

## POETOVIO BEFORE THE MARCOMANNIC WARS: FROM LEGIONARY CAMP TO *COLONIA ULPIA*

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### GEOGRAPHICAL OUTLINE

Poetovio (Ptuj in Slovenia) was the only autonomous town in Pannonia founded by Trajan; it was the second largest city in Upper Pannonia (after Carnuntum) and certainly one of the most important in the province. Throughout its history it was the main provincial financial centre; in the first half of the 1<sup>st</sup> century AD, it was most probably the main administrative centre of the province and seat of the commander-in-chief of the Pannonian part of Illyricum.<sup>1</sup> The town had an important strategic position as it was situated along the ancient Amber Road at the crossing of the Drava River (the *Dravus*, *fig. 1*). It first belonged to the Norican kingdom,<sup>2</sup> but after the presumably peaceful annexation of the kingdom around 15 BC and the conquest of Illyricum following the Pannonian War (12–8 BC) and the great Pannonian-Dalmatian Rebellion (AD 6–9) – both led by Tiberius



Fig. 1. Geographical position of modern Ptuj, mainly located on the left bank of the Drava River.

<sup>1</sup> Saria 1951, 1171; Vittinghoff 1953, 364.

<sup>2</sup> Saria 1951, 1170.



Fig. 2. Marble head of Tiberius from Ptuj (from *Zakladi tisočletij – Zgodovina Slovenije od neandertalcev do Slovanov*, Ljubljana 1999, 187).

(fig. 2) – Poetovio was administratively transferred to Lower Illyricum (fig. 3). The measure was carried out for geo-political and strategic reasons, since the Romans regarded it necessary to exercise military control over the Amber Route. Three legions (*VIII Augusta*, *XV Apollinaris*, and *IX Hispana*) were stationed in the Pannonian part of Illyricum under Augustus, *VIII Augusta* at Poetovio, while Noricum, a Roman ally of a long standing, remained a province with almost no Roman troops (*inermis*).<sup>3</sup> A small vexillation of *VIII Augusta* was detached during the Augustan period to Virunum at Magdalensberg,<sup>4</sup> where a unit of the *cohors Montanorum prima* has also been attested. Lower Illyricum had officially been called Pannonia probably since Vespasian, under whom the municipalisation of Pannonia began.<sup>5</sup>

However, Poetovio was again attached to Noricum in the late Roman period (to its southern

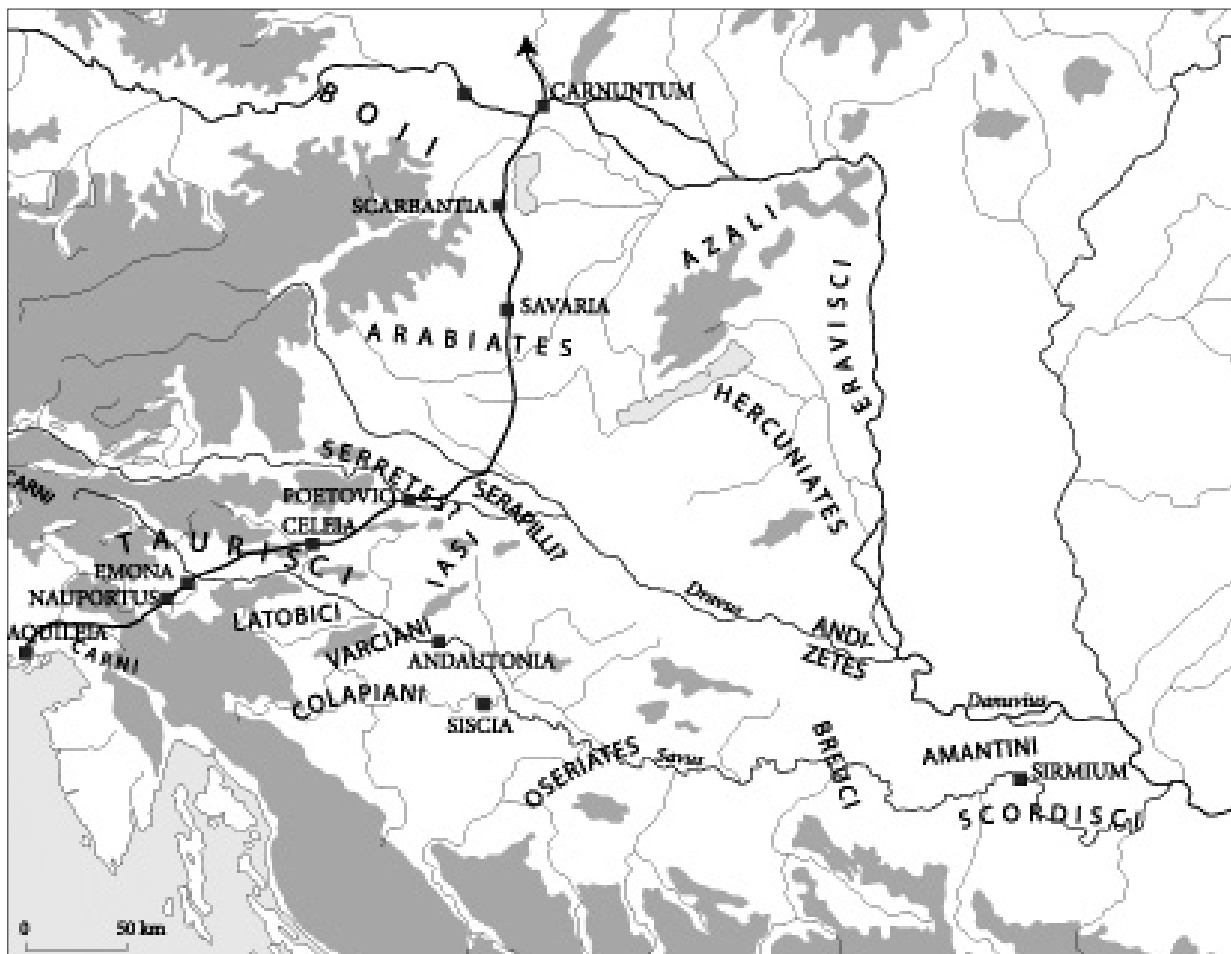


Fig. 3. Peoples and places along the Amber Route and in Pannonia (computer graphics: Mateja Belak).

<sup>3</sup> Only some auxiliary troops were stationed in the province, see Ubl 2005.

<sup>4</sup> *CIL* III 4858 = *ILS* 2466 = *HD*056850.

<sup>5</sup> Šašel Kos 2010.

part called *Noricum Mediterraneum*), as is made clear by the data in the *Itinerarium Hierosolymitanum* (561.4) and the *Tabula Peutingeriana* (4.20). This transfer most probably occurred after the changes in provincial administration introduced by Diocletian; the change of borders is also confirmed in later sources. In the *Cosmography* of the Anonymous Geographer from Ravenna (around 700 AD) the name of the town appears as Petaviona (216.6).

The late Iron Age settlement should be sought on the left bank of the Drava on Panorama and Castle Hill (Grajski grič), and also along the Amber Route in the area where it crossed the river;<sup>6</sup> due to its excellent position along the Amber Route it may be assumed that the first Italian and Roman merchants came to Poetovio at the latest during the early Augustan period.<sup>7</sup> Poetovio gradually developed into one of the most flourishing Pannonian cities.<sup>8</sup> The name Poetovio is pre-Roman and also pre-Celtic, although a Celtic etymology of the name has recently been proposed.<sup>9</sup> The modern names for the city, Slovenian Ptuj and German Pettau, are derived from the ancient name, the latter directly from the Romance period form of the name (*ad Bettobiam*, *Conv. Bag. et Carant.* 11, from the 9<sup>th</sup> century).<sup>10</sup> During the Late Iron Age, the settlement was most probably inhabited by the Taurisci, a league of small related Celtic peoples and tribes, among which the Serretes or Serapilli should be noted, mentioned by Pliny the Elder as being settled along the Drava (*NH*, 3.147).<sup>11</sup> The indigenous names known from the inscriptions are mainly Celtic and relatively rare, since numerous colonists from abroad pushed the native inhabitants into the background. Names such as *Deuso Agisi f(i)lius* and his wife *Adbugiouna Atnamati f(i)lia* appear on an early tombstone from the cemetery at Zgornja Hajdina; their son was called *Primio*.<sup>12</sup> One *Calandina Calandini filia* is attested on a second century tombstone of *Ausca*, the daughter of *Adiutor*; *Ausca* is a Celtic name, while *Calandina* is a typical eastern Norican name.<sup>13</sup> *Aisia*, *Atto*,<sup>14</sup> *Cutio* and *Medullia*,<sup>15</sup> *Maro*, and *Suadra* are further attested,<sup>16</sup> as well as *Artebudz* on a pot from Spodnja Hajdina.<sup>17</sup>

### POETOVIO AS A LEGIONARY FORTRESS

A legionary fortress for *VIII Augusta* was presumably erected in the mid-Augustan period on the right bank of the Drava; the camp has not been reliably located yet because the river subsequently changed its course and flooded a part of the town as early as in the

<sup>6</sup> Božič 1993; cf. also Šašel 1980; Horvat et al. 2003, 153–154: settlement in the area of Ptuj (Castle Hill and Rabelčja vas) is attested since the late Neolithic or early Eneolithic periods, Dular 2013, 73–75.

<sup>7</sup> Saria 1951, 1170.

<sup>8</sup> Slapšak 2001; Horvat et al. 2003; cf. Vomer Gojkovič 2009.

<sup>9</sup> Anreiter 2001, 112–114 and *passim*; according to Delamarre 2009, 95–96, the name should be related to a Celtic god of vengeance, which is not plausible.

<sup>10</sup> Snoj 2009, 336–337.

<sup>11</sup> Kovács 2013, 135, ascribed Poetovio to the *civitas Serretum*, but there is no proof of this.

<sup>12</sup> *CIL* III 10883 = *RIS* 405 = *CLIC* p. 229 no. PAN 036 = *HD*067000. Adbugiunus, Adnamatus, Agisus, and Deuso are names typical of the Noricans, Kakoschke 2012, 232; 236; 242; 383–384.

<sup>13</sup> *CIL* III 11715 = *AIJ* 87 = *HD*066804 = *lupa* 3624; *Ausca*: Kakoschke 2012, 285; *Calandinus/Calandina*: Šašel 1978/79 (1992); Kakoschke 2012, 320–321.

<sup>14</sup> *Aisia*: *CIL* 4033 = *HD*057349; *Atto*: *AE* 1986, 573 = *HD*007977 = *lupa* 4211.

<sup>15</sup> *CIL* III 4083 = *AIJ* 406 = Mander 2013, 287, no. 608 = *lupa* 3770; for the names Medu and Maro, see Kakoschke 2012, s.v.

<sup>16</sup> *CIL* III 4103 + p. 1748 = *lupa* 4848.

<sup>17</sup> Eichner, Istenič, Lovenjak 1994.



Late Roman period.<sup>18</sup> The legion, which probably came from Asia Minor,<sup>19</sup> took an active part in conquering Illyricum, and its presence in Pannonia is attested by several inscriptions (fig. 4).<sup>20</sup> It seems that during the Pannonian-Dalmatian Revolt the fortress was too distant from the rebellious regions to be directly affected by the war. Around AD 45, the legion was transferred to Moesia (Novae) and replaced by *XIII Gemina* from Vindonissa (Germania); the newly arrived legion built an aqueduct for the legionary camp at Poetovio, leaving some other traces in the town, notably inscribed monuments and brick stamps.<sup>21</sup> The legion *VIII Augusta* opened the first marble quarry on Pohorje Mountain, while marble from Gummern was introduced to Poetovio around the mid-1<sup>st</sup> century AD and was mainly used for tombstones of legionaries of *XIII Gemina* (fig. 5).<sup>22</sup> This legion probably also erected a more permanent fortress, replacing the earlier turf structures; *canabae* increasingly flourished near the legionary camp. Poetovio was also an important river port, where a detachment of the Pannonian navy was stationed (*classis Flavia Pannonica*), as is directly indicated by the presence of a *trierarcha*.<sup>23</sup>

In August AD 69, Poetovio, the fortress of *XIII Gemina*, was the scene of an important meeting of legionary and provincial legates supporting the future emperor Vespasian (*Poetovionem in hiberna tertiae decimae legionis convenerant*); this is the first mention of Poetovio in classical literature (Tac., *Hist.* 3.1). The legate of the legion was then Vedius Aquila,<sup>24</sup> and a significant role was also played by the legate of *XI Claudia* from Burnum in Dalmatia, L. Annius Bassus, as well as by the governors of Dalmatia and Pannonia, 'two rich old men', M. Pompeius Silvanus and L. Tampius Flavianus (Tacitus, *Hist.* 2.86.3). The latter was present at Poetovio at the gathering, as was the procurator of Illyricum, the influential former senator Cornelius Fuscus (*Hist.* 2.86).<sup>25</sup> However, the meeting was dominated by the legate of the legion *VII Galbiana* M. Antonius Primus, a young senator from Tolosa, who managed to persuade the staff of the headquarters of the army in Illyricum to depart for Italy before the arrival of Vespasian's general, the governor of Syria C. Licinius Mucianus, with the army from the East. The units from Illyricum under the leadership of Antonius Primus defeated the legions of Vitellius in October at Bedriacum and Cremona and eventually conquered Rome.<sup>26</sup>

<sup>18</sup> Horvat et al. 2003, 156; 173.

<sup>19</sup> Keppie 1998, 135; cf. 180.

<sup>20</sup> *CIL* III 4060; 10878 (= *AIJ* 371 = *HD*066090, from Cremona); 10879 = *AIJ* 381 = *RIS*t 404 = *HD*066999; *AIJ* 262; *AE* 1978, 646 = *HD*004954; cf. Oldenstein-Pferdehirt 1984, 397.

<sup>21</sup> *AIJ* 377 (= *AE* 1934, 225 = *HD*027109); *AE* 1977, 629 = *HD*020446 (soldier from Celeia); *AE* 1986, 562 = *HD*007944; *AIJ* 385; *CIL* III 4061 = *AIJ* 380 = *ILS* 2330 (cavalry soldier from Mediolanum); *CIL* III 4660, 1a-b; 25c; *CIL* III 10877 = *AIJ* 368 = *RIS*t 402 = *HD*066998 (veteran from Industria); *CIL* III 10881 (probably veteran); *CIL* III 10887 = *RIS*t 398 = *HD*066996 (fragmentary); *CIL* III 14355, 2 = *AIJ* 372 = *CBFIR* 299 (*beneficiarius tribuni*); *CIL* III 14355, 3 = *AIJ* 382 (soldier or veteran); *ILJug* 1152 (*centurio*). Cf. Saria, Klemenc 1939, 22; 27–28.

<sup>22</sup> Djurić 2008, particularly 163–164; on the early military stelae from Poetovio see also Pochmarski 1998; Pochmarski 2003.

<sup>23</sup> *CIL* III 4025 = *ILS* 2912: *I(ovi) O(ptimo) M(aximo) / L(ucius) Iul(ius) / Maximu[s] / [t]rierarcha / cl(assis) Fl(aviae) Pan/nonicae / v(otum) s(olvit) l(ibens) m(erito)*. On the fleets: Saddington 2007.

<sup>24</sup> Fitz 1993, 189, no. 81.

<sup>25</sup> On Silvanus, see, Wilkes 1969, 84; 444, no. 12; for Tampius Flavianus: Fitz 1993, 149–152, no. 56; Vespasian named them consuls for the second time probably in 72 AD, Eck 2009, 247; 252; on Fuscus: Fitz 1993, 227–228, no. 108.

<sup>26</sup> These events are described by Tacitus, *Hist.* 3.1–82; cf. Schotter 1977, who gives credit to Tacitus' portraits of the protagonists; the best commentary: Šašel 1979; Le Roux 2010, 125–127; 135–136; assessed in a broad context: Morgan 2006, 192 ff.



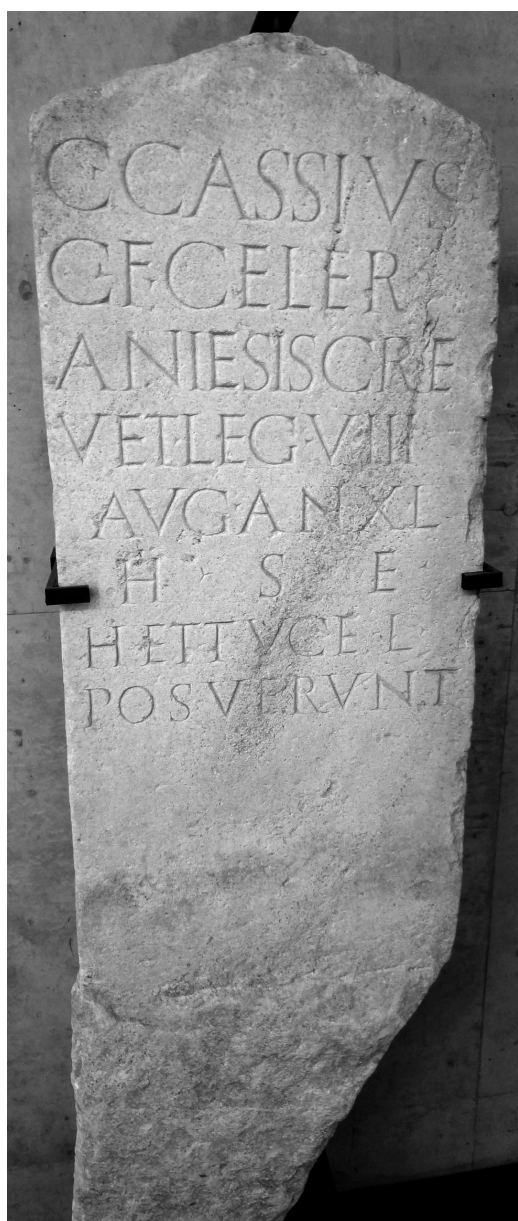


Fig. 4. C. Cassius Celer, veteran of the legion *VIII Augusta* (AIJ 371 = Iupa 1699; courtesy of the Regional Museum of Ptuj – Ormož).

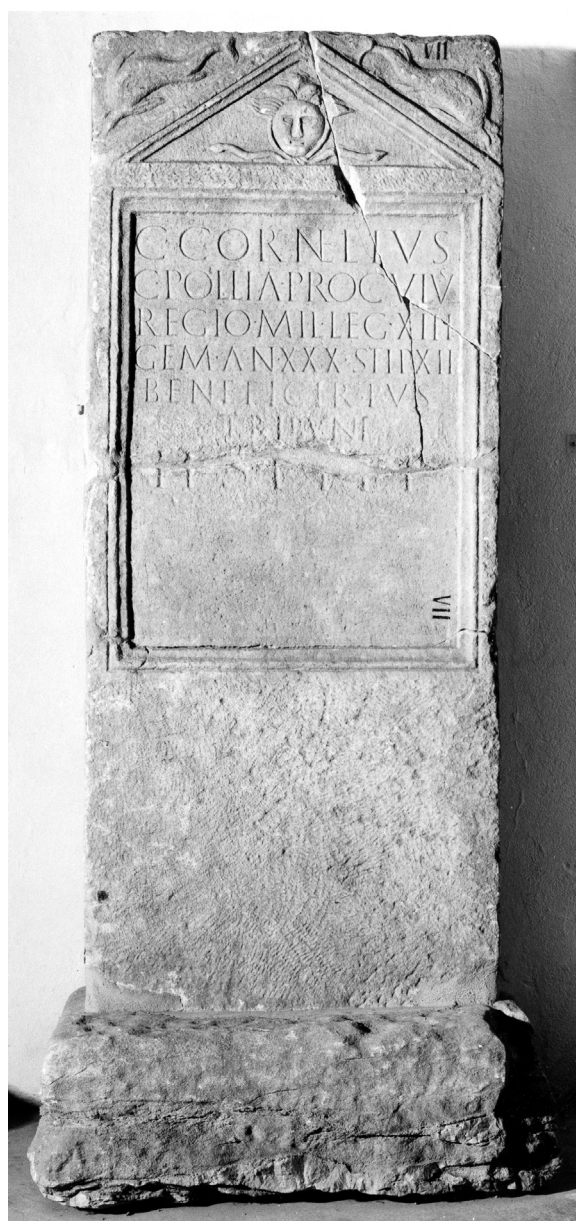


Fig. 5. C. Cornelius Proculus, soldier of the legion *XIII Gemina* (AIJ 372 = Iupa 3069; courtesy of the Regional Museum of Ptuj – Ormož).

The *XIII Gemina* left Poetovio for Vindobona before the accession of Trajan, most likely towards the end of Domitian's reign,<sup>27</sup> when the Pannonian *limes* was again exposed to attacks from Germanic peoples. Domitian had notably made preparations for the war in Pannonia against the Marcomanni and Quadi in AD 96, which was ended under Nerva.<sup>28</sup> Five legions were stationed in Pannonia at that time (*XIII Gemina*, *XV Apollinaris*, *I* and *II Adiutrix*, *IV Flavia*(?)), as well as ten *alae* and 23 cohorts, indicating that danger threatened most of all from the Germanic peoples and from Sarmatia, and less so from Dacia.<sup>29</sup> The *XIII Gemina* fought in the war against the Suebi and Sarmatae (*expeditio Suebica et Sarmatica*), when the legate of the legion was L. Caesennius Sospes; he was awarded decorations for his achieve-

<sup>27</sup> Dušanić, Vasić 1977, 301, n. 67; Strobel 1988; cf., for a short outline, Wilkes 2000, 580–581.

<sup>28</sup> Strobel 2010, 155 (the third Pannonian war).

<sup>29</sup> Dušanić, Vasić 1977, 303–304; Lőrincz 2001, 66–70. Cf. Mócsy 1974, 84–85.

ments in the war.<sup>30</sup> This war took place either under Domitian in AD 92/93,<sup>31</sup> or under Nerva in AD 96–97 (*bellum Suebicum*),<sup>32</sup> when in the years 97–98 Pannonia was governed by Cn. Pinarius Cicatricula Pompeius Longinus, the former governor of Upper Moesia (still in that province on 12 July 97), who is documented as being in Pannonia on 20 February AD 98.<sup>33</sup> He was the victorious general in Nerva's war and later one of the most trustworthy of Trajan's associates.<sup>34</sup> After this war, the legion *XIII Gemina* did not return to Poetovio. The suggestion that the legion *XXI Rapax* would have been stationed at Poetovio until AD 102, is not based on any firm evidence,<sup>35</sup> and it left no traces in Pannonia either. The legion is generally believed



Fig. 6. Altar to Jupiter, supposedly erected by Hadrian (photo Boris Farič; courtesy of the Regional Museum of Ptuj – Ormož).

to have been destroyed by the Sarmatians in AD 92, or else it was disbanded after having been defeated in the revolt of the governor of Upper Germania, L. Antonius Saturninus in AD 89.<sup>36</sup> However, even after the departure of the *XIII Gemina*, the strategic position of Poetovio retained its significance and the town must have rarely been without any soldiers.<sup>37</sup> A few *beneficarii consularis* have been documented to date in the town.<sup>38</sup>

Many important buildings must have been erected in the town even before the departure of the legion *XIII Gemina*, most notably several sanctuaries. There must have been more than one sanctuary in which Jupiter was worshipped. One such early *aedes* at Zgornji Breg on the right side of the Drava, where the legionary camp was presumably also situated,<sup>39</sup> is indirectly confirmed by the fact that a large altar to Jupiter the Best and Greatest was found there, probably erected around AD 95 by Hadrian as a tribune of *II Adiutrix* (fig. 6), on his way to Aquincum, where his legion was stationed.<sup>40</sup> It should not

<sup>30</sup> *CIL* III 291 = 6818 = *ILS* 1017 from Antiochia (Pisidia); Lőrincz 2010 (1975), 69–71; Strobel 1988, 214–215; Fitz 1993, 193–194, no. 87, with additional bibliography; Muscalu 2011.

<sup>31</sup> Syme 1977, 38; 46–48 (1984, 1044; 1056–1060); Maxfield 1981, 148; 240; Vidman 1988; Strobel 2010, 116–117 (the second Pannonian war); Gering 2012, 281–291.

<sup>32</sup> *Bellum Suebicum*: *CIL* V 7425 = *ILS* 2720 = Lőrincz 2001, 267, no. 371; for Domitian's war preparations: Dušanić, Vasić 1977, 301–302, particularly 301, n. 67; cf. Farnum 2005, 38.

<sup>33</sup> *CIL* XVI 42; Reidinger 1956, 60, no. 18; cf. Syme 1958, I. 15 and n. 3; Fitz 1993, 163; 164–165, no. 65; Fitz 1993, 164–165, no. 65.

<sup>34</sup> Piso 1993, 1 ff.; Eck 2002, 224–225.

<sup>35</sup> Thus Farnum 2005, 24 and 29.

<sup>36</sup> Ritterling 1925, 1736 and 1788–1789; Bérard 2000, 56–57; 59–60; Lőrincz 2010 (1981), 113, n. 1; cf. Strobel 1989, 77–78; 96–97; 100 ff.; Strobel 2010, 117.

<sup>37</sup> Bishop 2012, 94 and 96.

<sup>38</sup> *CBFIR* 298–300.

<sup>39</sup> Horvat et al. 2003, 173.

<sup>40</sup> However, the inscription is fragmentary (*[I(ovi)] o(ptimo) m(aximo) / [...].lius / [...].rianus / [---]*): Mikl 1960–1961, 161–162, fig. 4 = *ILJug* 1141 = Jevremov 1988, 97, no. 102 = *HD*036290; Mráv 2003, 132–133; for the date: Fitz 1993, 162–163.



be excluded that at that time his kinsman and guardian Trajan (Trajan's father was Hadrian's great-uncle) governed Pannonia,<sup>41</sup> which means that shortly prior to the elevation of Poetovio to a colony, the future emperor may have personally known the town and the legionary camp and may have even spent some time in it. Trajan's governorship could be placed between that of L. Neratius Priscus (cos. AD 87, in the province between 89/90 and 92) and that of the mentioned Pompeius Longinus (in AD 98).<sup>42</sup>

Domitian was assassinated on 18 September AD 96, and on 27 October 97 Nerva adopted Trajan, who, upon Nerva's death on 28 January 98 became emperor.<sup>43</sup> In the middle of the year Trajan left Germania for Pannonia, to supervise personally the victorious end of the war against the Quadi and Marcomanni and the restoration of the *foedus* relationship with both peoples, which obliged them to provide the Romans with auxiliary troops. This was most important for Trajan's planned Dacian war in 101, and indeed, Suebian soldiers are represented as fighting in the front lines against the Dacians on Trajan's column.<sup>44</sup> These events represent the chronology and the historical context shedding light on the foundation of the colony in Poetovio.

### COLONIA ULPIA TRAIANA

Under Trajan, Poetovio – no longer a legionary fortress after the departure of *XIII Gemina* – became *colonia Ulpia*.<sup>45</sup> The new citizens were inscribed in the voting tribe of the emperor, *Papiria*, but occasionally a pseudo-tribus *Ulpia* appears in the inscriptions.<sup>46</sup> An interesting case in this respect is a 2<sup>nd</sup> century tombstone, possibly Hadrianic, from Ancyra (Ankara) of one M. Aebutius Victorinus from Poetovio, who served as a centurion in several legions, among others also in the ex-Poetovian *XIII Gemina*; his home and *tribus* are noted as *Ulp(ia) Papir(ia) Troiana (!) Poetovio(ne)*.<sup>47</sup> His cognomen is common enough in Noricum and Pannonia, as well as elsewhere, but it is nonetheless an interesting coincidence that the first known bishop from Poetovio, also an esteemed ecclesiastical writer, was called Victorinus; he died as a martyr during the reign of Diocletian.<sup>48</sup>

As can be concluded on the basis of a fragmentary imperial building inscription found at Vičava on the left bank of the Drava, which can be supplemented with Trajan's name and titles (*fig. 7*),<sup>49</sup> the emperor gave the town an important public structure in the period between AD 102 in 106. As has convincingly been argued, this may well have been the forum, rather than some smaller public building such as the town baths.<sup>50</sup> However, although plausible, the

<sup>41</sup> Fitz 1993, 162–164, no. 64; against this assumption: Eck 1985, 46, n. 5, but see Birley 1997, 27; 31.

<sup>42</sup> Priscus: Fitz 1993, 160–161, no. 63; Pompeius Longinus: Fitz 1993, 163; 164–165, no. 65.

<sup>43</sup> For the background of his adoption, see Eck 2002; cf. Bennett 1997, 42 ff.

<sup>44</sup> Strobel 2010, 188–189; on Trajan's column, Depeyrot 2007, 124–125.

<sup>45</sup> Horvat et al. 2003. See briefly on Pannonian urbanization also Šašel 1989 (1992) and Fitz 2003; cf. Zahrt 2002 for other towns founded by Trajan.

<sup>46</sup> Such as *M. Aur. Ulpia Martius*, from a recently published praetorian *laterculus* from Rome, Benefiel 2001; Forni 1985, p. 96, nos. 322–325; Forni 1956, 19–20 (2006, 15–17).

<sup>47</sup> *CIL* III 260 = 6761 = Mosser 2003, 135 = Mitchell, French 2012, 171.

<sup>48</sup> Bratož 2001.

<sup>49</sup> Jevremov 1988, 78–79, no. 63 (cf. Mikl 1963, 95) = Mráv 2000 = *AE* 2000, 1189 = *HD*037457 = *lupa* 8851.

<sup>50</sup> Mráv 2000; the short word *forum* would fit the *impaginatio* of the inscription well; the baths were proposed by Mikl-Curk, Tušek 1985, 289; 304.



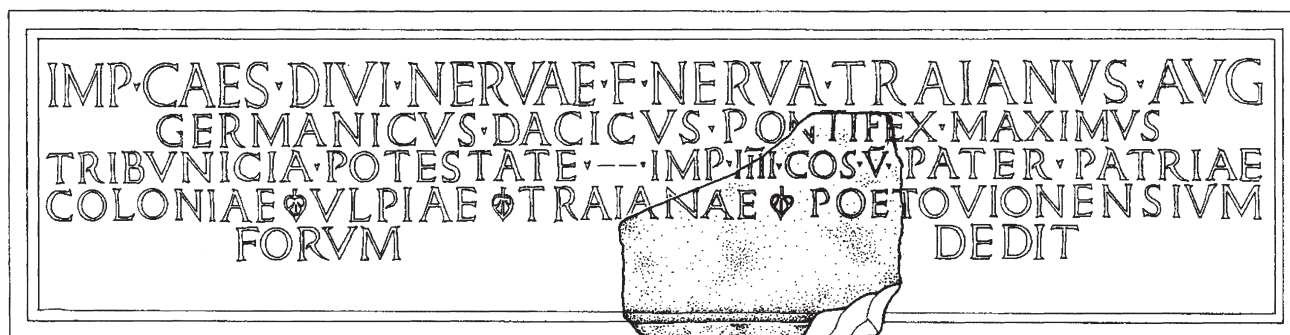


Fig. 7. Reconstruction of the building inscription of Trajan (from Mráv 2000).

restoration of the fragmentary imperial building inscription ultimately remains hypothetical. Trajan's inscribed monument from the 'old forum' (*forum vetus*) at Sarmizegetusa may be restored in a similar way, the new reading of which has been inspired by the proposed new supplement to the Poetovio inscription.<sup>51</sup> The colony at Poetovio may have been founded when Trajan travelled from Dacia to Italy through Pannonia in AD 102,<sup>52</sup> or even earlier, if the data in Hyginus mentioning estates in Pannonia, which were given by the emperor to veterans, refer to Poetovio.<sup>53</sup> This is very likely and seems to be confirmed by the veteran settlement in the nearby countryside.<sup>54</sup> The decision to found a colony at Poetovio may have been taken by Trajan in 98, during his stay in Pannonia.<sup>55</sup> After the division of the province between 103 and 107 or in AD 106, Poetovio was a part of Upper Pannonia.<sup>56</sup>

As emphasized at the beginning, Poetovio had an excellent geo-strategic position at the crossing of the Drava and along the Amber Route, one of the two most significant Roman roads leading through Pannonia (the other was the main road across the Balkans, passing through Siscia and Sirmium and further to Thrace or Macedonia). Even prior to the departure of the legion, the civil settlement on both banks of the river, and the *canabae*, which had developed close to the legionary camp on the right bank, were flourishing. Indigenous inhabitants, foreign settlers, mainly merchants and artisans, and even some veterans made the settlement look like a small town, which had all prerequisites to attract new colonists and become an autonomous city. It was situated along one of the largest Pannonian rivers, which was most important in terms of river traffic, particularly also the marble trade.<sup>57</sup> At the same time, the town was at a certain distance from the Danubian frontier and not immediately threatened by possible attacks from the Germanic peoples, and was therefore ideal to supply the army in the camps along the Danube. The decision to found a veteran colony at Poetovio was in accordance with all the requirements needed for the durability of an autonomous town, and it was advantageous alike to the state, the local residents, and new colonists, since the broader region was quite fertile.

<sup>51</sup> Piso 2006, 211–214, no. 1, phot. = Piso 2008 = *AE* 2007, 1203 = *HD*043692 (with earlier citations); cf. also Diaconescu 2006–2007.

<sup>52</sup> Šašel 1978, 140 (= *Opera*, 1992, 639).

<sup>53</sup> Hyginus, *de cond. agr.*, 84.8–12; cf. Królczyk 2003, 329, n. 24; Mráv 2000, 81; on the veterans at Poetovio see also Ferjančič 2002, 29–36; 238–240; Królczyk 2009, 53–54; 63–64.

<sup>54</sup> *CIL* III 14065 = *AIJ* 446 (Fannius Florentinus, soldier of *XIV Gemina*); *AIJ* 261 (Ulpius Secundus, *XIV Gemina*) and 262 (a *hastatus primus* of *VIII Augusta*).

<sup>55</sup> Mráv 2000, 80–81; Strobel 2010, 191.

<sup>56</sup> Šašel 1989, 61 (1992, 694); Fitz 1993, 358.

<sup>57</sup> Djurić 2005.

As is clear from Pliny's letters to Trajan, the emperor took care of the well-being of provincials and usually supported their aspirations, the more so when they could contribute to the economic growth of the province. It can be assumed that local elites, particularly the well-to-do Valerii,<sup>58</sup> played some role in the negotiations that brought about the transformation of Poetovio into a veteran colony. No less significant in taking this decision may have been the intervention of the governor of Pannonia; this could have been either Pompeius Longinus in AD 98, or L. Iulius Ursus Servianus, the husband of Hadrian's sister Domitia Paulina, who governed the province after Pompeius Longinus between AD 99 and 101.<sup>59</sup> It is well known that governors were often patrons of one or the other of the *civitates* in their province, and three are also attested in Pannonia: L. Funisulanus Vettonianus was a patron of Andautonia (AD 84–85),<sup>60</sup> Q. Glitius Atilius Agricola of the Cornacates (AD 102),<sup>61</sup> and an unknown governor of the Latobici (probably in the early 2<sup>nd</sup> century AD).<sup>62</sup> In any case, governors played a most significant role in carrying out imperial decisions, particularly decisions as important as the foundation of a colony.<sup>63</sup> The probable homonymous son of the abovementioned Neratius Priscus (cos. AD 87),<sup>64</sup> L. Neratius Priscus (cos. suff. AD 97), a jurist and a close associate of Trajan, probably governed Pannonia during Trajan's Dacian wars and may have been the last governor of the undivided Pannonia.<sup>65</sup> His governorship witnessed increased building activity and swift urban development in Poetovio.

In terms of provincial administration, a large-scale financial centre was created at Poetovio, which had always been the seat of the provincial procurators;<sup>66</sup> under Trajan, L. Vibius Lentulus is documented in this post, who at the same time was also the procurator of Dalmatia. He was an old acquaintance of Trajan, since in 88–89 he served in Hispania as a tribune in the legion *VII Gemina*, which was then commanded by Trajan.<sup>67</sup> The *tabularium* of Upper Pannonia was installed at Poetovio, as well as the administration of *XX hereditatum ultrarumque Pannoniarum*.<sup>68</sup> Many colonists, among them numerous veterans, came from northern Italy to settle in the town,<sup>69</sup> but they also originated from various other parts of the empire, including the eastern provinces. Active soldiers are also documented in the town. The inscriptions mention both the *missio nummaria* (since not all retired legionaries wanted to farm), as well as the *missio agraria*.<sup>70</sup> Veterans did not come

<sup>58</sup> Alföldy 1964–1965; Šašel Kos 1993.

<sup>59</sup> Fitz 1993, 165–166, no. 66; cf. Strobel 2010, 189.

<sup>60</sup> *CIL* III 4013 = *ILS* 1005 = *AIJ* 479 = *HD*030742; cf. Knezović 2010, 193.

<sup>61</sup> *CIL* V 6985; 6986.

<sup>62</sup> *CIL* III 10804 = *ILS* 1, 25; for all of them: Fitz 1993, 159.

<sup>63</sup> Well illustrated at Sarmizegetusa, for example, where the provincial legate was entrusted by Trajan with the task of founding the colony, *CIL* III 1443 = Piso 2006, 214–217, no. 2 (*AE* 2006, 1140, with earlier citations). For similar inscriptions, see Piso, *ibid.*, 216.

<sup>64</sup> Cf. Birley 2005, 107.

<sup>65</sup> Fitz 1993, 168–170, no. 68; cf. Birley 1997, 50; Strobel 2010, 144.

<sup>66</sup> Mócsy 1962, 593.

<sup>67</sup> Pflaum 1960, 156–158, no. 66; cf. Fitz 1993, 232–233, no. 113. With the legion they hurried to Mogontiacum in January 89 AD, to help quell the revolt of Saturninus in Upper Germany, cf. Strobel 2010, 106–107.

<sup>68</sup> *CIL* III 4065; *AIJ* 311 = *CIMRM* 1583; Saria 1951, 1178; Mócsy 1962, 594.

<sup>69</sup> As, e.g., a veteran from Dertona (*CIL* III 4057, see below); *CIL* III 10877 = *AIJ* 368 = *RIS*t 402 = *HD*066998 (from Industria, *XIII Gemina*).

<sup>70</sup> *Nummaria*: *AIJ* 374 (*optio* of *I Adiutrix*) and 375 = *ILS* 9085 (veteran of *I Adiutrix*); *agraria*: *CIL* III 4057 (see below); *AE* 1986, 562 (veteran of *XIII Gemina*). Cf. Keppie 2000, 311.





Fig. 8. C. Cornelius Verus, veteran of the legion II Adiutrix, on the second *missio agraria* (AIJ 373).

to settle in a single colonizing wave, as is confirmed by the second *missio agraria* (fig. 8).<sup>71</sup> Veterans may have come to live in Poetovio even before the colony was established in the town, as was perhaps the case for a veteran of the legion XI, which was not yet called *Claudia pia fidelis*, therefore the tombstone must be dated before the revolt of Scribonianus in Dalmatia in 42 AD.<sup>72</sup> Many Ulpri must have lived in the town and its surroundings,<sup>73</sup> and one M. Ulpri Saturnus, from *Ulpia Poetovio*, is also attested in near-by Noricum. He erected a tombstone for himself, his wife Pomponia Secundina and their deceased son Insequens in a flourishing Norican village at Kalsdorf near Graz.<sup>74</sup>

<sup>71</sup> CIL III 4057 = ILS 2462 = AIJ 373 = CBFIR 300 = lupa 3087: C(aius) Cornelius C(ai) f(ilius) / Pom(ptina) Dert(ona) Verus, / vet(eranus) leg(ionis) II Adi(utricis), / deduct(us) c(oloniam) U(lp(ia)m) T(raianam) P(oetovionensem) / <sup>5</sup>mission(e) agr(aria) II. / Milit(avit) b(eneficiarius) co(n)s(ularis) / annor(um) L. H(ic) s(itus) e(st). / Test(amento) fier(i) ius(sit). / Heres / <sup>10</sup>C(aius) Billienius Vitalis / f(aciundum) c(uravit).

<sup>72</sup> AIJ 379: A(ulus) Postumius / Sp(uri) f(ilius) Seneca / dom(o) Parma / veter(anus) missi(cius) / leg(ionis) XI an(norum) XXCV / h(ic) s(itus) e(st). / Postumia Iu/cunda et Primigenius / posierunt (!) / liberti. This is the earliest testimony for legio XI, which, however, does not mean that it had been stationed there before *VIII Augusta*, cf. Wilkes 1969, 94.

<sup>73</sup> Mócsy 1974, 137; indeed six tombstones on which the Ulpri are mentioned have been found in the town and five in the adjacent territory, unpublished diss. of A. Ragolič.

<sup>74</sup> CIL III 5427 = RIS<sup>t</sup> 63 = ILLPRON 1244 = HD038627.



## THE MAIN FEATURES OF THE TOWN'S TOPOGRAPHY AND ITS PROSPERITY UNDER HADRIAN

## The right bank of the Drava River

Although no traces of the military camp have been discovered to date, it is only logical that it was located on the right bank of the Drava, along the road leading from Celeia towards Savaria and further to Carnuntum, near the area of the bridge over the river. The bridge was constructed (or possibly renovated) in stone during the reign of Hadrian (AD 117–138), as is documented by a building inscription (*fig. 9*).<sup>75</sup> Only a few remains, mainly some wooden



Fig. 9. Reconstruction of the building inscription of Hadrian (from Mráv 2002).

posts that probably belonged to it, have been preserved from the bridge.<sup>76</sup> Two altars were discovered in its vicinity, one of which was undoubtedly dedicated to the river god Dravus, as was very likely also the other badly damaged one.<sup>77</sup> A shrine or a small sanctuary most probably stood on the right bank near the bridge, at Zgornji Breg. However, both areas, that of the camp and that of the remains of the bridge, were destroyed by the changing course of the Drava, and theoretically, remains of the bridge could have been located on the left bank of the ancient riverbed.<sup>78</sup> The direction of the aqueduct built by the legion *XIII Gemina* also corroborates the hypothetical location of the camp.<sup>79</sup> First century tombstones of active soldiers came to light on the right bank, as well as several altars erected by soldiers. The Roman settlement on the right bank developed on two river terraces, the upper one at Spodnja Hajdina and the lower one at Zgornji Breg, including the eastern part of Spodnja Hajdina (*fig. 10*). Very little is known about the latter area from the 1<sup>st</sup> and the first half of the 2<sup>nd</sup> centuries AD.<sup>80</sup> Spodnja Hajdina was inhabited from the Late Bronze Age onwards. Parts of the Roman settlement were excavated by W. Gurlitt and W. Schmid, while B. Saria topographically investigated the area.<sup>81</sup> Remains of wooden buildings and a bronze production workshop were discovered, while some 1<sup>st</sup> century cremation graves mark the extent of the early settlement.

Under Hadrian,<sup>82</sup> Poetovio became the seat of the central administration for Illyrian customs, *publicum portorii Illyrici*,<sup>83</sup> with some fifty stations under its control, as well as the seat of the *tabularium vectigalis Illyrici*;<sup>84</sup> the town continued to be an important financial

<sup>75</sup> *AIJ* 361 = HD037458 = *lupa* 8852; Mráv 2002; Mráv 2003, 125–127 (= *AE* 2002, 1127; 2003, 1348).

<sup>76</sup> Gaspari 2001.

<sup>77</sup> *AIJ* 267; the damaged altar: *AIJ* 268.

<sup>78</sup> Horvat et al. 2003, 172–173.

<sup>79</sup> Saria, Klemenc 1939, 22; 27–28.

<sup>80</sup> Horvat et al. 2003, 176–178.

<sup>81</sup> Bibliographical references in Horvat et al. 2003, 173.

<sup>82</sup> A bust of Hadrian in the Regional Museum at Ptuj was bought by the wholesale merchant Meinl and thus cannot be linked to the history of Poetovio; however, it could have originated from somewhere in the Danubian regions, Diez 1961 (2006).

<sup>83</sup> Dobó 1940; De Laet 1949, 175–245. Vittinghoff 1953, 358–361.

<sup>84</sup> *AIJ* 278: [I(ovi) O(ptimo) M(aximo)] / [6] / [6] / [3 Au]/g[[[g]]](ustorum) nostrorum / tabul(arii) vectigal(is) Ill(yric)i et vil(ici) stat(ionis) Po(etov)iensis / Tertius ser(vus) ex voto. For *tabularium vectigalis Illyrici*, also *CIL* III 4063. Carlsen 1995, 49–51.

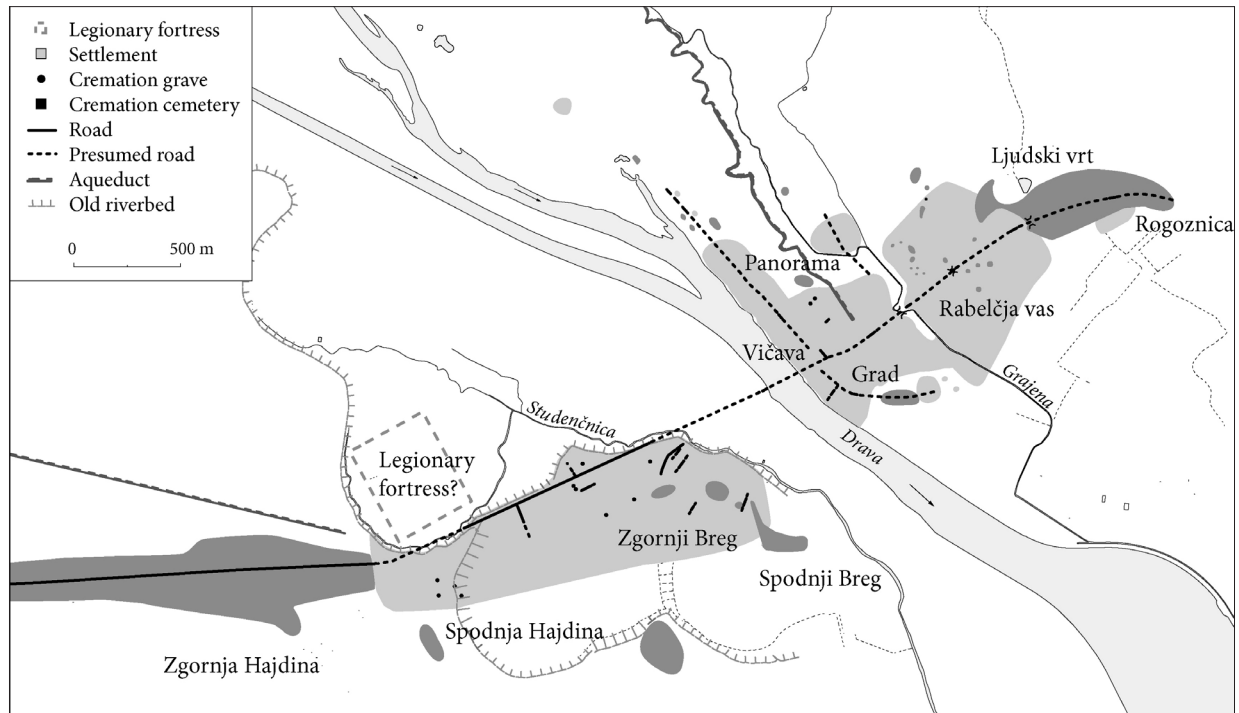


Fig. 10. Topography of Poetovio, including the areas of cremation cemeteries (from Horvat et al. 2003, 156).

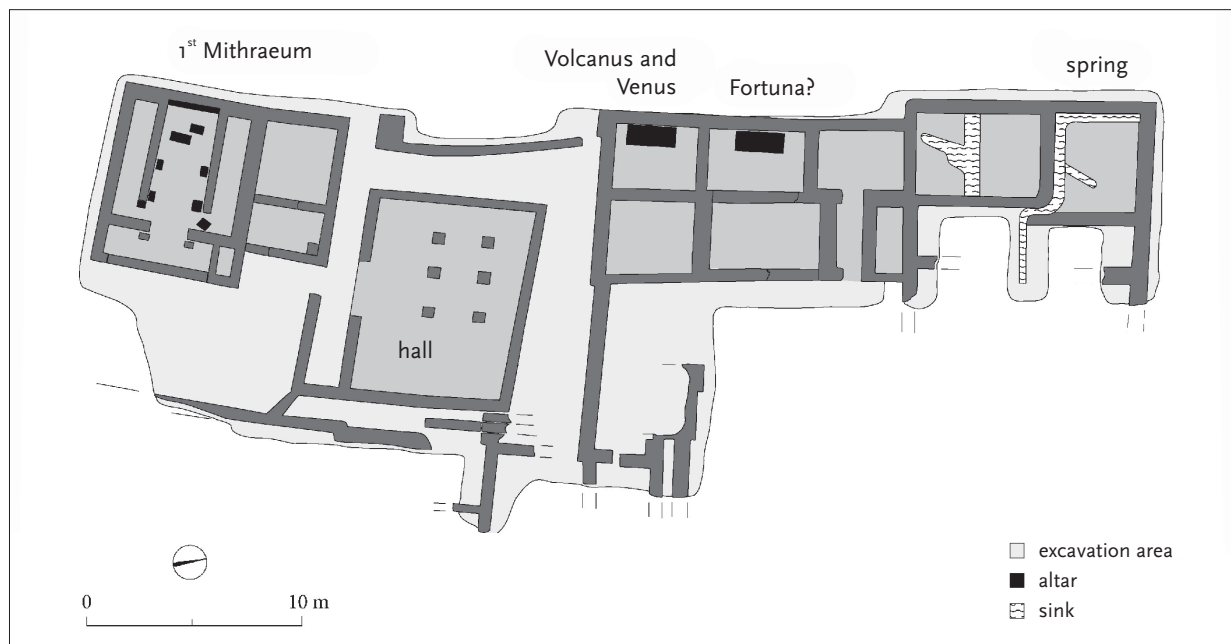


Fig. 11. Groundplan of the First Mithraeum and small sanctuaries (after Horvat et al. 2003, 177, fig. 26).

centre of the province.<sup>85</sup> The central office of the Illyrian customs at Poetovio supervised the commercial traffic from Raetia to Dacia, and from the Adriatic to the Black Sea (Appian, *Illyr.*, 6.16). As has been mentioned, Hadrian may have visited Poetovio before he became emperor. The seat of the Illyrian customs is epigraphically attested at Spodnja Hajdina, where a quarter of the Roman town was known as *Vicus Fortunae*: storehouses and a sanctuary of Fortuna are mentioned in an inscription.<sup>86</sup> An area of sanctuaries was identified in the

<sup>85</sup> *CIL* III 4035 = *ILS* 1499 = *CCID* 283; Mihăilescu-Bîrliiba 1997.

<sup>86</sup> *CIL* III 10875 = *ILS* 3302 = *AIJ* 340.

nearby vicinity, among others the First Mithraeum from the mid-second century, with dedications from Illyrian customs officials, small sanctuaries of Volcanus and Venus and of two unidentifiable deities (*fig. 11*). Dedications to Mar(i)mogius, the Holy Spring, and the Nymphs were discovered some 100 m north of the First Mithraeum.<sup>87</sup> In the central area of Spodnja Hajdina a sanctuary to the Nutrices was unearthed; further temples are tentatively ascribed to Jupiter, Cybele, and Isis.<sup>88</sup> The western cemetery began immediately beyond the buildings, spreading along the road to Celeia; some graves are from the 1<sup>st</sup> century AD; indeed, the largest early burial grounds in Poetovio were at Zgornja and Spodnja Hajdina on the right bank of the river.<sup>89</sup>

### The left bank of the Drava

The town quarters on the left bank of the river are roughly divided into the area between the Drava and the stream of Grajena (which ran closer to Castle Hill in the Roman period), and the area east of the Grajena, called Rabelčja vas (*fig. 10*). The first area comprises the two elevations of Panorama and Castle Hill (Grad, Grajski grič), Vičava along the Drava below Panorama, as well as the centre of mediaeval Ptuj at the southern and eastern foot of Castle Hill. The main Roman state road crossed the Drava at Vičava, proceeding between Panorama and Castle Hill in the direction of Savaria and Carnuntum. An almost 200 m wide zone in the centre of the Roman town at Vičava may have been destroyed by the Drava.<sup>90</sup> The town centre of Poetovio most probably developed near the river crossing of this road. The earliest Roman finds from this area come from the first half or the middle of the 1<sup>st</sup> century AD. Most of the tombstones and many altars dedicated to Jupiter, although found in secondary use, are from the left bank of the Drava.<sup>91</sup> Remains of the Fourth Mithraeum (which was restored during the reign of Diocletian) were discovered at Muzejski trg (*fig. 12*), as well as Trajan's building inscription, while only a few workshops were identified in this area.<sup>92</sup>

The settlement at Vičava continued on the Panorama height; an aqueduct coming from Panorama along its northeastern slopes supplied Panorama and Vičava with water. The oldest Roman buildings on Panorama, with corresponding small finds, are dated to the second half of the 1<sup>st</sup> century AD.<sup>93</sup> M. Abramić excavated a large building along the Roman road, consisting of two rows of rectangular rooms, separated from the road by a passage. Four stone reliefs of the Cabiri came to light, as well as monuments of other divinities: Liber/Bacchus, Silvanus, Venus, Aesculapius and Hygieia, and the Nutrices. Abramić interpreted the building as an area of worship that had been in use since the 2<sup>nd</sup> century AD.<sup>94</sup> Nearby, a part of a large building with baths was discovered, along with another one with central heating, as well as pottery kilns and remains from metallurgical production. Dedications to the Nutrices, reused in a Late Roman inhumation grave, indicate the existence of a sanctuary of these goddesses on Panorama. The forum and administrative town districts were located in this area.

<sup>87</sup> Tušek 1986, 362–366.

<sup>88</sup> Horvat et al. 2003, 174–175.

<sup>89</sup> Istenič 1999; ead. 2000.

<sup>90</sup> Klemenc, Saria 1936, 30–31.

<sup>91</sup> Klemenc, Saria 1936, 39; 45–49; Tušek 1986, 356–357.

<sup>92</sup> Horvat et al. 2003, 162–163.

<sup>93</sup> Horvat et al. 2003, 163.

<sup>94</sup> Abramić 1914, 89 ff.



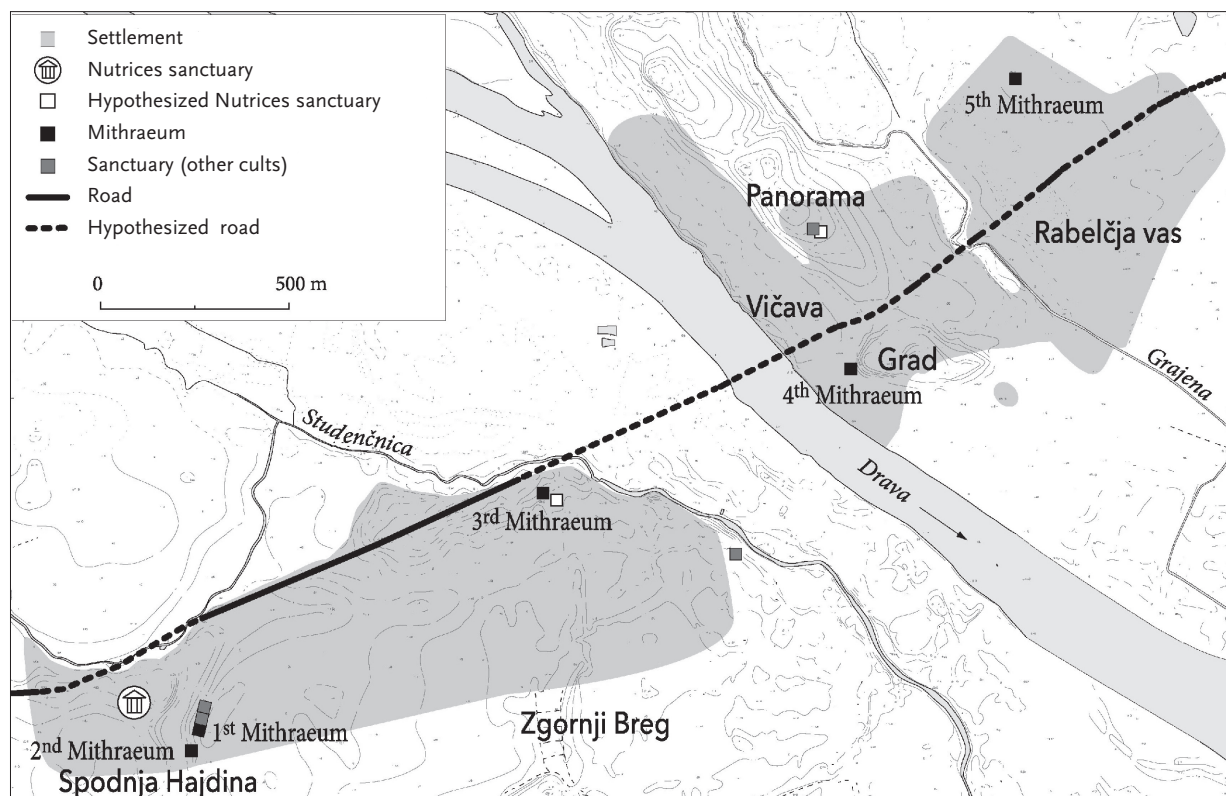


Fig. 12. Documented and presumed sanctuaries in Poetovio (from Šašel Kos 1999, 155).

Castle Hill, from where the Drava crossing was controlled, was undoubtedly a most important site in times of danger; however, any possible remains from the first two centuries AD were damaged by later constructions.<sup>95</sup> Early Roman cemeteries extended along side roads leading northwest and eastwards (the latter along present-day Prešernova St.); many Roman tombstones are immured in mediaeval houses in Ptuj, and the so-called 'Orpheus monument', the funerary stele of the Valerii family, probably belonged to the latter cemetery (fig. 13).<sup>96</sup> Another large cemetery spread across the northern slope and partly on the top of Panorama.<sup>97</sup> Below Castle Hill and the mediaeval city, close to the Drava, traces of an amphitheatre have supposedly been identified, based on superficial topographical features, but so far there is no evidence that would confirm this hypothesis.<sup>98</sup> The area was exposed to flooding.

At Rabelčja vas east of the Grajena Stream, the eastern quarter of Poetovio extended, comprising about one third of the Roman town, reserved for activities linked to industrial production and various crafts. Along the main road towards Savaria, the remains of a bridge across the Grajena were discovered, as well as the remains of two more bridges across brooks in the settlement. Beyond the last one, a cemetery was located in the modern area of Ljudski vrt, dating to the early and late Roman periods. The settlement at Rabelčja vas mainly consisted of a major manufacturing area of Poetovio, located outside the centre of the Roman city. The remains of many pottery kilns and drying houses belonging to the workshops for making pottery and bricks, smelting workshops where metallurgical activities took place, and remains of carving marble indicating stone-cutters' workshops, were located in this large area. The

<sup>95</sup> Horvat et al. 2003, 164.

<sup>96</sup> Šašel Kos 1993, 222–225.

<sup>97</sup> On these cemeteries: Horvat et al. 2003, 165–166.

<sup>98</sup> Smolinsky 2013.

Fifth Mithraeum was discovered along the northern edge of the settlement (*fig. 12*).<sup>99</sup> In the mid-3<sup>rd</sup> century AD, the Drava flooded the town, which was thoroughly transformed in the late Roman period, becoming much smaller.

Many craftsmen and artisans were working in the town, where stonecutting and stonemasonry workshops, as well as trade in Pohorje marble, were particularly prosperous; one of the most important regional quarries was the marble quarry at Šmartno na Pohorju.<sup>100</sup> All kinds of pottery, tile, and glass artefacts were produced in the city;<sup>101</sup> local copies of *terra sigillata* were produced at Poetovio already in the first half of the 1<sup>st</sup> century AD.<sup>102</sup> Merchants must have no doubt been of various ethnic origins, although this has not been directly attested.<sup>103</sup> The nearby countryside was fertile and quite suitable for farming and cattle breeding.

#### THE TOWN ADMINISTRATION AND MUNICIPAL ARISTOCRACY

Inhabitants from all social strata were well represented at Poetovio, from state officials, town magistrates, *Augustales*, and priests of various other cults, to freedmen and slaves.<sup>104</sup> Several known members of the municipal elite originated from the most outstanding families of Poetovio, the Valerii and P. Aelii.<sup>105</sup> Eight town councillors (*decuriones*) have been attested to date, whose other municipal functions – if any –

<sup>99</sup> Horvat, Dolenc Vičič 2010.

<sup>100</sup> Djurić 2005.

<sup>101</sup> Istenič 1999; ead. 2000; Vomer-Gojkovič 2008.

<sup>102</sup> Mikl-Curk 1969; Istenič 1999.

<sup>103</sup> The name *Mercatorius* on a dedication to Jupiter is interesting, *AE* 1978, 647; on names related to the profession of merchants, see Kajanto 1965, 321. See also Teichner 2013, 49; 55; 65–67.

<sup>104</sup> Most inscriptions are collected in the *AIJ*; Šašel Kos 1993.

<sup>105</sup> Alföldy 1964–1965; Šašel Kos 1993a.



**Fig. 13.** Tombstone of the Valerii, the so-called 'Orpheus monument' (*AIJ* 389 = *Iupa* 3106; photo O. Harl).





**Fig. 14.** Dedication to the Nutrices by Aelius (?) Secundinus, *decurio* (Šašel Kos 1999, 170, no. 29).

are not known. These are C. Iulius Magnus, C. Clodius Avitus, the brothers P. Aelii Marinus and Marcianus, the brothers T. Aelii Patrinus and Celer, Aelius Secundinus, and Aurelius Ceionius.<sup>106</sup> Little is known of their background. The wife of C. Iulius Magnus, whose family may have received citizenship under the Julio-Claudian dynasty, was Veponia Materna, a woman of native origin, since the names Vepo, Veponius, and their derivatives are mainly distributed in the southern Norican regions.<sup>107</sup> The Clodii perhaps emigrated to the *canabae* of Poetovio from northern Italy, like the Clodii from Emona, who came from Aquileia.<sup>108</sup> There must have been other early inhabitants from Aquileia in the *canabae* of Poetovio, such as Grania L. f. Procula; one L. Granius Apollonius was a *sevir* at Aquileia.<sup>109</sup> The brothers P. Aelii Marinus and Marcianus were equestrian officers, each of them commanding a cohort, probably under Antoninus Pius.<sup>110</sup> According to the presently available evidence, the only family that was more important in Poetovio during the Principate than the P. Aelii were the Valerii. The family of T. Aelii Patrinus and Celer<sup>111</sup> received citizenship under Antoninus Pius. The *decurio* Aelius Secundinus is known from a dedication to the influential local goddesses Nutrices; he may have been of Celtic origin (*fig. 14*).<sup>112</sup> Aurelius Ceionius was *decurio Poetovionensis* and also held the

<sup>106</sup> Šašel Kos 1993, 219–220; 229–230, with references.

<sup>107</sup> *CIL* III 4068 = *AIJ* 388; Šašel 1954 (1992); Kakoschke 2012, 208 and 726.

<sup>108</sup> *CIL* III 3838 = *AIJ* 152 = *AE* 1998, 550.

<sup>109</sup> Procula: *ILJug* 1153; Apollonius: *CIL* V 1009 = *Inscr. Aq.* 600.

<sup>110</sup> Šašel Kos 1993a.

<sup>111</sup> *CIL* III 4067 + p. 1746.

<sup>112</sup> *CIL* III 4052/3 + p. 1746, 2278 = *AIJ* 328 = *HD067383* = Šašel Kos 1999, 170, no. 29.



post of *sacerdos* of Upper Pannonia.<sup>113</sup> He dedicated an altar to Jupiter Depulsor, a god with local associations, worshipped mainly in Noricum and southwestern Pannonia.<sup>114</sup> The prestigious highest priestly function in the province was only performed by the most outstanding members of the municipal elite, usually *ex-duumviri*. It was also carried out by two other members of the Poetovian aristocracy, M. Valerius Maximianus the Elder and Aurelius Maximinus.

Four of the six known *duumviri* of Poetovio<sup>115</sup> were members of the family of the Valerii, into which the first Pannonian senator, M. Valerius Maximianus the Younger, was born.<sup>116</sup> M. Valerius Verus (?) may have been one of the first *decuriones* and *duumviri* in Poetovio; his other possible functions are not preserved in the fragmentary inscription.<sup>117</sup>

His tombstone, the above mentioned 'Orpheus monument', which was almost 5 m high, represents the largest preserved funerary monument not only in Poetovio, but in the entire provinces of Pannonia and Noricum, and has probably remained *in situ* (fig. 13). In previous centuries, it was used as a 'stone of humiliation', the so-called '*pranger*': old drawings of the town show that it has stood at this site at least from the 16<sup>th</sup> century onwards. It was decorated with once fine reliefs, which can now barely be identified. The central scene represented Orpheus, playing the lyre and surrounded by animals; in the gable, Luna and Endymion were probably represented, rather than Venus, mourning Adonis.<sup>118</sup> On the base, Orpheus is depicted in front of Persephone and Pluto, asking them for the return of Eurydice from the underworld.

Valerius' tombstone was certainly regarded as a remarkable piece of local stonemasonry and was no doubt admired by the inhabitants of Poetovio; it may have been an object of desire of other well-to-do residents even generations later, as seems confirmed by a much smaller tombstone from Šmartno na Pohorju, erected to Aurelius Calandinus, a veteran of the *cohors I Asturum*, by his freedman (fig. 15).<sup>119</sup> Aurelius Calandinus'

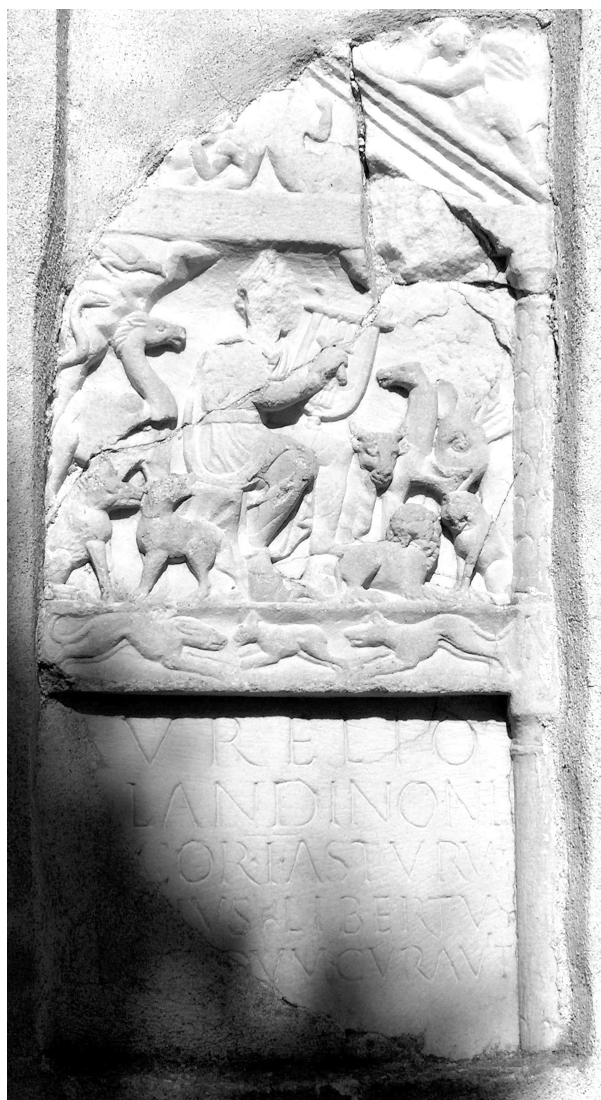


Fig. 15. Tombstone of Aurelius Calandinus, veteran of the *cohors I Asturum* (AIJ 101).

<sup>113</sup> CIL 4033 = HD057349 = lupa 20484; his cognomen should rather be Ceionius than Ceionus, see *Nomenclator* and OPEL, s.v.

<sup>114</sup> Šašel Kos 1995 (1999); Hainzmann 2004.

<sup>115</sup> Šašel Kos 1993, 222 ff.; 230–231.

<sup>116</sup> Alföldy 1964–65; cf. Eck 1974; Šašel 1982, 567–568 (1992, 176–177).

<sup>117</sup> CIL III 4069 = 10870 = AIJ 389 = Alföldy 1965, 99–101, no. 1 = HD016106 = lupa 3106.

<sup>118</sup> Diez 1989 (2006).

<sup>119</sup> AIJ 101 = lupa 3107.

name indicates that he was a native, who had probably been recruited towards the end of the 2<sup>nd</sup> century; his cohort was at that time and also in the 3<sup>rd</sup> century, stationed at Astura (present-day Zeiselmauer).<sup>120</sup> Even at a later date the local Pohorje-Poetovio workshops produced funerary stelae with motifs from the same repertoire.<sup>121</sup>

C. Valerius Scribonianus was awarded equestrian rank under Hadrian and his career is particularly interesting, since in addition to having been *praefectus fabrum* and *duumvir i(ure) d(icundo) quinquennalis*, he was also *quattuorvir aediliciae potestatis*, which is not frequently mentioned in inscriptions from Roman colonies.<sup>122</sup> Possibly he was the brother of L. Valerius Verus,<sup>123</sup> known from an altar to Liber and Libera, who had a similar municipal career.<sup>124</sup> M. Valerius Maximianus the Elder, who was in one way or another related to Verus or Scribonianus and may have been the son of one of them,<sup>125</sup> was *duumvir quinquennalis* in Poetovio and *sacerdos* of Upper Pannonia.<sup>126</sup>

An enigmatic case is that of C. Valerius Tettius Fuscus (*fig. 16*).<sup>127</sup> The tribunate, which is mentioned in the second part of his career, is not clearly defined and might possibly be explained as the chairmanship of the *collegium magnum Larum et imaginum domini nostri Caesaris*, as has been suggested by J. Šašel and G. Alföldy.<sup>128</sup> However, it could perhaps be assumed that Fuscus, after his successful municipal career, held a legionary tribunate, as a kind of confirmation of his membership in the *ordo equester*. This has been suggested by H. Devijver on the basis of a *sella curulis* relief on a marble block immured close to the funerary monument of Fuscus (*fig. 17*). Military decorations are depicted on it: a corona of laurel, usually reserved for equestrian officers, a cuirass (*lorica*), a round shield with an *umbo* (*parma equestris*) over an obliquely placed lance (*hasta*), two oval shields diagonally over each other, and a helmet with cheek guards and plumes.<sup>129</sup> If the relief with the *sella curulis* is not a part of Fuscus' grave monument, which seems more likely, it must have belonged to a tombstone of an unknown equestrian officer. When Fuscus attained the tribunate, he resolved to arrange at his expense for (burial?) plots for members of his *collegium*. The *collegia* of the worshippers of the Lares and imperial images are also known from Rome and Tipasa,<sup>130</sup> and similar *collegia* are attested in neighbouring towns, for example, the *collegium* of the worshippers of the Genius of the province of Upper Pannonia in Savaria,<sup>131</sup> the worshippers of the Genius Anigemius and Mercurius in Celeia,<sup>132</sup> and the *collegium* of the worshippers of the Lares in Virunum.<sup>133</sup>

<sup>120</sup> Kraft 1951, 88–90; 263.

<sup>121</sup> Walde 2005, 147–149.

<sup>122</sup> *CIL* III 4028 = *AIJ* 280 = *AE* 1966, 296 = *HD*016097; *IIIViri* are rare in the nearby colonies, there is one from Emona: *CIL* III 10770; cf. Degraasi 1950 (1962), 322–323 (150), and 339 (170); Gascou 1991.

<sup>123</sup> Alföldy 1964–65, 139, 142.

<sup>124</sup> *AIJ* 288.

<sup>125</sup> Alföldy 1964–65, 139–140.

<sup>126</sup> He is only known from the honorific inscriptions erected for his son, e.g. *CIL* VIII 4600 = Dobó 1975, no. 465 = *HD*031477, from Zana (*Diana Veteranorum*), Africa.

<sup>127</sup> *CIL* III 4038 = *AIJ* 287 = Šašel Kos 1993, no. 12: *C. Val(erius) Tettius Fuscus dec(urio) / c(oloniae) U(lpiae) T(raianae) P(oetovionensis) q(uaestor) aedil(is) praef(ectus) fabr(um) / IIvir i(ure) d(icundo), augur / loca collegio magno Larum / et imaginum domini n(ostri) / Caesaris ob honorem / tribunatus [pe]c(unia) sua fecit.*

<sup>128</sup> Šašel, in the indices to the *AIJ*, in *ILJug* I, p. 36\* (*res municipalis*); Alföldy 1964–65, 139.

<sup>129</sup> Devijver 1977, p. 832–833; Devijver 1992 (1996); Schäfer 1989, 359, no. 82 = *lupa* 4666.

<sup>130</sup> *CIL* VI 307, 958 (Rome); (*CIL* VIII 17143 (Tipasa).

<sup>131</sup> *CIL* III 4168 = *ILS* 7118 = *HD*039960.

<sup>132</sup> *CIL* III 5157 = Wedenig 1997, 116, no. C 7 = Šašel Kos 1999, 145 = *HD*066990; *CIL* III 5196 = Wedenig 1997, 120–121, no. C 12 = Visočnik 2009 = *HD*066822.

<sup>133</sup> *CIL* III 4792 = Wedenig 1997, 254–255, no. V 5 = *HD*057567.





Fig. 16. Inscription of the town magistrate C. Valerius Tettius Fuscus (AIJ 287 = *lupa* 4851; photo O. Harl).



Fig. 17. Relief of a *sella curulis* (Schäfer 1989, 359, no. 82).



In four inscriptions of town magistrates, an interesting municipal office of *praefectus pro Ilviris* or *praefectus i(ure) d(icundo)* is mentioned, which is variously explained by modern interpreters. Since the office is attested relatively often at Poetovio, it cannot be taken to signify a prefect, who was appointed to perform the function of a *duumvir* in place of the emperor, and so far, this has not been mentioned in the inscriptions.<sup>134</sup> Most probably the prefecture should also not be interpreted as a substitution for the absence of both of the *duumviri*, *praefectus a Ilviro relictus*.<sup>135</sup> The *praefecti pro II viris* included one of the Valerii, who was a *decurio*, *aedilis*, *quaestor*, and then *praefectus pro II viris i(ure) d(icundo)*,<sup>136</sup> T. Cassius Verinus, known from a dedication to the *Nutrices*, who was *decurio*, *praefectus fabrum*, and *praefectus pro Ilviris*,<sup>137</sup> C. Tiberinius Faventinus, known from an altar to Jupiter Depulsor, who was *decurio*, *praefectus fabrum*, *questor*, and *praefectus pro Ilviris*,<sup>138</sup> as well as one Octavius Ingenuus, who erected an altar to Jupiter Dolichenus *ob honorem praefecturae*.<sup>139</sup>

As has been seen, the prefecture *pro Ilviris* is attested at different places in a municipal career. This last mentioned altar may serve as a confirmation that the prefect was not a deputy, rather he held a municipal office, which had its place in a municipal career before the *duumvirate*.<sup>140</sup> It is unlikely that some other kind of prefecture would have been meant, such as *fabrum*, since this would most probably be specified.<sup>141</sup> The epigraphic evidence at Poetovio would indicate that the prefecture *i(ure) d(icundo)*, or *pro Ilviris*, was an independent office, similar in function to that of the *duumviri*. Possibly the *duumviri* and the prefect divided among themselves the duties of jurisdiction, either in terms of the prefect functioning as an assistant to the *duumviri*, or else the division was determined geographically, which would mean that the prefect performed his office outside the city of Poetovio.<sup>142</sup> Poetovio was one of the largest towns in Noricum and Pannonia, divided into many town districts and possessing a large territory, which included such distant settlements as *Aquae Iasae*.<sup>143</sup>

## RELIGION AND CULTS

The introduction of various cults usually cannot be defined chronologically, but it can be assumed with great probability that epichoric deities were in one way or another worshipped at Poetovio even before Roman rule. In addition to the gods of the Roman Pantheon, the inhabitants of Poetovio worshipped the locally important *Iuppiter Culminalis* and *Iuppiter Depulsor*. Among the indigenous Celtic gods, Mar(i)mogius should be mentioned; he was sometimes equated with Mars but not at Poetovio. Three altars were erected to him, one was found at Spodnja Hajdina on the right bank of the Drava,<sup>144</sup> and two on the left bank. Of the latter, one was discovered at Vičava, where the forum and administrative town quarter were

<sup>134</sup> Such as in Sarmizegetusa, see Piso 1998, 98–99; 102–104.

<sup>135</sup> Gascou 1990; 1991, with cited literature; *p(raefecti) i(ure) d(icundo)* are also attested at Aquileia, the significance of their office not being entirely clear, Zaccaria 2012, 164; 177–179.

<sup>136</sup> *AIJ* 279 = Šašel Kos 1993, no. 14 (the inscription is fragmentary, and hence also the name of the prefect).

<sup>137</sup> Tušek 1986, 349 (*AE* 1986, 568) = Šašel Kos 1993, no. 15 = Šašel Kos 1999, 169, no. 28.

<sup>138</sup> *CIL* III 4111 = Šašel Kos 1993, no. 16.

<sup>139</sup> *ILJug* 352 = Šašel Kos 1993, no. 17.

<sup>140</sup> Cf. Christol, Demougin 1982, 146.

<sup>141</sup> Cf. also Alföldy 1965, 106.

<sup>142</sup> Šašel Kos 1993, 231.

<sup>143</sup> Ragolič 2014, 335–336.

<sup>144</sup> Tušek 1986, 364, Pl. 14: 2 (= *AE* 1987, 825 = *AE* 1988, 933) = *HD*012665 = *lupa* 8846.

located,<sup>145</sup> while the other was immured in the city tower.<sup>146</sup> The god hence was worshipped in at least two important areas of the town. The most influential cult practised by the local community was that of the *Nutrices*;<sup>147</sup> these goddesses of undoubtedly Celtic origin were documented exclusively at Poetovio and its *ager*. Over forty preserved monuments were dedicated to them, hence their cult seems to have been the most prominent indigenous cult in the town, overshadowing even the worship of Jupiter and Mithras. Several small sanctuaries or shrines of the goddesses presumably existed at Poetovio: one was located beyond doubt at Spodnja Hajdina, while two others were hypothetically assumed to exist on the basis of finds at Zgornji Breg and Panorama (fig. 12). Reliefs depicting three women, one of whom is *Nutrix*, are the most numerous (fig. 18). The votive monuments were erected by families belonging to all social classes, from slaves to members of the municipal aristocracy, a father being the most usual dedicator, in several cases together with his wife. The *Nutrices* should be interpreted as some kind of goddesses of birth and the guardians of children.<sup>148</sup>

Dravus should be mentioned among the important gods at Poetovio, since the Drava River was not only the most important fluvial traffic route, particularly in terms of the marble and pottery trade,<sup>149</sup> but occasionally it also represented a great threat to the town because of floods. The Drava no doubt destroyed the legionary camp on the right bank of the river. Volcanus protected the inhabitants from fires, which were a real danger in Roman cities, since many houses were wooden. An altar was erected to him by the town quarter *Vicus Fortunae*; in the dedication a sanctuary of Fortuna is also mentioned.<sup>150</sup> Sanctuaries of Volcanus were built outside the centres of cities; a festival dedicated to the god, *Volcanalia*, was celebrated on 23 August. From the 2<sup>nd</sup> century onwards, the cult of Mithras played an important role at Poetovio, with five sanctuaries so far discovered in the city.<sup>151</sup>

An interesting picture is offered by the gods that were honoured by the magistrates of Poetovio. Only two of them erected an altar to Jupiter,<sup>152</sup> while an altar was dedicated to Jupiter



Fig. 18. Dedication to the *Nutrices* by L. Fuscinius Exsuperatus, *Augustalis* (Šašel Kos 1999, 171, no. 30).

<sup>145</sup> Jevremov 1988, 122, no. 146 (*AE* 1977, 628) = *HD*020443 = *lupa* 8849.

<sup>146</sup> *CIL* III 4014 = *ILS* 4568 = *HD*067310 = *lupa* 4845.

<sup>147</sup> For an overview of the cults at Poetovio, see Belak 1993; cf. Vomer Gojkovič 2005; on the *Nutrices*, Šašel Kos 1999, 153 ff.; on Mithras, Vomer Gojkovič, Kolar (eds.) 2001, 99 ff.; Vomer Gojkovič, Djurić, Lovenjak 2011.

<sup>148</sup> Šašel Kos 1999, 153–192.

<sup>149</sup> Marble: Djurić 2005; pottery: Istenič 1999.

<sup>150</sup> *CIL* III 10875 = *ILS* 3302 = *AIJ* 340, from Spodnja Hajdina: *Volcano / Aug(usto) sacr(um) / ex imp(erio) vicus / Fortun(ae) a templ(o) / <sup>5</sup>Fortunae ad horr(ea) / m(ille) p(edes)*.

<sup>151</sup> Vomer Gojkovič, Kolar (eds.) 2001, 99 ff.; Vomer Gojkovič, Djurić, Lovenjak 2011.

<sup>152</sup> Šašel Kos 1993, nos. 2 (= *CIL* III 4022 = *RIS*t 387 = *HD*066969) and 14 (? = *AIJ* 279).

Culminalis, whose cult is attested a few times in Poetovio and its *ager*.<sup>153</sup> Further divinities worshipped by the municipal aristocracy were Dolichenus,<sup>154</sup> Liber and Libera,<sup>155</sup> as well as the most popular goddesses at Poetovio, the Nutrices.<sup>156</sup> Two or three altars erected by the town magistrates are dedicated to Jupiter Depulsor.<sup>157</sup> The god was particularly worshipped in the southwest of the province of Upper Pannonia and his increased popularity may have been linked to the outbreak of the Marcomannic Wars, when the interior regions of the province were seriously threatened for the first time. Several dedications to Depulsor were found in Poetovio and its vicinity, and Poetovio may even be regarded as a centre of his worship.<sup>158</sup>

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*ILS* = *Inscriptiones Latinae selectae*, ed. H. Dessau, Berlin 1892–1916.

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*RIS* = E. Weber, *Die römerzeitlichen Inschriften der Steiermark*, Graz 1969.

<sup>153</sup> Šašel Kos 1993, no. 13 (= *CIL* III 4108 = *AIJ* 449); *CIL* III 4032 = *ILS* 1653; 4115; *AIJ* 283 (?); 284; *ILJug* 1165.

<sup>154</sup> Šašel Kos 1993, no. 17 (= *ILJug* 352).

<sup>155</sup> Šašel Kos 1993, no. 9 (= *AIJ* 288).

<sup>156</sup> Šašel Kos 1993, nos. 5 (*CIL* III 4052/3 = *AIJ* 328 = Šašel Kos 1999, 170, no. 29 = *HD*067383) and 15 (= Tušek 1986, 349 = *AE* 1986, 568 = Šašel Kos 1999, 169–170, no. 28 = *HD*007962).

<sup>157</sup> Nos. 7 (*CIL* III 4033 = *HD*057349) and 16 (*CIL* III 4111), probably also no. 10 (*CIL* III 4028 = *AIJ* 280 = *AE* 1966, 296 = *HD*016097).

<sup>158</sup> See also *CIL* III 4018 = *AIJ* 285 = *HD*057347 = *lupa* 4920: *C. Petronius Chryseros*; *CIL* III 4034 = *HD*057350: [–] *Secundina*, and possibly some of the dedications *I.O.M.D.*, such as *ILJug* 339 = Lőrincz 2001, 194 (probably not dedicated to Dolichenus); Hainzmann 2004; Pflaum 1978, 83 (1955, 153); Šašel Kos 1999, 123.



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