus* (*Igitur Sextilius Felix cum ala Auriana et octo cohortibus ac Noricorum iuventute ad occupandam ripam Aeni fluminis, quod Raetos Noricosque interfuit, missus*; TAC., *Hist.*, 3.5) (19), but the next year these units were sent against the rebellious northern Gauls and Batavians and fought against the Treveri (TAC., *Hist.*, 1.70; 3.5; 4.70). Henceforward, after some reorganization, the *exercitus Noricus*

(18) This alternative explanation was kindly suggested to me by Werner Eck and Claudio Zaccaria for which I thank them very much. See on the British expedition B. LEVICK, *Claudius*, London 1990, p. 137 ff.; cf., e.g., ILS, 217 from Cyzicus (*dev[ictori regum XI] Britanniae*); ILS, 216 from Rome (*quod reges Brit[anniae] XI [devictos]*), republished in: E. M. SMALLWOOD, *Documents Illustrating the Principates of Gaius Claudius and Nero*, Cambridge 1967, nos. 45, 43b. Claudius arrived first to Ravenna; traces of activities, dated to his reign, are attested in many towns in northern Italy; some may be ascribed to his short stay there at that time, see E. LA ROCCA, *Claudius a Ravenna*, «La Parola del Passato», 47/4 (1992), pp. 265–312, especially pp. 265–269. I am indebted to Angela Donati for the reference.

(19) ALFÖLDY, *Noricum* (note 3), pp. 103–105; W. WAGNER, *Die Dislokation der römischen Auxiliarformationen in den Provinzen Noricum, Pannonien, Moesien, und Dakien von Augustus bis Gallienus*, Berlin 1938, pp. 245; 263 and passim; D. B. SADDINGTON, *The Development of the Roman Auxiliary Forces from Caesar to Vespasian* (49 B.C.–A.D. 79), Harare (Zimbabwe) 1982, pp. 251–252.

was stationed along the Norican sector of the Danube frontier and its immediate hinterland. Several new forts were built during the reign of the Flavians (Boiodurum, present-day Passau-Innstadt, Favianis/Mautern, Commagena/Tulln) (20), and under Vespasian, Solva attained the status of a *municipium*. The province had been pro-Vespasianic and it may plausibly be postulated that several individuals as well as communities were rewarded for their loyalty (21); and the bestowal of municipal rights on Solva and Scarbantia can certainly be viewed in this context.

Three dedications to Flavian emperors or members of their families have been discovered to date in Celje. One is a dedicatory inscription on a base for a statue (*CIL*, III, 5201 + p. 1830 = *ILLPRON*, 1663) (22), found in the river bed of the Savinja, and since 1728 immured in the wall of the court library in Vienna, the present-day Austrian National Library, along its staircase. The monument was testamentarily erected by one C. Domitius Florus. It is dated to AD 79, the year when Vespasian died:

Imp(eratori) Vespasiano / Caesari Aug(usto), / pontif(ifici) maximo, / trib(unicia) potest(estate) X, /⁵ imp(eratori) XX, co(n)s(uli) VIII, p(atr) p(atriciae), / C(aius) Domitius / Florus / t(estamento) f(ieri) i(ussit).

The gentilicium Domitius (belonging to the old Roman nobility and borne, among others, by the wife of the future emperor Domitian, Domitia) is very frequently attested in northern Italy and elsewhere in the west (especially in Hispania and Narbonensis) (23); Florus seems to have been an immigrant to Noricum. He may have been an active supporter of Vespasian before the latter became emperor, and was later – in one way or another – rewarded for his loyalty. In any case, he was a rich citizen (or at least a

(20) See «Der römische Limes in Österreich. Ein Führer» (eds. M. Kandler, H. Vetters), Wien 1986, under these forts.

(21) ŠASEL, *La fondazione delle città Flavie quale espressione di gratitudine politica*, in «La città antica come fatto di cultura, Atti del Convegno di Como e Bellagio 16/19 giugno 1979», Como 1983, pp. 79-91 (= *Opera selecta*, Ljubljana 1992, pp. 332-344).

(22) E. GROAG, *Die römischen Inschriftsteine der Hofbibliothek*, Wien 1913, pp. 41-42 no. 40 (cf. WINKLER, *Zu den römischen Inschriften der Österreichischen Nationalbibliothek*, «Römisches Österreich», 3 (1975), pp. 295-305; a short note concerning the inscriptions from Celeia is on p. 300).

(23) A. MÓCSY, et al., *Nomenclator* (Diss. Pann. 3/1), Budapest 1983, s.v.

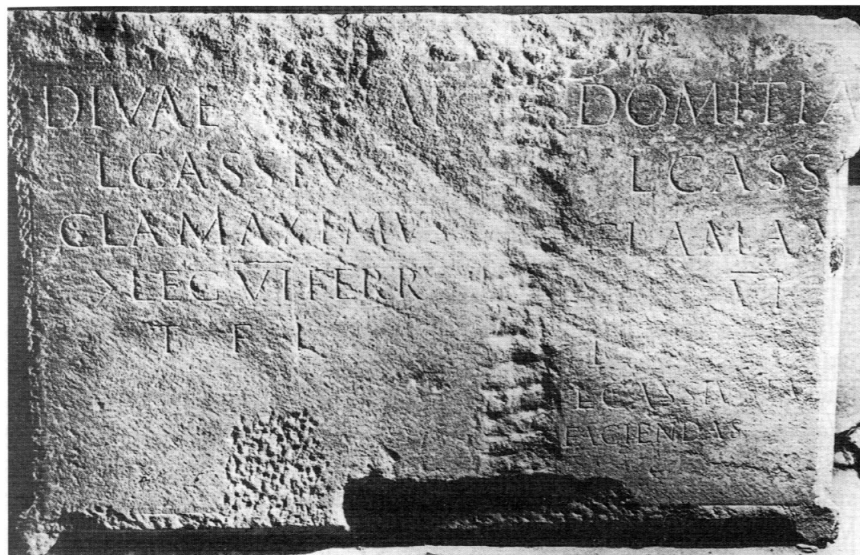


Fig. 4. Dedications to Diva Iulia and Domitia Augusta (ILS, 8906). Courtesy of the Regional Museum in Celje.

resident) of Celeia who felt obliged to have a statue erected to the reigning emperor.

Next come two dedications, carved on the same monument, formerly reused in the altar *mensa* of the church of St Daniel in Celje, now in the *lapidarium* of the Regional Museum (CIL, III, 13524 + p. 2285 = ILS, 8906 = ILLPRON, 1747 + 1748; see fig. 4) (24). The reproduced text is that of Milan Lovenjak, based on a new and unpublished inscription, recently discovered within the area of the so-called Lower Castle.

The left part:

Divae Iu(l)iae / L(ucius) Cassius / Cla(udia) Maximus / (centurio) leg(ionis) VI Ferratae /⁵ t(estamento) fieri i(ussit).

The right part:

Domitia[e Aug(ustae)] / L(ucius) Cassi(us) / Cla(udia)

(24) KOLŠEK, *Celeia* (note 1), p. 29, fig. 19.

*Max[imus] / [(centurio)] leg(ionis) VI [Ferr(atae)]
/ ⁵ t(estamento) f(ieri) [i(ussit)]. / L(ucius) Cassius
Eu[daemon] / faciendas cu[ravit].*

A centurion of *legio* VI Ferrata, L. Cassius Maximus, a native of Celeia, had statues erected testamentary to two women of the Flavian dynasty, Diva Iulia, the deified daughter of the emperor Titus, and Domitia Augusta, the wife of the emperor Domitian. The two inscriptions are dated to the period between the years 90, when Iulia died, and 96 AD, when Domitia died. That Maximus was a Celeian resident may be inferred, apart from the fact that he had these statues erected in Celeia, from his (pseudo)voting tribe, *Claudia*. The Cassii are attested among the municipal upper class also in Flavia Solva and Juvavum. The legion VI Ferrata was stationed in the East (probably in Raphanea in Syria), fought for Vespasian in Italy, and soon returned to the East (stationed again in Raphanea or in Samosata) (25). Maximus may have served in the legion while it was engaged in AD 69 in the civil war in Italy. His testamentary intention to erect statues to the imperial ladies was carried out by L. Cassius Eudaemon, obviously his freedman.

In September 1997, on the occasion of the XIth International Congress of Greek and Latin Epigraphy, Milan Lovenjak presented an analogous inscribed monument, found in the Celje Lower Castle, immured in the wall of the southern tower of the late Roman gateway (26). For reasons of a technical nature, it cannot at present be removed from the wall. The inscribed field of the monument is divided into two sections, but the protruding division section is almost entirely destroyed and practically nothing is visible at present of the left side of the slab, as it is entirely immured. Thus we are left only with the right-hand inscription. The known dimensions (103×117 [visible] cm, inscribed field 85×83 cm), and especially the height of the letters (7.5-5 cm), make it clear that the two monuments (the previously mentioned one with two inscriptions and this one) formed a unit, certainly belonging to the same monumental composition. Statues of the persons honoured were most probably located within the area of

(25) For the subsequent history of the legion, see D. L. KENNEDY, *Legio VI Ferrata: the Annexation and Early Garrison of Arabia*, «Harvard Stud. Class. Phil.», 84 (1980), pp. 283-309.

(26) Text and photographs presented on a poster.

the forum or in a well-visited public place (27). Again the same L. Cassius Eudaemon fulfilled the testamentary will of his (presumed) master L. Cassius Maximus. The person who received the honour is again a woman, one Iulia Procilla, *Cn. filia*. She was tentatively identified by Lovenjak as the mother of Cn. Iulius Agricola (the name of her father would have been attested for the first time in this inscription), the father-in-law of the historian Tacitus; she was killed in Liguria in AD 69 by Otho's troops (28). Lovenjak adduced several arguments in favour of his hypothesis, most of all the fact that the two previously known dedications were erected to the two women belonging to the reigning family, thus it is only logical to seek the third mentioned woman who was honoured by Maximus in the same way, and who most probably received a statue, among the nobility close to the imperial court. On the other hand, it is difficult to imagine that Maximus would have honoured a woman, who after all did not belong to the royal family, and who was, moreover, the mother of a general whom Domitian did not specially favour, and who had already been dead for a considerable time.

Procilla is not an unknown name in Noricum (29), where the Iulii, too, as we have seen, were fairly frequent in the southern part of the former *regnum*. It seems to me more plausible to identify the lady in question with a member of the Celeian nobility, who may have been a benefactor of Maximus, or may have had connections with one of the members of the imperial family, or both. It is most intriguing that we are precluded from learning who was the fourth person honoured by Maximus, as this data may clarify the identity of the enigmatic Iulia Procilla. Of the left part of the dedication, merely the remnants of two letters have been preserved, *TI*. It is clear, however, that by erecting these

(27) See, for some considerations about honorary statues, W. ECK, *Onori per persone di alto rango sociopolitico in ambito pubblico e privato*, in: «Tra epigrafia prosopografia e archeologia. Scritti scelti, rielaborati ed aggiornati» (Vetera 10), Roma 1996, pp. 299-318.

(28) PIR², I 693; see in general on the life of Agricola: M.-T. RAEPSAET-CHARLIER, *Cn. Iulius Agricola: mise au point prosopographique*, in: ANRW, II 33.3 (1991), pp. 1807-1857; on Iulia Procilla also: RAEPSAET-CHARLIER, *Prosopographie des femmes de l'ordre sénatorial (Ier-IIème siècles)*, vols. 1-2, Lovanii 1987, pp. 389-390 no. 454.

(29) In *Nomenclator* (note 23), one instance is listed from Noricum (CIL, III, 5545, Iuvavum: Iuliae Procillae, o(bitae) an(norum) / XLVIII. L. Cocceius Cupitus, / maritus, et Iul. Iuniana / et Coccei: Proculus, Florentina, Cupitus, filii / fecerunt.), eight, e.g., from northern Italy, ten from Dalmatia, three from Pannonia.

statues, L. Cassius Maximus wished not least to preserve a memory of himself for posterity (30).

Trajan

The emperor Trajan is commemorated on one or possibly two inscriptions in Celeia. A dedication on a base for a statue was erected to him by an equestrian officer from Celeia, C. Rufius Moderatus Iunianus Iuncinus. This monument, too, arrived along with some others in 1728 in the Austrian Court Library – the present-day National Library – where it is still immured above the staircase (*CIL*, III, 5202 + p. 1830; *ILLPRON*, 1664) (31):

Imp(eratori) Divi Ner(vae) f(ilio) / Nervae Traian(o) / Caesari Augusto) / Ger(manico), Dacic(o), pont(ifici) /⁵ max(imo), trib(unicia) pot(estate), p(atri) p(atriciae) / co(n)s(uli) V / C(aius) Rufius Moderatus / Iunianus Iuncinus, / praef(ectus) coh(ortis) VI Raet(orum), trib(unus) /¹⁰ mil(itum) leg(ionis) VII C(laudiae) p(iae) f(idelis), / codicil(lo) f(ieri) i(ussit).

C. Rufius Moderatus Iunianus Iuncinus held the first two *militiae*, noted in the inscription; he was the prefect of the cohort VI Raetorum, stationed in Britannia (32), and the tribune of the legion VII Claudia *pia fidelis*, which belonged to the army of Upper Moesia. While exercising the latter function, and before attaining the command of an ala, he must have died. A statue was erected in honour of the emperor on the basis of a supplement (*codicillus*) to his will, some time between AD 103 and 111, as is indicated by the 5th consulate of Trajan (33). The family is well attested in Celeia and its territory (*CIL*, III, 5191, 5199, 5268, 5281, *AII* 9; probably also *CIL*, III, 5228 + p. 1830), and had

(30) ECK, *Dedicanti di statue ed autorappresentazione nelle città romane*, in: «Tra epigrafia», cit. in note 27, pp. 347–357.

(31) GROAG, *Inschriftsteine* (note 22), pp. 48–49 no. 49.

(32) E. BIRLEY, *Noricum, Britain and the Roman Army*, in: «Festschrift für Rudolf Egger. Beiträge zur älteren europäischen Kulturgeschichte», I, Klagenfurt 1952, p. 186.

(33) H. DEVIJVER, *Prosopographia militiarum equestrum quae fuerunt ab Augusto ad Galienum*, II, Leuven 1977, p. 709, R 16; ALFÖLDY, *Noricum* (note 3), p. 274.

connections with the municipal upper class in Virunum (*CIL*, III, 4813; P. Leber, «Carinthia», I, 147, 1957, pp. 172–175).

The next inscription, too, may be ascribed to Trajan (*Nervae f.* was borne by no other emperor), although it is otherwise very fragmentary and composed of two small sections (*CIL*, III, 5203 + p. 1830; *ILLPRON*, 1665):

[*Imp(eratori) Div[i] Nervae filio) N[ervae] / [Traia]no*
Caes[a]ri A[ugusto ---?], / [pont(ifici)] max(imo),
trib(unicia) pot(estate) [---] / [---].

Since no other details are known it is not possible to give any explanation of this inscription.

The Severans

The period of the emperors of the Severan dynasty was important for Noricum, as the province had suffered heavily during the Marcomannic Wars and needed to recover, although an age of military and economic security comparable to that before the wars could never again be attained. Septimius Severus and Caracalla are epigraphically the best documented emperors in the province of Noricum (34). Septimius Severus was proclaimed emperor by the army at Carnuntum (April 9, 193), quite close to the Norican border. The Norican army supported his cause, and the legion II Italica won the additional title *fidelis*, probably after the fall of Clodius Albinus, who must have had several adherents in Noricum. These may have been certain influential civilians and dismissed praetorians, possibly backed by the governor (35). They were proclaimed «public enemies» and were fought by Severus' general Ti. Claudius Candidus (*CIL*, II, 4114 = *ILS*, 1140) (36). In neighbouring Poetovio, a tribune of the cohort X praetoria, who was on his way to suppress the «Gallic

(34) See the imperial inscriptions in *ILLPRON*, fasc. primus; for Pannonia, see, e.g. P. KOVÁCS, *Building Inscriptions of Septimius Severus from Pannonia*, in: «Atti. XI Congresso Intern. di Epigrafia Greca e Latina, Roma 18-24 sett. 1997», Roma 1999, pp. 521-531.

(35) ALFÖLDY, *Noricum* (note 3), pp. 168-169.

(36) H. GRAßL, *Noricum im Bürgerkrieg des Jahres 196/197 n. Chr.*, «Römisches Österreich», 2 (1974), pp. 7-10.

faction» (*ad opprimendam factionem Gallicanam*), erected an altar to Jupiter, by the order of the emperor (CIL, III, 4037 = RIST, 388) (37).

As is indicated by the rescript of Septimius Severus and Caracalla from Flavia Solva of AD 205, the emperors also concerned themselves with important municipal affairs. The rescript was intended to check the abuse of certain financial benefits awarded to the *collegium centonariorum* by some of its richer members. Under Caracalla, Ovilavis (formerly a *municipium Aelium*) was awarded the status of a Roman *colonia*, while the civil settlement at Lauriacum probably became a *municipium*.

Septimius Severus was commemorated, along with his both sons, on a votive altar of white Pohorje marble, discovered in the central area of Celeia (Stanetova St.), now kept in the Regional Museum (inv. no. L 130). The inscription is barely legible because of the poor quality of the stone (CIL, III, 5156a + p. 1830 = AIJ, 42 = ILS, 3712 = ILLPRON, 1617):

*Fortunae / Stabili / pro salute domino/rum nn(ostrorum)
/ ⁵impp(eratorum) L(uci) Septimi Severi/i (!) Pertinacis et
/ M(arci) Aur(eli) Antonini Aug(ustorum) / [et P(ublii)
Septimi(i) Getae Caes(aris)] / Ulp(ius) Valerianus (centu-
rio) leg(ionis) X G(eminae).*

The dedication is dated between the year 197, when in late autumn Caracalla was proclaimed *Augustus* and Geta *Caesar*, and the autumn of 209, when Geta was elevated to the rank of *Augustus* (38). The epithet of *Fortuna* (her cult in the Latin speaking provinces was analogous to that of *Tyche* in the Greek speaking ones) (39), *Stabilis*, should be translated as «firmly established, lasting, permanent» (The Oxford Dictionary, s.v. *stabilis*,

(37) Cf. H. AIGNER, *Bemerkungen zur Inschrift CIL III 4037*, «Schild von Steier», 14 (1979/81), pp. 113-121, who argues for the identification of the tribune with C. Fulvius Plautianus, first proposed by A. v. Premerstein.

(38) KIENAST, *Kaisertabelle* (note 17), p. 166. For the titulature of Caracalla and Geta, see A. MASTINO, *Le titolature di Caracalla e Geta attraverso le iscrizioni (indici)*, Studi di storia antica 5, Bologna 1981.

(39) On the origins of the cult and its development in the Republican period, see J. CHAMPEAUX, *Fortuna. Recherches sur le culte de la Fortune à Rome et dans le monde romain des origines à la mort de César*, I: *Fortuna dans la religion archaïque*, Coll. Ec. fr. Rome 64, Rome 1982. II: *Les transformations de Fortuna sous la République*, Rome 1987. A short survey by F. GRAF, s.v. *Fortuna*, in: *Der Neue Pauly* 4 (1998), pp. 598-602.

refers to the Celeia dedication), and may be an indication of the recent victory over Clodius Albinus. The centurion belonged to the legion stationed in the nearby Pannonian camp at Vindobona, and may have been engaged in police work against Albinus' adherents in Noricum. Possibly, the invocation of Fortuna Stablis reflected the growing discord between the brothers that darkened the latter part of Severus' reign.

Caracalla and Geta are mentioned on a simple white marble altar dedicated to Jupiter and the goddess Celeia by a *beneficiarius consularis*, found in the central area of Celeia (Stanetova St.), along with several other altars of *beneficarii* (40). It is kept in the Regional Museum (inv. no. L 136; *CIL*, III, 5187 + p. 1830, 2285 = *CBFIR*, 228 = *ILLPRON*, 1648; see fig. 5) (41):

[Pro s(alute) Augg(ustorum)] nn(ostrorum) / I(ovi)
O(ptimo) M(aximo) et Cel(eiae) / sanct(ae) / C(aius)
Licinius /⁵ Bellicianus, / b(ene)f(iciarius) leg(ionis) II
Ita(licae) / p(iae) f(idelis), pro se / et suis / v(otum) s(olvit)
l(ibens) m(erito). /¹⁰ Gentiano et Basso co(n)s(ulibus) /
Idib(us) Dec(embris).

This dedication is dated to December 13, AD 211, a few days before Geta's murder which occurred on December 19 or 26 (42). The *pro salute* dedication for the emperors (Geta was proclaimed *Augustus* in the autumn of 209) was engraved with smaller letters above the moulding of the capital of the altar, probably on purpose, or perhaps at a later date, like the last two lines, containing the consular dating, also carved in smaller letters.

Caracalla, who, from Geta's murder at the end of AD 211, was the only ruler up to April 8, 217, when he was killed near Carrhae in Mesopotamia, is commemorated in a dedication on a simple marble altar, also erected by a *beneficiarius consularis*. It was discovered in the central area of Celeia like the previous altar (Stanetova St.), and is now in the Regional Museum (inv. no.

(40) On the *beneficarii* in Celeia, see R. L. DISE, *The Beneficarii Procuratoris of Celeia and the Development of the Statio Network*, *ZPE*, 113 (1996), pp. 286-292, who, however, mainly analyzed *beneficarii procuratoris*, i.e. those serving in the period before the Marcomannic Wars.

(41) See also WINKLER, *Reichsbeamte* (note 6), p. 126, no. 9; KOLŠEK, *Celeia* (note 1), p. 15 fig. 7.

(42) KIENAST, *Kaisertabelle* (note 17), p. 166.



Fig. 5. CBFIR, 228. Courtesy of the Regional Museum in Celje.

L 134; *CIL*, III, 5185 + p. 1830 = *CBFIR*, 227 = *ILLPRON*, 1646) (43):

*Pro salute d(omini) n(ostrī) / imp(eratoris) Antonini pi(i)
f(elicis) A[ug(usti)], / I(ovi) O(ptimo) M(aximo)
Conser(vatori), / Arubiano et Cel(eiae) /⁵ sanct(ae). /
Vib(ius) Cassius / Victorinus, / b(ene)f(iciarius)
co(n)s(ularis) leg(ionis) II Ital(icae) / p(iae) f(idelis)
Antoninian(ae), /¹⁰ v(otum) s(olvit) l(ibens) m(erito). /
L(a)eto II et Ceriale co(n)s(ulibus).*

The altar was erected in AD 215. The *pro salute* formula and consular dating are again carved with much smaller letters, the

(43) See also WINKLER, *Reichsbeamte* (note 6), 126, no. 6; KOLŠEK, *Celeia* (note 1), p. 28 fig. 17.

first on the capital of the altar, the latter on its base, as if they were not supposed to be a constituent part of the dedication.

It may be of interest to note that emperors are not commemorated on *beneficarii* altars in Noricum, Pannonia, and Dalmatia before the Severan dynasty (44), the dedication to *Iuppiter Optimus Maximus*, made in AD 195 *pro salute Augusti* (i.e. referring to Septimius Severus), being the earliest in these three provinces (45).

A small marble fragment with large letters (almost 10 cm high), perhaps belonging to a monumental building inscription, refers either to Septimius Severus or he was honoured together with Caracalla or both of his sons. It is kept in the Regional Museum (inv. no. L 88; *CIL*, III, 5204 + p. 1830; *ILLPRON*, 1666):

[*Imp(eratori) C(aes(ari) L(ucio) S(eptimio Severo) / [...]*
+ *AX AV[...]* / -----

Carus

The most interesting of the imperial inscriptions from Celeia is doubtless the dedication to Carus, since epigraphic testimonies of this emperor are – in view of his very short reign (August/September 282 - July/August 283) (46) – very scarce, especially in those parts of the empire where his imperial proclamation took place. The dedication probably belonged to a base for his statue, but unfortunately this is lost and no details concerning either the shape and size of the monument or the details of its discovery are known. The reading is based on that of *CIL*, but Mommsen reconstructed it from the uncertain transcription of Lazijs, which was corrected by J. G. Seidl, and may be considered as not totally

(44) The evidence is collected in: E. SCHALLMAYER, K. EIBL, J. OTT, G. PREUSS, E. WITTKOPF, *Der römische Weihebezirk von Osterburken I. Corpus der griechischen und lateinischen Beneficiarii-Inschriften des Römischen Reiches*, Forschungen und Berichte zur Vor- und Frühgeschichte in Baden-Württemberg 40, Stuttgart 1990, pp. 192-345 (relevant nos. are: 215, 259, 269, 273, 316, 338 (erroneously dated), 346, 352, 356, 364, 394, 417, 494, 496).

(45) The altar was usually erroneously dated to 158, but this date is almost certainly too early, see ŠAŠEL KOS, *The Roman Inscriptions in the National Museum of Slovenia / Lapidarij Narodnega muzeja Slovenije*, Situla 35, Ljubljana, 1997, no. 158.

(46) KIENAST, *Kaisertabelle* (note 17), pp. 254-255.

dependable in certain details (CIL, III, 5205 + p. 1830 = ILLPRON, 1667) (47):

Imp(eratori) Caes(ari) / M(arco) Aurelio / Caro Pio / Fel(ici) invic(to) /⁵ Augusto, pont(ifici) / max(im)o, trib(unicia) / pot(estate), p(atr)i p(atriciae), pro/co(n)s(uli), ordo Cel(eiensium).

The emperor came from Narbo (thus EUTR., 9.18.1; AUR. VICTOR, *Caes.*, 39.12; *Epit. de Caes.*, 38.1) and not from Illyricum, Mediolanium, or Roma, as falsely noted by HA (*Car.*, 4-5). His first known function was that of praetorian prefect of Probus (AUR. VICTOR, *Caes.*, 38.1). He rebelled in Raetia and was proclaimed emperor by the Raetian and Norican army at the end of the summer of 282 (ZOS., 1.71); his two sons Carinus and Numerianus were named Caesars (48). Early in the next year he fought against the Sarmatians (EUTR., 9.18), after which he led a successful military campaign with Numerianus against Persia (capture of Ctesiphon). However, he suddenly died (or was killed?) in July or August 283 on the Tigris (AUR. VICTOR, *Caes.*, 38.4-6; *Epit.*, 38.2).

The dedication from Celeia should almost certainly be dated to AD 282 (49), more precisely to the summer of that year, when the emperor presumably marched from Raetia and Noricum to Sirmium, where he was proclaimed *Augustus*. Actually it is neither entirely clear whether Carus was in the Alpine provinces or near Sirmium at the time of his accession, nor whether he went to Rome before marching east (50). However, it is only natural that Norican towns would want to honour an emperor who was supported by the army of the province and who may have actually travelled through their province.

(47) LAZIUS, *Commentariorum reipublicae Romanae*, 1180; J. G. SEIDL, *Wiener Jahrb. A. B.* 116, 1846, p. 46 (CIL: traditur: IMP CAES AVRELIO / C DIO PIO / CIV INVIC / AVG PVB / POT P P R / OSOP); even the scarce possibility is noted that the inscription may refer to Diocletian). R. WEDENIG, *Epigraphische Quellen zur städtischen Administration in Noricum*, *Aus Forschung und Kunst* 31, Klagenfurt 1997, C 14; ŠASEL, *Ein zweiter Numerianus in der Familie des Kaisers Carus*, «*Epigraphica*», 46 (1984), pp. 248-252 (= *Opera selecta*, Ljubljana 1992, pp. 212-219).

(48) Another Numerianus who may have been his nephew is mentioned as Caesar on a milestone from Škabrnje near Nedinum, Dalmatia, see ŠASEL, *Ein zweiter Numerianus* (note 47).

(49) ALFÖLDY, *Noricum* (note 3), p. 267.

(50) D. L. VAGI, *Coinage and History of the Roman Empire c. 82 B.C. - A.D. 480*, Vol. I: *History*, Sidney, Ohio 1999, p. 377.

Epilogue

Two imperial statues were recently discovered at Celeia, im-mured in the late Roman wall within the area of the so-called Lower Castle, such as the above mentioned inscribed monument, commemorating an unknown woman with possible connections to the Flavian dynasty. One was dated to Hadrian's reign by A. Vogrin (51), and one possibly to the Claudian era by V. Kolšek (52), but both show striking similarities, and thus they must probably be closer in time. Whether either of the two could belong to any of the above mentioned bases for imperial statues, e.g. for members of the Flavian dynasty or for Trajan, will remain unknown, but it should not be entirely excluded. They could, of course, represent other emperors who are as yet undocumented in the inscriptions. In any case, it could be claimed that they supplement the epigraphic testimonies to indirect imperial presence in the town very well.

The last to be mentioned is an inscribed fragment, which may not belong at all to the imperial inscriptions, although it was published as such. A small slab of Pohorje marble, broken off on all sides, except along a small part of the left edge, with red coloured letters (13×14×2, HL: 1,5 cm) is now in the Regional Museum (inv. n. L 303) (53):

----- / [...] +O+ / MAXIM[---] / GERMA[---] /⁵
ABSIDE[---] / TECTV[---].

The fragment was interpreted by V. Kolšek as belonging to an imperial building inscription and was supplemented as follows:

----- / [...] *pon[tifex]* / *maxim[us ---]* / *Germa[nicus*
--- /⁵ *abside[---]* / *tectu[m ---]*.

(51) A. VOGRIN, *Two imperial statues discovered in Celje - Celeia, Slovenija* (Dva carska kipa odkrivena u Celju-Celeia, Slovenija), in: «Međunarodno arheološko savjetovanje Carski kult na istočnom Jadranu / International Archaeological Symposium Imperial Cult in the Eastern Adriatic», *Histria antiqua* 4, Pula 1998, pp. 93-97.

(52) KOLŠEK, *Der Torso einer Panzerstatue aus Celeia*, in: «Akten des 3. Intern. Kolloquiums über Probleme des provinziäl-römischen Kunstschaffens», ed. G. Bauchhenss (Beiheft der Bonner Jb. 51), Köln, Bonn 1996, pp. 67-70, Pl. 18-19.

(53) KOLŠEK, *Napisi iz Celja* (note 1), pp. 279-280, no. 1, fig. 1; *AEp* 1995, 1199.

She ascribed it to Domitian. The remaining letters suggest the possibility that the inscription may be imperial; however, the editors of *L'année épigraphique* proposed to identify the fragment with an inscription referring to the construction of a mausoleum. They correctly emphasized that the first and the last visible letters in the first preserved line are too fragmentary to be identified, thus]pon[*tifex* is arbitrary. In the next two lines, they see two personal names, supplementing the fragment in the following way:

[---] / [...]+o+[---] / *Maxim*[---] / *Germa*[n--- *cum*] /
abside, *abside*[*m*] or *abside*[*s* --- *et*] / *tectum*.

The main argument against the explanation of the fragment as part of an imperial building inscription seems to me to be its small size, especially the limited height of the letters, merely 1.5 cm, but perhaps the problem of the very nature of this inscription should be considered as still unsolved.

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