

**Marjeta Šašel Kos**

(Ljubljana)

## **THE SISCIANI IN THE ROMAN EMPIRE**

### **Abstract**

The article comments on residents of Siscia attested outside the city and its territory. It is based both on corpus of the Roman inscriptions from Siscia and inscriptions found elsewhere in the Roman Empire in which the Sisciani are documented. A few individuals, known from other provincial towns, were employed in municipal and provincial administration, while soldiers of various ranks predominate, legionaries as well as auxiliaries. Among them, soldiers serving in the Praetorian Guard are the best attested.

### **Key words**

Siscia, Upper Pannonia, Roman inscriptions, Roman army, praetorians

## SISCIA: A SHORT HISTORICAL OUTLINE

Siscia (present-day Sisak in Croatia), which had become subject to Roman rule in 35 BC<sup>1</sup>, became a *colonia Flavia* under Vespasian, who rewarded several communities in Pannonia for having supported him during his ascent to imperial power<sup>2</sup>. Another Flavian colony in the province was Sirmium (modern Sremska Mitrovica), and both were settled with fleet veterans, while Neviodunum (Drnovo near Krško) and Andautonia (Ščitarjevo) became *municipia Flavia* (Fig. 1). Before the conquest, Siscia/Segest(ic)a had been a Pannonian emporium of great importance and afterwards remained a strategically well-placed legionary fortress<sup>3</sup>. A military presence has also been documented after the foundation of the colony, where a station of the *beneficarii consularis* is well attested<sup>4</sup>. The residents of Siscia possessing Roman citizenship belonged to the voting district *Quirina*; however, in several inscriptions a *pseudo-tribus Flavia* is documented<sup>5</sup>. The city, the seat of the provincial archives (*tabularium provinciae*), was an important administrative centre in Upper Pannonia (Fig. 2)<sup>6</sup>. Many features converged

<sup>1</sup> M. Šašel Kos, *Appian and Illyricum*, Ljubljana 2005, pp. 437-442; I. Radman-Livaja, *Tesere iz Siska. Olovne tesere iz Siscije/Plombs de Siscia: Tekst/Texte*, Zagreb 2014, pp. 13-14; both with earlier literature; R. Škrkulja, T. Tomaš Barišić (eds.), 35. prije Krista/35 Before Christ, Sisak 2015.

<sup>2</sup> J. Šašel, *La fondazione delle città Flavie quale espressione di gratitudine politica, La città antica come fatto di cultura*, Como 1983, pp. 79-91 (= *Opera selecta*, Ljubljana 1992, pp. 332-344).

<sup>3</sup> Possibly of the legion *IX Hispana* or even *XV Apollinaris*, see I. Radman-Livaja, *Siscia kao rimsko vojno uporište (Siscia as a Roman Military Stronghold)*, [in:] idem (ed.), *Nalazi rimske vojne opreme u Hrvatskoj/Findings of the Roman Military Equipment in Croatia*, Zagreb 2010, pp. 179-201; idem, *The Roman Army*, [in:] B. Migotti (ed.), *The Archaeology of Roman Southern Pannonia*, Oxford 2012, pp. 162-165; 169-170, with earlier citations; idem, V. Vukelić, *Roman military inscriptions from Siscia: an overview*, [in:] L. Vagalinski (ed.), *Proceedings of the 22nd International Congress of Roman Frontier Studies*, Sofia 2015, pp. 400-401; cf. A. Mócsy, *Pannonia and Upper Moesia*, London, Boston 1974, p. 43; 48; J.J. Wilkes, *Roman Legions and their Fortresses in the Danube Lands (first to third centuries AD)*, [in:] R.J. Brewer (ed.), *Roman Fortresses and Their Legions*, London, Cardiff 2000, p. 116; M.C. Bishop, *Handbook to Roman Legionary Fortresses*, Barnsley 2012, pp. 101-102.

<sup>4</sup> I. Radman-Livaja, V. Vukelić, *Not exactly new epigraphic testimonies for the beneficarii in Siscia...*, [in:] J. Horvat (ed.), *The Roman Army between the Alps and the Adriatic*, Ljubljana 2016, pp. 205-212.

<sup>5</sup> G. Forni, *Le tribù romane III, 1. Le pseudo-tribù*, Roma 1985, p. 83, cf. also p. 20, 56, 66.

<sup>6</sup> J. Šašel, *Siscia*, [in:] *RE Suppl. XIV (1974)*, 702-741 (= *Opera selecta*, Ljubljana 1992, pp. 600-620); M. Hoti, *Sisak u antičkim izvorima (Siscia in the Ancient Sources)*, *Opuscula archaeologica* 16, 1992, pp. 133-163; M. Buzov, *Segestika i Siscija – topografija i povijesni razvoj (Segestika und Siscia – Topographie und geschichtliche Entwicklung)*, *Prilozi Instituta za arheologiju u Zagrebu* 10, 1993 (1996), pp. 47-68; T. Lolić, *Colonia Flavia Siscia*, [in:] M. Šašel Kos, P. Scherrer et al. (eds.), *The Autonomous Towns of Noricum and Pannonia. Pannonia I*, Ljubljana 2003, pp. 131-152; cf. L. Mrozewicz, *Flavische Städtegründungen auf dem Balkan*, [in:] G. von Bülow (ed.), *Kontaktzone*

in shaping Siscia into a flourishing Pannonian town: first of all local and international trade and traffic, as well as land and river transport, and further, natural resources, as the proximity of the Ljubija iron mines played a significant role<sup>7</sup>. Economic prosperity and the strategic position encouraged the arrival of colonists and other foreigners, resulting in mixed marriages and stimulating the integration of the local population. Cultural and ethnic diversity contributed to the creation of a heterogeneous provincial society. Any native element seems to have been pushed into the background, or at least does not manifest itself clearly, while immigration from northern Italy must have been intensive, as well as immigration from western and later also eastern provinces. In contrast, many residents of Siscia have been documented in other parts of the Roman Empire, particularly soldiers (Fig. 3)<sup>8</sup>.

A recent publication of 1123 *tesserae*, used in the textile industry of Siscia, has contributed enormously towards better knowledge of the names borne by the Sisciani<sup>9</sup>. The lead tags, on which 949 individuals, mainly customers of fullers and dyers, are recorded, were recovered from the Kupa River in the vicinity of the Roman harbour. The total of 743 names (more than 110 not yet attested) has shed a most interesting light on the choice of names by the Sisciani<sup>10</sup>.

### CIVILIANS FROM SISCIA DOCUMENTED IN OTHER CITIES OF THE EMPIRE

The Valerii were one of the best documented upper class families in Siscia; the *gens Valeria* was slightly later distinguished also in Poetovio: Marcus Valerius Maximianus, a victorious general in the Marcomannic Wars, was one of the rare known Pannonian senators<sup>11</sup>. The Valerii, who were one of

---

Balkan. Beiträge des intern. Kolloquiums Die Donau-Balkan-Region als Kontaktzone zwischen Ost-West und Nord-Süd, Bonn 2015, p. 152.

<sup>7</sup> A.M. Hirt, *Imperial Mines and Quarries in the Roman World. Organizational Aspects 27 BC-AD 235*, Oxford 2010, p. 138, 162, 239, 245.

<sup>8</sup> I. Radman-Livaja, *Immigrants from Other Areas of the Roman Empire Documented on Siscia Lead Tags*, [in:] D. Davison et al. (eds.), *Croatia at the Crossroads. A consideration of archaeological and historical connectivity*, Oxford 2016, pp. 169-191.

<sup>9</sup> I. Radman-Livaja, *Plombs de Siscia*.

<sup>10</sup> Idem, *Craftspeople, Merchants or Clients? The Evidence of Personal Names on the Commercial Lead Tags from Siscia*, [in:] M. Gleba, J. Pásztkai-Szeőke (eds.), *Making Textiles in pre-Roman and Roman Times. People, Places, Identities*, Oxford 2013, pp. 87-108.

<sup>11</sup> J. Šašel, *Senatori ed appartenenti all'ordine senatorio provenienti dalle province romane di Dacia, Tracia, Mesia, Dalmazia e Pannonia*, [in:] *Epigrafia e ordine senatorio II*, Roma 1982,

the most widespread non-imperial *gentilicia*<sup>12</sup>, had probably emigrated from northern Italy (many are attested in Aquileia) to settle in prosperous Pannonian towns<sup>13</sup>. Lucius Valerius Valerianus dedicated a marble altar to Nemesis Augusta in *colonia Claudia* Savaria; in the late first or the early second century AD, he had a distinguished career, having been a *decurio* and *duumvir* in Siscia, as well as a *flamen divi Claudi* and the high priest of Upper Pannonia in Savaria (Fig. 4)<sup>14</sup>. The sanctuary of the provincial council was located in Savaria (*ara Augusti provinciae Pannoniae Superioris*)<sup>15</sup>; the college of former priests, who performed their job in this city, is documented in an interesting inscription from the reign of Trajan<sup>16</sup>. Valerianus was one of them and this accounts for his presence in Savaria. The priests were all former *duumviri* of large Pannonian cities<sup>17</sup>, as was also the case for Valerianus.

Some of the Valerii were members of the Roman army, such as a veteran of the legion *XV Apollinaris*, Lucius Valerius Verecundus from Siscia, whose tombstone was found at Topusko, and Gaius Valerius Spectatus from Siscia, a soldier of the 8<sup>th</sup> Praetorian Cohort (see below).

---

pp. 567-568 (= *Opera selecta*, Ljubljana 1992, 176-177); A. Filippini, G.L. Gregori, Procuratores Augusti et praepositi vexillationibus ab Imperatore missi: le missioni speciali di L. Iulius Iulianus e di M. Valerius Maximianus a confronto, [in:] S. Demougin, M. Navarro Caballero (eds.), *Se déplacer dans l'Empire romain. Approches épigraphiques*, Bordeaux 2014, pp. 85-120.

<sup>12</sup> OPEL IV 143-146.

<sup>13</sup> A. Mócsy, *Die Bevölkerung von Pannonien bis zu den Markomannenkriegen*, Budapest 1959, p. 160; M. Šegvić, *Natpis veterana XV. Apolinarske legije u Topuskom* (L'inscription du vétéran de la XV<sup>e</sup> légion Apollinaire à Topusko), *Vjesnik Arheološkog muzeja u Zagrebu* 21, 1988, p. 60.

<sup>14</sup> L. Balla et al., *Die römischen Steindenkmäler von Savaria*, Budapest 1971, p. 89 no. 38 = AE 1972, 389 = RIU 20 = HD009523 = lupa 7957: *Nemesi / Aug(ustae) sac(rum) / L(ucius) Val(erius) Valerian(us) / dec(urio) col(oniae) Fl(aviae) Sisc(iensium) / Ilvir i(ure) d(icundo) flamen / divi Cl(audi) Ilvir q(uin)q(uennalis) / sac(erdos) p(rovinciae) P(annoniae) s(uperioris) ex vot(o)*. D. Fishwick, *The Imperial Cult in the Latin West. Studies in the ruler Cult of the Western Provinces of the Roman Empire*, III: Provincial Cult, 2: The Provincial Priesthood, Leiden, Boston, Köln 2002, 273; Á. Szabó, *Pannoniciani sacerdotes. A szervezett vallási élet principatuskori vezetői*, Pécs 2006, p. 221 P 70, 244 P 70.

<sup>15</sup> CIL III 4170 = AE 2003, 1367 = HD037447; P. Scherrer, Savaria, [in:] M. Šašel Kos, P. Scherrer et al. (eds.), *The Autonomous Towns of Noricum and Pannonia/Die autonomen Städte in Noricum und Pannonien – Pannonia I, Situla 41*, Ljubljana 2003, pp. 53-54; Á. Szabó, *Pannoniciani sacerdotes*, p. 241; on the role of *concilia*, see B. Edelmann-Singer, *Genese, Organisation und sozioökonomische Funktion der Provinziallandtage im römischen Reich*, Habes 57, Stuttgart 2015 (on Savaria: pp. 126, 220-221).

<sup>16</sup> CIL III 4178 = 10919 = RIU 45: *[Imp(eratori) Ca]esari / [divi N]ervae / [f(ilio) N]ervae / [Traian]o August(o) / [German]ic(o) Dacic(o) / [pontif(ici)] maxim(o) / [tribunicia]e potestatis / [---]c]o(n)s(uli) V patri p(atriciae) / [pont(ifices) a]ugur(es) sacer[dot(es) f?][l(amines?) ex colonia / [S]avaria*. Á. Szabó, *Pannoniciani sacerdotes*, pp. 116-117, no. 90 (AE 2006, 1040).

<sup>17</sup> A. Mócsy, *Pannonia*, [in:] RE Suppl. IX (1962), 595; Á. Szabó, *Pannoniciani sacerdotes*.

Another well-attested prominent family in Siscia were the Titii<sup>18</sup>; they, too, had most probably come to Pannonia from northern Italy<sup>19</sup>. Upper class families had many slaves and freedmen, and Gaius Titius Agathopus, a freedman of one Gaius Titius, became *Augustalis* both in Siscia and Sarmizegetusa. He is known from a dedication to Aesculapius and Hygia from the second century or the first half of the third century AD, found at Sarmizegetusa<sup>20</sup>. His freedman origin can be inferred both from his Greek cognomen and from the fact that he was *Augustalis*, which was one of the highest positions a freedman could have achieved<sup>21</sup>. It was not particularly common that the same person would have performed the function of *Augustalis* in two different towns; it is also not known what specific ties and interests could have linked Siscia and Sarmizegetusa, and what role was played by Agathopus. Three more Augustales are known from Siscia: Pontius Lupus, who was also in charge of public records (*scriba*) of *municipium Faustinianum*<sup>22</sup>, Titus Aurelius Anicetus, known from a dedication to Silvanus Augustus<sup>23</sup>, while a 26-year-old *Augustalis*, Marcus Mulvius Narcissianus, is commemorated on a family sarcophagus<sup>24</sup>. It is noteworthy that only *Augustales* have been known to date from Siscia, with no *seviri* or *seviri Augustales*.

Marcus Plusius Ammianus, 23 years old and born in Siscia, left Pannonia to settle in the nearby province of Dalmatia. How he earned his living is not known. His tombstone was discovered at Nedinum (Nadin), erected to him

<sup>18</sup> M. Christol, S. Demougin, Notes de prosopographie equestre. IV – Un chevalier romain juge des cinq decuries originaire de Siscia, *Zeitschrift für Papyrologie und Epigraphik* 64, 1986, pp. 185-194.

<sup>19</sup> A. Mócsy, Die Bevölkerung, 57/18 (p. 212), also suggested Dalmatia as a possibility; M. Harding, G. Jacobsen, Die Bedeutung der zivilen Zuwanderung aus Norditalien für die Entwicklung der Städte in Noricum und Pannonia, *Classica et Mediaevalia* 39, 1988, p. 160; 195; cf. H. Solin, O. Salomies, *Repertorium nominum gentilium et cognominum Latinorum*, Hildesheim-Zürich-New York 1994, p. 187.

<sup>20</sup> AE 1914, 109 = Dobó, *Inscriptiones*, 556 = IDR III 2, 165 = HD021011 = lupa 15172: [A]esculapio / [e]t Hygiae / August(is) / C(aius) Titius Aga/thopus Aug(ustalis) / col(oniae) Sisciae et / Sarm(izegetusae) ex voto.

<sup>21</sup> A. Abramenko, Die municipale Mittelschicht im kaiserzeitlichen Italien. Zu einem neuen Verständnis von Sevirat und Augustalität, Frankfurt am Main 1993.

<sup>22</sup> CIL III 3974 = lupa 4310 = EDCS-28701050; B. Migotti, The iconography of the Dioscuri on a sarcophagus from Siscia, *Histria Antiqua* 13, 2005, 277-285; cf. M. Buzov, Grad mrtvih uz grad živih – nekropole Siscije (The city of the dead by the city of the living – necropolises of Siscia), *Histria Antiqua* 8, 2002, pp. 176-177, fig. 2.

<sup>23</sup> CIL III 3961 = EDCS-28701043.

<sup>24</sup> CIL III 3973 = lupa 4313 = EDCS-28701049; B. Migotti, The Roman Sarcophagi of Siscia, *Arheološki radovi i rasprave* 17, 2013, p. 187, type II.2.1; cf. M. Buzov, The city of the dead, pp. 176-177, fig. 2. The first letter in the mother's cognomen is not certain.

by his friend Titius Genialis (Fig. 5)<sup>25</sup>. The family name Plusius has not been attested to date elsewhere; however, the name is known as a cognomen and a personal, mainly feminine, name, and so is the feminine name Plusias<sup>26</sup>. Ammianus is a rare name, occurring altogether four times in OPEL, including the individual from Siscia<sup>27</sup>; it is a problematic name, since it is not certain whether it can be classified as indigenous or not<sup>28</sup>. The *gentilicium* Titius is documented almost everywhere, but was widespread in northern Italy, Dalmatia, Pannonia, and Noricum<sup>29</sup>. It is significant, however, that it occurs five times in Siscia, where it was borne by members of the upper and middle classes; nonetheless, this cannot be regarded as a proof that Genialis had also come to Nedinum from Siscia.

Migration to Dalmatia, whether on a temporary or a more permanent basis, was probably not exceptional. One Aurelius Victorinus, a citizen of Siscia and a *librarius* (a secretary or a bookseller), is known from Dalmatia. The site of discovery of the funerary monument, a marble cinerary urn, is not known (it is now in Vienna); it was commissioned for Victorinus by his two colleagues Macrinus and Maturinus, who must have also been from Siscia, since they styled themselves as *c(ives?) et collegae*. Even if the words should be supplemented as *c(ivi?) et coll(egae)*, the meaning and its implication would not be greatly changed<sup>30</sup>. The name Victorinus has been attested to date two times among the Sisciani abroad and four times in Siscia, once in a Christian epitaph<sup>31</sup>. As expected, no Victorini are documented on the *tesserae*, since these are mainly dated to the first two centuries AD<sup>32</sup>.

<sup>25</sup> CIL III 9962 = Dobó, *Inscriptiones*, 261 = HD058156 = lupa 23021: *M(arcus) Plusi/u(s) Ammia/nus anno(rum) / XXIII Siscia / na(tus). Titius Ge/nialis / amico / fec(it). 1-2: Plusi[us?] / V(): earlier editors; 5: Tit[i]us(?)*, earlier editors.

<sup>26</sup> OPEL III 147; Epigraphik-Datenbank Clauss/Slaby.

<sup>27</sup> OPEL I 49.

<sup>28</sup> I. Radman-Livaja, H. Ivezić, *A Review of South-Pannonian Indigenous Anthroponymy*, [in:] B. Migotti (ed.), *The Archaeology of Roman Southern Pannonia*, Oxford 2012, p. 142; cf. G. Alföldy, *Die Personennamen in der römischen Provinz Dalmatia*, Heidelberg 1969, p. 148.

<sup>29</sup> OPEL IV 124.

<sup>30</sup> CIL III 3166 = Dobó, *Inscriptiones*, 262 = R. Noll, *Griechische und lateinische Inschriften der Wiener Antikensammlung*, Wien 1986, p. 69 no. 275 = HD056762 = lupa 9650: *Aur(elio) Victori/no civ(i) Sisc(iano) libr(ario) / Macrinus et Ma/turinus c(ives) et coll(egae) / b(ene) m(erenti) p(osuerunt)*. Line 4: *c(ives) et coll(egae)*: in lupa; *c(ivi) et coll(egae)*: in EDH.

<sup>31</sup> CIL III 3996a = ILCV 1686 = B. Migotti, *Evidence for Christianity in Roman Southern Pannonia (Northern Croatia). A catalogue of finds and sites*, Oxford 1997, p. 41 = EDCS-29200145.

<sup>32</sup> I. Radman-Livaja, *Plombs de Siscia*, pp. 144-147.

## THE SISCIANI IN THE ROMAN ARMY ABROAD: LEGIONARIES AND AUXILIARIES

### Legionaries

Several soldiers are documented in Siscia: in addition to five veterans, also some active soldiers, particularly 14 *beneficarii*<sup>33</sup>, while many Sisciani served in the Roman army abroad. At Topusko, a site in the frontier zone between Dalmatia and Upper Pannonia, at the juncture of the Kupa River with the Glina, a tombstone from the early second century AD was found of a veteran of the legion *XV Apollinaris*, Lucius Valerius Verecundus from Siscia. The town is explicitly mentioned as his *origo*, which probably indicates that Topusko did not belong to the *ager* of Siscia. Verecundus may have taken part in the First Jewish War under Vespasian (AD 66-73)<sup>34</sup>. He belonged to an association of veterans, which obviously existed at Siscia, and which contributed towards the expenses of his tombstone. *Collegia veteranorum* have only rarely been attested to date: at Aquileia, Ateste, Carnuntum, and Ancyra<sup>35</sup>. At Topusko (Ad Fines or perhaps Quadrata)<sup>36</sup>, thermal springs were well-known in the early Roman period and later; most probably they had also been in use in pre-Roman times. The health resort with renowned thermal springs not unexpectedly attracted veterans and other soldiers, who must have sought relief there for their ill-health and injuries.

At Brigetio, Lucius Lucanius Festus from Siscia, a soldier of the legion *XIV Gemina*, died probably in the second century AD. The tombstone was erected for him by Marcus Ulpus Victor, a trumpeter from the same legion and his heir; he was perhaps also from Siscia<sup>37</sup>. After Trajan's Dacian Wars, the legion was permanently stationed at Carnuntum, while Brigetio was the base of the legion *I Adiutrix*<sup>38</sup>. In the beginning of the third century AD, one

<sup>33</sup> I. Radman-Livaja, V. Vukelić, *Roman Military Inscriptions*, pp. 399-405.

<sup>34</sup> ILJug 3117 = HD035205 = lupa 5740; M. Šegvić, *L'inscription du vétéran*, pp. 57-66 (AE 1989, 617); M. Mosser, *Die Steindenkmäler der legio XV Apollinaris*, Wien 2003, p. 102; p. 258 no. 182; cf. I. Radman-Livaja, V. Vukelić, *Roman Military Inscriptions*, p. 404.

<sup>35</sup> J. Bennett, *New evidence from Ankara for the collegia veteranorum and the albata decursio*, *Anatolian Studies* 56, 2006, pp. 93-99 (Ancyra); Aquileia: CIL V 784 = EDR116867; Ateste: CIL V 2475 = EDR130463; Carnuntum: CIL III 11189 = HD073138; CIL III 11097 = HD000911.

<sup>36</sup> A. Durman, *O geostrateškom položaju Siscije (On Geostrategic Location of Siscia)*, *Opuscula archaeologica* 16, 1992, p. 126 ff., while he located Ad Fines at Mali Gradac.

<sup>37</sup> CIL III 11029 = RIU 566 = HD039484.

<sup>38</sup> T. Franke, *Legio XIV Gemina*, [in:] Y. Le Bohec, C. Wolff (eds.), *Les légions de Rome sous le Haut-Empire*, Lyon 2000, pp. 191-202; B. Lőrincz, *Legio I Adiutrix*, [in:] Y. Le Bohec, C. Wolff (eds.), *Les légions de Rome sous le Haut-Empire*, Lyon 2000, pp. 151-158.

Iulius Nigellio from *Septimia Flavia Siscia* served at Brigetio as a *beneficiarius* of the legionary tribune of legion *I Adiutrix Antoniniana* (Fig. 6)<sup>39</sup>. Together with his companion – *coregionarius* – and heir Aelius Paternianus, who commissioned the tombstone for him, he was in charge of policing a district (*regio*) that had been assigned to them. The military rank of a *regionarius* has been relatively rarely attested to date<sup>40</sup>, except in Lower Moesia<sup>41</sup>.

The *gentilicia* of these soldiers (Ulpus, Iulius), as well as their *cognomina* (Crispus, Ianuarius, Festus, Victor, and Nigellio), are also documented on the *tesserae*<sup>42</sup>, except the *gentilicium* Lucianus. However, Lucanus appears twice as a cognomen, also on a *tessera*, Ulpus Lucanus, and could perhaps be explained, due to its popularity in the Celtic speaking western provinces, as a name borne by the autochthonous Celtic population (although not necessarily by native Sisciani)<sup>43</sup>, from which the *gentilicium* could have been created.

A soldier of the legion *XI Claudia*, Publius Crescentinius Flavius Saturninus from Siscia, was buried at Portus Magnus in Mauretania Caesariensis (modern Arzew in Algeria) at some time in the mid-second century AD. The tombstone was erected to him by his daughter Flavia Ianuaria<sup>44</sup>. Saturninus must have been one of the most popular *cognomina* or personal names borne by the Sisciani (altogether documented 16 times, including the lead tags)<sup>45</sup>. Ianuarius/Ianuaria was also a favoured name in Siscia, attested eight times to date, including on the *tesserae*<sup>46</sup>. In the Celtic

<sup>39</sup> AE 2008, 1086 = HD066922; L. Borhy, *COREG, Legio VII Claudia, Ala I Contariorum milliaria civium Romanorum* – Neue Angaben zur Militärgeschichte von Brigetio: Spolien eines Steinkistengrabs aus dem Gerhát-Gräberfeld, [in:] *Studia Celtica Classica et Romana Nicolae Szabó septuagesimo dedicata*, Budapest 2010, pp. 70-73: *D(is) M(anibus) // Iulio Nigellio{a}ni Sep(timia) Flavia Sisc(ia) q(uondam) stip(endiorum) / XVIII vixit an(nos) XL b(ene)f(iciario) trib(uni) mil(itum) leg(ionis) I ad(iutricis) Ant(oniniana) / Ael(ius) Paternianus coreg(ionarius) eiusdem heres / f(aciendum) c(uravit)*.

<sup>40</sup> L. Borhy, *COREG*, pp. 70-73.

<sup>41</sup> M.P. Speidel, *Regionarii in Lower Moesia*, *Zeitschrift für Papyrologie und Epigraphik* 57, 1984, pp. 185-188 (= *Roman Army Studies*, 2, Stuttgart 1992, pp. 140-144), for the Montana region; T. Sarnowski, *Quellenkritische Bemerkungen zu den Polizeikräften in Niedermoesien*, *Eos* 76, 1988, pp. 99-104.

<sup>42</sup> I. Radman-Livaja, *Plombs de Siscia*, s. vv.

<sup>43</sup> *Ibidem*, pp. 223-224.

<sup>44</sup> CIL VIII 9761 = Dobó, *Inscriptiones*, 180 = EDCS-25500576: *D(is) M(anibus) / P(ublio) Crescen(tinio) Fl(avio) Sat(urnino) Sisc(ia)e mil(iti) / leg(ionis) XI Cl(audiae) |(centuria) / Ulp(i) Victo(ri)s stip(endiorum) XVI / vix(it) ann(os) / XXXVII Fl(avia) Ian(uaria) / fil(ia) f(aciendum) c(uravit)*. Cf. I. Radman-Livaja, V. Vukelić, *Roman Military Inscriptions*, p. 404; A. Mócsy, *Die Bevölkerung, 57/9* (p. 211) wrongly referred to the legion as *X Gemina*.

<sup>45</sup> I. Radman-Livaja, *Plombs de Siscia*, p. 259.

<sup>46</sup> *Ibidem*, p. 215.



regions, the name was a „Deckname”. At the beginning of Trajan’s reign, the legion had been stationed for a few years in Brigetio and Saturninus was perhaps recruited during this period. Later, after Trajan’s Dacian Wars, it was based at Durostorum in Moesia Inferior<sup>47</sup>. Saturninus, who died at the age of 37, was 21 years old when he joined the army, serving for 16 years. His daughter was obviously born earlier, if it is assumed that she was not less than 18 at the time of her father’s death; this would imply that he was 19 years old when he became a father. A vexillation of his legion must have been sent to Mauretania Caesariensis for reasons that escape us; however, it seems rather unusual that Saturninus would have been accompanied by his daughter.

Titus Aelius Victorinus from Siscia, a *beneficiarius consularis*, is known from a list of the members of the *officium* of the legate of Numidia, from the second half of the second century AD, found in Lambaesis, the camp of the legion *III Augusta* (Lambèse near Tazoult in Algeria)<sup>48</sup>. While most of the members were from northern Africa, three of the *beneficarii consularis* came from distant provinces: one was Victorinus from Pannonia, Gaius Aelius Iulianus was from Sarmizegetusa in Dacia, and Marcus Aurelius Nicostratus from Cilician Tharsus.

At Apulum in Dacia (Alba Iulia), two inscribed Roman stone fragments were discovered in 1961, reused for the pavement of the Catholic Cathedral and erroneously believed to have belonged to one and the same tombstone erected to a *librarius consularis* Publius (?) Aelius Propincus from Siscia, a soldier of the legion *XIII Gemina*<sup>49</sup>. However, a new interpretation has made it clear that each fragment represented a separate funerary monument, one of which commemorated Aelius Propincus, a secretary (*librarius consularis*) from Apulum<sup>50</sup>, the other, from the third century AD, a soldier of the legion *XIII Gemina* from Siscia, whose name is damaged beyond restoration<sup>51</sup>. Hence Propincus should no longer be listed among the Sisciani

<sup>47</sup> R. Fellmann, Die 11. Legion Claudia Pia Fidelis, [in:] Y. Le Bohec, C. Wolff (eds.), Les légions de Rome sous le Haut-Empire, Lyon 2000, pp. 127-131.

<sup>48</sup> CIL VIII 2586, v. 22 = ILS 2381 = CBI 783 = EDCS-58800037 (cf. AE 2010, 1828); cf. I. Radman-Livaja, V. Vukelić, Roman Military Inscriptions, p. 404.

<sup>49</sup> I. Berciu, A. Popa, Monumente epigrafice din Apulum, Apulum 5, 1964, pp. 195-197 (= AE 1965, 35; cf. AE 1972, 458) = Dobó, Inscriptiones, 189.

<sup>50</sup> Dobó, Inscriptiones, 189 (two inscriptions as one) = AE 1982, 826a (revised) = HD001777 = lupa 11101.

<sup>51</sup> G. Forni, Revisione di epigrafi da Apulum (Dacia), Zeitschrift für Papyrologie und Epigraphik 46, 1982, p. 190 no. 2 (= AE 1982, 826b, revision of AE 1965, 35) = HD001774 (with

abroad. This legion was transferred from Vindonissa (Germania) to Poetovio in Pannonia ca. AD 45. It left Poetovio for Vindobona most probably towards the end of Domitian's reign, when the Pannonian *limes* was threatened by attacks from Germanic peoples. The legion also fought in Trajan's Dacian Wars and was afterwards stationed at Apulum<sup>52</sup>.

A centurion of this legion from Siscia (*domo Sescia(!) ex Pannonia superiore*), Marcus Aurelius Lucius, is known from a tombstone found at Tyana in Cappadocia. At some time in the third century AD he had a funerary monument erected to his former slave (*verna et libertus*), Marcus Aurelius Saturninus<sup>53</sup>. Both bore *cognomina* typical of the inhabitants of Siscia. The name Lucius was extremely popular in Siscia, which is indicated by the fact that it also appears on 14 *tesserae*<sup>54</sup>; the name Saturninus can be regarded as equally favoured by the Sisciani, since – as has been mentioned – it is attested 16 times, also occurring on the commercial tags<sup>55</sup>.

Gaius Publicius Priscilianus, from *Septimia Siscia*, was a senior centurion and commander of the first cohort (*primus pilus*) in the legion *I Minervia* at Bonna (Bonn) in Germania Inferior, where he erected an altar to Victoria Augusta on 1 May 222 AD, soon after the assassination of Elagabalus and accession of his cousin Severus Alexander on 11 March 222<sup>56</sup>. The altar was dedicated by Titus Flavius Aper Commodianus, the governor (*legatus Augusti pro praetore*) of Lower Germania<sup>57</sup>, and by the legate of the legion, Aufidius Coresnius Marcellus, by origin from Sagalassus in Pamphylia, who

---

earlier references) = lupa 11992: -----] / [-]I(?)I(?)NI(?)[-? domo?] / Siscia [mil]/es leg(ionis) X[III g(eminae)] / posuit [---]/us eq(ues) [bene] / mer[enti].

<sup>52</sup> I. Piso, *Les légions dans la province de Dacie*, [in:] Y. Le Bohec, C. Wolff (eds.), *Les légions de Rome sous le Haut-Empire*, Lyon 2000, pp. 220-224; on its early movements: I. Radman-Livaja, *The Roman Army*, [in:] B. Migotti (ed.), *The Archaeology of Roman Southern Pannonia*, Oxford 2012, p. 163, 170.

<sup>53</sup> AE 1941, 161 = Dobó, *Inscriptiones*, 263 = HD021468: *D(is) M(anibus) / M(arco) A[u]r(elio) Satur(nin)o annor(um) / XXX domo / Sescia(!) ex / Pannonia / superiore / M(arcus) Aurelius / Lucius [(centurio) leg(ionis) / XIII geminae / vernae et / liberto incomparabili.*

<sup>54</sup> I. Radman-Livaja, *Plombs de Siscia*, p. 224.

<sup>55</sup> *Ibidem*, p. 259.

<sup>56</sup> CIL XIII 8035 = Dobó, *Inscriptiones*, 157 = EDCS-11100259 (EDH: FO18705): *Victoriae Aug(ustae) / C(aius) Publicius C(ai) filius Septimia / Siscia Priscilianus p(rimus) p(ilus) / leg(ionis) I M(inerviae) [[Sever(ianae) Alexandr(ianae)]] P(iae) F(idelis) / d(onum) d(edit) dedicante Fl(avio) Apro / Com(m)odiano leg(ato) Aug(usti) pr(o) pr(aetore) / et Aufidio Coresnio Marcell(o) / leg(ato) leg(ionis) eiusdem XI Kal(endas) Maias / d(omino) n(ostro) [[Severo Alexandro]] Aug(usto) / co(n)s(ule).* Cf. I. Radman-Livaja, V. Vukelić, *Roman Military Inscriptions*, p. 404.

<sup>57</sup> PIR<sup>2</sup> F 210; B. E. Thomasson, *Laterculi praesidum*, 1, *Gothoburgi* 1984, p. 59 no. 100; W. Eck, *Die Statthalter der germanischen Provinzen vom 1.-3. Jahrhundert*, Köln-Bonn 1985, pp. 207-208, no. 53.

was a few years later, under Severus Alexander, the governor of Lower Germania<sup>58</sup>.

A fragmentary list of soldiers from the third century AD, probably belonging to the legion *II Parthica*, was discovered at Albanum in *Regio I* (Latium and Campania). The legion had been constituted by Septimius Severus and stationed at Albanum<sup>59</sup>. Among the soldiers, whose names and places of origin are at least partly preserved, two are from Siscia: one Valentinus and one Marcellinus, their first names and *gentilicia* having been damaged. One of the soldiers originated from Savaria, while the others were notably from Italian communities: two from Terventum (spelled as Terebentum, modern Trivento, the region of Molise), two from the Etruscan Vulci, and one from Casinum (Cassino in Latium).

### Auxiliaries

The dedication to Jupiter, Best and Greatest, on an altar found in Samaria (Sebaste) in Iudaea is most impressive, erected by the *cives* Sisciani, Varciani, and Latobici. They served in cohorts stationed in Upper Pannonia, from where they had been sent in a special detachment to Iudaea (*militēs vexillationis cohortium Pannoniae superioris*)<sup>60</sup>. The Sisciani belonged to the *civitas* in the territory of Siscia, the Varciani were settled in the territory of Andautonia (present-day Ščitarjevo south of Zagreb), a Flavian *municipium*, as was also Nevioudunum (Drnovo near Krško), inhabited by the Latobici. They extended to the west as far as Praetorium Latobicorum, a strategically significant settlement near the border between Upper Pannonia and Italy (*Regio X*)<sup>61</sup>. In the distant Iudaea, the identity awareness of the soldiers, who had originated from neighbouring Pannonian territories, was no doubt

<sup>58</sup> PIR<sup>2</sup> A 1383; cf. AE 2002, 1772.

<sup>59</sup> AE 1964, 14 = Dobó, *Inscriptiones*, 161 = HD015583 = EDR074321; M.P. Speidel, *The Centurions' Titles*, *Epigraphische Studien* 13, 1983, pp. 60-61, no. 33 (= *Roman Army Studies*, 2, Stuttgart 1992, pp. 38-39 no. 33); P. Faure, *Entre épigraphie et archéologie: la II<sup>e</sup> légion parthique et les structures des légions romaines*, [in:] F. Bertholet, C. Schmidt Heidenreich (eds.), *Entre archéologie et épigraphie. Nouvelles perspectives sur l'armée romaine*, Bern-Berlin-Bruxelles-Frankfurt am Main-New York-Oxford-Wien 2013, pp. 60-61, no. A 56.

<sup>60</sup> AE 1909, 235 = AE 1938, 13 = Dobó, *Inscriptiones*, 219 = HD021921.

<sup>61</sup> D. Nemeth-Ehrlich, D. Kušan Špalj, *Municipium Andautonia*, [in:] M. Šašel Kos, P. Scherrer et al. (eds.), *The Autonomous Towns of Noricum and Pannonia. Pannonia/Die autonomen Städte in Noricum und Pannonien – Pannonia I*, Ljubljana 2003, pp. 107-129; M. Lovenjak, *Inscriptiones Latinae Sloveniae 1: Nevioudunum*, Ljubljana 1998, p. 15.

manifested differently than at home; they must have felt much more closely linked among themselves than they would have been in their homeland. Most probably they participated in one of the two bloody wars caused by the insurrection of the Jews in the first half of the second century AD, either under Trajan (AD 115-117) or under Hadrian (AD 132-135).

Many other soldiers from Siscia are also attested abroad. At Arrabona (Győr), one Crispus Mac(-), Siscianus, is recorded on a funerary inscription from the end of the first century AD. He had been a horseman in the *ala I Aravacorum* and his tombstone was erected by his heir, Ianuarius, who was a *decurio*, probably in the same *ala*, and likely from Siscia as well<sup>62</sup>. *Ala I Hispanorum Aravacorum* had been assigned to Carnuntum in the early reign of Vespasian, and a few decades later it was transferred to Arrabona, where it was stationed between the years 92 and 106; later it was based at Kelamantia<sup>63</sup>.

Another horseman from Siscia was buried in Arrabona in the third century AD, Aurelius Saturnio. He had served in the *ala contariorum* and had been *librarius* (a secretary) of his unit<sup>64</sup>; the tombstone was erected to him by his heir Luc(ilius?) Vindex, serving in the same *ala*. He was also from Siscia (*cives!*); his *gentilicium* may well have been Lucilius, since Lucilii are attested several times in the city and among the Sisciani abroad, and the name appears once on a lead tag<sup>65</sup>. However, other possibilities would be Lucanius and Luc(c)ius, both already documented in Siscia. One of the Lucilii from Siscia was a witness on a military diploma from Sirmium of 30 May, AD 73, Marcus Lucilius Saturninus<sup>66</sup>, which indicates that the Lucilii were among the first Roman families settled in the *colonia Flavia Siscia*. *Ala Ulpia contariorum milliaria civium Romanorum* had been created by Trajan at the beginning of his reign to take part in the Dacian war; it was afterwards stationed at Arrabona in Pannonia Superior and fought in all subsequent wars along the Danube, as well as in the war against the Parthians under Lucius Verus (between 162 and 166). Aurelius Saturnio may have served

<sup>62</sup> CIL III 4373 = RIU 259 = HD040538; cf. A. Mócsy, *Die Bevölkerung*, 158/2 (p. 243); B. Lőrincz, *Die römischen Hilfstruppen in Pannonien während der Prinzipatszeit. I: Die Inschriften*, Wien 2001, p. 197 no. 130: *Crispus Mac(---) / Siscianus eq(ues) / alae I Aravac(orum) / an(norum) XXXV sti(pendiorum) XV / h(ic) s(itus) e(st) / Ianuarius dec(urio) / h(eres) p(osuit)*.

<sup>63</sup> B. Lőrincz, *Die römischen Hilfstruppen*, p. 20.

<sup>64</sup> CIL III 13441 = RIU 282 = AE 2001, 1641 = HD037831 = lupa 3081: *D(is) M(anibus) / Aur(elio) Saturnioni / libr(ario) eq(uiti) alae / cont(ariorum) stip(endiorum) XV / an(norum) XXXV domo / Sisciae / Luc(ilius?) / Vindex libr(arius) / alae ei{ius}dem / cives et heres f(ecit)*.

<sup>65</sup> I. Radman-Livaja, *Plombs de Siscia*, p. 224.

<sup>66</sup> CIL XVI 18 = HD032916.

in the ala during the Marcomannic Wars; in AD 174/175 it was commanded by Marcus Valerius Maximianus from Poetovio, the future senator, who was on that occasion awarded military decorations<sup>67</sup>.

A tombstone was found at Tropaeum Traiani (modern Adamclisi), a stele from the second half of the second century AD, now in the Museum at Adamclisi, of Gaius (?) Artorius Saturninus from Siscia, veteran of the cohort *I Lusitanorum*, who as a soldier had received double pay, no doubt as a reward for bravery or outstanding activity. He was commemorated by his children: Gaius Artorius, Roscia Saturnina, and Artorius Saturninus (Fig. 7)<sup>68</sup>. The relatively rare family name Artorius has neither been attested to date in Siscia nor in Pannonia<sup>69</sup>, and it was suggested that he had come to Siscia from either northern Italy or Dalmatia<sup>70</sup>. As has been observed, the name Saturninus was very much favoured among the inhabitants of Siscia. It is not certain how to explain the name of the first son, Gaius Artorius, because he clearly lacks a cognomen. Roscia Saturnina may have gotten her family name from her mother. It may not be entirely clear whether there were two cohorts named *I Lusitanorum*, or only one. If there were two, one of them, which would have been stationed from the mid-first century onwards at various camps in Pannonia, and after the division of the province in Pannonia Inferior, would have probably been *equitata*. The existence of two cohorts seems more plausible; the other would have been based in Moesia, and after the division of the province, in Moesia Superior<sup>71</sup>.

On a military diploma from Sirmium, of 30 May AD 73, seven witnesses are listed, four of them from Siscia: Gaius Aconius Maximus, Titus Flavius Festus, Marcus Lucilius Saturninus, and Marcus Rutilius Hermes. The remaining three were from Sirmium: Sextus Iuventius Ingenuus, Gaius Curtius Secundus, and Marcus Statorius Sabinus<sup>72</sup>. Both cities were *coloniae Flaviae*.

<sup>67</sup> B. Lőrincz, *Die römischen Hilfstruppen*, pp. 18-19; 189.

<sup>68</sup> CIL III 14214,9 = Dobó, *Inscriptiones*, 169 = HD042036 = lupa 15226; S. Conrad, *Die Grabstelen aus Moesia Inferior*, Leipzig 2004, 264 (p. 197, Pl. 68.4): *D(is) [M(anibus)] / [---] Art(orius) Sa/tur(ninus), Sisc(ia), / ex d(uplicario) vet(eranus) / c(o)ho(rtis) I Lus(itanorum) / vix(it) an(nos) XLV / mil(itavit) an(nos) XXV / h(ic) s(itus) e(st). C(aius) Arto(rius) / et Roscia / Satur(nina) et / Art(orius) Satur(ninus) / f(ili) p(at)ri p(ientissimo) posuer(unt)*.

<sup>69</sup> OPEL I 78.

<sup>70</sup> A. Mócsy, *Die Bevölkerung*, 57/7, p. 211.

<sup>71</sup> B. Lőrincz, *Die römischen Hilfstruppen*, pp. 37-38, with earlier literature, postulated the existence of two cohorts; S. Dušanić, M.R. Vasić, *Un Upper Moesian Diploma of A.D. 96*, *Chiron* 7, 1977, pp. 296-297 (= S. Dušanić, *Selected Essays in Roman History and Epigraphy*, Beograd 2010, pp. 196-197), argued for one.

<sup>72</sup> CIL XVI 18 = HD032916.

## PRAETORIANS AND EQUITES SINGULARES

The most numerous soldiers from Siscia serving abroad were members of the Praetorian Guard, documented in Rome<sup>73</sup>. Some of their names, attested on the lists of the members of the Guard in Rome, are fragmentary<sup>74</sup>. Of 14 praetorians, who are known to date to have come from Siscia, seven were Aurelii: Marcus Aurelius Valentinus and Marcus Aurelius Firmus, known from a list of praetorians in Rome<sup>75</sup>, Marcus Aurelius Verus and Marcus Aurelius Licinius, known from another *laterculus*<sup>76</sup>, Marcus Aurelius Nero, whose name appears together with Lucius Marius Candidus in a list from the second century AD<sup>77</sup>, and Marcus Aurelius Tato from another *laterculus* of the second century AD<sup>78</sup>. Tato is an indigenous name<sup>79</sup>, as is also the cognomen of another of these Aurelii, who was Dasius, *nat(ione) Pann(onius), colon(ia) Siscia*. He is documented on a tombstone from the second century AD, which his brother Marcus Aurelius Candidus, an *equus singularis*, had erected for him<sup>80</sup>. Dasius bore an undoubtedly autochthonous 'Illyrian'/ Pannonian name, which also occurs on five *tesserae*. In four cases it is associated with other native Pannonian names: Trico, Bato, Apalus, Lecanus, and in one case with Orisus, which, however, is a *hapax*, but could very likely also be regarded as Pannonian<sup>81</sup>.

Other *gentilicia* of the praetorians from Siscia are the above mentioned Marius (the only one that has not been attested yet in Siscia), Flavius, Iulius, Lucilius, Septimius, and Valerius. As has already been pointed out, Valerii were one of the most significant families in Siscia; members of the upper, as

<sup>73</sup> Collected by I. Radman-Livaja, V. Vukelić, Roman Military Inscriptions, p. 404.

<sup>74</sup> EDR122314 (v. 54); EDR121980 (col. II v.10), both with earlier references.

<sup>75</sup> Dobó, Inscriptiones, 63d = EDR121561 (col. III v. 11 and col. IV v. 24).

<sup>76</sup> Dobó, Inscriptiones, 63e = EDR132192 (col. I v. 2 and v. 6).

<sup>77</sup> Dobó, Inscriptiones, 63f = EDR132203.

<sup>78</sup> CIL VI 32640 col. I v. 15 = Dobó, Inscriptiones, 63g = EDR134201 (col. I v. 16).

<sup>79</sup> I. Radman-Livaja, H. Ivezić, A Review, p. 142; cf. A. Falileyev, The Gaulish Word for „Thin” and Some Personal Names from Roman Siscia, *Studia Celtica* 48, 2014, p. 112.

<sup>80</sup> CIL VI 32680 = Dobó, Inscriptiones, 61 = C. Ricci, *Balcanici e Danubiani a Roma. Attestazioni epigrafiche di abitanti delle province Rezia, Norico, Pannonia, Dacia, Dalmazia, Mesia, Macedonia, Tracia (I-III sec.)*, [in:] L. Mrozewicz, K. Iłski (eds.), *Prosopographica*, Poznań 1993, p. 184 no. P. 18; M.P. Speidel, *Die Denkmäler der Kaiserreiter – Equites singulares Augusti*, Köln-Bonn 1994, p. 406 no. 750 = EDR107064: *D(is) M(anibus) / M(arcus) Aur(elius) Dasius / mil(es) coh(ortis) V pr(aetoriae) p(iae) v(indicis) / |(centuria) Catullini nat(ione) / Pann(onius) colon(ia) Siscia / vix(it) ann(os) XXXII mil(itavit) / ann(os) XIII M(arcus) Aur(elius) / Candidus eq(ues) sing(ularis) / d(omini) n(ostri) fratri b(ene) m(erenti) f(ecit)*.

<sup>81</sup> I. Radman-Livaja, *Plombs de Siscia*, p. 196.

well as middle class are attested in the city. Gaius Valerius Spectatus from Siscia, a soldier of the 8<sup>th</sup> Praetorian Cohort, who died at the age of 24, is known from a tombstone in Rome, commissioned for him by his heir<sup>82</sup>. It has been suggested that he might have come from Noricum to Siscia<sup>83</sup>; however, there are no compelling reasons for this assumption, since it is only based on the fact that Spectatus was a particularly frequent name in Noricum, while elsewhere it is rather rare<sup>84</sup>. Titus Flavius Provincialis is known from a list of praetorians of AD 183/184<sup>85</sup>, while Sextus Iulius Augurinus is attested on a tombstone from Rome from the beginning of the second century AD<sup>86</sup>. He died at the age of 44 years, having only served 12 years, which means that he had been recruited when he was 32 years old. He belonged to the 7<sup>th</sup> Praetorian Cohort and was *beneficiarius* of the praetorian prefect. One Marcus Lucilius Proculus from Siscia is known from a tombstone found in Rome (Fig. 8); he served in the 6<sup>th</sup> Praetorian Cohort, where he was in charge of the money box (*fisci curator*)<sup>87</sup>. Lucius Septimius Lucanus is known from the list of praetorians of AD 209<sup>88</sup>.

Another horseman in the imperial guard (*equus singularis Augusti*) from Siscia was Aelius Lucius, recorded on a tombstone found in Rome. The monument is from the second century AD and was erected to him by his compatriots<sup>89</sup>. As has been mentioned, the name Lucius is one of the best attested in Siscia, since it occurs on 14 *tesserae*<sup>90</sup>. One Publius Aelius

<sup>82</sup> CIL VI 2689 = Dobó, Inscriptiones, 63 = EDR102983; C. Ricci, Balcanici e Danubiani, p. 186, no. P. 69: *D(is) M(anibus). / C(aius) Valerius C(ai) f(ilius) / Flavia Spectatus / Siscia mil(es) coh(ortis) / VIII pr(aetoriae) >(centuria) Voconi, / mil(itavit) ann(os) VI vix(it) / ann(os) XXXIII. H(eres) f(aciendum) c(uravit).*

<sup>83</sup> A. Mócsy, Die Bevölkerung, 57/20 (p. 212).

<sup>84</sup> OPEL IV 90.

<sup>85</sup> Dobó, Inscriptiones, 63a = EDR121562 (fragments b-c, col. I v. 29).

<sup>86</sup> CIL VI 2644 = Dobó, Inscriptiones, 62 = CBI 947 = EDR102930; C. Ricci, Balcanici e Danubiani, p. 185 no. P. 38: *D(is) M(anibus) / Sex(tus) Iulius Sex(ti) f(ilius) / Flavia Augurinus / Siscia b(eneficiarius) pr(aefecti) pr(aetorio) coh(orte) / VII pr(aetoria) >(centuria) Appi vix(it) / ann(os) XXXXIII m(enses) II / mil(itavit) an(nos) XII m(enses) II.*

<sup>87</sup> AE 1984, 68 = EDR079178; C. Ricci, Balcanici e Danubiani, p. 186, no. P. 53: *M(arcus) Lucilius M(arci) f(ilius) / Qui(rina) Proculus / Siscia fisci cur(ator) / coh(ortis) VI pr(aetoriae) >(centuria) Flageri / mil(itavit) an(nos) XIII / vix(it) an(nos) XXXIII t(estamento) p(oni) i(ussit).*

<sup>88</sup> Dobó, Inscriptiones, 63c = EDR121980 (col. II v. 36).

<sup>89</sup> CIL VI 3180 = Dobó, Inscriptiones, 116 = EDR152522; A. Mócsy, Die Bevölkerung, 57/5 (p. 211); G. Forni, Le tribù romane III, 1. Le pseudo-tribù, Roma 1985, p. 56 no. 39; C. Ricci, Balcanici e Danubiani, p. 183 no. P. 4; M.P. Speidel, Die Denkmäler der Kaiserreiter, p. 224 no. 320: *D(is) M(anibus). / Ael(io) Lucio, / eq(uiti) sing(ulari) / Aug(usti), tur(ma) L(uci) / Proculii, in/testato. / Municipi conl(ato) fecerunt, do(m)o Fl(avia) Siscia.*

<sup>90</sup> I. Radman-Livaja, Plombs de Siscia, p. 224.

Valentinus, a 26-years-old *equus singularis Augusti*, a Pannonian from Flavia Siscia, is known from a tombstone of the second century AD, found at Reate in Samnium (modern Rieti). The monument was commissioned for him by his heir and superior Claudius Titianus, a standard-bearer (*signifer*), who perhaps, but not necessarily, also came from Siscia<sup>91</sup>.

A tombstone from the second century AD was found at Carnuntum, erected by Lucius Genucius Exsoratus and his wife Cantabriaca Exsorata, a couple by origin from *colonia Flavia Siscia*<sup>92</sup>. He was the accountant (financial supervisor) of the governor's bodyguard (*summus curator equitum singularium consularis*), serving in the capital of Upper Pannonia. His duty was to distribute among the horsemen of the guard hay for their horses and other commodities assigned to them, collecting from them written receipts<sup>93</sup>. Their four little children, all boys, are commemorated on the tombstone: Lucius Genucius Honoratianus 8 years old, Lucius Genucius Lucianus 2 years old, Lucius Genucius Kapito 4 months old, and Lucius Genucius Lucius 4 years old. Lucius had a cognomen identical with the *praenomen* that was in use in his family<sup>94</sup>. The names Exsorata, Capito, and Lucius are also attested on the commercial tags, hence these names were clearly popular in Siscia. Exsorata occurs on two *tesserae* (the masculine form has not been documented); the name, written with -xs-, is indeed Celtic and is attested in the Celtic speaking provinces and northern Italy<sup>95</sup>. It should perhaps be

<sup>91</sup> M. C. Spadoni, Regio IV: Sabina et Samnium. Reate – Ager Reatinus, [in:] *Supplementa Italica* 18, Roma 2000, pp. 97-98, no. 14 (= AE 2000, 413) = M.P. Speidel, *Die Denkmäler der Kaiserreiter*, pp. 363-364 no. 677 = EDR069019: *D(is) M(anibus) / P(ublio) Aelio Valentino / Flavia Siscia Panno(nio) / equiti sing(ulari) Aug(usti) / militavit annis VIII / tur(ma) Ulpi Prisci / vix(it) annis XXVI / cura(m) agente herede / Claudio Titiano signif(ero)*.

<sup>92</sup> CIL III 4471 = M.P. Speidel, SVMMVS CVRATOR. Zu Inschriften aus dem österreichischen Oberpannonien und Noricum, *Römisches Österreich* 1, 1973, pp. 53-56 = HD067677 = lupa 1805: *L(ucio) Genucio / Honoratiano / ann(orum) VIII m(ensium) X et L(ucio) / Genuc(io) Lucia/no an(norum) II dier(um) XXX / et L(ucio) Genuc(io) Kap(itoni) mens(ium) IIII / et L(ucio) Genuc(io) Lu(cio) an(norum) IIII m(ensium) IIII / d(ierum) XV L(ucius) Genuc(ius) / Exsoratus(!) s(ummus) c(urator) / eqq(uitum) sing(ularium) co(n)s(ularis) / et Cantabriaca / Exsorata(!) pare(n)tes domu(!) Fl(avia) Sis(c(ia)) fecerunt*.

<sup>93</sup> M.P. Speidel, SVMMVS CVRATOR; cf. idem, *The Career of a Strator and Summus Curator*, [in:] idem, *Roman Army Studies*, 2, Stuttgart 1992, pp. 137-139.

<sup>94</sup> O. Salomies, *Choosing a Cognomen in Rome. Some Aspects*, [in:] H.M. Shellenberg, V.E. Hirschmann, A. Kriekhaus (eds.), *A Roman Miscellany. Essays in Honour of Anthony R. Birley on his Seventieth Birthday*, Gdańsk 2008, p. 89; idem, *Die römischen Vornamen. Studien zur römischen Namengebung*, Helsinki 1987, pp. 165-166.

<sup>95</sup> X. Delamarre, *Nomina Celtica antiqua selecta inscriptionum/Noms de personnes celtiques dans l'épigraphie classique*, Paris 2007, p. 100; I. Radman-Livaja, *Plombs de Siscia*, p. 204, with earlier literature (the etymology, related to the word for „mouse“, is not likely) .



treated separately from the Latin name Exoratus; it may shed light on an interesting socio-linguistic phenomenon and a partial Gallic influence on the pronunciation of the Latin name<sup>96</sup>. Capito is inscribed on five tags; this Latin name was popular among the indigenous population in the Celtic speaking provinces, as well as in Pannonia and Dalmatia, which means that it was appreciated both by the indigenous Celtic and „Illyrian”-Pannonian inhabitants<sup>97</sup>. As has been noted, Lucius appears on 14 tags (only in two cases as a *gentilicium*), which makes it one of the most popular personal names in Siscia<sup>98</sup>. The popularity of this Latin name (with the Indo-European root *\*leuk- /louk- /luk-*, meaning „shine, light”) was no doubt due to the fact that assonant names, derived from the same root, had been in use by the indigenous population in Pannonia before the coming of the Romans<sup>99</sup>.

### CONCLUDING REMARKS

Siscia was a flourishing commercial and administrative centre in the province of Pannonia (since Trajan in Upper Pannonia), one of the numberless cities of the Roman Empire<sup>100</sup>, which – different as they were – all functioned in more or less the same way. The town had an excellent strategic position at the confluence of the Kupa (Colapis) and Sava Rivers, along which the „route of the Argonauts”, which began at Nauportus on the Ljubljana (Nauportus) River, proceeded towards the Danube. Since the reign of Augustus, the only direct continental route linking Italy with the East passed through Siscia. The Roman Empire was a global phenomenon and its administration and army, as well as various other logistic activities, required great mobility on the part of its citizens, particularly those of higher

<sup>96</sup> Kindly suggested by Luka Repanšek.

<sup>97</sup> I. Radman-Livaja, *Plombs de Siscia*, p. 180.

<sup>98</sup> *Ibidem*, pp. 224-225.

<sup>99</sup> W. Meid, *Keltische Personennamen in Pannonien*, Budapest 2005, pp. 274-275; A. Mócsy, *Die Bevölkerung*, p. 55; 179; G. Alföldy, *Die Personennamen*, p. 233; I. Radman-Livaja, *Plombs de Siscia*, pp. 224-225; R. Katičić, *Keltska osobna imena u antičkoj Sloveniji* (*Die keltischen Personennamen im antiken Slowenien*), *Arheološki vestnik* 17, 1966, pp. 156-157, considered that the name had an assonance in Celtic languages and should not be assigned to the epichoric anthroponymy of Dalmatia.

<sup>100</sup> The estimate of a Chinese historian of the third century AD, Yu Huan, that the Roman Empire had „more than four hundred smaller cities and towns” was a huge miscalculation: cited from J.W. Hanson, *An Urban Geography of the Roman World, 100 BC to AD 300*, Oxford 2016, p. 33; this book lists 1388 Roman towns; *Barrington Atlas of the Greek and Roman World*, R.J.A. Talbert (ed.), Princeton, Oxford 2000, presents ca. 25,000 ancient places.

social classes holding high positions in the Empire, and imperial freedmen employed in financial jobs, survey, and management. The frequent dislocation of Roman army units caused great mobility of soldiers and all those who accompanied the troops, while civilians left their hometowns for other cities of the Empire in search of a better living or due to the requirements of their profession, such as merchants and craftsmen. In terms of international trade and traffic, Siscia played a significant role.

Just as Sisciani settled in Italy and other provinces of the Empire, many individuals came to Siscia from elsewhere, although their place of origin was usually not documented. A few exceptions can be cited: Titus Tullius Tertius came from Tergeste (modern Trieste) to settle in the city, which is recorded on his tombstone; his profession is not known<sup>101</sup>. Foreigners are further mentioned in the invocation to the river god Savus to harm adversaries in a lawsuit, in which the authors of the curse tablet were involved. The first three adversaries were from Cybalae in Pannonia Inferior, present-day Vinkovci, a *municipium* under Hadrian and later a *colonia Aurelia*<sup>102</sup>; Gaius Domitius Secundus, Lucius Larcus, and Secund(i)us Vacarus. The other two persons that were to be silenced had come from much further: Publius Citronius Cicorellius was from Narbo in Gallia and Lucius Licinius Sura from Hispania. The latter was not a close friend and adviser of Trajan, as has been suggested<sup>103</sup>, but a person bearing the same name. Licinii was a frequent *gentilicium* in Hispania, and his parents must have given this man the name Sura, after the famous friend of Trajan<sup>104</sup>.

When referring to foreigners in Siscia, the commercial tags present a most complex overview, since some individuals could be classified as immigrants by way of their names<sup>105</sup>. However, in several cases such identification is at best ambiguous or uncertain, as for example with names such as Ul(pius) Cnidius, Adiutor Lucci, Devesius Nebio, or Oclatia Mela. However, certain

<sup>101</sup> AIJ 575 = HD023446 = lupa 3807; C. Zaccaria, Tergestini nell'Impero Romano: Affari e carriere. Le testimonianze delle iscrizioni, *Archeografo Triestino* 75, 2015, p. 298, no. 6.

<sup>102</sup> I. Iskra-Janošić, Colonia Aurelia Cibalae. Entwicklung der Stadt, [in:] M. Šašel Kos, P. Scherrer et al. (eds.), *The Autonomous Towns of Noricum and Pannonia. Pannonia II*, Ljubljana 2004, pp. 169-195.

<sup>103</sup> F. Marco Simón, I. Rodà de Llanza, A Latin *defixio* (Sisak, Croatia) to the river god Savus mentioning L. Licinius Sura, Hispanus, *Vjesnik Arheološkog muzeja u Zagrebu* 41, 2008, pp. 167-198.

<sup>104</sup> H. Solin, *Nomen omen*. Ripresa di nomi illustri nella società romana, [in:] *In amicitia per Renato Badali*, Viterbo 2015, p. 31.

<sup>105</sup> They were analyzed by I. Radman-Livaja, Immigrants from Other Areas of the Roman Empire Documented on Siscia Lead Tags, [in:] D. Davison et al. (eds.), *Croatia at the Crossroads*, pp. 169-191.

Celtic names do not appear in the southeastern Alpine, northern Adriatic, and Pannonian areas, but are characteristic of western Celtic regions, such as Mancita A(u)gustia, Fressa, Gristus Felicis, Saposa, Satto, Carisio (or Carisius), hence these people may indeed be regarded as having come from Gaul or the Rhine provinces<sup>106</sup>. The presence of Orientals may be inferred from names such as Marta, Zoius Martonus, and Antonius Sido. On the other hand, some individuals seem to have been distinguished by their ethnic origin, such as Repentinus Afer, Flavius Bata(v)us, and Boia Iusta Antoni(i). Particularly interesting is Bardilus Viriatus: Viriatus is a Lusitanian name, while the Bardili were a Lusitanian tribe<sup>107</sup>. The presence of immigrants in Siscia sheds interesting light not only on foreigners in the city, but generally on foreigners in Roman cities, interconnected by long distance trade networks.

### Acknowledgement

My sincere thanks are due to Ivan Radman-Livaja for his valuable comments on my paper.

### Summary

Siscia, a Pannonian emporium of great significance, became a *colonia Flavia* under Vespasian. The city was an important administrative centre in Upper Pannonia, a station of the *beneficarii consularis* and the seat of the provincial archives (*tabularium provinciae*). Local and international trade and traffic, as well as land and river transport, contributed in shaping Siscia into a flourishing Pannonian town. The strategic position and economic prosperity encouraged the arrival of colonists and other foreigners, while many Sisciani left their hometown for Italy or other towns and provinces of the Roman Empire. Among these were a few civilians such as Lucius Valerius Valerianus, who dedicated an altar to Nemesis Augusta in *colonia Claudia* Savaria. He was a *decurio* and *duumvir* in Siscia, as well as a *flamen divi Claudi* and the high priest of Upper Pannonia in Savaria, where the sanctuary of the provincial council was located. Gaius Titius Agathopus, known from a dedication to Aesculapius and Hygia from Sarmizegetusa, was *Augustalis* both in Siscia and Sarmizegetusa.

---

<sup>106</sup> See, for all names cited, I. Radman-Livaja, *Plombs de Siscia, s. vv.*, and for specific discussion of these particular names I. Radman-Livaja, *Immigrants from Other Areas*.

<sup>107</sup> I. Radman-Livaja, *Immigrants from Other Areas*, pp. 170-172.

Several Sisciani who served in the Roman army are attested in other parts of the Empire, both legionaries (veterans and active soldiers) and auxiliaries. An interesting case is that of one Iulius Nigellio from Siscia, serving at Brigetio as a *beneficiarius* of the legionary tribune of legion *I Adiutrix Antoniniana*, who was in charge of policing a district that had been assigned to him and his colleague (*coregionarius*). Among auxiliaries, the dedication to Jupiter, Best and Greatest, on an altar found in Samaria (Sebaste) in Judaea is most impressive, erected by the *cives* Sisciani, Varciani, and Latobici. They served in cohorts stationed in Upper Pannonia, from where they had been sent in a special detachment to Iudaea (*milites vexillationis cohortium Pannoniae superioris*). Most probably they participated in one of the two bloody wars caused by the insurrection of the Jews in the first half of the second century AD, either under Trajan (AD 115-117) or under Hadrian (AD 132-135). The most numerous soldiers from Siscia serving abroad were members of the Praetorian Guard, documented in Rome, where some *equites singulares* have also been attested. The frequent dislocation of Roman army units caused great mobility of soldiers and all those who accompanied the troops, while civilians left their hometowns for other cities of the Empire in search of a better living or due to the requirements of their profession.

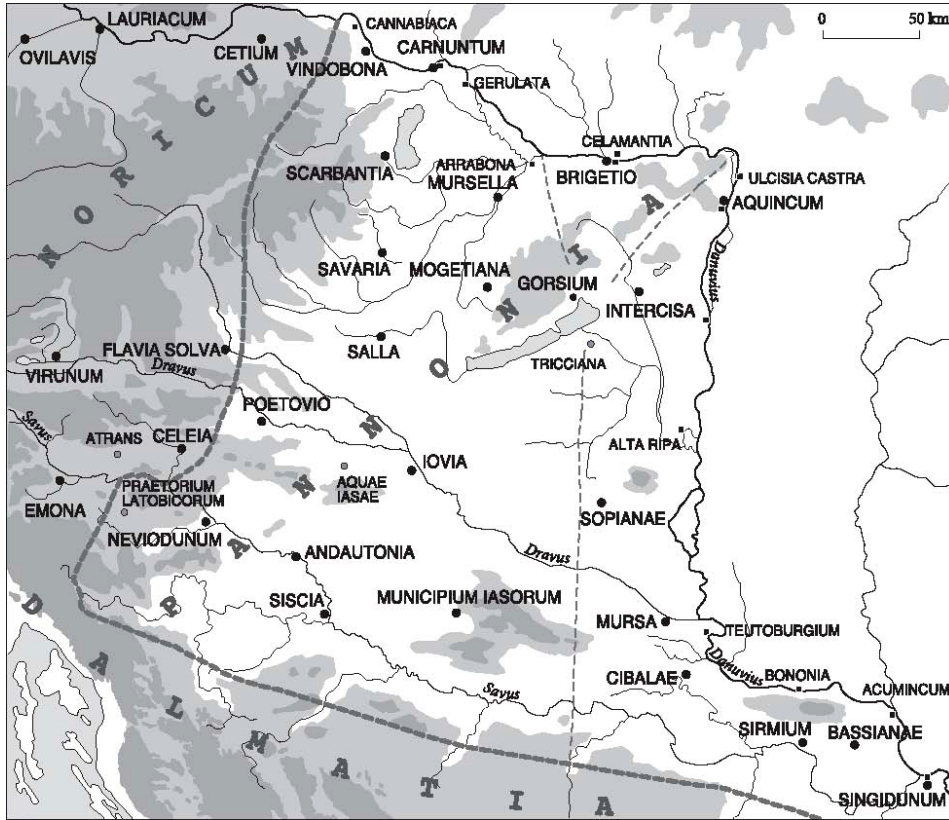


Fig. 1. Map of Pannonia and adjacent regions (computer graphics: Mateja Belak)

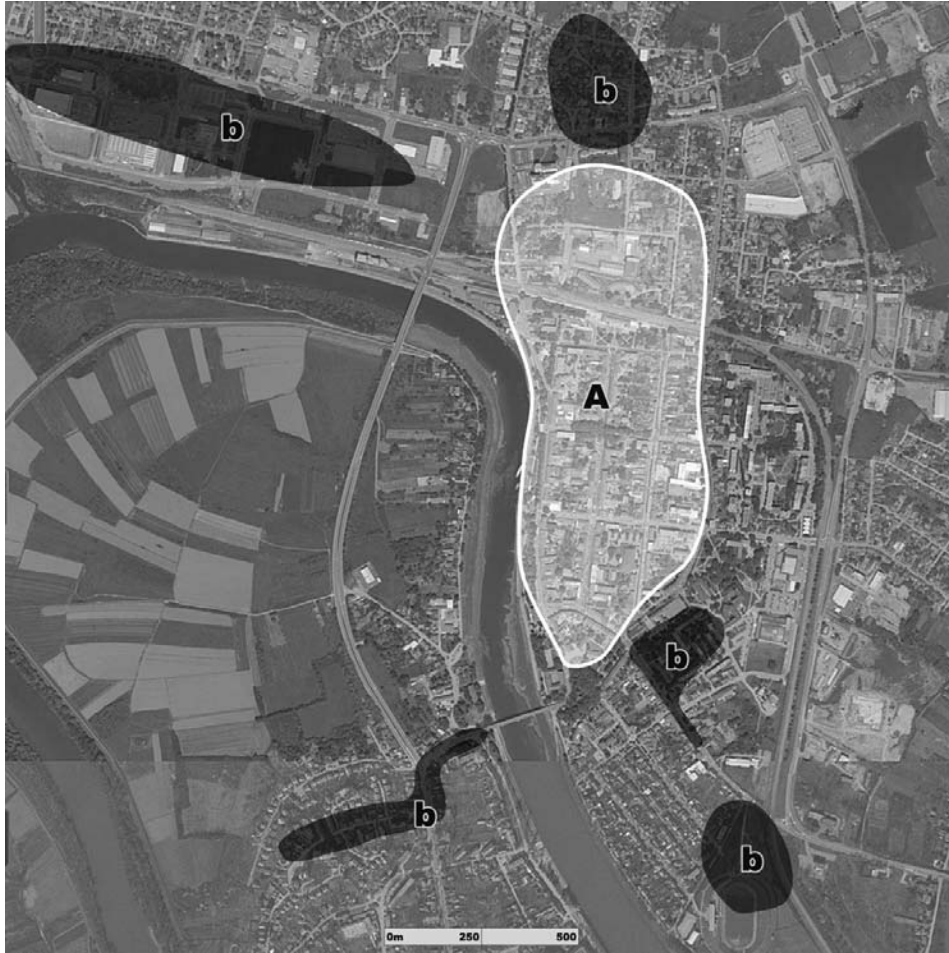


Fig. 2. Plan of Siscia (A) with cemeteries (b). From T. Lolić, Z. Wiewegh, *Urbanism and Architecture*, [in:] B. Migotti (ed.), *The Archaeology of Roman Southern Pannonia*, Oxford 2012, p. 198

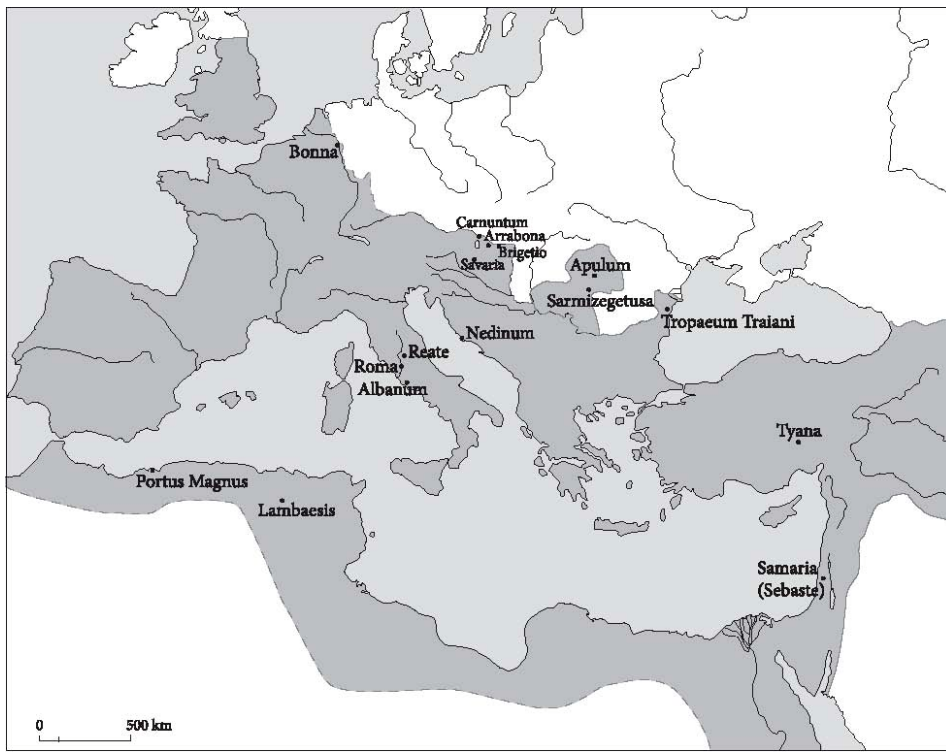


Fig. 3. Roman Empire: cities where the Sisciani are attested (computer graphics: Mateja Belak)



Fig. 4. Altar dedicated to Nemesis in Savaria by Lucius Valerius Valerianus (courtesy of the Savaria Múzeum, photo: O. Harl)



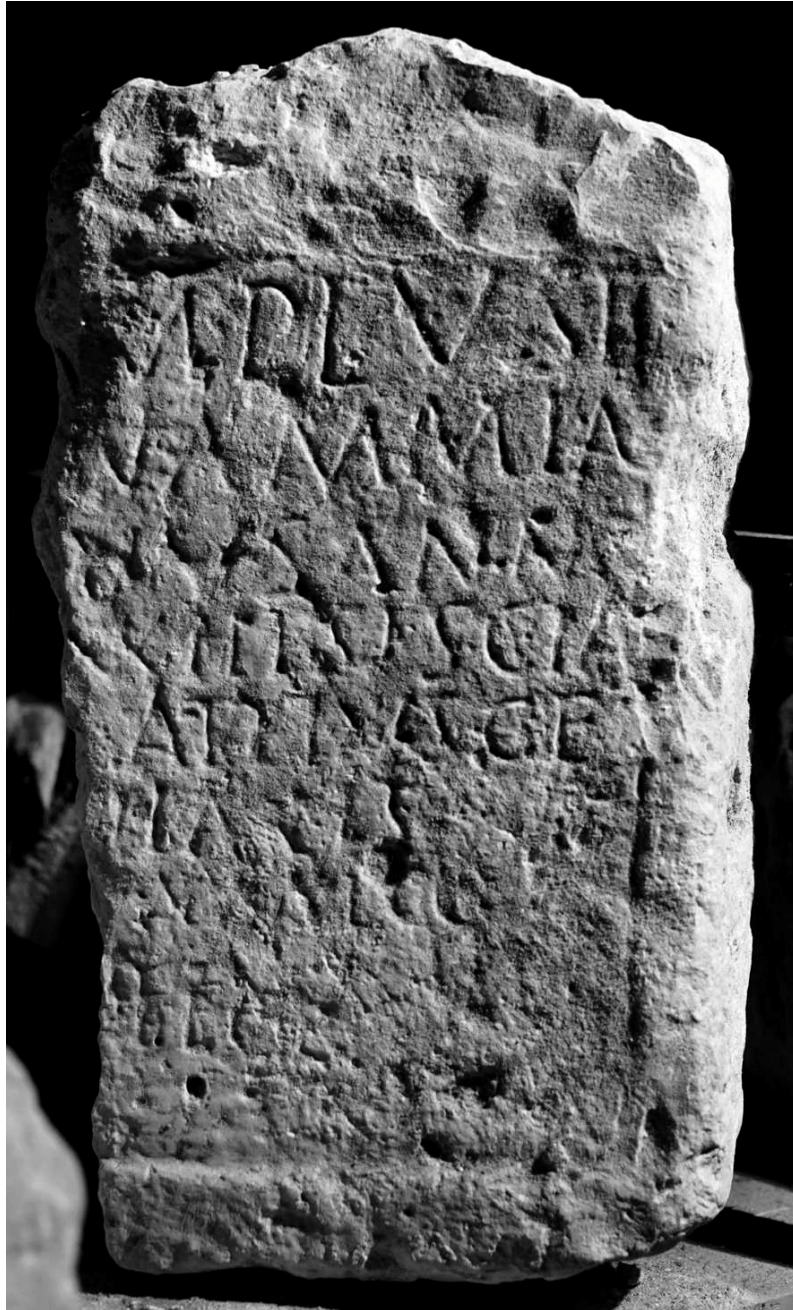


Fig. 5. Tombstone of Marcus Plusius Ammianus from Siscia, found at Nedinum in Dalmatia (courtesy of the Arheološki muzej Zadar, photo: O. Harl)

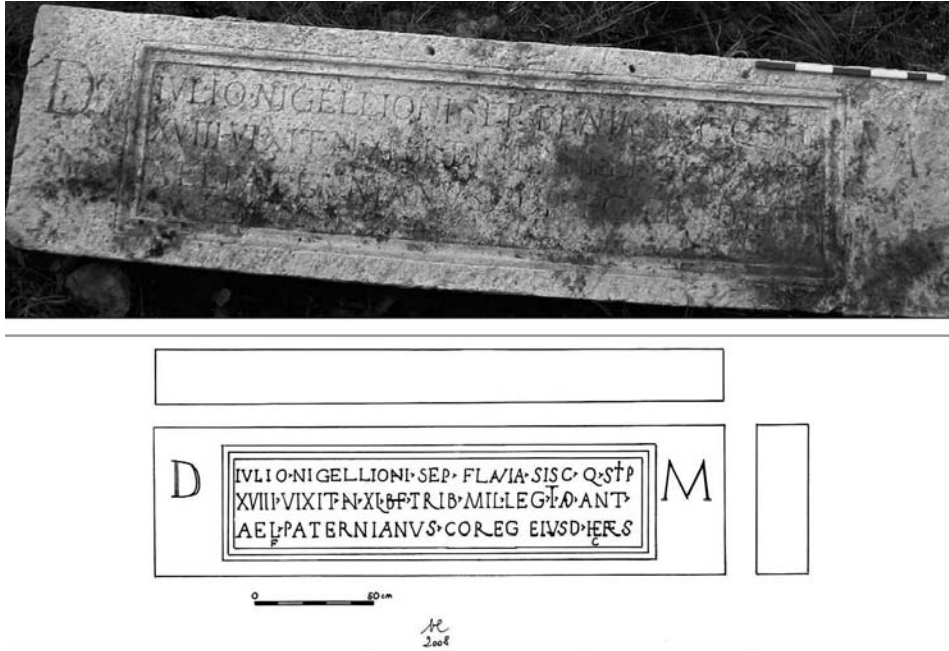


Fig. 6. Tombstone of Iulius Nigellio from Siscia, a horseman of the *ala contariorum*, who died at Brigetio (from L. Borhy, *COREG* [cited in fn. 39], p. 71)

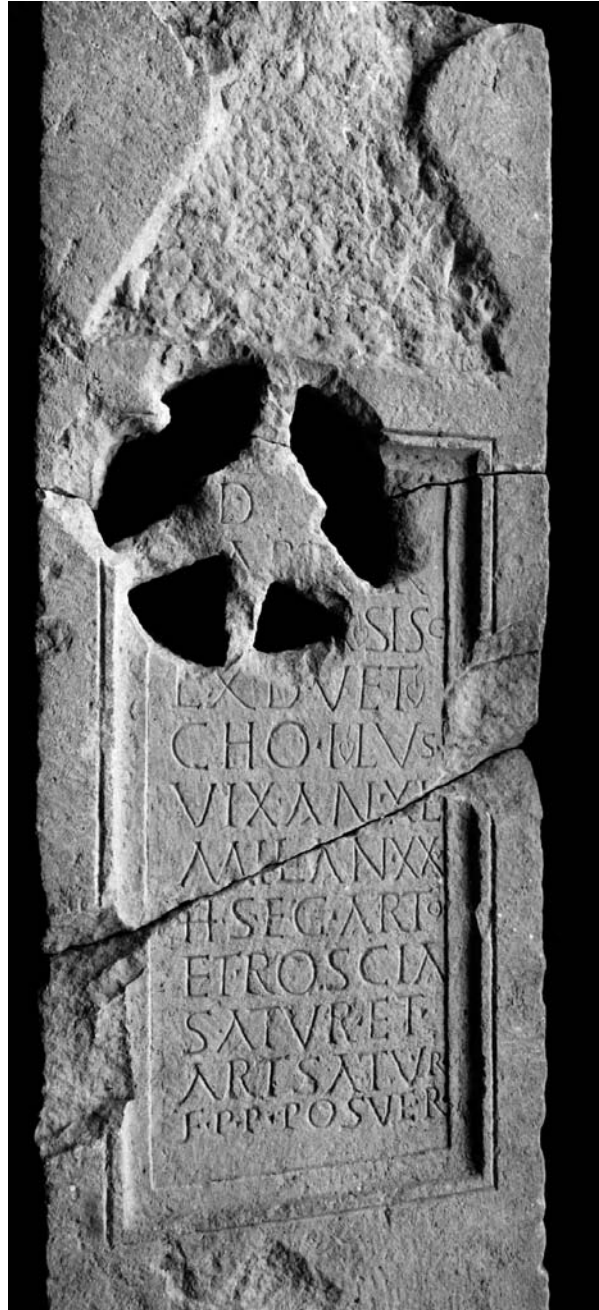


Fig. 7. Gaius (?) Artorius Saturninus, veteran of the cohort *I Lusitanorum*, died at Tropaeum Traiani in Dacia (Photo: O. Harl)



Fig. 8. Tombstone of Marcus Lucilius Proculus from Siscia, who served in the 6<sup>th</sup> Praetorian Cohort (courtesy of the Ministero dei beni e delle attività culturali e del turismo – Soprintendenza speciale per il Colosseo, il Museo Nazionale Romano e l'Area archeologica di Roma, photo: EDR archives)

**Abbreviations**

- AE = L'Année épigraphique.  
 CBI = E. Schallmayer, K. Eibl, J. Ott, G. Preuss, E. Wittkopf, Der römische Weihebezirk von Osterburken I. Corpus der griechischen und lateinischen Beneficiarier-Inschriften des Römischen Reiches, Stuttgart 1990.  
 CIL = Corpus inscriptionum Latinarum.  
 Dobó, Inscriptiones = Á. Dobó, Inscriptiones extra fines Pannoniae Daciaeque repertae ad res earundem provinciarum pertinentes, Budapest 1975<sup>4</sup>.  
 ILCV = E. Diehl, Inscriptiones Latinae Christianae veteres I-III, Berolini 1961<sup>2</sup> (1<sup>st</sup> ed. 1925-1931).  
 OPEL = B. Lőrincz, Onomasticon provinciarum Europae Latinarum, I: Aba – Bysanus, Budapest 2005<sup>2</sup>; II: Cabalicius – Ixus, Wien 1999; III: Labareus – Pythea, Wien 2000; IV: Labareus – Pythea, Wien 2002.  
 PIR<sup>2</sup> = Prosopographia Imperii Romani (2<sup>nd</sup> edition).  
 RIU = Römische Inschriften Ungarns.  
 EDCS = Epigraphik-Datenbank Claus/Slaby.  
 EDR = Epigraphic Database Roma.  
 HD = Epigraphic Database Heidelberg.  
 lupa = F. und O. Harl, Bilddatenbank zu antiken Steindenkmälern [online]. Available at: <www.ubi-erat-lupa.org>.

**Bibliography**

- Abramenko A., Die munizipale Mittelschicht im kaiserzeitlichen Italien. Zu einem neuen Verständnis von Sevirat und Augustalität, Europäische Hochschulschriften, Reihe III, 547, Frankfurt am Main 1993.  
 Alföldy G., Die Personennamen in der römischen Provinz Dalmatia, Beiträge zur Namensforschung 4, Heidelberg 1969.  
 Balla L. et al., Die römischen Steindenkmäler von Savaria, A. Mócsy, T. Szentléleky (eds.), Budapest 1971.  
 Barrington Atlas of the Greek and Roman World, R.J.A. Talbert (ed.), Oxford 2000.  
 Bennett J., New evidence from Ankara for the collegia veteranorum and the albata decursio, Anatolian Studies 56, 2006, pp. 93-99.  
 Berciu I., Popa A., Monumente epigrafice din Apulum, Apulum 5, 1964, pp. 167-202.  
 Bishop M.C., Handbook to Roman Legionary Fortresses, Barnsley 2012.  
 Borhy L., COREG, Legio VII Claudia, Ala I Contariorum milliarum civium Romanorum – Neue Angaben zur Militärgeschichte von Brigetio: Spolien eines Steinkistengrabs aus dem Gerhát-Gräberfeld, [in:] Studia Celtica Classica et Romana Nicolae Szabó septuagesimo dedicata, Budapest 2010, pp. 65-77.  
 Buzov M., Grad mrtvih uz grad živih – nekropole Siscije (The city of the dead by the city of the living – necropolises of Siscia), Histria Antiqua 8, 2002, pp. 175-191.  
 Buzov M., Segestika i Siscija – topografija i povijesni razvoj (Segestika und Siscia – Topographie und geschichtliche Entwicklung), Prilozi Instituta za arheologiju u Zagrebu 10, 1993, Zagreb 1996, pp. 47-68.  
 Christol M., Demougis S., Notes de prosopographie equestre. IV – Un chevalier romain juge des cinq decuries originaire de Siscia, ZPE 64, 1986, pp. 185-194.  
 Conrad S., Die Grabstelen aus Moesia Inferior, Leipzig 2004.  
 Delamarre X., Nomina Celtica antiqua selecta inscriptionum/Noms de personnes celtiques dans l'épigraphie classique, Paris 2007.  
 Durman A., O geostrateškom položaju Siscije (On Geostrategic Location of Siscia), Opuscula archaeologica 16, 1992, pp. 117-131.

- Dušanić S., Moesia and Pannonia in Domitian's Last War on the Danube, *Živa antika* 33, 1983, pp. 13-21 (Selected Essays, 2010, pp. 947-959).
- Dušanić S., Selected Essays in Roman History and Epigraphy, Beograd 2010.
- Dušanić S., Vasić M.R., Un Upper Moesian Diploma of A.D. 96, *Chiron* 7, 1977, pp. 291-304 (= S. Dušanić, [in:] Selected Essays in Roman History and Epigraphy, Beograd 2010, pp. 189-211).
- Eck W., Die Statthalter der germanischen Provinzen vom 1.-3. Jahrhundert, *Epigr. Studien* 14, Köln-Bonn 1985.
- Edelmann-Singer B., Genese, Organisation und sozioökonomische Funktion der Provinziallandtage im römischen Reich, *Habes* 57, Stuttgart 2015.
- Falileyev A., The Gaulish Word for „Thin” and Some Personal Names from Roman Siscia, *Studia Celtica* 48, 2014, pp. 107-137.
- Faure P., Entre épigraphie et archéologie : la II<sup>e</sup> légion parthique et les structures des légions romaines, [in:] F. Bertholet, C. Schmidt Heidenreich (eds.), *Entre archéologie et épigraphie. Nouvelles perspectives sur l'armée romaine*, Echo. Collection de l'Institut d'Archéologie et des Sciences de l'Antiquité de l'Université de Lausanne, Bern-Berlin-Bruxelles-Frankfurt am Main-New York-Oxford-Wien 2013, pp. 17-77.
- Fellmann R., Die 11. Legion Claudia Pia Fidelis, [in:] Y. Le Bohec, C. Wolff (eds.), *Les légions de Rome sous le Haut-Empire*, Actes du Congrès de Lyon 17-19 sept. 1998, Lyon 2000, pp. 127-131.
- Filippini A., Gregori G.L., Procuratores Augusti et praepositi vexillationibus ab Imperatore missi: le missioni speciali di L. Iulius Iulianus e di M. Valerius Maximianus a confronto, [in:] S. Demougin, M. Navarro Caballero (eds.), *Se déplacer dans l'Empire romain. Approches épigraphiques*, *Ausonius Scripta Antiqua* 59, Bordeaux 2014, pp. 85-120.
- Fishwick D., The Imperial Cult in the Latin West. Studies in the ruler Cult of the Western Provinces of the Roman Empire. III: Provincial Cult. 2: The Provincial Priesthood, Leiden-Boston-Köln 2002.
- Forni G., Le tribù romane III, 1. Le pseudo-tribù, Roma 1985.
- Forni G., Revisione di epigrafi da Apulum (Dacia), *ZPE* 46, 1982, pp. 188-190.
- Franke T., Legio XIV Gemina, [in:] *Les légions de Rome sous le Haut-Empire*, Actes du Congrès de Lyon 17-19 sept. 1998, eds. Y. Le Bohec, C. Wolff, Lyon 2000, pp. 191-202.
- Hanson J.W., An Urban Geography of the Roman World, 100 BC to AD 300 *Archaeopress Roman Archaeology* 18, Oxford 2016.
- Harding M., Jacobsen G., Die Bedeutung der zivilen Zuwanderung aus Norditalien für die Entwicklung der Städte in Noricum und Pannonia, *Classica et Mediaevalia* 39, 1988, pp. 117-206.
- Hirt A.M., Imperial Mines and Quarries in the Roman World. Organizational Aspects 27 BC-AD 235, Oxford 2010.
- Hoti M., Sisak u antičkim izvorima (Siscia in the Ancient Sources), *Opuscula archaeologica* 16, 1992, pp. 133-163.
- Iskra-Janošić I., Colonia Aurelia Cibalae. Entwicklung der Stadt, [in:] M. Šašel Kos, P. Scherrer et al. (eds.), *The Autonomous Towns of Noricum and Pannonia. Pannonia II (Situla 42)*, Ljubljana 2004, pp. 169-195.
- Katičić R., Das mitteldalmatische Namengebiet, *Živa antika* 12/2, 1963, pp. 255-292.
- Lolić T., Colonia Flavia Siscia, [in:] *The Autonomous Towns of Noricum and Pannonia. Pannonia I*, eds. M. Šašel Kos, P. Scherrer et al., Situla 41, Ljubljana 2003, pp. 131-152.
- Lőrincz B., Die römischen Hilfstruppen in Pannonien während der Prinzipatszeit. I: Die Inschriften, *Wiener Arch. Studien* 3, Wien 2001.
- Lőrincz B., Legio I Adiutrix, [in:] *Les légions de Rome sous le Haut-Empire*, Actes du Congrès de Lyon 17-19 sept. 1998, eds. Y. Le Bohec, C. Wolff, Lyon 2000, pp. 151-158.
- Lovenjak M., *Inscriptiones Latinae Sloveniae I: Neviodunum*, Situla 37, Ljubljana 1998.

- Marco Simón F., Rodà de Llanza I., A Latin defixio, Sisak, Croatia) to the river god Savus mentioning L. Licinius Sura, Hispanus, *Vjesnik Arheološkog muzeja u Zagrebu* 41, 2008, pp. 167-198.
- Meid W., Keltische Personennamen in Pannonien, *Archaeolingua*, Ser. Minor 20, Budapest 2005.
- Migotti B., Evidence for Christianity in Roman Southern Pannonia (Northern Croatia). A catalogue of finds and sites, *BAR Intern. Ser.* 684, Oxford 1997.
- Migotti B., The iconography of the Dioscuri on a sarcophagus from Siscia, *Histria Antiqua* 13, 2005, pp. 277-285.
- Migotti B., The Roman Sarcophagi of Siscia, *Arheološki radovi i rasprave* 17, 2013, pp. 181-226.
- Mócsy A., Die Bevölkerung von Pannonien bis zu den Markomannenkriegen, Budapest 1959.
- Mosser M., Die Steindenkmäler der legio XV Apollinaris, Wien 2003.
- Mócsy A., Pannonia and Upper Moesia, London, Boston 1974.
- Mócsy A., Pannonia, [in:] *RE Suppl.* IX, 1962, pp. 516-776.
- Mosser M., Die Steindenkmäler der legio XV Apollinaris, Wien 2003.
- Mrozewicz L., Flavische Städtegründungen auf dem Balkan, [in:] G. von Bülow (ed.), *Kontaktzone Balkan. Beiträge des intern. Kolloquiums Die Donau-Balkan-Region als Kontaktzone zwischen Ost-West und Nord-Süd vom 16.-18. Mai 2012 in Frankfurt a. M., RGK Kolloquien zur Vor- und Frühgesch.* 20, Bonn 2015, pp. 151-163.
- Nemeth-Ehrlich D., Kušan Špalj D., Municipium Andautonia, [in:] M. Šašel Kos, P. Scherrer et al. (eds.), *The Autonomous Towns of Noricum and Pannonia. Pannonia/ Die autonomen Städte in Noricum und Pannonien – Pannonia I, Situla* 41, Ljubljana 2003, pp. 107-129.
- Noll R., Griechische und lateinische Inschriften der Wiener Antikensammlung, Wien 1986.
- Piso I., Les légions dans la province de Dacie, [in:] Y. Le Bohec, C. Wolff (eds.), *Les légions de Rome sous le Haut-Empire, Actes du Congrès de Lyon 17-19 sept. 1998*, Lyon 2000, pp. 205-225.
- Radman-Livaja I., Craftspeople, Merchants or Clients? The Evidence of Personal Names on the Commercial Lead Tags from Siscia, [in:] M. Gleba, J. Pászókai-Szeőke (eds.), *Making Textiles in pre-Roman and Roman Times. People, Places, Identities, Ancient Textiles Ser.* 13, Oxford 2013, pp. 87-108.
- Radman-Livaja I., Immigrants from Other Areas of the Roman Empire Documented on Siscia Lead Tags, [in:] D. Davison et al. (eds.), *Croatia at the Crossroads. A consideration of archaeological and historical connectivity*, Oxford 2016, pp. 169-191.
- Radman-Livaja I., Ivezić H., A Review of South-Pannonian Indigenous Anthroponymy, [in:] B. Migotti (ed.), *The Archaeology of Roman Southern Pannonia. The state of research and selected problems in the Croatian part of the Roman province of Pannonia*, *BAR Intern. Series* 2393, Oxford 2012, pp. 137-158.
- Radman-Livaja I., Siscia kao rimsko vojno uporište, Siscia as a Roman Military Stronghold, [in:] I. Radman-Livaja (ed.), *Nalazi rimske vojne opreme u Hrvatskoj/Finds of the Roman Military Equipment in Croatia*, Zagreb 2010, pp. 179-201.
- Radman-Livaja I., Tesere iz Siska. Olovne tesere iz Siscije/Plombs de Siscia: Tekst/Texte, *Musei Arch. Zagrabienensis Catalogi et Monographiae* 9/1, Zagreb 2014.
- Radman-Livaja I., Tesere iz Siska. Olovne tesere iz Siscije/Plombs de Siscia: Katalog/Catalogue, *Musei Arch. Zagrabienensis Catalogi et Monographiae* 9/2, Zagreb 2014.
- Radman-Livaja I., The Roman Army, [in:] B. Migotti (ed.), *The Archaeology of Roman Southern Pannonia. The state of research and selected problems in the Croatian part of the Roman province of Pannonia*, *BAR Intern. Series* 2393, Oxford 2012, pp. 483-497.
- Radman-Livaja I., Vukelić V., Not exactly new epigraphic testimonies for the beneficiarii in Siscia..., [in:] J. Horvat (ed.), *The Roman Army between the Alps and the Adriatic, Opera Instituti Arch. Sloveniae* 31/*Studia Alpium et Adriae* I, Ljubljana 2016, pp. 205-212.

- Radman-Livaja I., Vukelić V., Roman military inscriptions from Siscia: an overview, in L. Vagalinski (ed.), *Proceedings of the 22<sup>nd</sup> International Congress of Roman Frontier Studies* (Ruse, Bulgaria, September 2012), *Bulletin of the National Institute of Archaeology XLII*, Sofia, 2015, pp. 399-405.
- Ricci C., *Balcanici e Danubiani a Roma. Attestazioni epigrafiche di abitanti delle province Rezia, Norico, Pannonia, Dacia, Dalmazia, Mesia, Macedonia, Tracia (I-III sec.)*, [in:] L. Mrozewicz, K. Ilski (eds.), *Prosopographica*, Poznań 1993, pp. 175-208.
- Salomies O., *Choosing a Cognomen in Rome. Some Aspects*, [in:] H.M. Shellenberg, V.E. Hirschmann, A. Kriekhaus (eds.), *A Roman Miscellany. Essays in Honour of Anthony R. Birley on his Seventieth Birthday*, Gdańsk 2008, pp. 79-91.
- Salomies O., *Die römischen Vornamen. Studien zur römischen Namengebung*, *Commentationes Humanarum Litterarum* 82, Helsinki 1987.
- Sarnowski T., *Quellenkritische Bemerkungen zu den Polizeikräften in Niedermoesien*, *Eos* 76, 1988, pp. 99-104.
- Šašel J., *La fondazione delle città Flavie quale espressione di gratitudine politica, La città antica come fatto di cultura*, *Atti del Convegno di Como e Bellagio 16/19 giugno 1979*. Como 1983, p. 79-91 (= *Opera selecta*, Ljubljana 1992, pp. 332-344).
- Šašel J., *Senatori ed appartenenti all'ordine senatorio provenienti dalle province romane di Dacia, Tracia, Mesia, Dalmazia e Pannonia*, [in:] *Epigrafia e ordine senatorio II*. Tituli 5, Roma 1982, pp. 553-581 (= *Opera selecta*, Ljubljana 1992, pp. 162-190).
- Šašel J., *Siscia*, [in:] *RE Suppl. XIV* (1974), 702-741 (= *Opera selecta*, 1992, pp. 600-620).
- Šašel Kos M., *Appian and Illyricum*, *Situla* 43, Ljubljana 2005.
- Scherrer P., *Savaria*, [in:] M. Šašel Kos, P. Scherrer et al. (eds.), *The Autonomous Towns of Noricum and Pannonia / Die autonomen Städte in Noricum und Pannonien – Pannonia I*, *Situla* 41, Ljubljana 2003, pp. 53-80.
- Šegvić M., *Natpis veterana XV. Apolinarske legije u Topuskom / L'inscription du vétéran de la XV<sup>e</sup> légion Apollinaire à Topusko*, *Vjesnik Arheološkog muzeja u Zagrebu* 21, 1988, pp. 57-66.
- Solin H., *Nomen omen. Ripresa di nomi illustri nella società romana*, [in:] *In amicitia per Renato Badali, Una giornata di studi lunedì 8 giugno 2015, Viterbo 2015*, pp. 16-40.
- Solin H., Salomies O., *Repertorium nominum gentilium et cognominum Latinorum*, *Hildesheim-Zürich-New York* 1994.
- Spadoni M.C., *Regio IV: Sabina et Samnium. Reate – Ager Reatinus*, *Supplementa Italica* 18 (2000), pp. 11-151.
- Speidel M.P., *Regionarii in Lower Moesia*, *ZPE* 57, 1984, 185-188 (= *Roman Army Studies*, 2, *MAVORS* 8, Stuttgart 1992, pp. 140-144).
- Speidel M.P., *SVMMVS CVRATOR*. *Zu Inschriften aus dem österreichischen Oberpannonien und Noricum, Römisches Österreich* 1, 1973, pp. 53-56.
- Speidel M.P., *The Career of a Strator and Summus Curator*, [in:] *idem*, *Roman Army Studies*, 2, *MAVORS* 8, Stuttgart 1992, pp. 137-139.
- Speidel M.P., *Die Denkmäler der Kaiserreiter – Equites singulares Augusti*, *Beihefte der Bonner Jahrbücher* 50, Köln-Bonn 1994.
- Speidel M.P., *The Centurions' Titles*, *Epigraphische Studien* 13, 1983, p. 43-61 (= *Roman Army Studies*, 2, *MAVORS* 8, Stuttgart 1992, pp. 21-39).
- Szabó Á., *Pannoniciani sacerdotes. A szervezett vallási élet principatuskori vezetői*, Pécs 2006.
- Thomasson B.E., *Laterculi praesidum*, 1, *Gothoburgi* 1984.
- Wilkes J.J., *Roman Legions and their Fortresses in the Danube Lands (first to third centuries AD)*, [in:] R.J. Brewer (ed.), *Roman Fortresses and Their Legions*, London, Cardiff 2000, pp. 101-119.
- Zaccaria C., *Tergestini nell'Impero Romano: Affari e carriere. Le testimonianze delle iscrizioni*, *Archeografo Triestino* 75, 2015, pp. 283-308.