

## Vojaški napisi iz Celeje in njene okolice

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### Izvleček

Avtorica predstavi vojaške napise iz Celeje in okolice; beneficijski napisi, ki so že bili predmet raziskave, so navedeni le tabelarično. Napisi so zbrani v katalogu (delitev mesto – ager), kjer transkripciji sledi še prevod. V osrednjem delu so vojaški napisi analizirani glede na vojaške funkcije in enote, ki so izpričane na napisih. Avtorica opozarja tudi na druge posebnosti: imena, ikonografijo, jezikovne značilnosti ... Velik del vojaških napisov predstavljajo nagrobniki, votivni so trije, počastitvena dva. Največ celejskih vojakov je svoje služenje opravilo v Drugi italjski legiji, torej v edini noriški legiji. Na napisih so izpričani predvsem navadni vojaki in veterani, srečamo pa tudi pretorijance in centurione.

**Ključne besede:** antika, rimski imperij, Norik, Celeja, rimska vojska, vojaške enote, funkcije

### Abstract

The author presents military inscriptions from Celeia and its surroundings except the inscriptions of *beneficarii*; they are listed only in a table since they were analysed elsewhere. The inscriptions are collected in a catalogue (division town – *ager*). In the commentary they are analysed according to the military functions and units attested on them. The author outlines various other peculiarities: names, iconography, linguistic and other characteristics. The majority of the military inscriptions from Celeia are funerary monuments; there are only three votive altars and two honorific slabs. Many of the Celeian soldiers served in the legion *II Italica*, the only Norican legion. The inscriptions mostly attest common soldiers and veterans but praetorians and centurions are also documented.

**Keywords:** antiquity, Roman empire, Noricum, Celeia, Roman army, military units, military functions

### UVOD

Članek E. Pochmarskega o vojaki iz Flavije Solve<sup>1</sup> je bil spodbuda za pripravo tega prispevka. Odločila sem se, da obravnavam tiste celejske vojake, ki so izpričani v Celeji sami oziroma v njenem agru, ne pa tudi napisov celejskih vojakov, najdenih drugje po imperiju. V večini primerov gre za vojake, ki so v Celeji umrli. Njihov *origo* je praviloma izpuščen, tako lahko o njihovi prvotni domovini samo ugibamo. Ločiti je treba med "celejskimi" vojaki, ki jim lahko sledimo na širšem prostoru Celeje, in tistimi, ki so izpričani po raznih delih rimskega imperija – njihov *origo* (*Celeia*) je v tem primeru naveden. Ker je slednjih vsaj 30 in

tvorijo zaokroženo celoto, se zdi smiselno, da se predstavijo na drugem mestu.<sup>2</sup>

Analiza vojaških napisov Celeje bo pokazala prevladujočo obliko spomenikov, izrisale se bodo vojaške enote, v katerih so omenjeni predstavniki opravljali svojo službo, njihove funkcije ter morebitne razlike med situacijo v agru in v mestu. Vojaški napisi Celeje kot celota še niso bili obravnavani, izpuščam pa skupino napisov beneficiarijev,<sup>3</sup> ker so jih že večkrat preučevali.

<sup>2</sup> Načrtovana je objava v Arheološkem vestniku 60 (2009) kot nadaljevanje tega prispevka.

<sup>3</sup> Prim. Clément 1980; Dise 1996, 286–292; Dise 1997, 284–299; Nelis-Clément 1994, 251–260; Ott 1994, 233–249; Ott 1995; Rankov 1994, 219–232; Schallmayer 1991, 400–406; *CBFIR* (1990); Scherrer 2005, 17–30 (o beneficiarijih in njihovem položaju v Noriku).

<sup>1</sup> Pochmarski 2007, 269–291.

KATALOG<sup>4</sup> VOJAŠKIH NAPISOV CELEJE

## Vojaški napisi iz mesta Celeja

## 1. Nagrobna plošča za Lucija Brecija Publija

- L(ucius) Braetius*  
*L(ucii) f(ilius) Publ(ius) Veron(a),*  
*vet(eranus) leg(ionis) VIII Aug(ustae),*  
*ann(orum)*  
*LXX, h(ic) s(itus) e(st). F(ili?) f(iliaeque?).*  
 5 *Magiona Verulli f(ilia),*  
*an(norum) LXXV, h(ic) s(ita) e(st). F(ili?)*  
*f(iliaeque?).*

*Prevod:* Lucij Brecij Publij, Lucijev sin, doma iz Verone, veteran Osme legije avguste, star 70 let, je tukaj pokopan. Sinovi in hčere ?, Magiona Verulova hčerka, stara 75 let, je tukaj pokopana. Sinovi in hčere ?.

*Objave:* CIL III 5220 + p. 1830; ILLPRON 1681.  
*Datacija:* 1. st.

## 2. Nagrobna plošča za Gavijo Viruno

- Gaviae P(ublii) f(iliae) Virunae,*  
*L(ucius) Dindius Respectus*  
*7(centurio) leg(ionis) XIII Geminae,*  
*P(ublius) Dindius Speratus*  
 5 *7(centurio) spectatorum Aug(usti)*  
*f(ili) [matri] indulgen=*  
*tissima[e] et sibi] fecerunt.*

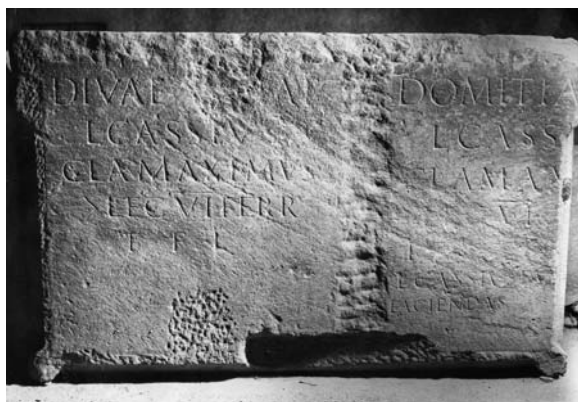
*Prevod:* Publijevi hčerki, Gaviji Viruni, Lucij Dindij Respekt, centurion Trinajste dvojne legije, in Publij Dindij Sperat, centurion cesarjevih telesnih stražarjev. Sinova sta postavila za svojo najbolj blago mater in zase.

*Objave:* CIL III 5223 + p. 1830 = 11692; ILL-PRON 1683.

*Datacija:* 1. st.

3. Počastitveni napis za Julijo in Domicijo (sl. 1)  
Levo polje:

- Divae Iu(l)iae.*  
*L(ucius) Cassius*  
*Cla(udia) Maximus*  
*(centurio) leg(ionis) VI Ferratae*  
 5 *t(estamento) f(ieri) i(ussit).*



Sl. 1: Počastitveni napis za Julijo in Domicijo (CIL III 13524)  
 Fig. 1: Honorific inscription for Iulia and Domitia (CIL III 13524)

*Prevod:* Božanski Juliji. Lucij Kasij Maksim iz klavdijskega volilnega okrožja, centurion Šeste železne legije, je z oporoko odločil postaviti (ploščo).

Desno polje:

- Domitia[e] Aug(ustae)].*  
*L(ucius) Cassi(us)*  
*Cla(udia) Max[imus]*  
*[(centurio)] leg(ionis) VI [Ferr(atae)]*  
 5 *t(estamento) f(ieri) [i(ussit)].*  
*L(ucius) Cassius Eu[daemon]*  
*faciendas cu[ravit].*

*Prevod:* Domiciji Avgusti. Lucij Kasij Maksim iz klavdijskega volilnega okrožja, centurion Šeste železne legije, je z oporoko odločil postaviti (ploščo). Lucij Kasij Evdajmon je poskrbel za postavitev.

*Objave:* CIL III 13524 + p. 2285; ILS 8906; ILLPRON 1747 (levo polje), 1748 (desno polje); Lovenjak 2003, 336–338, št. 6 (sl. 6).

*Datacija:* med leti 90–96.

4. Plošča s počastitvenim napisom za Julijo  
Procilo<sup>5</sup> (sl. 2)

Desno polje:

- Iuliae Cn(ai) filia[e]*  
*Procilla[e]*  
*L(ucius) Cassius Max[imus]*  
*[centurio] leg(ionis) VI Ferra[tae]*  
 5 *t(estamento) f(ieri) i(ussit).*  
*L(ucius) Cassius Eudaemon*  
*b(ene) [m(erenti) (statuam ?) f(aciendam)]*  
*c(uravit).*

<sup>4</sup> Napisi so razvrščeni kronološko; okvirne datacije so v tabelah 3 in 4.

<sup>5</sup> Prim. Lovenjak 2003, 336–338: ploščo so našli vzdano v temeljih severnega stolpa zahodnih mestnih vrat. Pustili so



Sl. 2: Plošča s počastitvenim napisom za Julijo Procilo  
Fig. 2: Slab with an honorific inscription to Iulia Procilla

*Prevod:* Juliji Procili, Gnejevi hčerki, je po oporoki dal napraviti Lucij Kasij Maksim, centurion Šeste železne legije. Lucij Kasij Evdajmon je poskrbel, da se ji napravi zaradi zaslug ...

*Objave:* Lovenjak 2003, 336–338, št. 6 (sl. 6).  
*Datacija:* med leti 90–96.

#### 5. Arhitrav edikule za Gaja Julija Ursina (sl. 3)

*D(is) M(anibus)*  
*C(aio) Iulio Ursino dec(urioni)*  
*alae I Com(m)agenor(um) an(norum) XL.*  
*Titia Procula marito optimo*  
5 *fecit et sibi.*

*Prevod:* Gaju Juliju Ursinu, dekuriu Prve ale Komagenov, staremu 40 let. Titija Prokula

je postavila (spomenik) za najboljšega soproga in zase.

*Objave:* Kolšek 1975–1976, sl. 3; Ubl 1996, št. II/13; Kremer 2001, Kat. I 35a (sl. 68);

*Datacija:* 2. st.

#### 6. Nagrobna plošča za dva Junija ?

[—]  
*et C(aio) Iunio Nicandr(o)*  
*fil(io) ann(or)um XXXVIII,*  
*Matt(iae) P(ublii) f(iliae) Verinae*  
*ann(or)um XXIII*  
5 *et C(aio) Iunio Isaeo vet(erano)*  
*ex dec(urione) alae I Com(m)agenorum*  
*an(norum) LX*  
*[et Ulp(iae) Affrodisiae an(norum) XXV*  
*m(ensis) I.*

*Prevod:* ... in sinu Gaju Juniju Nikandru, staremu 38 let, Matiji Verini, Publijevi hčerki, stari 24 let, in veteranu Gaju Juniju Iseju, nekdanjemu dekuriu Prve ale Komagenov, staremu 60 let, in Ulpiji Afrodiziji, stari 25 let in 1 mesec.

*Objave:* CIL III 5224 + p. 1830; ILLPRON 1684.

*Datacija:* 2. st.

#### 7. Nagrobna plošča za Enija Sekundijana

[—] *Ennio Secundiano*  
*equiti c(o)hor(tis) VII pr(aetoriae?) an(norum)*  
*XXV*  
*et Q(uinto) Enni[o] Apollonio an(norum)*  
*LX*  
*et Val(eriae) Maximill[ae] an(norum) L.*



Sl. 3: Arhitrav edikule za Gaja Julija Ursina  
Fig. 3: Architrave of the aedicula for Caius Iulius Ursinus

jo na istem mestu. Viden je desni zgornji vogal levega in velik del desnega napisnega polja, katerega površina je poškodovana in na nekaterih mestih popolnoma odstranjena.

*Prevod:* ... Eniju Sekundijanu, konjeniku Sedme pretorijanske kohorte, staremu 25 let, in Kvintu Eniju Apoloniju, staremu 60 let, in Valeriji Maksimili, stari 50.

*Objave:* CIL III 5222 + p. 1830; ILLPRON 1682.

*Datacija:* 2. st.

8. Votivna ara za Najboljšega in Največjega Jupitra (*sl. 4*)

*I(ovi) O(ptimo) M(aximo)*

*Barbius*

*Finitus, mil(es)*

*coh(ortis) I praet(oriae),*

5

*ob peregrina=*

*tionis expedi=*

*tionum regr[es]=*



*Sl. 4:* Votivna ara za Najboljšega in Največjega Jupitra (CIL III 11697)

*Fig. 4:* Votive altar for Jupiter, Best and Greatest (CIL III 11697)

*sus in urbe*

*sacr(a) v(otum) s(olvit) l(ibens) m(erito).*

*Prevod:* Najboljšemu in Največjemu Jupitru. Barbij Finit, vojak Prve pretorijanske kohorte, je, potem ko se je vrnil zaradi opravljene vojaške službe v svetem mestu, obljubo izpolnil rad in po pravici.<sup>6</sup>

*Objave:* CIL III 11697; Kult 161; ILLPRON 1735.

*Datacija:* 2. pol. 2. st./začetek 3. st.

9. Votivna ara za Stanovitno Usodo (Fortuna Stabilis) (*sl. 5*)



*Sl. 5:* Votivna ara za Stanovitno Usodo (Fortuna Stabilis) (CIL III 5156a)

*Fig. 5:* Votive altar for Fortuna Stabilis (CIL III 5156a)

<sup>6</sup> To je le ena izmed možnosti prevoda in s tem razumevanja tega napisa, ki je osnovan na nepravilnem besednem redu. In *urbe sacra* namreč ni odvisno od *regressus*, temveč od *peregrin-*

- Fortunae  
Stabili.  
Pro salute domino=  
rum n(ostrorum)  
5 imp(eratorum) L(uci) Septimi Severi=  
i! Pertinacis et  
M(arci) Aur(elii) Antonini Aug(ustorum)  
[[ et P(ublii) Sept(imii) Getae ]].  
Ulp(ius) Valerianus c(enturio) leg(ionis) X  
G(eminae).

*Prevod:* Stanovitni Usodi. Za blagor naših vzvišenih gospodov imperatorjev Lucija Septimija Severa Pertinaksa, Marka Avrelija Antonina in Publija Septimija Gete je postavil Ulpij Valerijan, centurion Desete dvojne legije.

*Objave:* CIL III 5156 a + p. 1830; AIJ 42; ILS 3712; Kult 46; ILLPRON 1617.

*Datacija:* med 197 in 211.

#### 10. Nagrobna stela za Avrelija Gajana (sl. 6)

- D(is) m(anibus).  
Aur(elio) Gaiano,  
cives Surus, **dec(urioni)**  
Ital(icae) o(bito) an(norum) L et Aur(elio)  
5 Maximo nepoti  
o(bito) an(norum) XXXV. C(aius) Gaia=  
nus et Aur(elius) Granus  
faciendum quraerun(t)!.

*Prevod:* Božanskim Manom. Avreliju Gajanu, sirske narodnosti, dekurionu italske legije, ki je umrl star 50 let, in nečaku (vnuku) Avreliju Maksimu, ki je umrl star 35 let. Gaj Gajan in Avrelij Gran sta poskrbela za postavitev.

*Objave:* ILJug 389; ILLPRON 1601.

*Datacija:* 3. st.

#### 11. Nagrobna stela za Avrelija Justina (sl. 7)

- D(is) M(anibus).  
Aur(elio) Iustino **militi**  
leg(ionis) II Ital(icae), o(bito) in  
exp(editione)  
Daccisca an(norum) XXIII,  
5 Aur(elius) Verinus **vet(eranus)** et



Sl. 6: Nagrobna stela za Avrelija Gajana (ILJug 389)

Fig. 6: Funerary stele for Aurelius Gaianus (ILJug 389)

Messia Quartina pa=  
rentes fecerunt.

*Prevod:* Božanskim Manom. Avreliju Justinu, vojaku Druge italske legije, ki je umrl star 23 let na dačanskem pohodu, sta postavila nagrobnik starša Avrelij Verin, veteran, in Mesija Kvartina.

*Objave:* CIL III 5218 + p. 1830 = 11691; AIJ 45; ILS 2309; ILLPRON 1679; Kolšek 1967, 31, sl. 22; Petrovitsch 2006, Nsl. 07 (196–197).

*Datacija:* 3. st.

nationis expeditionem (ne expeditionum), prim. še Galdi 2004, 249–250. Ta razlaga se zdi najverjetnejša tudi zaradi konteksta, v katerega lahko postavimo pretorijance. Iz samega napisa pa bi lahko sklepali tudi na drugačen scenarij. Barbij Finit naj bi se namreč vrnil v sveto mesto (beremo lahko tudi *in urbem sacram*), zaradi opravljene vojaške službe pa postavil oltar. Zakaj bi pretorijanec postavil oltar v provinci in se potem vrnil v sveto mesto, ni jasno. Prevod in razlaga napisa brez konteksta, ki narekuje branje po "pesniškem" besednem redu, ni niti logična niti smiselna.



Sl. 7: Nagrobna stela za Avrelija Justina (CIL III 5218)  
Fig. 7: Funerary stele for Aurelius Iustus (CIL III 5218)

12. Nagrobna stela za Avrelija Saturnina in njegovo družino (sl. 8)

- D(is) M(anibus).*  
*Aur(elio) Saturnino*  
*vet(erano) o(bito) an(norum) XLV et*  
*Aur(eliae)*  
*Secundin(a)e con(iugi)*  
 5 *o(bitae) an(norum) XXXV et Aur(elio) Se-*  
*cundino fra(tri) o(bito) an(norum)*  
*VII. Decimia Qua=*  
*eta(!) avia.*  
*Aur(elius) Crescenti=*  
 10 *nus parentibus*  
*carissimis.*



Sl. 8: Nagrobna stela za Avrelija Saturnina in njegovo družino (CIL III 5219)  
Fig. 8: Funerary stele for Aurelius Saturninus and his family (CIL III 5219)

*Prevod:* Božanskim Manom. Veteranu Avreliju Saturninu, ki je umrl star 45 let, in njegovi soprogi Avreliji Sekundini, ki je umrla stara 35 let, ter bratu Avreliju Sekundinu, ki je umrl star sedem let. Babica Dekimija Kvieta. Avrelij Krescentin najdražjim staršem.

*Objave:* CIL III 5219 + p. 1830; AIJ 46; ILL-PRON 1680.

*Datacija:* 3. st.

Vojaški napisi iz zaledja (ager) Celeje<sup>7</sup>13. Črešnjevec<sup>8</sup> (sl. 9)

Votivni napis za Viktorijo, kraljico Norejo in provinco Britanijo<sup>9</sup>

[Victoriae ?]  
[A]ug(ustae) e[st]  
[N]oreiae re[g(inae)]  
[e]t Britan(n)ia[e]  
5 [pr]ovi(n)c(iae) L(ucius) Sep[t(imius)]  
[T]ertinu[s]  
[(centurio) ?] l(egionis) II Ita(licae) p(iae)  
[f(idelis)]  
[e]x vot[o pos(uit)].

Prevod: Vzvišeni Viktoriji, kraljici Noreji in provinci Britaniji. Lucij Septimij Tertin, centurion (beneficiarij?) Druge italске legije, predane in zveste, je postavil po zaobljubi.



Sl. 9: Votivni napis za Viktorijo, kraljico Norejo in provinco Britanijo (CIL III 5300)

Fig. 9: Votive inscription for Victoria, queen Noreia, and province Britannia (CIL III 5300)

<sup>7</sup> Fragmentarni napis z Janževe gore pri Selnici (CIL III 6525) morebiti predstavlja še en vojaški napis, vendar je fragmentarnost prevelika.

<sup>8</sup> V cerkvi sv. Mihaela v Črešnjevcu in v obzidju okoli nje je vzidanih več napisnih in nenapisnih spomenikov (15), vendar njihova prvotna provenienca ni znana.

<sup>9</sup> Napis Pochmarski (2007, 271 št. 11) uvrsti v katalog napisov iz Flavije Solve, saj natančna meja med Flavijo Solvo in Celejo ni znana, vendar se zaradi bližine Celeji zdi verjetneje, da je Črešnjevec pripadal njej.

Objave: CIL III 5300; RIST 365; Kult, Incerta 38; CBFIR 246; ILLPRON 1761; Pahič 1977, 46, Črešnjevec 14; Petrovitsch 2006, Nst. 04 (94–95).

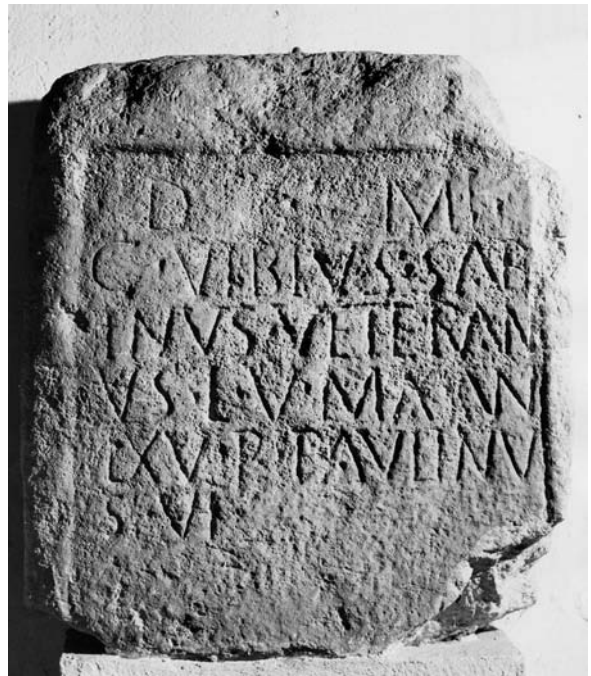
Datacija: začetek 3. st.

## 14. Henina pri Jurkloštru (sl. 10)

Nagrobnik za Gaja Vibija Sabina

D(is) M(anibus)  
C(aius) Vibius Sab=  
inus **veteran**=  
us l(egionis) V Ma(cedonicae) an(norum)  
5 LXV P(ublius)[Vibius ?] Paulinu=  
s vi(vus sc. posuit).

Prevod: Božanskim Manom. Gaj Vibij Sabin, veteran Pete makedonske legije, star 65 let. Publij Vibij ? Pavlin je postavil za življenja.



Sl. 10: Nagrobnik za Gaja Vibija Sabina (CIL III 5130)

Fig. 10: Tombstone for Caius Vibius Sabinus (CIL III 5130)

Objave: CIL III 5130; RIST 361; ILLPRON 1834.

Datacija: 2. st.



Sl. 11: Nagrobnik za Bardonovega sina Boniata in njegove (AIJ 13)

Fig. 11: Tombstone for Boniatus son of Bardo and his (family) (AIJ 13)

#### 15. Hudinja pri Vitanju (sl. 11)

Nagrobnik za Bardonovega sina Boniata in njegove

- 5 *Boniatus*  
*Bardonis (filius)*  
*v(ivus) f(ecit) s(ibi) e(t) Mog=*  
*iae Terti (filiae) an(norum) L.*  
*Sept(imius) Secund=*  
*inus m(iles) le(gionis) II It=*  
*a(licae) stup(endiorum) XV an(norum) XL*  
*Aurelia Ursa an(norum) XXX.*

*Prevod:* Bardonov sin Boniat je za življenja postavil nagrobnik zase in za Tercijevo hči Mogijo, staro 50 let. Septimij Sekundin, vojak Druge italke legije, ki je odslužil 15 let vojaške službe, star 40 let, Avrelija Ursa, stara 30 let.

*Objave:* AIJ 13; *ILLPRON* 1785; Pahič 1977, 48, Hudinja 2; Petrovitsch 2006, Nsl. 14 (210–211).

*Datacija:* konec 2. st./3. st.

#### 16. Slovenske Konjice (sl. 12)

Nagrobni spomenik za Tita Julija Belika

*T(itus) Iulius Bellicus dec(urio)*  
*alae Asturum II,*



Sl. 12: Nagrobnik za Tita Julija Belika (CIL III 15202,3)

Fig. 12: Tombstone for Titus Iulius Bellicus (CIL III 15205,3)

*dec(urio) municipi(i) Cla(udiae) Celeiae*  
*t(estamento) f(ieri) i(ussit).*

- 5 *Ti(berius) Iulius Frontonis f(ilius) Civis*  
*frater et heres fecit.*

*Prevod:* Tit Julij Belik, dekursion Druge ale Asturov, dekursion klavdijskega municipija Celeje, je z oporoko določil postavitev nagrobnika. Napravil ga je brat in dedič Frontonov sin, Tiberij Julij Civis.

*Objave:* CIL III 15205<sup>3</sup>; AIJ 82; Wedenig 1997, 136, C 27; *ILLPRON* 1887; Pahič 1977, 55, Slovenske Konjice 3.

*Datacija:* 1. st.

#### 17. Stari trg (Slovenj Gradec) (sl. 13)

Nagrobna plošča za Rufijo Krispino in Lucija Menavdonija



Sl. 13: Nagrobna plošča (AIJ 9)

Fig. 13: Funerary slab (AIJ 9)

*L(ucius) Appulei[us - - -]  
 [/>(centurio)? le]g(ionis) X G(eminae) [p(iae)]  
 fid(elis) [- - -]  
 II v[ir] iur(e) d[ic](undo) - - - et - - -]  
 Rufiae Crispin[ae - - -]  
 et L(ucio) Menaudonio [- - -]*

*Prevod:* Lucij Apulej, centurion (?) Desete dvojne, predane in zveste legije, eden od obeh županov Klavdije Celeje?, (je postavil nagrobnik) Rufiji Krispini in Luciju Menavdoniju.

*Objave:* *AIJ* 9; *RIS*t 380; Pahič 1977, 56, Stari trg 2; *ILLPRON* 1911; Wedenig 1997, 146–148, C 37; Visočnik 2006, 380–381, št. 22.

*Datacija:* 2. st.

18. Šentvid pri Završah (sl. 14)

Nagrobna stela za Julijo Kalandino in njenega  
soproga

*D(is) M(anibus). Iul(ia) Calandina vi(va) f(ecit) si(bi) et Sacroni(o) Verino con(iugi) kar(issimo) vet(erano) leg(ionis) II Ita(licae). Custos armor(um) o(biit) an(norum) L.*

*Prevod:* Božanskim Manom. Julija Kalandina je za časa življenja postavila (stelo) sebi in Sakroniju Verinu, najdražjemu soprogu, veteranu Druge italške legije, orožarju, ki je umrl star 50 let.

*Objave: CIL* III 5106; *AIJ* 11; *ILLPRON* 1980; Pahič 1977, 61, Završe 1; *ANSI* 274; Petrovitsch 2006, Nsl. 13 (208–209); Visočnik 2006, 370–371, št. 7.



Sl. 14: Nagrobna stela za Julijo Kalandino in njenega moža  
(CIL III 5106)

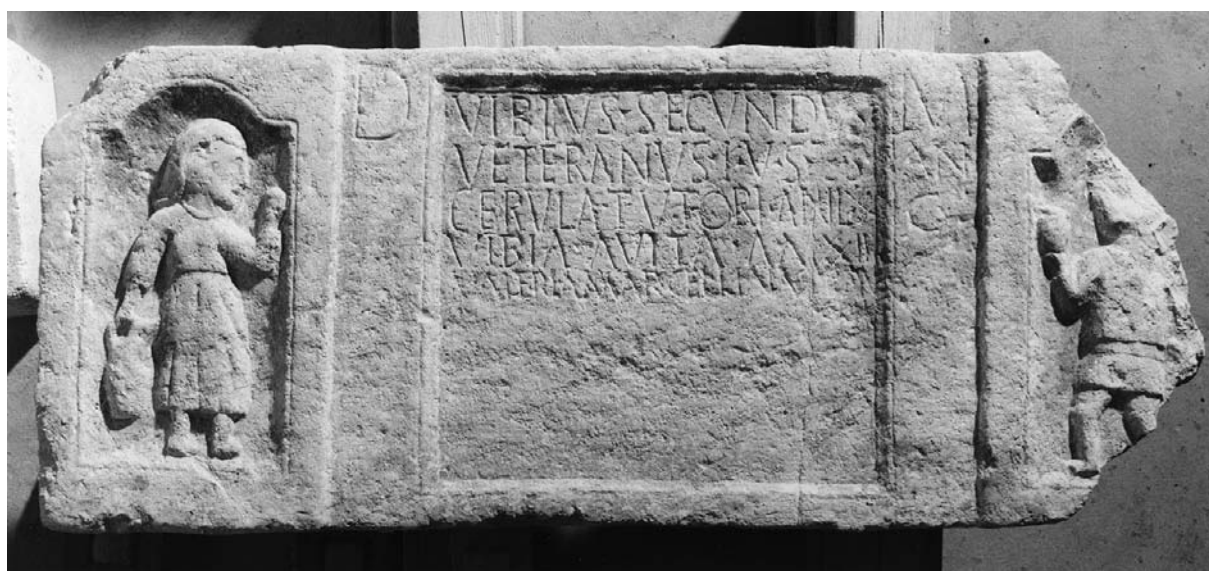
Fig. 14: Funerary stele for Iulia Calandina and her husband  
(CIL III 5106)

*Datacija:* med leti 175–185.

19. Trbovlje (*sl. 15*)

### Sarkofag za Vibija Sekunda in njegovo družino

*D(is) M(anibus).*  
*Vibius Secundus*



Sl. 15: Sprednja stena sarkofaga za Vibija Sekunda in njegovo družino (CIL III 5142)

*Fig. 15: Front panel of the sarcophagus for Vibius Secundus and his family (CIL III 5142)*

*veteranus an(norum) C f(ecit) v(ivus) s(ibi)  
et s(uis).*

*Cerula Tutori(s filia) an(norum) LXXXX,  
Vibia Avita an(norum) XXII,*

5 *Valeria Marcellina ob(ita) an(norum)  
XXII.*

*Prevod:* Božanskim Manom. Veteran Vibij Sekund, star 100 let, je za časa življenja postavil nagrobnik zase in za svoje. Tutorjeva hči Cerula, stara 90 let, Vibija Avita, stara 22 let, in Valerija Marcelina, umrla stara 22 let.

*Objave:* CIL III 5142 + p. 1828; AIJ 21; ILLPRON 1927; Lovenjak 1997, 65, sl. 2.

*Datacija:* konec 2. st./3. st.

## 20. Vrba pri Dobrni (sl. 16)

Nagrobna stela za Avrelija Viktorja

*D(is) M(anibus).*

*Aur(elius) Victor mil(es) leg(ionis)*

*II Ita(licae) bello deside=*

*ratus hoste Gutica*

5 *an(norum) XXX Aur(elia) Lupula con(iugi)  
karissimo f(ecit).*

*Prevod:* Božanskim Manom. Najdražjemu soprogu, vojaku Druge italške legije, Avreliju Viktorju, ki je pogrešan od vojne z gotskim sovražnikom, staremu 30 let, je (nagrobnik) postavila Avrelija Lupula.

*Objave:* CIL III 11700; AIJ 10; ILLPRON 1770; Petrovitsch 2006, Nsl. 12 (206–207).

*Datacija:* 2. pol. 3. st.

## 21. Zgornje Dovže (sl. 17)

Nagrobni napis za Vibena in njegovo družino

*Vibenu[s]*

*Vindonis [f.]*

*v(ivus) f(ecit) s(ibi) et Secconi[ae]*

*Vetullae con[iugi]*

5 *pientissimae an[nor(um)]?...]*

*et Secconio Vibio [fil(io)]*

*mil[iti] c(o)hor(tis) II praet(oriae) a X[...]*

*et Secconio eqis [–?] / Urso[–?]*

*Victori annor(um) [–]*

10 *et Seneciano Sever[o–?] / mil[iti] –]*

*Vi[b]jeni fil(io) an[nor(um)] –]*

*[–]ATVRM[–]*

*[–]ONI[–]*

*[–]?*



Sl. 16: Nagrobna stela za Avrelija Viktorja in njegovo soprogo (CIL III 11700)

Fig. 16: Funerary stele for Aurelius Victor and his wife (CIL III 11700)

*Prevod:* Viben, Vindonov sin, je za življenja postavil (nagrobnik) sebi in Sekoniji Vetuli, najbolj predani ženi, stari ... , in sinu Sekoniju Vibiju, vojaku Druge pretorijanske kohorte, staremu ... let, in Sekoniju (?) Viktorju, staremu (?), in Senekijanu, Vibenovemu sinu, staremu ..., in konjskemu hlapcu Ursu ter vojaku Severju ...<sup>10</sup>

<sup>10</sup> V osmi in deseti vrstici sta v širini vrstice vpisani besedi *Eqis [–?] / Urso[–?]* in *Sever[o–?] / mil[iti] –]*, ki sta bili najverjetneje vgravirani naknadno. Prim. Visočnik 2006, 368, št. 4. in Šašel Kos 2001, 200.



Sl. 17: Nagrobnik za Vibena in njegovo družino (CIL III 5105)

Fig. 17: Tombstone for Vibenus and his family (CIL III 5105)



Sl. 18: Torzo vojaškega oficirja iz Celja

Fig. 18: Torso of an officer from Celje

*Objave:* CIL III 5105, *ILLPRON* 1775; Pahič 1977, 47, *Dovže* 1, sl. 7; Visočnik 2006, 367–368, št. 4.

*Datacija:* 2. pol. 1. st./2. st.

### Vojaški kipi

#### 22. Torzo vojaškega oficirja (sl. 18)

*Opis:* Odlomek kipa v oklepu je slabo ohranjen, a še razpoznaven. Dimenzije ohranjenega torza govorijo o njegovi nadnaravni velikosti, vendar je ohranjen le oklep z okroglim izrezom (brez glave in vratu).

*Objava:* Kolšek 1994, 31–33 (sl. 1–4).

*Datacija:* natančna datacija ni mogoča, vendar lahko sklepamo, da gre za zgodnji izdelek domačih kamnoseških delavnic.

#### 23. "Noriški vojak" (sl. 19)

*Opis:* Primer plastike v oklepu, ki lahko predstavlja noriškega visokega oficirja in/ali visokega uradnika. Oklep je skoraj brez okrasja, kar govori o poznem nastanku plastike.

*Objava:* Kolšek 1994, 33 (sl. 6).

*Datacija:* konec 3. st./začetek 4. st.

#### 24. Torzo vojaškega oficirja iz Zagrada (sl. 20)

*Opis:* Kip iz marmorja v naravni velikosti upodablja nižjega vojaškega oficirja (*centurio* ?), ki je oblečen v tuniko, čez ramena in hrbet pa mu sega težek vojaški plašč. Prsi mu pokriva spodaj listasto narezan oklep, ob levem boku nosi meč, ki je pritrjen na širok službeni pas. Na prsih je vidno tudi odlikovanje.

*Objava:* Djura Jelenko 2006, 352–353, št. 10 (sl. 9).

*Datacija:* najverjetneje sodi v konec 3. st.

### Beneficiarski napisi

31 beneficiarskih napisov, ki jih navajam le tabelarično (*tab. 1* in *2*), precej spremeni podobo vojaških napisov v Celeji; močno se poveča odstotek predstavnikov Druge italške legije zaradi konzularjevih beneficiarijev. Beneficiarije v Celeji delimo na dve veliki skupini: na prokuratorjeve (do markomanskih vojn) in konzularjeve, ko provinco ni več upravljal prokurator, temveč legat.



Sl. 19: "Noriški vojak"  
Fig. 19: "Norican soldier"



Sl. 20: Torzo vojaškega oficirja iz Zagrada  
Fig. 20: Torso of an officer from Zagrad

Beneficiarski napisi v Celeji, od tega jih je dve tretjini iz prvega obdobja, potrjuje poseben položaj mesta. Zanimiva je primerjava s številom tovrstnih napisov v Virunu, noriškem glavnem mestu, kjer jih je le tretjina.<sup>11</sup> Vloga beneficiarijev v rimskem imperiju (v upravi in vojski) še ni popolnoma pojasnjena, vendar ni sporno, da so opravljali upravno-policijske naloge.<sup>12</sup>

<sup>11</sup> Prim. epigrafski bazi: Epigraphische Datenbank Heidelberg. <http://www.uni-heidelberg.de/institute/sonst/adw/edh/> in Epigraphik - Datenbank Clauss - Slaby. <http://www.manfredclaus.de/> [zadnji dostop: 1. 8. 2008].

<sup>12</sup> Prim. Ott 1995, 113–155 (za naloge beneficiarijev).

Obstoj njihove postaje ter število ohranjenih napisov v Celeji gotovo nista brez pomena. Povezati bi jih mogli s pomembno vlogo Celeje predvsem v prvi fazi romanizacije (1. st. in prva pol. 2. st.).<sup>13</sup> Morda bi na osnovi tega lahko sklepali na izreden pomen Celeje v 1. st. in možnost, da bi v tem obdobju imela vlogo glavnega mesta. Tudi po prestavitvi sedeža prokuratorja v Virun ne bi bilo izključeno, da so v mestu ostali pomembni uradi, ki bi jih lahko opravljali beneficiariji.

<sup>13</sup> Lazar 2002, 71–101; Scherrer 2002, 11–70.

Tab. 1: Prokuratorjevi beneficiariji v Celeji.

Tab. 1: Procurator's *beneficiarii* in Celeia (see page 351 for English version).

| Beneficiarij             | Datacija (CBFIR)            | Prokurator*           | Objava                                             |
|--------------------------|-----------------------------|-----------------------|----------------------------------------------------|
| Surus                    | 110                         | Memmius Apolinaris    | CBFIR 222; CIL III 5179                            |
| Antonius Maximus         | 2. ali 3. desetletje 2. st. | Q. Caecilius Redditus | CBFIR 238; CIL III 5163                            |
| L. Messius Frontinus     | 120 do neposredno po 135    | C. Censorius Niger    | CBFIR 223; CIL III 5174                            |
| M. Ulpus Crescens        | 120–130                     | C. Censorius Niger    | CBFIR 225; CIL III 5181                            |
| Nonius? Primus           | okoli 140                   | Plautius Caesianus    | CBFIR 239; CIL III 5177                            |
| Masclinius Successus     | 1. pol. 2. st.              | C. Antistius Auspex   | CBFIR 231; CIL III 5173                            |
| Augustanus               | 1. pol. 2. st.              | C. Rasinius Silo      | CBFIR 226; CIL III 5165                            |
| Gemellius Adiutor        | 1. pol. 2. st.              | Drusius Proculus      | CBFIR 244; CIL III 5170                            |
| Q. Crescentius Marcellus | 1. pol. 2. st.              | Q. Lisinius Sabinus   | CBFIR 235; CIL III 5167                            |
| T. Flavius Dubitatus     | 1. pol. 2. st.              | Q. Lisinius Sabinus   | CBFIR 236; CIL III 5168                            |
| C. Mustius Tettianus     | 1. pol. 2. st.              | Lisinius Sabinus      | CBFIR 237; CIL III 5176<br>CBFIR 240; CIL III 5175 |
| Lucilius Finitus         | okoli 152–153               | Flavius Titianus      | CBFIR 224; CIL III 5172                            |
| C. An(t)onius Valens     | 152–153                     | Flavius Titianus      | CBFIR 243; CIL III 5164                            |
| C. Fuscinius Catullus    | 154–158                     | Ulpus Victor          | CBFIR 234; CIL III 5169                            |
| Adnamius Flavinus        | okoli 158                   | Ulpus Victor          | CBFIR 220; CIL III 5161                            |
| Adnamius Flavinus        | okoli 158                   | Usenius Secundus      | CBFIR 221; CIL III 5162                            |
| Q. Kaninius Lucanus      | 158                         | Usenius Secundus      | CBFIR 242; CIL III 5166                            |
| Licinius Hilarus         | okoli 160                   | M. Bassaeus Rufus     | CBFIR 241; CIL III 5171                            |
|                          | čas Antonina Pija?          | Caecilius Iuventianus | CIL III 5182                                       |

\* Za nova dognanja (predvsem natančne datacije) o prezidialnih prokuratorjih glej Winkler 2005, 435–442; ker odstopanja od CBFIR niso velika, v tabeli navajam ustaljene datacije.

Tab. 2: Konzularjevi beneficiariji v Celeji.

Tab. 2: Consular's *beneficiarii* in Celeia (see page 352 for English version).

| Beneficiarij              | Status                                                                            | Datacija (CBFIR)            | Objava                                 |
|---------------------------|-----------------------------------------------------------------------------------|-----------------------------|----------------------------------------|
| Rufius Senilis            | konzularjev beneficiarij                                                          | konec 2. st.–začetek 3. st. | CBFIR 229; CIL III 5188                |
| Flavius Decoratianus      | beneficiarij                                                                      | konec 2. st.–začetek 3. st. | CBFIR 245; CIL III 5221                |
| M. Ulpus Acilianus        | konzularjev beneficiarij<br>Druge italke legije                                   | konec 2. st.–3. st.         | CBFIR 233; CIL III 5180                |
| Q. Sextius Pullaenius     | konzularjev beneficiarij<br>Druge italke legije                                   | 192                         | CBFIR 232; CIL III 5178                |
| C. Licinius Bellicianus   | konzularjev beneficiarij<br>Druge italke legije,<br>predane in zveste             | 13. december 211            | CBFIR 228; CIL III 5187                |
| P. Aelius Verinus         | beneficiarij                                                                      | 213                         | CBFIR 218; CIL III 5154                |
| Vibius Cassius Victorinus | konzularjev beneficiarij<br>Druge italke legije,<br>predane, zveste in antoninske | 215                         | CBFIR 227; CIL III 5185                |
| M. Aurelius Iustus        | konzularjev beneficiarij<br>Druge italke legije,<br>predane in zveste             | 217                         | CBFIR 230; CIL III 5189                |
| Aurelius Paterclus        | beneficiarij                                                                      | 3. st.                      | CBFIR 219; CIL III 5160                |
| ??? Quintianus            | konzularjev beneficiarij                                                          | konec 2. st.–začetek 3. st. | CBFIR 266; CIL III 11676;<br>RINMS 107 |
|                           | konzularjev beneficiarij                                                          | ?                           | Lovenjak 2003, 343, št. 11 (sl. 11)    |

### OBLIKA NAPISOV (AGER IN MESTO, PRIMERJAVA)

Večino vojaških napisov Celeje in njenega zaledja predstavljajo nagrobniki, med katerimi je največ

nagrobni plošč, pojavljajo pa se tudi stele in v agru en sarkofag (št. 19). Nagrobnih stel kot oblike bolj izdelanega nagrobnika z reliefno upodobitvijo je po pričakovanjih več v mestu (tri: št. 10, 11, 12), v agru je namreč samo ena (št. 20). Vojaki,

Tab. 3: Predstavniki vojske v mestu.

Tab. 3: Military representatives in the town (see page 352 for English version).

| Ime vojaka                         | Funkcija, vojaška enota                    | Datacija                          | Objava                                                      |
|------------------------------------|--------------------------------------------|-----------------------------------|-------------------------------------------------------------|
| <b>Centuriones</b>                 |                                            |                                   |                                                             |
| Lucius Cassius Maximus             | centurio legionis VI Ferratae              | 90–96                             | <i>CIL</i> III 13524; Lovenjak 2003, 336–338, št. 6 (sl. 6) |
| Ulpus Valerianus                   | centurio legionis X Geminae                | ok. 200                           | <i>CIL</i> III 5156a                                        |
| Lucius Dindius Respectus           | centurio legionis XIII Geminae             | 1. st.                            | <i>CIL</i> III 5223                                         |
| <b>Praetoriani</b>                 |                                            |                                   |                                                             |
| Publius Dindius Speratus           | centurio speculatorum augustorum           | 1. st.                            | <i>CIL</i> III 5223                                         |
| Ennius Secundianus                 | eques VII praetoriae                       | 2. st.                            | <i>CIL</i> III 5222                                         |
| Barbius Fintus                     | miles cohortis I praetoriae                | 2. pol. 2. st./<br>začetek 3. st. | <i>CIL</i> III 11697                                        |
| <b>Decuriones</b>                  |                                            |                                   |                                                             |
| Aurelius Gaianus cives Surus       | decurio Italicae                           | 3. st.                            | <i>ILJug</i> 389                                            |
| Caius Iulius Ursinus               | decurio alae I Commagenorum                | 2. st.                            | Kremer 2001, Kat. I 35a                                     |
| <b>Miles</b>                       |                                            |                                   |                                                             |
| Aurelius Iustinus                  | miles legionis II Italicae                 | 3. st.                            | <i>CIL</i> III 5218                                         |
| <b>Veterani</b>                    |                                            |                                   |                                                             |
| Aurelius Verinus                   | veteranus                                  | 3. st.                            | <i>CIL</i> III 5218                                         |
| Aurelius Saturninus                | veteranus                                  | 3. st.                            | <i>CIL</i> III 5219                                         |
| Caius Iunius Isaeus                | veteranus ex decurione alae I Commagenorum | 2. st.                            | <i>CIL</i> III 5224                                         |
| Lucius Braetius L F Publius Verona | veteranus legionis VIII Augustae           | 1. st.                            | <i>CIL</i> III 5220                                         |

njihove funkcije in enote, v katerih so službovali, se pojavljajo tudi na votivnih spomenikih, vendar gre le za posamezne primere: en primer v agru (št. 13), dva v mestu (št. 8 in 9). Napis št. 13 iz Črešnjevca, ki je posvečen boginji Viktoriji, kraljici Noreji in provinci Britaniji, kaže na vojakovo službovanje v Britaniji.<sup>14</sup> V mestu je en votivni spomenik posvečen Jupitru (št. 8), drugi pa Stanovitni Usodi (*Fortunae Stabili*) – št. 9. Omenjena božanstva niso bila izbrana naključno, saj se vsa lepo vklaplajo v svet vojaštva. Vojaki in uradniki kot del državnega aparata so se namreč pogosto priporočali prav Jupitru kot vrhovnemu državnemu božanstvu. Vojakova želja po stanovitni usodi – sreči (predvsem v smislu ugodne usode, varovanja na bojnem polju), prav tako ne preseneča. Če bi v obravnavo pritegnili še beneficiarske napise, bi se delež votivnih ar bistveno spremenil. Beneficiariji so namreč pogosto postavljali oltarje, na katerih so se priporočali uradnim božanstvom, predvsem Jupitru, Eponi, Celeji in Noreji, ki so v večini primerov označeni s pridevnikom *augustus*.<sup>15</sup> Vojaki

pa so izpričani tudi kot posvetitelji počastitvenih napisov (št. 3, 4); št. 3 in 4 bi lahko opredelili tudi za cesarska napisa. Lucij Kasij Maksim, centurion Šeste železne legije, je namreč posvetitelj napisa za Julijo in Domicijo (št. 3) ter napisa za pripadnico višjega sloja, čeprav sicer neznano, Julijo Procilo (št. 4).

Ko govorimo o obliki napisnih spomenikov, je treba omeniti še tri velike vojaške plastike: torzo v oklepu iz zgodnje dobe (št. 22 – 1. st.), torzo vojaškega oficirja iz Zagrada (št. 24 – konec 3. st.), ter t. i. noriškega vojaka iz pozne dobe (št. 23 – 3./4. st.). Kipom so nekoč pripadale baze, ki so bile zelo verjetno opremljene z napisom in postavljene na javnih mestih.

### Vojaški napisi v mestu

(tab. 3)

Iz mesta je znanih dvanajst vojaških napisov in dve vojaški skulpturi. Na štirih spomenikih so izpričani veterani, pri tem sta v dveh primerih enoti navedeni (katalog, št. 1 in 6), in v dveh ne (št. 11

<sup>14</sup> Za vojaške vezi med Norikom in Britanijo prim. Birley 1952, 284–297; Birley 1985, 298–303.

<sup>15</sup> Pridevnik *augustus* je znamenje, da gre za uradno priznan in municipalno pomemben kult, ne glede na to, če so bila božanstva lokalno zelo omejena. Za posvetitelje spomenikov uradnim

municipalnim božanstvom je pričakovati, da so polnopravni rimski državljani, glej Clauss 1999, 280–289.

in 12). V mestu je izpričan samo en navaden vojak (št. 11), oznaka *miles* pa se pojavi še pri pretorijancu Barbiju Finitu (št. 8). Izpričana sta še dva pretorijanca: prvi je sodeloval v konjeniški enoti (*equus VII praetoriae*) (št. 7), drugi je poveljeval izvidnikom (*speculatores*) (št. 2).

V mestu se funkcija centuriona pojavi v petih primerih (št. 2, 3, 4 in 9), s tem da je na napisu št. 3 izpričana dvakrat za isto osebo in da se prav ta oseba ponovi še na napisu št. 4. Centurion Lucij Kasij Maksim je namreč svojo službo opravljal v Šesti železni legiji. Na napisu št. 2 sta omenjena dva centuriona, brata Dindija, enega smo že omenili zgoraj kot poveljnika elitne enote pretorijancev, drugi je bil centurion v Trinajsti dvojni legiji.

Dekurioni so v mestu izpričani na treh napisih (št. 5, 6 in 10); samo pri Gaju Juliju Ursinu (št. 5) sta funkcija in enota nevedeni popolnoma nedvoumno: poveljeval je namreč turmi v Prvi ali Komagenov. V isti enoti je vojaščino odslužil Gaj Junij Isej (št. 6). Kot dekurion italške (legije ?) je opredeljen Avrelj Gajan (št. 10). Njegova funkcija in enota sta podani ohlapno, vendar najverjetneje gre za oficirja Druge italške legije, ki je poveljeval konjeniškemu oddelku v tej legiji.<sup>16</sup> Izstopa pa tudi po tem, da je naveden njegov izvor (*origo*): *cives Surus*. Družina Avrelija Gajana se je verjetno priselila z vzhoda po markomanskih vojnah.

Med vojaškimi napisi Celeje izstopata počastitveni plošči (št. 3 in 4), ki nista samo počastitveni, ena od njiju je cesarskega značaja. Na obeh je omenjena Šesta železna legija, ki se je bojevala za Vespazijana v Italiji, a se je kmalu vrnila v Sirijo, kjer je bila stacionirana že prej (*Raphaneae* ali *Samosata*). V času tega pohoda v Italijo, ko je kar nekaj časa prebila tudi na Balkanu, bi lahko bil rekrutiran centurion Lucij Kasij Maksim. Najpозnejše leta 119 se je legija premaknila v Arabijo in od tam leta 123 v Judejo (*Caparcotna*). Septimij Sever ji je zaradi podpore v boju proti Gaju Pesceniju Nigru podelil naziva *fidelis* in *constans*.<sup>17</sup> Kot kaže njegovo volilno okrožje (*Claudia*), je bil Lucij Kasij Maksim verjetno po rodu iz Celeje. Za postavitev dveh počastitvenih plošč je poskrbel njegov domnevni osvobojenec: *Lucius Cassius Eudaemon*. Plošči je mogoče datirati razmeroma natančno s pomočjo omemb pripadnic cesarske družine (na eni od njiju): božanske Julije, hčere cesarja Tita, in Domicije Avguste, žene cesarja Domicijana. Spomenik lahko datiramo med leti 90,

ko je umrla Julija (zato *diva*), in 96, ko je umrla Domicija, kar bi potrjevalo čas zgoraj omenjene rekrutacije.<sup>18</sup> Okoliščine, zaradi katerih je ti plošči postavil, niso povsem jasne.

Avrelj Saturnin (št. 12) je bil sodeč po imenih članov njegove družine domačin, ki mu je sin postavil nagrobnik; vojaške enote ni navedel, morda je šlo za noriško Drugo italško legijo.

Veteran Avrelj Verin (št. 11) je postavil nagrobno stelo za svojega sina Avrelija Justina, ki je služil v Drugi italški legiji in umrl star komaj 23 let v eni izmed dačanskih odprav.<sup>19</sup> Tudi družina teh Avrelijev je živela v Celeji. Oblika *Daccisca* je nenavadna, saj bi pričakovali običajno, izpeljano iz pridevnika *Dacicus*, a se je očitno spremenila pod vplivom grških pridevnikov in samostalnikov na -isko.<sup>20</sup> Katerega pohoda proti Dačanom se je umrl udeležil, ni popolnoma jasno, a se je to moralo dogoditi konec 2. st. ali v 3. st., kar nakazuje slog spomenika in ime *Aurelius*. Morda je Avrelj Justin sodeloval v pohodu Maksimina Tračana (236).<sup>21</sup>

*Lucius Braetius Publius* (št. 1) iz Verone je bil veteran legije Osme avguste, ki je imela po letu 9 po Kr. svoj tabor v Petovionu (Panonija), po letu 45 pa v kraju *Novae* v Meziji. Leta 69 je podprla Vespazijana in se pod Cerialisom bojevala proti Batavijcem. Zatem je bila nameščena v mestu Argentorate (Strasbourg). Naziv *Augusta* je najverjetneje posledica neke zmage, ki jo je legija dosegla pod Avgustom.<sup>22</sup> Veteranova osebno ime sicer ni izpisano v celoti, a je najverjetneje, da gre za ime *Publius*.<sup>23</sup> Izviral je iz Verone, vendar si je v Celeji ustvaril družino, na kar lahko sklepamo na osnovi avtohtonega ženskega imena, ki se nahaja na napisu (*Magiona Verulli f(ilia)*). Imena ter okrajšave na napisu govorijo v prid njegovemu zgodnjemu nastanku, tako bi ga verjetno lahko povezali s časom, ko je bila njegova legija stacionirana v Petovionu.

Centurion Desete dvojne legije (št. 9) Ulpij Valerijan je postavil oltar Stanovitni Usodi za blagor cesarjev Septimija Severa, Karakale in Gete, katerega ime je odklesano (*damnatio memoriae*).

<sup>18</sup> Natančno je leta 1992 najdeno ploščo komentiral Lovenjak 2003, 336–338, št. 6.

<sup>19</sup> Morda se ena družina, ki se je specializirala za vojaški poklic.

<sup>20</sup> Prim. Galdi 2006, 295, več deviacij, ki so nastale zaradi vpliva grščine oziroma dvojezičnosti, je mogoče opaziti v Meziji, Daciji in drugih bližnjih provincah, ki so bile grški kulturi bolj izpostavljene.

<sup>21</sup> Petrovitsch 2006, 196.

<sup>22</sup> RE XII.2 1925, 1642–1664; Reddé 2000, 119–126.

<sup>23</sup> Prim. *Onomasticon* III, 169–170: *Publicius* ali *Publius* sta kot osebni imeni še manj verjetni kot ime *Publius*.

<sup>16</sup> RE IV.2, 1901, 2352.

<sup>17</sup> RE XII.2 1925, 1587–1596; Cotton 2000, 351–357. Za zgodovino legije glej še Kennedy 1980, 283–309 in Dąbrova 1996, 277–296 (posebej 285–288).

Zaradi omembe cesarjev je napis mogoče datirati, nekako med leti 197, ko je bil Karakali podeljen naziv *augustus* in *Geti caesar*, in 211, ko je umrl Septimij Sever.<sup>24</sup>

Pri veteranu z oznako *ex decurione* (št. 6) lahko na napisu opazimo več zanimivosti. Gaja Junija sta bila brata in na osnovi njunih osebnih imen (*cognomina*) lahko sodimo, da sta se priselila z vzhoda, čeprav napis ne vsebuje izrecne navedbe izvora (*origo*). Zajac za Junije predvideva, da so prišli z vzhoda, konkreten dokaz bi naj bili dve imeni grškega izvora, ki se pojavita na napisu: *Nicander* in *Afrodizia*.<sup>25</sup> *Isaeus*<sup>26</sup> in *Nicander* sta bila prav gotovo brata, ime očeta pa žal ni več ohranjeno. Oče bi lahko bil veteran v enoti *ala I Commagenorum*, ki se je okoli leta 72 še mudila na vzhodu, od 106 naprej pa je izpričana v Noriku.<sup>27</sup> Prvo alo Komagenov so najverjetneje v Norik poslali že v času cesarja Domicijana. Stacionirana je bila v Komageni (*Commagena* – Tulln), ki je svoje ime dobila po tej enoti.<sup>28</sup>

### Pretorijanci v Celeji

V Rimu in Italiji je bilo pod Avgustom nameščenih devet pretorijanskih kohort, ena morda celo v Akvileji.<sup>29</sup> Pretorijancem sta načelovala dva prefekta pretorija, posameznim kohortam pa tribuni. V primerjavi z drugimi vojaki so imeli pretorijanci privilegiran položaj, saj so bili bolje plačani, njihova vojaška obveznost pa je trajala samo 16 let.

Od Vespaziana dalje je bilo v Rimu nameščenih deset pretorijanskih kohort pod poveljstvom enega prefekta pretorija. Ker je vsaka štela 500 ali celo 1000 vojakov, so predstavljali pomembno vojaško silo v glavnem mestu. Politična vloga teh kohort in njihovega poveljnika je bila velika in občasno so celo soodločali pri izbiri cesarja

V Prvi pretorijanski kohorti (*Cohors I praetoria*) je služboval Barbij Finit (št. 8), ki je postavil oltar Jupitru, ker se je srečno vrnil s službovanja v svetem mestu. Svojo službo je očitno opravljal kot pretorijanec v Rimu. Rim se sveto mesto ni

imenoval pred obdobjem cesarja Hadrijana,<sup>30</sup> kar pomeni, da obstaja vsaj *terminus post quem* za datiranje.

Najverjetneje je v Sedmi pretorijanski kohorti (*cohors (?) VII praetoria*) svojo službo kot konjenik (*eques*) opravljal Enij Sekundijan (št. 7), ki je glede na navedeno starost na nagrobniku očitno ni dokončal, saj je umrl star 25 let.

Napis št. 2 sta postavila brata Lucij in Publij, ki sta oba bila centuriona, kar kaže, da je šlo za vojaško usmerjeno družino. Publij je poveljeval elitni enoti pretorijancev; Lucij pa centuriji v Trinajsti dvojni legiji. Ker je oznaki funkcije (*speculatores* – telesni stražarji, izvidniki) dodan še pridevnik *augusti*, lahko sklepamo, da je Publij Dindij Sperat služil med pretorijanci, ki so varovali cesarja.<sup>31</sup> Poveljnik *speculatores* je imel naziv *centurio speculator*,<sup>32</sup> kar je očitno funkcija, ki jo je opravljal Publij Dindij Sperat. Tristotim pripadnikom posebne enote pretorijanske garde so namreč zaupali še posebej pomembno nalogo cesarjevih telesnih stražarjev.<sup>33</sup> *Speculatores* pa so lahko bili tudi telesni stražari upravnikov provinc; izpričani so v številnih provincah, med drugim tudi v Panoniji in Dalmaciji. Gentilno ime *Dindius* ni pogosto, saj se v Noriku pojavi samo na tem napisu;<sup>34</sup> v neposredni bližini so Dindiji izpričani še v Kamniku, Emoni in Akvileji, medtem ko družina prvotno izvira iz mesta Preneste v srednji Italiji. V bližnji Akvileji, od koder so se selili naprej na naše ozemlje, so Dindiji razmeroma dobro izpričani.<sup>35</sup> Dindija na našem napisu najbrž predstavljata drugo generacijo priseljenih predstavnikov te družine. Materin gentilicij Gavia je latinsko ime, ki je sicer največkrat izpričan v Italiji, a se pojavlja tudi drugje.<sup>36</sup> Osebnostno ime *Viruna*, ki je izpričano samo v tem primeru, pa je verjetno izpeljano iz imena municipija *Virunum*, zato bi lahko sklepali na avtohtono poreklo.<sup>37</sup> Nastanek napisa bi morda lahko povezali z obdobjem, ko je bila Trinajsta dvojni legija v Petovionu, torej z drugo pol. 1. st.<sup>38</sup> Po bitki pri Akciju je delovala v Iliriku, od tam so jo prestavili na Ren (9 po Kr.) in končno v Vindoniso (*Germania superior*). V času Klavdija

<sup>24</sup> Več o sami legiji najdeš pri napisih iz agra.

<sup>25</sup> Prim. Zajac 1978, 73–74.

<sup>26</sup> *Onomasticon* II, 197.

<sup>27</sup> Prim. Zajac 1978, 73–74.

<sup>28</sup> Ott 1997, 108. Holder 1980, 112, pa pravi, da so enoto ustanovili v Siriji v času med vladanjem Avgusta in Klavdija. Prim. še Ubl 2005, 108, vojaška enota je bila tisočlanska in sestavljena iz lokostrelcev.

<sup>29</sup> Prim. Keppie 2000a, 99–122; Passerini 1939; Durry 1938.

<sup>30</sup> Friedländer 1922 (1979) I, 32; ta oznaka se je razširila od 3. st. naprej.

<sup>31</sup> Prim. *CIL* III 5223.

<sup>32</sup> Domaszewski, Dobson 1967, 99.

<sup>33</sup> Domaszewski, Dobson 1967, 20.

<sup>34</sup> *Onomasticon* II, 100.

<sup>35</sup> Šašel 1981, 337–342 (= *Opera selecta* 1992, 146–151); Šašel Kos 1984, 253.

<sup>36</sup> Von Hüttenbach 1989, 81; *Onomasticon* II, 162.

<sup>37</sup> *Onomasticon* IV, 175. Šašel Kos 2001, 193.

<sup>38</sup> Iz bližnje Petovione bi lahko eden od obeh sinov (v imenu obeh) poskrbel za postavitev nagrobnika.

(45/46) je prišla v Petoviono, kjer je nasledila Osmo legijo avgusto in tam ostala do okoli leta 90, ko jo je Domicijan poslal v Vindobono.<sup>39</sup> Morda se je bojevala že v prvi Trajanovi vojni proti Dačanom, gotovo pa je sodelovala v drugi. Ostala je v novoustanovljeni provinci Daciji, kjer je imela svoj tabor v kraju *Apulum*. Ko so se Rimljani umaknili iz Dacije (274/275), je bila premeščena v novo provinco Obrežno Dacijo (*Ratiaria*).<sup>40</sup>

V celejskem agru je izpričan samo en predstavnik pretorijancev, in sicer iz Druge kohorte, ki je omenjen na napisu iz Zgornjih Dovž (št. 21). Njegovo ime *Secconius* je psevdogentilicij, izpeljan je iz keltskega korena: *Secco-*. V osmi in deseti vrstici sta v širini vrstice vpisani dve besedi, ki sta bili najverjetneje vgravirani naknadno, povezava z ostalim napisom namreč ni jasna. Oba poznejša vpisa lahko povežemo z vojaškim življenjem; *equis* lahko stoji namesto *eques* (konjenik) ali še verjetneje namesto *equiso* (konjski hlapec), kar se nanaša na osebo z imenom *Urso*. V drugem primeru je imenu *Severus* dodana oznaka *miles*, torej vojaku Severju.<sup>41</sup> Rimsko državljanstvo je bilo pogoj za vstop v legijo; pretorijance pa so med drugim novučili tudi iz legij.<sup>42</sup> Družinsko ime vojaka Druge pretorijanske kohorte ni latinsko, temveč gre za psevdogentilicij, ki je keltskega izvora (št. 21). Ta pretorijanec je bil verjetno avtohtonega izvora (prim. *Secco-*). Dolgo časa je veljalo prepričanje, da so pretorijance v zgodnjem obdobju rekrutirali le iz Italije, od začetka 2. st. naprej tudi že iz nekaterih provinc, med njimi tudi iz Norika, od Septimija Severa dalje pa so bili predvsem iz Panonije.<sup>43</sup> Če je okvirna datacija napisa s psevdogentilicijem točna, so pretorijance iz Norika morda rekrutirali že v 1. st.

#### Vojaški napisi na območju celejskega agra (tab. 4)

S celejskega agra izvira deset vojaških napisov oziroma deset oseb, ki so opravljale vojaško službo. V treh primerih se srečamo z veterani, pri čemer enkrat enota ni navedena (št. 19). Pri ostalih dveh sta nevedeni še legiji (št. 14 in 18), pri enem celo služba orožarja, ki jo je opravljal (*custos armorum*)

– št. 18. Za veterane so se uporabljale tudi druge besede ali besedne zveze: *dimissi honesta missione*, *emissi*, *missici*, *emeriti*, *evocati* ali *exauctorati*. Po odpustu so postali *honestiores*, zato so lahko dobili pomembna mesta v lokalni upravi, udeleževali pa so se tudi v gospodarstvu, trgovini, nekateri so opravljali svečeniške funkcije.

Tri osebe so na nagrobnikih označene kot *miles*. Dva vojaka sta svoje služenje opravila v najbližji Drugi italjski legiji (št. 15 in 20), tretji je služboval kot pretorijanec v Drugi pretorijanski kohorti (št. 21). Preostali so posamezniki, ki so dosegli nekoliko višje funkcije: *centurio* in *decurio*. Med tremi sta dva centuriona, od katerih je prvi deloval v Drugi italjski legiji (št. 13), drugi pa je služboval v Deseti dvojni (št. 17), dekurion je poveljeval v Drugi ali Asturov (št. 16). Poleg predstavnikov senatorskega in viteškega reda so bili centurioni (*centuriones*) v rimski vojski najpomembnejši oficirji. Predvideva se celo, da so centurione povzdignili v viteški red, a je verjetneje, da so bili tega privilegija deležni samo *primi pili*.<sup>44</sup>

Nabor za pomožne čete so izvajali med peregrini, ki so si z opravljeno službo (25 let) prislužili določene pravice in ugodnosti, med drugim tudi rimsko državljanstvo.<sup>45</sup> Za poveljnike pomožnih čet, ki naj bi v večini primerov izvirali iz Italije,<sup>46</sup> in druge višje oficirje v pomožnih četah (*auxilia*) je rimsko državljanstvo pričakovano. Tit Julij Belik (št. 16) je bil dekurion v ali, kjer je poveljeval eni turmi (*turma*).<sup>47</sup> Potem ko je Tit Julij Belik svojo vojaško službo končal, je kariero nadaljeval v municipalni upravi, saj je postal dekurion, torej član mestnega sveta (*ordo decurionum*).<sup>48</sup> Nagrobni spomenik priča o bogastvu družine, saj mu je njegov brat in obenem dedič postavil zavidljiv spomenik.

Druga italjska legija je bila ves čas obstoja v Noriku; svojo pot je začela prav v celejskem agru, zato na območju Celeje (ager in mesto) srečujemo

<sup>39</sup> Za legije v Petovionu glej Vomer Gojkovič 2005, 463.  
<sup>40</sup> *RE* XII.2 1925, 1710–1727, predvsem 1713–1715; Wolff 2000, 203–204; prim. še Piso 2000, 220–224.

<sup>41</sup> Šašel Kos (2001, 200) zato dopušča možnost, da so poznejša vpisa dodali moški člani iste družine, ki so se udeleževali v vojski.  
<sup>42</sup> Keppie 2000a, 115–116.  
<sup>43</sup> Šašel 1972, 474–480 (= *Opera Selecta*, 1992, 379–385).

<sup>44</sup> Domaszewski, Dobson 1967, uvod XX–XXII; Le Bohec 1994, 43–44; *RE* III.2, 1899, 1962–1964; več o vlogi centurionov in primipilov v rimski vojski najdeš v Dobson 1993, 143–185; prim. še Domaszewski, Dobson 1967, 90–97. Domaszewski, Dobson (1967, 83–90) dodaja še, da so bili centurioni praviloma italjskega izvora, ali pa vsaj iz rimskih vojaških kolonij.

<sup>45</sup> O tem nam govorijo vojaške diplome, ki jih je mogoče najti po vsem rimskem imperiju.

<sup>46</sup> Ott 1997, 133.

<sup>47</sup> Ott 1997, 133, med noriškimi poveljniki pomožnih čet navaja Marka Belicija Saturnina, ki naj bi pripadal družini, ki je v Virunu obogatela s trgovino. Menim, da so Beliciji iz Viruna stranska veja tistih v Celeji. Kolonizacija in romanizacija sta najbrž najprej dosegli Celejo, od koder se je proces širil naprej.

<sup>48</sup> Vstop v municipalno elito po opravljeni vojaški službi ni bil nič neobičajnega.

Tab. 4: Vojaki v agru.

Tab. 4: Military representatives in the ager (see page 355 for English version).

| Ime vojaka                | Funkcija, vojaška enota                        | Datacija                      | Objava         |
|---------------------------|------------------------------------------------|-------------------------------|----------------|
| <b>Centuriones</b>        |                                                |                               |                |
| Lucius Septimius Tertinus | centurio legionis II Italicae piae fidelis     | začetek 3. st.                | CIL III 5300   |
| Lucius Appuleius          | centurio legionis X Geminae piae fidelis       | 2. st.                        | AIJ 9          |
| <b>Decurio</b>            |                                                |                               |                |
| Titus Iulius Bellicus     | decurio alae Asturum II                        | 1. st.                        | CIL III 152053 |
| <b>Milites</b>            |                                                |                               |                |
| Secconius Vibius          | miles cohortis II praetoriae                   | 2. pol. 1. st./začetek 2. st. | CIL III 5105   |
| Septimius Secundinus      | miles legionis II Italicae                     | konec 2. st./3. st.           | AIJ 13         |
| Aurelius Victor           | miles legionis II Italicae                     | 2. pol. 3. st.                | CIL III 11700  |
| <b>Veterani</b>           |                                                |                               |                |
| Caius Vibius Sabinus      | veteranus legionis V Macedonicae               | 2. st.                        | CIL III 5130   |
| Sacronius Verinus         | veteranus legionis II Italicae, custos armorum | 175–185                       | CIL III 5106   |
| Vibius Secundus           | veteranus                                      | konec 2. st./3. st.           | CIL III 5142   |

največ vojakov te legije (št. 10, 11, 13, 15, 18, 20). Poleg pravkar omenjene sta na napisih celejskega agra omenjeni še dve legiji: Peta makedonska (št. 14) in Deseta dvojna (št. 17). Poleg legij je omenjena tudi Druga pretorijanska kohorta (št. 21) ter Druga ala Asturov (št. 16).

Drugo italiko legijo je ustanovil Mark Avrelij leta 165 ali 166 med vojno z Markomani.<sup>49</sup> Kmalu po ustanovitvi jo je poslal v Norik (168/169 ali malo pozneje), kjer je imela svoj prvi vojaški tabor na strateško dobro lociranem kraju v Ločici blizu Celja, da bi lahko preprečila dostop iz Panonije v Emono in naprej. Temu namenu ni služila dolgo, že Komod jo je namreč prestavil v Lavriak. Še v času, ko je bila v Ločici, naj bi si pridobila naziva *pia in fidelis*, saj so v okolici tabora – na Vranskem – našli opeko s tema nazivoma.<sup>50</sup> V letih 174/175 so jo prestavili na Donavo, najprej v Albing, nato v *Lauriacum*, kjer je ostala do pozne antike. Pochmarski navaja, da so ji v času cesarja Septimija Severa zaradi lojalnosti podelili naziv *fidelis*.<sup>51</sup> Trditev očitno ne drži, saj je naziv izpričan že v Ločici, so ji ga pa pozneje najbrž podelili oziroma potrdili še večkrat.<sup>52</sup> Pod Karakalo in Elagabalom je bila poimenovana *Antoniniana*, pod Aleksandrom Severom pa *Severiana*. Prva generacija legionarjev Druge italike legije izhaja iz severne Italije, kjer je bila legija rekrutirana; izvor naslednjih lahko iščemo v Noriku, še posebej po uvedbi *constitutio*

*Antoniniana* (212), s katero so postala vrata legij odprta širšemu krogu ljudi.<sup>53</sup>

Vojaško službo je v Drugi italiki legiji služil Septimij Sekundin (št. 15), ki je očitno ni dokončal, saj je na nagrobni plošči navedeno, da je odslužil 15 let in umrl pri 40. O razlogu prezgodnjega odpusta ali smrti lahko samo uganemo, pri obeh številkah pa je očitno zaokroževanje let.<sup>54</sup> Na tem napisu je mogoče prebrati besedo *stipendiorum*, kar je razmeroma pogosta oblika, kljub temu da je bolj običajna tista s črko *I*: *stipendiorum*. Oblika *U* ni nepravilna, gre samo za ohranjeno arhaično obliko. Varon piše, da je bila takšna izgovorjava bolj lastna ljudski (podeželski) različici jezika.<sup>55</sup> Nihanje v pisavi med *i* in *u* je opaziti od avgustej-ske dobe naprej. Pod vplivom takih primerov se je raba razširila še na primere, kjer sta se *i* in *u* izgovarjala podobno.<sup>56</sup>

Veteran Druge italike legije Sakronij Verin (št. 18) je na napisu izpričan s posebno funkcijo orožarja (*custos armorum*), ki jo je lahko opravljal navadni vojak. Vsaka centurija v legiji naj bi imela po enega, torej naj bi bilo vseh 59 (kot centurionov).<sup>57</sup>

Besedna zveza *hoste Gutica* pomeni gotskega sovražnika, s katerim se je boril Avrelij Viktor (št. 20), prav tako vojak Druge italike legije. Oblika *Gutica* je nekoliko nenavadna, saj za Gote takšne oblike doslej še nismo poznali, čeprav se

<sup>49</sup> Pochmarski 2007, 278.<sup>49</sup> Več o zgodovini 2. italike legije glej pri Winkler 1971, 85–138; RE XII.2 1925, 1468–1476; Petrovitsch 2006.<sup>50</sup> Novejša dognanja so zbrana v Lörincz 2000, 145–149; prim. Lazar 2006, 37, kjer je omenjeni žig objavljen.<sup>51</sup> Pochmarski 2007, 278.<sup>52</sup> Lazar 2006, 37; prim. tudi Lazar 1997, 159–164.<sup>54</sup> Prim. Šašel Kos 2006, 175–197.<sup>55</sup> Varro, Rust. I, 2, 14. Prim. z Väänänen 1967, 36–38; Baldi 1999, 254.<sup>56</sup> Zamboni 1966, 504–506.<sup>57</sup> Le Bohec 1994, 50, 65; prim. še Domaszewski, Dobson 1967, 44–45.

za *Gothicus* (gotski, Got) na napisih poleg tukaj izpričane oblike najdejo še druge: *Gotico*, *Guttico*, *Guthicus*.<sup>58</sup> Prvi cesar, ki si je nadel ta naziv, je bil *Claudius Gothicus* (268–270), ki je leta 269 pri Naisu (*Naissus*, Niš) odločilno porazil Gote. Avrelij Viktor bi lahko sodeloval v omenjeni bitki, saj že sama oblika napisa in celotnega napisnega kamna govori v prid nastanku v tem času. Poleg tega je svojo vojaško službo opravljal v Drugi italški legiji, torej legiji, ki bi se te bitke dejansko lahko udeležila.<sup>59</sup> Petrovitsch omenja še cesarja Decija, ki se je med letoma 249 in 251 boril z Goti; po njegovem mnenju je verjetneje, da je Avrelij Viktor padel na tem pohodu.<sup>60</sup> Pri tem pa ne gre zaobiti upodobitve vojaka v reliefni niši, ki je nadvse zanimiva. Poleg ostalih podrobnosti je na tem mestu ključnega pomena okrogel zaključek nožnice meča, ki ga je mogoče uporabiti kot kriterij za datiranje. Tovrstne okrogle zaključke delimo na dve veliki skupini, vendar obe datiramo 2. pol. 3. st.<sup>61</sup> To dejstvo tako bolj potrjuje prvo datacijo (*Claudius Gothicus*).

Centurion (morda beneficiarij) Druge italške legije Lucij Septimij (?) Tertin (št. 13) je poskrbel za postavitve votivne are Viktoriji, Noreji in Britaniji (sedaj v Črešnjevcu). Noreja je na tem mestu natančneje opredeljena kot *regina*, kar nakazuje na identifikacijo z Izido. Nenavadna je posvetitev provinci Britaniji, ki implicira, da je vojak služil v Britaniji. Napis bi lahko uvrstili v vrsto tistih, ki potrjujejo močno povezavo in stike med Norikom in Britanijo.<sup>62</sup>

Veteran Pete makedonske legije Gaj Vibij Sabin (št. 14) se je po odsluženi vojaški službi verjetno vrnil v svoj domači kraj, na kar bi lahko sklepali na osnovi njegovega gentilnega imena.<sup>63</sup> Med letoma 30 pr. Kr. in 6 po Kr. je bila legija v Makedoniji, nato pa so jo prestavili v Mezijo, kjer je imela tabor v kraju *Oescus*. Leta 61 oziroma 62 so jo poslali v Armenijo, kjer je služila pod Vespazijanom v vojni proti Judom; še pred letom 71 pa se je vrnila nazaj

v omenjeni tabor v Meziji. Ko so provinco leta 86 razdelili, je pripadla enotam, ki so bile stacionirane v Spodnji Meziji. Pod Lucijem Verom se je bojevala v vojni s Parti (162–166), leta 167 ali 168 pa se je preselila v Dacijo (*Potaissa*). Ko so Rimljani izgubili Dacijo severno od Donave (274/275), se je vrnila v *Oescus*, ki se je zdaj nahajal v novoustanovljeni provinci *Dacia Ripensis*.<sup>64</sup> Po odsluženi vojaški službi (ob smrti je bil star 65 let) se je Gaj Vibij Sabin ustalil na manj romaniziranem območju Celeje. Napis je mogoče datirati v 2. st., vendarle se zdi verjetneje, da je Vibij svojo službo opravljal v Meziji in ne v Daciji.

Naslednja enota je *Deseta dvojna legija* (*predana, zvesta*), ki se ji je začasno delovanje v Hispaniji končalo leta 63 po Kr., ko so jo prestavili v Panonijo (Karnunt). Še enkrat se je morala vrniti v Hispanijo; a le za kratek čas, nekaj časa je bila stacionirana v Spodnji Germaniji, kjer si je prislužila naziva *pia* in *fidelis* v zahvalo za zvestobo v času revolta L. Antonija Saturnina (med letoma 89 in 96). Okoli leta 103 so jo iz Germanije prestavili v Panonijo; kratek čas je bila v Akvinku. Kdaj natančno je dobila svoj tabor v Vindoboni, ni znano, gotovo pa še v času Trajana, nekako po letu 107.<sup>65</sup> Na območju celejskega agra je bil njen predstavnik Lucij Apulej (št. 17), ki je po opravljeni vojaščini najverjetneje služboval kot župan v Celeji.<sup>66</sup> Grobno parcelo zase in za svoje si je najverjetneje uredil v bližini svojih posestev, ki so se morala nahajati v celejskem agru, v bližini Kolacione. Spomenik sodi v 2. st., torej v čas, ko je legija službovala v bližnji Panoniji.

Tit Julij Belik je bil dekurion v Drugi ali Asturov (št. 16). V začetni dobi so bili dekurioni poveljniki najmanjše konjeniške enote, v cesarski dobi (kamor sodi tudi naš napis) pa je *decurio* poveljeval eni turmi.<sup>67</sup> Po rangi je bil dekurion ale nad centurionom (pomožne) kohorte in pod centurionom v legiji.<sup>68</sup> Precejšnje število napisov, na katerih je omenjena *ala II Asturum*, so našli v Britaniji (na Hadrijanovem zidu), kjer je morala biti stacionirana

<sup>58</sup> RE VII.2 1912, 1683–1685.

<sup>59</sup> RE XII.2 1925, 1473; Petrovitsch 2006, 291.

<sup>60</sup> Petrovitsch 2006, 206.

<sup>61</sup> Pflaum 2007, 292–293.

<sup>62</sup> Šašel Kos 1999, 37–38, o poistovetenju Noreje z Izido. Prim. Birley 1952; Birley 1985: o povezavi med Norikom in Britanijo.

<sup>63</sup> Prim. *Onomasticon* IV, 165–166: ime je bilo v Noriku in Panoniji priljubljeno in zelo razširjeno, kar nakazuje podobnost z avtohtonimi imeni na *Vib-* (*Vibenus*). Ime *Vibius* je bil sicer prvotno oskijsko prvo ime (*praenomen*), pozneje pa je prešlo v splošno latinsko rabo in postalo tudi gentilicij ter osebno ime (*cognomen*) (Lochner von Hüttenbach 1989, 181–182). Potrditev tega je mogoče najti tudi v imenu avtohtonega božanstva *Vibes* (prim. *RINMS* 115).

<sup>64</sup> RE XII.2 1925, 1572–1586; Strobel 2000, 523–526, kjer avtor prizna, da se poznavanje zgodovine legije (v primerjavi z izsledki Ritterlinga) v zadnjih sedemdesetih letih ni bistveno poglobilo.

<sup>65</sup> RE XII.2 1925, 1678–1690; Gómez-Pantoja 2000, 169–190.

<sup>66</sup> Visočnik 2006, 380–381 (št. 22).

<sup>67</sup> Najverjetneje je alo sestavljalo ali šestnajst (če je bila *ala quingenaria*) ali štiriintrideset (če je bila *ala milliaria*) turm (manjših konjeniških enot, ki so bile sestavljene iz okoli trideset konjenikov). Prim. še Birley 1966, 349–364.

<sup>68</sup> RE IV.2 1901, 2352–2353; prim. še Domaszewski, Dobson 1967, 53.

zelo dolgo.<sup>69</sup> Po mnenju Wagnerja so Drugo alo Asturov še v času Tiberija prestavili iz Germanije na Donavo. Birley trdi, da je ala najprej delovala na območju Rena, nato so jo poslali v Panonijo in po tem v Britanijo. Krier pa zagovarja nekoliko drugačen vrstni red službovanja: v predflavijskem času naj bi bila ala del noriške vojske, po uporu Batavijcev pa naj bi jo prestavili v Panonijo. V Britanijo je morda odšla z Julijem Agrikolo.<sup>70</sup>

### NAVAJANJE STAROSTI NA VOJAŠKIH NAPISIH CELEJE

Večino vojaških napisov Celeje (tako mesta kakor tudi agra) predstavljajo nagrobni spomeniki, pri katerih je običajno navajanje starosti, ki jo je pokopani doživel. Pri predstavnikih vojske bi pričakovali natančno navajanje starosti ob smrti, saj so velik del svojega življenja preživeli v državni organizaciji, kjer je bilo zelo pomembno, kdaj je nekdo v enoto vstopil, kdaj jo bo zapustil, torej njegova službena leta, s tem v zvezi pa tudi njegova starost.

V mestu so leta zapisana na sedmih napisih (št. 1, 5, 6, 7, 10, 11 in 12). Zaokrožena so na: 70, 75 (št. 1); 40 (št. 5); 25, 60, 50 (št. 7); 50, 35 (št. 10); 45, 35 (št. 12), ne pa v primeru vojaka, ki je umrl med dačanskim pohodom star komaj 23 let (št. 11), torej nedolgo po vstopu v vojsko. Na napisu št. 12 je omenjen tudi Avrelij Sekundin, ki je umrl kot otrok, star samo sedem let; pri mladih osebah je navajanje natančnejšega števila let pogostejše. Precizno navajanje starosti je mogoče opaziti še pri dveh osebah na napisu št. 6 (38, 24), na katerem so poleg starosti 25 let zaokrožena tudi leta ob smrti veterana Gaja Junija Iseja (60 let). Na tem napisu je zanimiva navedba starosti ob smrti Ulpije Afrodizije, 25 let in 1 mesec, kar je pri vojaških napisih pa tudi pri ostalih razmeroma redek, vendar razumljiv pojav.<sup>71</sup>

Na napisih iz agra se s starostjo srečamo pri petih (št. 14, 15, 18, 19 in 20); izstopa napis št. 19, pri katerem so navedene starosti štirih oseb: pri prvem lahko govorimo o t. i. stoletniku,<sup>72</sup> njegova žena je prav tako doživela zavidljivo starost 90

let, drugi dve osebi, ki bi lahko bila njuna otroka, pa naj bi obe umrli pri dvaindvajsetih. Pri prvih dveh je zaokroževanje let očitno, druga dva pa naj bi umrla enako stara, kar je malo verjetno. Vse ostale navedene starosti so zaokrožene na 5 oziroma 10: 65 (št. 14); 50, 40, 30 (št. 15); 50 (št. 18); 30 (št. 20).

### SKLEPNE MISLI

Na obravnavanih vojaških napisih Celeje so izpričani predvsem legionarji, pretorijanci, centurioni in veterani; samo v enem primeru je veteranu (Sacronius Verinus) dodana še posebna funkcija (*custos armorum*). Poleg edine noriške Druge italске legije so izpričane še Peta makedonska, Šesta železna, Osma avgusta ter Deseta in Trinajsta dvojna. Slednje tri so v različnih obdobjih sodile v sestav sosednje panonske vojske. Med pomožnimi četami se Prva ala Komagenov pojavi dvakrat, enkrat pa ala Asturov. Obe omenjeni enoti sodita v sestavo noriške vojske, saj sta bili v provinci stacionirani med 1. in 3. stoletjem.<sup>73</sup>

Noben od treh posvetiteljev votivnih ar ni naveden vojak: Barbij Finit (št. 8) je pretorijanec, Ulpij Valerijan (št. 9) je centurion, L. Septimij Tertin (št. 13) pa ali prav tako centurion ali beneficiarij. Omenjeno dejstvo je mogoče povezati s stroški postavitve oltarja, ki si jih je navaden vojak gotovo težje privoščil.

Med vojaki Celeje ločimo domačine, ki so se po končani vojaški službi vrnili domov, in tujce, ki so delovali v bližini in so se tukaj ustalili. Med prvimi izstopajo pretorijanci (št. 2, 7, 8, 21) in druga generacija vojakov Druge italске legije (št. 10, 11, 12?, 13, 15 in 20). Izrecno je izpričan samo en tujec (št. 1), saj je naveden njegov *origo* (Verona). V Celeji so najverjetneje rekrutirali tudi vojake omenjene na napisih št. 3 (oziroma 4), 14, 17 in 19. Pri nekaterih natančna opredelitev ni mogoča.

Če primerjamo vojaške napise Flavije Solve in Celeje, je treba upoštevati, da sta obe mesti sicer sodili v provinco Norik, vendar med njima obstajajo zgodovinsko pogojene razlike, predvsem zgodnejši nastanek Celeje. Te so vplivale tudi na vojsko v posameznem mestu, na nabor vojakov in vračanje veteranov v domači kraj. Primerjava pokaže, da je bilo v Celeji vojaških napisov veliko več, okoli 100, v Flaviji Solvi pa 46. Po številu napisov mesti nista primerljivi, sta pa po enotah in njihovem številu. Tako v enem kakor v drugem municipiju

<sup>69</sup> RE I.1, 1893, 1231.

<sup>70</sup> Prim. Wagner 1938; Birley 1952, 290; Krier 1981, 146–147. Wedenig 1997, 136 (C 27) navaja različna mnenja o omenjeni ali ter o Titu Juliju Beliku.

<sup>71</sup> To je edina navedba let in mesecev na celejskem prostoru (primera z dnevi sploh še ni).

<sup>72</sup> O zaokroževanju let, stoletnikov in sploh štetju let najdeš več v Šašel Kos 2006, 175–197, glej tudi pripadajočo literaturo.

<sup>73</sup> Prim. Ubl 2005, 107–120.

je največ pripadnikov službovalo v Drugi italški legiji (v Celeji 11, z beneficiariji vred, v Solvi 7). Funkcije, izpričane v Solvi na eni strani ter tiste iz Celeje na drugi, so podobne: centurioni so razmeroma dobro zastopani. Za obe mesti pa velja, da sta dali enotam pretorijancev (Solva 11, Celeja 12 – upoštevani so tudi tisti, ki so izpričani

druge po imperiju) večje število pripadnikov, ki so izpričani tako v domačem kraju kakor tudi v Rimu in drugje po Italiji.

Opaziti je mogoče pričakovane razlike med mestom in agrom, ki so vidne že v sami obliki spomenikov, njihovem številu, pestrejši zastopanosti vojaških enot in funkcij v mestu.

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## ROMAN MILITARY INSCRIPTIONS FROM CELEIA AND ITS SURROUNDINGS

### Translation

#### INTRODUCTION

Encouraged by the article by E. Pochmarski about the soldiers from Flavia Solva,<sup>1</sup> I collected Celeian military inscriptions. I decided to consider only those Celeian soldiers who are attested in Celeia itself or within its *ager* but not those Celeian soldiers that were found elsewhere in the Empire. These are mostly soldiers who died in Celeian territory. Their *origo* is generally omitted, leaving us to speculate on their native homeland. Since there are almost 30 inscriptions of Celeian soldiers attested abroad, it seems appropriate to present them on some other occasion.<sup>2</sup>

The analysis of the Celeian military inscriptions will reveal the prevailing form of the monuments, military units in which soldiers served, their functions, and the possible differences in the situation between the town and the *ager*. As a whole have not been published earlier, even though the *beneficiarii*<sup>3</sup> were frequently studied.

#### CATALOGUE<sup>4</sup> OF MILITARY INSCRIPTIONS OF CELEIA

##### Military inscriptions found within the town of Celeia

##### 1. Funerary slab for Lucius Braetius Publius

- 5 *L(ucius) Braetius*  
*L(ucii) f(ilius) Publ(ius) Veron(a),*  
*vet(eranus) leg(ionis) VIII Aug(ustae), ann(or)um*  
*LXX, h(ic) s(itus) e(st). F(ili) f(iliae)que?.*  
*Magiona Verulli f(ilia),*  
*an(norum) LXXV, h(ic) s(ita) e(st). F(ili) f(iliae)que?.*

<sup>1</sup> Pochmarski 2007, 269–291.

<sup>2</sup> The continuation of this article is planned for *Arheološki vestnik* 60 (2009).

<sup>3</sup> Cf. Clément 1980; Dise 1996, 286–292; Dise 1997, 284–299; Nelis-Clément 1994, 251–260; Ott 1994, 233–249; Ott 1995; Rankov 1994, 219–232; Schallmayer 1991, 400–406; *CBFIR* (1990); Scherrer 2005, 17–30.

<sup>4</sup> The inscriptions are listed chronologically; approximate dating can be found in *tables* 3 and 4.

*Translation*: Lucius Braetius Publius, son of Lucius, from Verona, veteran of legion *VIII Augusta*, seventy years old, lies here. Sons and daughters (?). Magiona, daughter of Verulus, seventy-five years old, lies here. Sons and daughters (?).

*References*: *CIL* III 5220 + p. 1830; *ILLPRON* 1681.

*Date*: the 1<sup>st</sup> c.

##### 2. Funerary slab for Gavia Viruna

- 5 *Gaviae P(ublii) f(iliae) Virunae,*  
*L(ucius) Dindius Respectus*  
*7(centurio) leg(ionis) XIII Geminae,*  
*P(ublius) Dindius Speratus*  
*7(centurio) speculatorum Aug(usti)*  
*f(ili) [matri] indulgen=*  
*tissima[e et sibi] fecerunt.*

*Translation*: To Gavia Viruna, daughter of Publius, Lucius Dindius Respectus, centurion of the legion *XIII Gemina*, and Publius Dindius Respectus, centurion of the emperor's personal guard. Sons had (the slab) erected to their most compassionate mother and themselves.

*References*: *CIL* III 5223 + p. 1830 = 11692; *ILLPRON* 1683.

*Date*: the 1<sup>st</sup> c.

##### 3. Honorific inscription for Iulia and Domitia (fig. 1)

Left inscription field:

- 5 *Divae Iu(l)iae.*  
*L(ucius) Cassius*  
*Cla(udia) Maximus*  
*(centurio) leg(ionis) VI Ferratae*  
*t(estamento) f(ieri) i(ussit).*

*Translation*: To deified Iulia. Lucius Cassius Maximus from the voting tribe of Claudia, centurion of the legion *VI Ferrata*, in his will provided for (this monument) to be erected.

Right inscription field:

- Domitia[e Aug(ustae)].  
L(ucius) Cassi(us)  
Cla(udia) Max[imus]  
5 [(centurio)] leg(ionis) VI [Ferr(atae)]  
t(estamento) f(ieri) i(iussit)].  
L(ucius) Cassius Eu[daemon]  
faciendas cu[ravit].

*Translation:* To Domitia Augusta. Lucius Cassius Maximus from the voting tribe of Claudia, centurion of the legion VI Ferrata, in his will provided for (this slab) to be erected. Lucius Cassius Eudaemon took care of the erection.

*References:* CIL III 13524 + p. 2285; ILS 8906; ILLPRON 1747 (left part), 1748 (right part); Lovenjak 2003, 336–338, no. 6 (fig. 6).

*Date:* between 90 and 96.

4. Slab with the honorific inscription to Iulia Procilla<sup>5</sup> (fig. 2)  
Right inscription field:

- Iuliae Cn(ai) filia[e]  
Procilla[e]  
L(ucius) Cassius Max[imus]  
5 [(centurio)] leg(ionis) VI Ferra[tae]  
t(estamento) f(ieri) i(iussit).  
L(ucius) Cassius Eudaemon  
b(ene) [m(erenti) (statuam ?) f(aciendam)] c(uravit).

*Translation:* To Iulia Procilla, daughter of Cnaius, in his will Lucius Cassius Maximus, centurion of the legion VI Ferrata, had (the slab) erected. Lucius Cassius Eudaemon took care of the erection due to her merits.

*References:* Lovenjak 2003, 336–338, no. 6 (fig. 6).

*Date:* between 90 and 96.

5. Architrave of the aedicula for Caius Iulius Ursinus (fig. 3)

D(is) M(anibus)  
C(aio) Iulio Ursino dec(urioni)  
alae I Com(m)agenor(um) an(norum) XL.  
Titia Procula marito optimo  
fecit et sibi.

*Translation:* To Caius Iulius Ursinus, decurion of the ala I Commagenorum, forty years old. Titia Procula had (the monument) erected for the most worthy husband and herself.

*References:* Kolšek 1975–1976, fig. 3; Ubl 1996, no. II/13; Kremer 2001, Kat. I 35a (fig. 68).

*Datig:* the 2<sup>nd</sup> c.

6. Funerary slab for two Iunii ?

- [—]  
et C(aio) Iunio Nicandr(o)  
fil(io) ann(or)um XXXVIII,  
Matt(iae) P(ublil) f(iliae) Verinae  
ann(or)um XXVIII  
5 et C(aio) Iunio Isaeo vet(erano)  
ex dec(urione) alae I Com(m)agenor(um) an(norum) LX  
[et Ul]p(iae) Al[f]rodisiae an(norum) XXV m(ensis) I.

<sup>5</sup> Cf. Lovenjak 2003, 336–338: the slab was found immured into the foundation of the northern tower of the western town gate. It was left untouched. The right upper corner of the left and the greater part of the right inscription field, the panel of which is damaged and in some places completely removed, remains visible.

*Translation:* ... and to son Caius Iunius Nicander, thirty-eight years old, to Mattia Verina, daughter of Publius, twenty-four years old, and to veteran Caius Iunius Isaeus, former decurion of the ala I Commagenorum, sixty years old, and to Ulpia Afrodisia, 25 years and 1 month old.

*References:* CIL III 5224 + p. 1830; ILLPRON 1684.

*Date:* the slab belongs to the 2<sup>nd</sup> c.

7. Funerary slab for Ennius Secundianus

[—] Ennio Secundiano  
equiti c(o)hor(tis) VII pr(aetoriae?) an(norum) XXV  
et Q(uinto) Enni[o] Apollonio an(norum) LX  
et Val(eriae) Maximil[lae] an(norum) L.

*Translation:* ... to Ennius Secundianus, cavalryman of the cohort VII Praetoria, twenty-five years old, and to Quintus Ennius Apollonius, sixty years old, and Valeria Maximilla, fifty years old.

*References:* CIL III 5222 + p. 1830; ILLPRON 1682.

*Date:* the 2<sup>nd</sup> c.

8. Votive altar for Jupiter, Best and Greatest (fig. 4)

- I(ovi) O(ptimo) M(aximo)  
Barbius  
Finitus, mil(es)  
coh(ortis) I praet(oriae),  
5 ob peregrina=  
tionis expedi=  
tionum regr[es]=  
sus in urbe[m]  
sacr(am) v(otum) s(olvit) l(ibens) m(erito).

*Translation:* To Jupiter, Best and Greatest. Barbius Finitus, soldier of the cohort I Praetoria, after his return, due to the completed military service in the sacred city, fulfilled his vow willingly and deservedly.<sup>6</sup>

*References:* CIL III 11697; Kult 161; ILLPRON 1735.

*Date:* the 2<sup>nd</sup> half of the 2<sup>nd</sup> or beginning of the 3<sup>rd</sup> c.

9. Votive altar for Fortuna Stabilis (fig. 5)

- Fortunae  
Stabili.  
Pro salute domino=  
rum n(ostrorum)  
5 imp(eratorum) L(uci) Septimi Severi=  
i! Pertinacis et  
M(arci) Aur(eli) Antonini Aug(ustorum)  
[[ et P(ublil) Sept(imil) Getae ]].  
Ulp(ius) Valerianus c(enturio) leg(ionis) X G(eminae).

<sup>6</sup> This is just one of the possible translations and thus understandings of this inscription and is based on the incorrect word order. *In urbe sacra* is not, in fact, dependent on *regressus* but rather on *ob peregrinationis expeditionem* (not *expeditionum*), cf. Galdi 2004, 249–250. This explanation seems all the more possible due to the context into which the praetorians can be set. Nevertheless, the inscription itself could suggest an alternative scenario. Barbius Finitus supposedly returned to the sacred city (the possible reading is thus *in urbem sacram*) and erected an altar for the completed military service. It is not clear why a praetorian would have erected an altar in a provincial town and then returned to the sacred city. The translation and explanation of the inscription without the context, which dictates a “poetic” word order, does not seem logical.

*Translation:* To Constant Fortune. For the welfare of our lords emperors Augusti Lucius Septimius Severus Pertinax, Marcus Aurelius Antoninus and Publius Septimius Geta, Ulpus Valerianus, centurion of the legion *X Gemina*, has erected (the altar).

*References:* CIL III 5156 a + p. 1830; AIJ 42; ILS 3712; Kult 46; ILLPRON 1617.

*Date:* between 197 and 211.

10. Funerary stele for Aurelius Gaianus (fig. 6)

*D(is) M(anibus).*  
*Aur(elio) Gaiano,*  
*cives Surus, dec(urioni)*  
*Ital(icae) o(bito) an(norum) L et Aur(elio)*  
 5 *Maximo nepoti*  
*o(bito) an(norum) XXXV. C(aius) Gaia=*  
*nus et Aur(elius) Granus*  
*faciendum quraerun(t)!*

*Translation:* To the Spirits of the Departed. To Aurelius Gaianus, a native of Syria, decurion of the legion *Italica*, who died fifty years old, and to the nephew (grandson) Aurelius Maximus, who died thirty-five years old. Caius Gaianus and Aurelius Granus took care of the erection (of the stele).

*References:* ILJug 389; ILLPRON 1601.

*Date:* the 3<sup>rd</sup> c.

11. Funerary stele for Aurelius Iustinus (fig. 7)

*D(is) M(anibus).*  
*Aur(elio) Iustino militi*  
*leg(ionis) II Ital(icae), o(bito) in exp(editione)*  
*Dacisca an(norum) XXIII,*  
 5 *Aur(elius) Verinus vet(eranus) et*  
*Messia Quartina pa=*  
*rentes fecerunt.*

*Translation:* To the Spirits of the Departed. To Aurelius Iustinus, soldier of the legion *II Italica*, who died twenty-three years old on the Dacian campaign, parents Aurelius Verinus, veteran, and Messia Quartina had (the stele) erected.

*References:* CIL III 5218 + p. 1830 = 11691; AIJ 45; ILS 2309; ILLPRON 1679; Kolšek 1967, 31, fig. 22; Petrovitsch 2006, Nsl. 07 (196–197).

*Date:* the 3<sup>rd</sup> c.

12. Funerary stele for Aurelius Saturninus and his family (fig. 8)

*D(is) M(anibus).*  
*Aur(elio) Saturnino*  
*vet(erano) o(bito) an(norum) XLV et Aur(eliae)*  
*Secundin(a)e con(iugi)*  
 5 *o(bitae) an(norum) XXXV et Aur(elio) Se=*  
*cundino fra(tri) o(bito) an(norum)*  
*VII. Decimia Qua=*  
*eta(!) avia,*  
*Aur(elius) Crescenti=*  
 10 *nus parentibus*  
*carissimis.*

*Translation:* To the Spirits of the Departed. To veteran Aurelius Saturninus, who died forty-five years old, and to his wife Aurelia Secundina, who died thirty-five years old, and to his brother Aurelius Secundinus, who died seven years old. Grandmother Decimia Queta. Aurelius Crescentinus to his dearest parents.

*References:* CIL III 5219 + p. 1830; AIJ 46; ILLPRON 1680.

*Date:* the 3<sup>rd</sup> c.

Military inscriptions found within the *ager* of Celeia<sup>7</sup>

13. Črešnjevce<sup>8</sup>

Votive inscription for Victoria, queen Noreia, and province Britannia<sup>9</sup> (fig. 9)

*[Victoriae ?]*  
*[A]ug(ustae) e[st]*  
*[N]oreiae re[g(inae)]*  
*[e]st Britan(n)ia[e]*  
 5 *[pr]ovi(n)c(iae) L(ucius) Sep[t(imi)]*  
*[T]ertinu[s]*  
*[f(centurio) ?] l(egionis) II Ita(licae) p(iae) [ff(idelis)]*  
*[e]x vot[o] pos[ui]t).*

*Translation:* To Victoria Augusta, queen Noreia, and province Britannia. Lucius Septimius Tertinus, centurion (beneficiarius?) of the legion *II Italica Pia Fidelis*, had (the inscription) erected in accordance with his vow.

*References:* CIL III 5300; RIST 365; Kult, Incerta 38; CBFIR 246; ILLPRON 1761; Pahič 1977, 46, Črešnjevce 14; Petrovitsch 2006, Nst. 04 (p. 94–95).

*Date:* the beginning of the 3<sup>rd</sup> c.

14. Henina near Jurklošter

Tombstone for Caius Vibius Sabinus (fig. 10)

*D(is) M(anibus)*  
*C(aius) Vibius Sab=*  
*inus veteran=*  
*us l(egionis) V Ma(cedonicae) an(norum)*  
 5 *LXV P(ublius)[Vibius ?] Paulinu=*  
*s vi(vus sc. posuit).*

*Translation:* To the Spirits of the Departed. Caius Vibius Sabinus, veteran of the legion *V Macedonica*, sixty-five years old. Publius Vibius ? Paulinus had (the tombstone) erected while still living.

*References:* CIL III 5130; RIST 361; ILLPRON 1834.

*Date:* the 2<sup>nd</sup> c.

15. Hudinja near Vitanje

Tombstone for Boniatius, son of Bardo, and his (family) (fig. 11)

*Boniatius*  
*Bardonis (filius)*  
*v(ivus) f(ecit) s(ibi) e(st) Mog=*  
*iae Terti (filiae) an(norum) L.*  
 5 *Sept(imius) Secund=*  
*inus m(iles) le(gionis) II It=*  
*a(licae) stup(endiorum) XV an(norum) XL*  
*Aurelia Ursa an(norum) XXX.*

<sup>7</sup> The fragmentary inscription from Janževa gora pri Selnici (CIL III 6525) may possibly be another military inscription but its fragmentation is too great for recognition.

<sup>8</sup> Many inscribed and uninscribed monuments (15) are immured into the church of St Michael in Črešnjevce and into the wall around it but their original provenience is not known.

<sup>9</sup> Pochmarski (2007, 271 no. 11) places the inscription into the catalogue of the inscriptions from Flavia Solva since the exact border between Flavia Solva and Celeia is unknown. Nevertheless, the vicinity of Celeia renders it more plausible that Črešnjevce belonged to the Celeian *ager*.

*Translation:* Boniatius, son of Bardo, had (the tombstone) erected while still living for himself and for Mogia, daughter of Tertius, who died fifty years old. Septimius Secundinus, soldier of the legion *II Italica*, who died forty years old after fifteen years service, Aurelia Ursa, thirty years old.

*References:* *AIJ* 13; *ILLPRON* 1785; Pahič 1977, 48, Hudinja 2; Petrovitsch 2006, Nsl. 14 (210–211).

*Date:* the end of the 2<sup>nd</sup> or to the 3<sup>rd</sup> c.

#### 16. Slovenske Konjice

Tombstone for Titus Iulius Bellicus (*fig. 12*)

- T(itus) Iulius Bellicus dec(urio)*  
*alae Asturum II,*  
*dec(urio) municipi(i) Cla(udiae) Celeiae*  
*t(estamento) f(ieri) i(ussit).*  
 5 *Ti(berius) Iulius Frontonis f(ilius) Civis*  
*frater et heres fecit.*

*Translation:* Titus Iulius Bellicus, decurion of the *ala II Asturum*, decurion of the Claudian municipium Celeia, in his will ordered (the monument) to be erected. His brother and heir Tiberius Iulius Civis, son of Fronto, had (the tombstone) erected.

*References:* *CIL* III 15205<sup>3</sup>; *AIJ* 82; Wedenig 1997, 136, C 27; *ILLPRON* 1887; Pahič 1977, 55, Slovenske Konjice 3.

*Date:* the 1<sup>st</sup> c.

#### 17. Stari trg (Slovenj Gradec)

Funerary slab for Rufia Crispina and Lucius Menaudonius (*fig. 13*)

- L(ucius) Appuleiu[s] - - -]*  
*[>(centurio)? le]g(ionis) X G(eminae) [p(iae)] fid(elis)*  
*[- - -]*  
*II v[ir] iur(e) d[ic]undo - - - et ]*  
*Rufiae Crispin[ae] - - -]*  
 5 *et L(ucio) Menaudonio [- - -]*

*Translation:* Lucius Appuleius, centurion (?) of the legion *X Gemina Pia Fidelis*, one of the two mayors (of Claudia Celeia?), (had the tombstone erected) to Rufia Crispina and Lucius Menaudonius.

*References:* *AIJ* 9; *RIS* 380; Pahič 1977, 56, Stari trg 2; *ILLPRON* 1911; Wedenig 1997, 146–148, C 37; Visočnik 2006, 380–381, no. 22.

*Date:* the 2<sup>nd</sup> c.

#### 18. Šentvid near Završe

Funerary stele for Iulia Calandina and her husband (*fig. 14*)

- D(is) M(anibus).*  
*Iul(ia) Calandina vi(va) f(ecit) si(bi) et*  
*Sacroni(o) Verino con(iugi) kar(issimo)*  
 5 *vet(erano) leg(ionis) II Ita(licae). Custos ar-*  
*mor(um) o(biit) an(norum) L.*

*Translation:* To the Spirits of the Departed. Iulia Calandina had (the stele) erected while still living to herself and Sacronius Verinus, her dearest husband, veteran of the legion *II Italica*, armoured, who died aged 50.

*References:* *CIL* III 5106; *AIJ* 11; *ILLPRON* 1980; Pahič 1977, 61, Završe 1; *ANSI* 274; Petrovitsch 2006, Nsl. 13 (208–209); Visočnik 2006, 370–371, no. 7.

*Date:* between 175 and 185.

#### 19. Trbovlje

Sarcophagus for Vibius Secundus and his family (*fig. 15*)

- D(is) M(anibus).*  
*Vibius Secundus*  
*veteranus an(norum) C f(ecit) v(ivus) s(ibi) et s(uis).*  
*Cerula Tutori(s) filia an(norum) LXXXX,*  
*Vibia Avita an(norum) XXII,*  
 5 *Valeria Marcellina ob(ita) an(norum)*  
*XXII.*

*Translation:* To the Spirits of the Departed. Veteran Vibius Secundus, one hundred years old, had (the sarcophagus) made while still living for himself and his family. Cerula, daughter of Tutor, ninety years old, Vibia Avita, twenty-two years old, and Valeria Marcellina, who died twenty-two years old.

*References:* *CIL* III 5142 + p. 1828; *AIJ* 21; *ILLPRON* 1927; Lovenjak 1997, 65, *fig. 2*.

*Date:* the end of the 2<sup>nd</sup> or to the 3<sup>rd</sup> c.

#### 20. Vrba near Dobrna

Funerary stele for Aurelius Victor (*fig. 16*)

- D(is) M(anibus).*  
*Aur(elius) Victor mil(es) leg(ionis)*  
*II Ita(licae) bello deside=*  
*ratus hoste Gutica*  
 5 *an(norum) XXX Aur(elia) Lupula con(iugi)*  
*karissimo f(ecit).*

*Translation:* To the Spirits of the Departed. To dearest husband, Aurelius Victor, soldier of the legion *II Italica*, who is missing from the war with the Gothic enemy, thirty years old, Aurelia Lupula had (the stele) erected.

*Date:* the 2<sup>nd</sup> half of the 3<sup>rd</sup> c.

#### 21. Zgornje Dovže

Funerary inscription for Vibenus and his family (*fig. 17*)

- Vibenu[s]*  
*Vindonis [f.]*  
*v(ivus) f(ecit) s(ibi) et Seccon[ia]e*  
*Vetullae con[iugi]*  
 5 *pientissimae an[nor(um)]?...]*  
*et Secconio Vibio [fil(io)]*  
*mil(iti) c(o)hor(tis) II praet(oriae) a X[....]*  
*et Secconio eqis [-?] / Urso[-?]*  
*Victori annor(um) [-]*  
 10 *et Seneciano Sever[o-?] / mil[iti]? -]*  
*Vi[b]leni fil(io) an[nor(um)] -]*  
*[-]ATVRM[-]*  
*[-]QNI[-]*  
*[---]?*

*Translation:* Vibenus, the son of Vindo, had (the tombstone) erected while still living for himself and Secconia Vetulla, a very devoted wife, aged ..., and his son Secconius Vibius, soldier of the cohort *II Praetoria*, aged ... years, and Secconius (?) Victor, aged (?), and Senecianus, the son of Vibenus, aged ... and stableman Urso and common soldier Severus ...?<sup>10</sup>

*References:* *CIL* III 5105, *ILLPRON* 1775; Pahič 1977, 47, Dovže 1, *fig. 7*; Visočnik 2006, 367–368, no. 4.

*Date:* the 2<sup>nd</sup> half of the 1<sup>st</sup> or to the 2<sup>nd</sup> c.

<sup>10</sup> In lines 8 and 10, two words are subscribed: *Eqis [-?] / Urso[-?]* in *Sever[o-?] / mil[iti]? -*, which were most probably engraved subsequently. Cf. Visočnik 2006, 368, no. 4, and Šašel Kos 2001, 200.

Tab. 1: Procurator's *beneficiarii* in Celeia

| Beneficiarius            | Date (CBFIR)                                                        | Procurator*           | References                                         |
|--------------------------|---------------------------------------------------------------------|-----------------------|----------------------------------------------------|
| Surus                    | 110                                                                 | Memmius Apolaris      | CBFIR 222; CIL III 5179                            |
| Antonius Maximus         | 2 <sup>nd</sup> or 3 <sup>rd</sup> decade of the 2 <sup>nd</sup> c. | Q. Caecilius Redditus | CBFIR 238; CIL III 5163                            |
| L. Messius Frontinus     | 120–immediately after 135                                           | C. Censorius Niger    | CBFIR 223; CIL III 5174                            |
| M. Ulpius Crescens       | 120–130                                                             | C. Censorius Niger    | CBFIR 225; CIL III 5181                            |
| Nonius? Primus           | around 140                                                          | Plautius Caesianus    | CBFIR 239; CIL III 5177                            |
| Masclinius Successus     | 1 <sup>st</sup> half of the 2 <sup>nd</sup> c.                      | C. Antistius Auspex   | CBFIR 231; CIL III 5173                            |
| Augustanus               | 1 <sup>st</sup> half of the 2 <sup>nd</sup> c.                      | C. Rasinius Silo      | CBFIR 226; CIL III 5165                            |
| Gemellius Adiutor        | 1 <sup>st</sup> half of the 2 <sup>nd</sup> c.                      | Drusius Proculus      | CBFIR 244; CIL III 5170                            |
| Q. Crescentius Marcellus | 1 <sup>st</sup> half of the 2 <sup>nd</sup> c.                      | Q. Lisinius Sabinus   | CBFIR 235; CIL III 5167                            |
| T. Flavius Dubitatus     | 1 <sup>st</sup> half of the 2 <sup>nd</sup> c.                      | Q. Lisinius Sabinus   | CBFIR 236; CIL III 5168                            |
| C. Mustius Tettianus     | 1 <sup>st</sup> half of the 2 <sup>nd</sup> c.                      | Lisinius Sabinus      | CBFIR 237; CIL III 5176<br>CBFIR 240; CIL III 5175 |
| Lucilius Finitus         | around 152–153                                                      | Flavius Titianus      | CBFIR 224; CIL III 5172                            |
| C. An(t)onius Valens     | 152–153                                                             | Flavius Titianus      | CBFIR 243; CIL III 5164                            |
| C. Fuscinius Catullus    | 154–158                                                             | Ulpian Victor         | CBFIR 234; CIL III 5169                            |
| Adnamius Flavinus        | around 158                                                          | Ulpian Victor         | CBFIR 220; CIL III 5161                            |
| Adnamius Flavinus        | around 158                                                          | Usenius Secundus      | CBFIR 221; CIL III 5162                            |
| Q. Kaninius Lucanus      | 158                                                                 | Usenius Secundus      | CBFIR 242; CIL III 5166                            |
| Licinius Hilarus         | around 160                                                          | M. Bassaeus Rufus     | CBFIR 241; CIL III 5171                            |
|                          | the time of Antoninus Pius?                                         | Caecilius Iuventianus | CIL III 5182                                       |

\* For new findings (especially precise dating) about the presidial's procurators, see Winkler 2005, 435–442. Since deviations from CBFIR are not significant, the table cites the established ones.

### Military statues

#### 22. Torso of an officer from Celje (fig. 18)

A fragment of a statue in armour is poorly preserved but recognisable. The dimensions of the statue testify to its supernatural size even though only the armour with a circular cutting (without the head and neck) is preserved.

Reference: Kolšek 1994, 31–33 (fig. 1–4).

Date: It cannot be precisely dated; we can assume that it is the product of a local stone-cutting workshop.

#### 23. "Noriccan soldier" from Celje (fig. 19)

An example of the statue in armour that could represent a Norican ranked officer and/or high official. The armour reveals practically no decoration, which testifies to the late creation of the statue.

Reference: Kolšek 1994, 33 (fig. 6).

Date: It belongs to the end of the 3<sup>rd</sup> or to the 4<sup>th</sup> c.

#### 24. Torso of an officer from Zagrad (fig. 20)

The marble statue in real-life size represents a lower rank Roman officer (*centurio* ?) wearing a tunic, his shoulders and back are covered with a heavy military coat. His chest is covered below with leafily cut armour, he wears a sword along the left side, which is attached to the wide official belt. A medal is also visible on his chest.

Reference: Djura Jelenko 2006, 352–353, no. 10 (fig. 9)

Date: The torso most probably belongs to the end of the 3<sup>rd</sup> c.

### Beneficiarii

31 inscriptions of *beneficiarii*, presented only in a table (tab. 1 and 2), significantly alter the picture of military inscriptions

of Celeia; the percentage of the representatives of the legion *II Italica* rises immensely due to the consular's *beneficiarii*. *Beneficiarii* in Celeia can be divided into two groups: procurator's (up until the Marcomannic Wars) and consular's, when the province was no longer run by a procurator but rather a legate.

The 31 inscriptions in Celeia, of which 2/3 are from the early period, testify to the notable role of the town. It is interesting to compare this number with the number in Virunum, the Norican capital, where there are only one third.<sup>11</sup>

The role of the *beneficiarii* in the Roman empire (in the administration and army) has not yet been completely clarified, even though there can be no doubt that they performed duties of an administrative-police nature.<sup>12</sup> The existence of their station and the number of the preserved inscriptions in Celeia thus cannot be without meaning. It could be connected to the important role Celeia bore mostly in the first phase of the Romanization (the 1<sup>st</sup> and the first half of the 2<sup>nd</sup> c.).<sup>13</sup> Thus we could assume that Celeia had an important role in the 1<sup>st</sup> c.; and possibly it was even the provincial capital in this period. Even after the procurator's headquarters had been transferred to Virunum, it seems that important offices remained in Celeia, in which the *beneficiarii* were employed.

### FORM OF THE INSCRIBED MONUMENTS

The majority of the inscriptions from Celeia and its surrounding are tombstones, mostly funerary slabs and, less frequently, also steles, while one sarcophagus (no. 19) has been discovered

<sup>11</sup> Epigraphic databases: Epigraphische Datenbank Heidelberg. <http://www.uni-heidelberg.de/institute/sonst/adw/edh/> in Epigraphik – Datenbank Claus – Slaby. <http://www.manfredclaus.de/> [date of accession Aug. 1, 2008].

<sup>12</sup> Cf. Ott 1995, 113–155 (for the duties of *beneficiarii*).

<sup>13</sup> Lazar 2002, 71–101; Scherrer 2002, 11–70.

Tab. 2: Consular's *beneficarii* in Celeia

| Beneficiarius             | Status                                   | Date (CBFIR)                                                        | Reference                            |
|---------------------------|------------------------------------------|---------------------------------------------------------------------|--------------------------------------|
| Rufius Senilis            | bf. cos.                                 | end of the 2 <sup>nd</sup> c. – beginning of the 3 <sup>rd</sup> c. | CBFIR 229; CIL III 5188              |
| Flavius Decoratianus      | bf.                                      | end of the 2 <sup>nd</sup> – beginning of the 3 <sup>rd</sup> c.    | CBFIR 245; CIL III 5221              |
| M. Ulpius Acilianus       | bf. cos. leg. II Ital.                   | end of the 2 <sup>nd</sup> –3 <sup>rd</sup> c.                      | CBFIR 233; CIL III 5180              |
| Q. Sextius Pullaenius     | bf. cos. leg. II Ital.                   | 192                                                                 | CBFIR 232; CIL III 5178              |
| C. Licinius Bellicianus   | bf. leg. II Ital. p. f.                  | 13 December 211                                                     | CBFIR 228; CIL III 5187              |
| P. Aelius Verinus         | bf. cos.                                 | 213                                                                 | CBFIR 218; CIL III 5154              |
| Vibius Cassius Victorinus | bf. cos. leg. II Ital. p. f. Antoninian. | 215                                                                 | CBFIR 227; CIL III 5185              |
| M. Aurelius Iustus        | bf. cos. leg. II Ital. p. f.             | 217                                                                 | CBFIR 230; CIL III 5189              |
| Aurelius Paterclus        | bf.                                      | 3 <sup>rd</sup> c.                                                  | CBFIR 219; CIL III 5160              |
| ??? Quintianus            | bf. cos. leg. II Ital.                   | end of the 2 <sup>nd</sup> c. – beginning of the 3 <sup>rd</sup> c. | CBFIR 266; CIL III 11676; RINMS 107  |
|                           | bf. cos.                                 | ?                                                                   | Lovenjak 2003, 343, no. 11 (fig. 11) |

Tab. 3: Military representatives in the tow

| Soldier's name                     | Function, military unit                    | Date                                                                               | Reference                                             |
|------------------------------------|--------------------------------------------|------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|-------------------------------------------------------|
| <b>Centuriones</b>                 |                                            |                                                                                    |                                                       |
| Lucius Cassius Maximus             | centurio legionis VI Ferratae              | 90–96                                                                              | CIL III 13524; Lovenjak 2003, 336–338, no. 6 (fig. 6) |
| Ulpus Valerianus                   | centurio legionis X Geminae                | around 200                                                                         | CIL III 5156 a                                        |
| Lucius Dindius Respectus           | centurio legionis XIII Geminae             | 1 <sup>st</sup> c.                                                                 | CIL III 5223                                          |
| <b>Praetoriani</b>                 |                                            |                                                                                    |                                                       |
| Publius Dindius Speratus           | centurio speculatorum augustorum           | 1 <sup>st</sup> c.                                                                 | CIL III 5223                                          |
| Ennius Secundianus                 | eques VII praetoriae                       | 2 <sup>nd</sup> c.                                                                 | CIL III 5222                                          |
| Barbius Fintus                     | miles cohortis I praetoriae                | 2 <sup>nd</sup> half of the 2 <sup>nd</sup> c./beginning of the 3 <sup>rd</sup> c. | CIL III 11697                                         |
| <b>Decuriones</b>                  |                                            |                                                                                    |                                                       |
| Aurelius Gaianus cives Surus       | decurio Italicae                           | 3 <sup>rd</sup> c.                                                                 | ILJug 389                                             |
| Caius Iulius Ursinus               | decurio alae I Commagenorum                | 2 <sup>nd</sup> c.                                                                 | Kremer 2001, Kat. I 35a                               |
| <b>Miles</b>                       |                                            |                                                                                    |                                                       |
| Aurelius Iustinus                  | miles legionis II Italicae                 | 3 <sup>rd</sup> c.                                                                 | CIL III 5218                                          |
| <b>Veterani</b>                    |                                            |                                                                                    |                                                       |
| Aurelius Verinus                   | veteranus                                  | 3 <sup>rd</sup> c.                                                                 | CIL III 5218                                          |
| Aurelius Saturninus                | veteranus                                  | 3 <sup>rd</sup> c.                                                                 | CIL III 5219                                          |
| Caius Iunius Isaeus                | veteranus ex decurione alae I Commagenorum | 2 <sup>nd</sup> c.                                                                 | CIL III 5224                                          |
| Lucius Braetius L F Publius Verona | veteranus legionis VIII Augustae           | 1 <sup>st</sup> c.                                                                 | CIL III 5220                                          |

in the countryside. As expected, funerary steles as a form of a tombstone more carefully manufactured with a relief are more frequent in the town (3: nos. 10, 11, and 12) as the *ager* has just one (no. 20). Soldiers, their functions and units also appear on votive monuments but these are only isolated examples (1 example in *ager*: no. 13; 2 in the town: nos. 8, and 9). Inscription no. 13 from Črešnjevec, dedicated to goddess Victoria, queen Noreia and province Britannia, points to the soldier's station in Britannia.<sup>14</sup> One votive monument in the town is devoted to Jupiter – no. 8, and another one to Constant Fortune (*Fortunae Stabili*) (no.

<sup>14</sup> For military connections between Noricum and Britannia cf. Birley 1952; 1985, 298–303.

9). These deities were not chosen by chance but coincide well with the army deities. A soldier's desire for stable destiny or luck (especially in the sense of favourable fate and protection in the battlefield) cannot come as a surprise either. If we also added the inscriptions of *beneficarii* to this discussion, the percentage of votive altars would be considerably changed. Namely, *beneficarii* often erected altars dedicated to the official deities, mostly to Jupiter, Epona, Celeia and Noreia, all of whom are mainly characterised by the adjective *augustus*.<sup>15</sup> Soldiers are also attested as

<sup>15</sup> The adjective *augustus* confirms that this is an officially accepted and municipally important cult regardless of whether deities were locally very limited. It is reasonable to expect the

the dedicators of honorific inscriptions (nos. 3, 4; of which no. 3 can also be imperial). L. Cassius Maximus, centurion of the legion *VI Ferrata*, is the dedicator of the inscription for *Iulia* and *Domitia* (no. 3) and the inscription for a member of the upper class, although unknown, *Iulia Procilla* (no. 4).

When discussing the form of monuments with inscriptions, we also need to consider three large military statues: a torso in armour from the early period – no. 22 (1<sup>st</sup> c.), a torso of a military officer from Zagrad (no. 24 – end of the 3<sup>rd</sup> c.), and the s. c. Norican soldier from the late period – no. 23 (3<sup>rd</sup>/4<sup>th</sup> c.). These statues were once placed on bases, which were most probably inscribed and set in public places.

#### Military inscriptions within the town of *Celeia* (tab. 3)

Twelve military inscriptions and two military sculptures are known to date. Four monuments attest veterans, two of which state their units (catalogue, nos. 1 and 6) and two do not (nos. 11 and 12). The town has only one common soldier (no. 11).

In the town, the function of centurion appears five times (nos. 2, 3, 4, and 9): L. Cassius Maximus centurion of the legion *VI Ferrata* is mentioned twice in the inscription no. 3 and again in the no. 4. Inscription no. 2 reveals two centurions, brothers *Dindii*, one of whom was mentioned above as the commander of *speculatorii*, and the other was the centurion in the legion *XIII Gemina*.

Decurions appear in town in three inscriptions (nos. 5, 6, and 10). With C. Iulius Ursinus (no. 5) his function and unit are stated clearly: he commanded one *turma* of the *ala I Commagenorum*. The veteran C. Iunius Isaeus (no. 6) served in this same unit. Aurelius Gaianus was a decurion (of the legion?) *Italica* (no. 10). His function and unit are imprecisely described but we can assume with a certain degree of probability that this is an officer of the legion *II Italica*, who commanded the cavalry division of this legion.<sup>16</sup>

Honorific slabs (nos. 3 and 4) differ from the military inscriptions of *Celeia* due to their contents and type, they are not simply honorific, one of them is also imperial. Both mention the legion *VI Ferrata*, which fought for Vespasian in Italy but soon returned to Syria, where it had been previously stationed (*Raphanene* or *Samosata*). In this time of the legion's campaign to Italy, when it spent some time also in the Balkans, the centurion Lucius Cassius Maximus could have been recruited. The legion went to *Arabia* in 119 at the latest and from there to *Iudaea* (*Caparcotna*) in 123. Septimius Severus awarded it the titles *fidelis* and *constans* due to its support in his campaign against C. Pescenius Niger.<sup>17</sup> Judging from his voting tribe (*Claudia*), L. Cassius Maximus must have originated from *Celeia*. His supposed freedman L. Cassius Eudaemon was in charge of erecting two honorific slabs (nos. 3 and 4), which can be dated fairly accurately with the help of the mention of two female members of the imperial family: deified *Iulia*, the daughter of the emperor Titus, and *Domitia Augusta*, the wife of the emperor Domitian. The monument is dated between 90, when *Iulia* died (thus *diva*), and 96, when *Domitia* died; this would confirm the time of the above-mentioned recruitment.<sup>18</sup> The reason why these two slabs were erected in *Celeia* is unclear.

dedicators of the monuments for the official municipal deities to be Roman citizens, see Clauss 1999, 280–289.

<sup>16</sup> RE IV.2, 1901, 2352.

<sup>17</sup> RE XII.2 1925, 1587–1596; Cotton 2000, 351–357. For the legion's history cf. also Kennedy 1980, 283–309 and Dąbrowa 1996, 277–296 (especially 285–288).

<sup>18</sup> Lovenjak 2003, 336–338 no. 6 commented on this slab found in 1992.

Aurelius Saturninus (no. 12) was, judging from the names of his family members, a local inhabitant, who had the tombstone erected by his son; his military unit is not stated, it could have been the Norican legion *II Italica*. The veteran Aurelius Verinus (no. 11) erected the funerary stele for his son Aurelius Iustinus who served in the legion *II Italica* and died barely 23 years old in one of the Dacian campaigns.<sup>19</sup> The family of these Aurelii also lived in *Celeia*. The form *Dacisca* is unusual since the usual adjective *Dacicus* could be expected here – but under the influence of Greek adjectives and nouns in –isko<sup>20</sup>, this form obviously changed. Which campaign against the Daci was fatal for the deceased is not completely clear but it must have been at the end of the 2<sup>nd</sup> or in the 3<sup>rd</sup> c. according to the style of the monument and the name *Aurelius*. Aurelius Iustinus could have participated in the campaign of Maximinus Thrax (236).<sup>21</sup>

Aurelius Gaianus (no. 10) probably served as a decurion in the legion *II Italica*, even though his position is described solely as: dec(urio) *Ital(icae)*. He is also exceptional due to his origin being explicitly stated: *cives Surus*. His family probably moved from the East after the Marcomannic Wars.

L. Braetius Publius (no. 1) from Verona was a veteran of the legion *VIII Augusta*, which after 9 AD was stationed in Poetovio (Pannonia), and after 45 AD in Novae in Moesia. In 69 they supported Vespasian and fought against the Batavians under Cerialis. Later it was stationed in Argentorate (Strasbourg). The title *Augusta* is most probably the consequence of a victory achieved by the legion under Augustus.<sup>22</sup> The veteran's surname is not written out in full but it seems probable that it is Publius.<sup>23</sup> Even though he came from Verona, he started a family in *Celeia*, which can be inferred from the autochthonous female name in the inscription (Magiona Verulli F(ilia)). The names and abbreviations in the inscription speak in favour of its early erection, thus it could probably be connected with the time of the legion's station in Poetovio.

The centurion Ulpius Valerianus (no. 9) of the legion *X Gemina* erected an altar to *Fortuna Stablis* for the welfare of the emperors Septimius Severus, Caracala, and Geta, whose name is cut off (*damnatio memoriae*). The inscription can be dated between 197, when Caracala was awarded the title *augustus* and Geta the title *caesar*, and 211, when Septimius Severus died.<sup>24</sup>

Many peculiarities can be observed in the inscription for the veteran denoted as *ex decurione* (no. 6). Caii Iunii were brothers and from their surnames (*cognomina*) we may assume that they came from the East even though their origin is not explicitly stated. Zajac assumes that the Iunii came from the East, he sees a firm proof for this in two names of Greek origin appearing in the inscription: Nicander and Afrodisia.<sup>25</sup> Isaeus<sup>26</sup> and Nicander were certainly brothers, the name of their father is not preserved. The father could have been a veteran of the unit *ala I Commagenorum*, which around 72 AD was still in

<sup>19</sup> Possibly another family specialised for the military professions.

<sup>20</sup> Cf. Galdi 2006, 295, several deviations occurring from the influence of Greek or bilingualism can be observed in *Moesia*, *Dacia*, and other nearby provinces, which were strongly exposed to the Greek culture.

<sup>21</sup> Petrovitsch 2006, 196.

<sup>22</sup> RE XII.2 1925, 1642–1664; Reddé 2000, 119–126.

<sup>23</sup> Cf. *Onomasticon* III, 169–170: Publicius or Publilius are as *cognomen* even less probable than the name Publius.

<sup>24</sup> More about this legion can be found with the inscriptions from ager.

<sup>25</sup> Cf. Zajac 1978, 73–74.

<sup>26</sup> *Onomasticon* II, 197.

the East and is attested in *Noricum* from 106 AD onward.<sup>27</sup> It was probably sent to *Noricum* already in the time of the emperor Domitian and was stationed in Commagena – Tulln, the settlement later named after this unit.<sup>28</sup>

### Praetorians attested in Celeia

Under Augustus, Rome and Italy had nine praetorian cohorts, praetorians were commanded by two prefects praetors and the individual cohorts by tribunes. At least one may have been stationed in Aquileia.<sup>29</sup> Praetorians were privileged in comparison to other soldiers since they were better paid and their service lasted just 16 years.

From the reign of Vespasian onwards, there were ten praetorian cohorts stationed in Rome under the command of one *praefectus praetorio*. Political role of the Guard and its commanders was often of the great importance.

*Cohors I praetoria* was where Barbius Finitus (no. 8) served his years. He erected an altar to Jupiter for the fortunate return from the journey to the sacred city. His service was obviously performed as a praetorian in Rome. Rome was not referred to as the sacred city prior to the period of the emperor Hadrian,<sup>30</sup> hence this is *terminus post quem* for dating.

Most probably it was with the cohort *VII praetoria* that the cavalryman (*eques*) Ennius Secundianus (no. 7) served his duties that were not completed since the tombstone reads that he died when just 25 years old.

Inscription no. 2 was erected by the brothers Lucius and Publius, both centurions, which suggests a family oriented toward the military. Publius commanded the *speculatores* and Lucius was a centurion in the legion *XIII Gemina*. Because his function (*speculatores* – personal guards, scouts) is supplemented by the adjective *augusti* we can assume that P. Dindius served among the praetorians who guarded the emperor.<sup>31</sup> The commander of *speculatores* bore the title *centurio speculator*,<sup>32</sup> the function performed by P. Dindius Speratus. Three hundred members of a special unit of the praetorian guard were entrusted with the especially important task of being the emperor's personal guards.<sup>33</sup> *Speculatores* were sometimes also the personal guards of the provincial governor; they are attested in numerous provinces, among others also in Pannonia and Dalmatia. The *gentilicium* Dindius is not frequent since it appears in *Noricum* only in this inscription;<sup>34</sup> in the immediate vicinity Dindii are attested in Kamnik, Emona, and Aquileia, while the family originated from the town Praeneste in central Italy. In Aquileia, the town from where they moved on to the neighbouring territory, Dindii are relatively well attested.<sup>35</sup> Dindii in the discussed inscription probably belonged to the second generation of the family. The mother's *gentilicium* Gavia is a Latin name, most frequently attested in Italy but not uncommon elsewhere.<sup>36</sup> The surname

Viruna, attested only in this inscription, is probably derived from the name of the *municipium* Virunum, thus we could assume the autochthonous origin.<sup>37</sup> The inscription could possibly be dated to the period when the legion *XIII Gemina* was stationed in Poetovio, i.e. to the second half of the 1<sup>st</sup> c.<sup>38</sup> After the battle of Actium it was active in Illyricum and was later transferred to the Rhine (9 AD) and finally to Vindonissa (Germania Superior). In the time of Claudius (45/46) it came to Poetovio, where it succeeded the legion *VII Augusta* and remained there until around 90 AD. Domitian sent it to Vindobona.<sup>39</sup> It could have participated in Trajan's first war against the Daci but it was certainly there in the second one. It remained in the newly formed province Dacia and it was stationed in Apulum. When the Romans retreated from Dacia (274/275) it was moved to the new province Dacia Ripensis (Ratiaria).<sup>40</sup>

The Celeian territory reveals just one praetorian of the cohort *II Praetoria* attested in the inscription from Zgornje Dovže (no. 21). His name *Secconius* is a *pseudogentilicium* derived from the Celtic root *Secco-*. In lines 8 and 10 two words are subscripted that were probably incised later on since there is no clear connection to the original inscription. Both later entries can be connected to military life: *equis* can stand for *eques* (horseman) or, even more probably, for *equiso* (stableman), denoting the person named Urso. The second entry is the word *miles*, which seems to supplement the name Severus.<sup>41</sup> Roman citizenship was the condition for acceptance into a legion; praetorians, too, had to have Roman citizenship and they could also be recruited from legions.<sup>42</sup> The *gentilicium* of the soldier from the cohort *II Praetoria* is not Latin but is a *pseudogentilicium* of a Celtic origin making this praetorian most probably an autochthonous inhabitant (cf. *Secco-*). It was believed for a long time that praetorians were in the early period recruited solely from Italy, from the beginning of the 2<sup>nd</sup> c. also from certain provinces – among others also from *Noricum*, and from the time of Septimius Severus mostly from Pannonia.<sup>43</sup> If the approximate dating of the inscription with the *pseudogentilicium* is correct, the praetorians were drawn from *Noricum* already in the 1<sup>st</sup> c.

### Military inscriptions in the Celeian *ager* (tab. 4)

Ten military inscriptions and ten people who performed military offices come from the *ager* of Celeia. Three of these are veterans, with one his unit is not stated (no. 19), and with the other two we find legions (nos. 14 and 18) and with one even his function of an armourer (*custos armorum*) – no. 18 explicitly written. Many words and phrases were applied to veterans: *dimissi honesta missione*, *emissi*, *missici*, *emeriti*, *evocati* or *exauctorati*. After their discharge, they became *honestiores* and were thus able to acquire important positions in the local administration, and were also active in the fields of economy, trade, some even performed sacerdotal functions.

<sup>27</sup> Cf. Zajac 1978, 73–74.

<sup>28</sup> Ott 1997, 108. Holder 1980, 112 claims that the unit was founded in Syria between the reigns of Augustus and Claudius. Cf. also Ubl 2005, 108, the military unit was assembled of a thousand archers.

<sup>29</sup> Cf. Keppie 2000a, 99–122; Passerini 1939; Durry 1938.

<sup>30</sup> Friedländer 1922 (1979) I, 32: this naming has spread from the 3<sup>rd</sup> c. on.

<sup>31</sup> Cf. *CIL* III 5223.

<sup>32</sup> Domaszewski, Dobson 1967, 99.

<sup>33</sup> Domaszewski, Dobson 1967, 20.

<sup>34</sup> *Onomasticon* II, 100.

<sup>35</sup> Šašel 1981, 337–342 (= *Opera selecta* 1992, 146–151); Šašel Kos 1984, 253.

<sup>36</sup> Von Hüttenbach 1989, 81; *Onomasticon* II, 162.

<sup>37</sup> *Onomasticon* IV, 175. Šašel Kos 2001, 193.

<sup>38</sup> One of either sons (in the name of both) could have taken care of the erection from the nearby Poetovio.

<sup>39</sup> For the legions in Poetovio see Vomer Gojković 2005, 463.

<sup>40</sup> *RE* XII.2 1925, 1710–1727, especially 1713–1715; Wolff 2000, 203–204; cf. also Piso 2000, 220–224.

<sup>41</sup> Šašel Kos (2001, 200) thus allows for the possibility that the subsequent entries were added by the male members of the same family, who were soldiers.

<sup>42</sup> Keppie 2000a, 115–116.

<sup>43</sup> Šašel 1972, 474–480 (= *Opera Selecta*, 1992, 379–385).

Tab. 4: Military representatives in the ager

| Soldier's name            | Function, military unit                        | Date                                                                        | Reference             |
|---------------------------|------------------------------------------------|-----------------------------------------------------------------------------|-----------------------|
| <b>Centuriones</b>        |                                                |                                                                             |                       |
| Lucius Septimius Tertinus | centurio legionis II Italicae piae fidelis     | beginning of the 3 <sup>rd</sup> c.                                         | <i>CIL</i> III 5300   |
| Lucius Appuleius          | centurio legionis X Geminae piae fidelis       | 2 <sup>nd</sup> c.                                                          | <i>AIJ</i> 9          |
| <b>Decurio</b>            |                                                |                                                                             |                       |
| Titus Iulius Bellicus     | decurio alae Asturum II                        | 1 <sup>st</sup> c.                                                          | <i>CIL</i> III 152053 |
| <b>Milites</b>            |                                                |                                                                             |                       |
| Secconius Vibius          | miles cohortis II praetoriae                   | second half of the 1 <sup>st</sup> /<br>beginning of the 2 <sup>nd</sup> c. | <i>CIL</i> III 5105   |
| Septimius Secundinus      | miles legionis II Italicae                     | end of the 2 <sup>nd</sup> /3 <sup>rd</sup> c.                              | <i>AIJ</i> 13         |
| Aurelius Victor           | miles legionis II Italicae                     | 2 <sup>nd</sup> half of the 3 <sup>rd</sup> c.                              | <i>CIL</i> III 11700  |
| <b>Veterani</b>           |                                                |                                                                             |                       |
| Caius Vibius Sabinus      | veteranus legionis V Macedonicae               | 2 <sup>nd</sup> c.                                                          | <i>CIL</i> III 5130   |
| Sacronius Verinus         | veteranus legionis II Italicae, custos armorum | 175–185                                                                     | <i>CIL</i> III 5106   |
| Vibius Secundus           | veteranus                                      | end of the 2 <sup>nd</sup> /3 <sup>rd</sup> c.                              | <i>CIL</i> III 5142   |

Three persons on the tombstones are *miles*. Two soldiers completed their service in the legion *II Italica* (nos. 15 and 20), and the third was a praetorian in the cohort *II Praetoria* (no. 21). Other persons on the tombstones achieved somewhat higher functions: *centurio* and *decurio*. One of the centurions belonged to the legion *II Italica* (no. 13) and the other of the legion *X Gemina* (no. 17). The decurion was commanding in the ala *II Asturum* (no. 16). Centurions were the highest officers in the Roman army below the members of the senatorial and equestrian orders. Some even believe that centurions were promoted to the equestrian order but it seems more probable that such a privilege was accorded only to *primi pili*.<sup>44</sup>

The recruitment of auxiliary troops was done among peregrines who, after completing the service of 25 years, were awarded certain rights and benefits, including Roman citizenship.<sup>45</sup> Commanders of auxiliary units and other high officers, who mostly came from Italy,<sup>46</sup> had to be Roman citizens. T. Iulius Bellicus (no. 16) was a decurion in an *ala*,<sup>47</sup> where he commanded one *turma*. After completing his military office, T. Iulius Bellicus continued his career in the municipal administration, where he was a member of the municipal council (*ordo decurionum*).<sup>48</sup> His tombstone testifies to the wealth of his family since his brother and heir erected to him an enviable monument.

<sup>44</sup> Domaszewski, Dobson 1967, introduction XX–XXII; Le Bohec 1994, 43–44; *RE* III.2, 1899, 1962–1964; more about the role of centurions and chief centurions in the Roman army in Dobson 1993, 143–185; cf. also Domaszewski, Dobson 1967, 90–97. Domaszewski, Dobson (1967, 83–90) adds that centurions were generally of Italic origin or from the Roman military colonies.

<sup>45</sup> Diplomas found everywhere in the Empire testify to that.

<sup>46</sup> Ott 1997, 133.

<sup>47</sup> Ott 1997, 133 lists Marcus Bellicius Saturninus among the Norican commanders of the auxiliary units and he supposedly came from the family, who made a fortune by trade in Virunum. I believe the Bellicii from Virunum to be a side branch of those from Celeia. Colonization and Romanization must have reached Celeia first and later spread further on.

<sup>48</sup> It was not unusual to enter the municipal elite after completing military service.

The legion *II Italica* was stationed in Noricum for the entire time of its existence; it was first stationed in the territory of the Celeian ager. As can be expected, in the Celeian area we encounter the most soldiers of this legion (nos. 10, 11, 13, 15, 18, and 20). The inscriptions of the Celeian ager feature two other legions, the legion *V Macedonica* (no. 14) and the legion *X Gemina* (no. 17).

The legion *II Italica* was founded by the emperor Marcus Aurelius in 165 or 166 during the war with the Marcomanni.<sup>49</sup> Soon after its founding it was sent to Noricum (168/169 or just after), where it built its first legionary encampment in the strategically well positioned settlement of Ločica near Celje to prevent access from Pannonia to Emona and further toward Italy. It was not stationed there for long, since Commodus had already relocated it to *Lauriacum*. Already in its time at Ločica it supposedly received the titles of *pia* and *fidelis*, since a brick with these titles<sup>50</sup> was found in the immediate vicinity of the camp (at Vransko). In 174/175 the legion was moved to the Danube, first to Albing and then to Lauriacum, where it stayed until late antiquity. Pochmarski believes that due to its loyalty it was awarded the title *fidelis* in the time of the emperor Septimius Severus.<sup>51</sup> This is obviously not true since the name is attested earlier in Ločica but probably the title was later awarded the legion or confirmed several times anew.<sup>52</sup> Under Caracalla and Elagabalus it was named *Antoniniana* and under Alexander Sever *Severiana*. The first generation of its legionaries originated in northern Italy, where the recruitment of the legion *II Italica* took place. The origin of the next generations can be found in Noricum, especially after the introduction of *constitutio Antoniniana* (212), with which legions were open to a wider circle of men.<sup>53</sup>

Septimius Secundinus (no. 15) served in this legion but died prematurely at the age of 40, after 15 years of service; obviously

<sup>49</sup> More about the history of the legion *II Italica* see Winkler 1971, 85–138; *RE* XII.2 1925, 1468–1476; Petrovitsch 2006.

<sup>50</sup> New findings are collected in Lőrincz 2000, 145–149; cf. Lazar 2006, 37, where this brick stamp is published.

<sup>51</sup> Pochmarski 2007, 278.

<sup>52</sup> Lazar 2006, 37.

<sup>53</sup> Pochmarski 2007, 278.

both names were rounded.<sup>54</sup> Even though quite frequent, the word *stupendiorum* in this inscription is somewhat peculiar – a more frequent form is that with an I: *stipendiorum*. The form with the U is not incorrect but rather archaic. Varro notices that this use was more common in the vulgar language.<sup>55</sup> The variation between I and U can be detected from the Augustan period on. Under the influence of such examples the use spread to those examples where I and U were pronounced similarly.<sup>56</sup>

The veteran Sacronius Verinus (no. 18) is attested in the inscription with a special function of the armourer (*custos armorum*) that could be performed by a common soldier. Each *centuria* in the legion was to have one armourer, thus making them 59 in all (like centurions).<sup>57</sup>

The phrase *hoste Gutica* means the Gothic enemy, with whom Aurelius Victor (no. 20) fought as the soldier of the legion *II Italica*. The form Gutica is a little unusual, since such a form had not been known before for the Goths. Nevertheless, the standard form Gothicus (Gothic, Goth) is often replaced in inscriptions by Gotico, Guttico, or Guthicus and the form Gutica is thus just a variation of the adjective Gothicus.<sup>58</sup> The first emperor to bear this title was Claudius Gothicus (268–270) who decisively defeated the Goths at Naissus (Niš) in 269. Aurelius Victor could have fought in this battle, since both diction of the inscription and the relief depiction on the tombstone speak in favour of the erection in this time. This date is supposed by the fact that the soldier served in the legion *II Italica*, the legion which could have actually participated in this battle.<sup>59</sup> Petrovitch believes that it is probable that Aurelius Victor was killed in Decius' campaign against the Goths.<sup>60</sup> The depiction of a soldier in the relief niche is extremely interesting. Among many other details, the round chape of the sword is here the key component for the dating of the monument. This kind of round chapes is divided into two groups, both of which belong to the second half of the 3<sup>rd</sup> c.,<sup>61</sup> which confirms the proposed dating under Claudius Gothicus.

The centurion (possibly *beneficiarius*) of the legion *II Italica* L. Septimius (?) Tertinus (no. 13) erected the votive altar to Victoria, Noreia, and Britannia (now kept in Črešnjevec). Noreia is called *regina*, which may point to her identification with Isis. The dedication to Britannia is unusual and implies that this soldier was stationed in Britannia. This inscription could thus be assigned to those inscriptions that confirm connections between Noricum and Britannia.<sup>62</sup>

After the completion of his services, C. Vibius Sabinus (no. 14), the veteran of the legion *V Macedonica*, returned to his home town, which could be suggested by his *gentilicium*.<sup>63</sup>

The legion *V Macedonica* was in Macedonia between 30 BC and 6 AD, and was then transferred to Moesia, where its camp was at Oescus. In 61 or 62 it was sent to Armenia, where it served under Vespasian in the war against the Jews; but it returned to its camp in Moesia before 71. When the province was divided in the year 86, the legion was assigned to the units of Moesia Inferior. It fought against the Parthi (162–166) under Lucius Verus and relocated to Dacia (Potaissa) in 167 or 168. When the Romans lost Dacia north of the Danube (274/275), the legion returned to Oescus, which was now located in the newly formed province of Dacia Ripensis.<sup>64</sup> The inscription belongs to the 2<sup>nd</sup> c. but it seems more plausible that he served in Moesia and not in Dacia.

In the inscriptions of the Celeian *ager* we also encounter the legion *X Gemina (pia, fidelis)*, which left Hispania in 63 AD when it was sent to Panonia (Carnuntum). For a short time it had to return to Hispania once again; for some time it was stationed in Germania Inferior, where it earned the titles *pia* and *fidelis* for its loyalty during the revolt of L. Antonius Saturninus (between 89 and 96). Around 103 it was transferred from Germania to Pannonia; it stayed in Aquincum a short while. It is not precisely known when it was permanently stationed in Vindobona but it was certainly in the time of the emperor Trajan, somewhere after 107.<sup>65</sup> L. Appuleius (no. 17) served in this legion; after the discharge, he was probably a mayor in Celeia.<sup>66</sup> He probably arranged a grave plot for himself and his family near his properties that should have been located in the Celeian *ager*, near Colatio. The monument belongs to the 2<sup>nd</sup> c., thus to the time when the legion served in nearby Pannonia.

T. Iulius Bellicus was a decurion in the ala *II Asturum* (no. 16). In the early period, decurions were the commanders of a smaller cavalry unit, and in the imperial period (the date of this inscription), they commanded one *turma*.<sup>67</sup> The decurion of an *ala* was superior in rank to the centurion of an (auxiliary) cohort and inferior to a centurion of a legion.<sup>68</sup> A significant number of inscriptions attesting *ala II Asturum* were found in Britannia (on Hadrian's Wall), indicating that it must have been stationed there for a longer period.<sup>69</sup> According to Wagner, it was transferred from Germania to the Danube still in the time of Tiberius. Birley believes that it was first active in the area of the Rhine, later in Pannonia and then in Britannia. Krier, on the other hand, argues a somewhat different order of service: in the pre-Flavian period the *ala* was supposedly a part of the Norican army; after the Batavian revolt it was transferred to Pannonia. Iulius Agricola could have led it to Britannia.<sup>70</sup>

<sup>54</sup> Cf. Šašel Kos 2006, 175–197.

<sup>55</sup> Varro, Rust. I, 2, 14. Cf. Väänänen 1967, 36–38; Baldi 1999, 254.

<sup>56</sup> Zamboni 1966, 504–506.

<sup>57</sup> Le Bohec 1994, 50, 65; cf. also Domaszewski, Dobson 1967, 44–45.

<sup>58</sup> RE VII.2 1912, 1683–1685.

<sup>59</sup> RE XII.2 1925, 1473; Petrovitch 2006, 291.

<sup>60</sup> Petrovitch 2006, 206.

<sup>61</sup> Pflaum 2007, 292–293.

<sup>62</sup> Šašel Kos 1999, 37–38 about the identification of Noreia with Isis. Cf. Birley 1952; Birley 1985: about the connection between Noricum and Britannia.

<sup>63</sup> Cf. *Onomasticon* IV, 165–166: the name was popular and widely spread in Noricum and Panonia, which points to the similarity with the autochthonous names in Vib- (Vibenus). The name Vibius was initially the Oscian *praenomen* but later became widely used in Latin thus being used as the *gentilicium* as well as the *cognomen* (Lochner von Hüttenbach, 181–182). Confirmation for this can be found also in the name of the autochthonous deity Vibes (cf. *RINMS* 115).

<sup>64</sup> RE XII.2 1925, 1572–1586; Strobel 2000, 523–526, where the author admits that the knowledge about the legion's history has not deepened significantly in the last seventy years (in comparison to Ritterling's findings).

<sup>65</sup> RE XII.2 1925, 1678–1690; Gómez-Pantoja 2000, 169–190.

<sup>66</sup> Višočník 2006, 380–381 (no. 22).

<sup>67</sup> An *ala* (wing) was assembled either of sixteen (if this be *ala quingenaria*) or thirty-three (if it be *ala milliaria*) *turmae* (smaller cavalry units assembled of about thirty cavalymen). Cf. Birley 1966, 349–364.

<sup>68</sup> RE IV.2 1901, 2352–2353; cf. also Domaszewski, Dobson 1967, 53.

<sup>69</sup> RE I.1 1893, 1231.

<sup>70</sup> Cf. Wagner 1938; Birley 1952, 290; Krier 1981, 146–147. Wedenig 1997, 136 (C 27) cites various opinions about this ala and *Titus Iulius Bellicus*.

### STATING OF AGE ON THE MILITARY INSCRIPTIONS OF CELEIA

The majority of military inscriptions in Celeia (both town and *ager*) consists of tombstones, where it is usual to state the age of the deceased. All the more we would expect the precise age of soldiers as they spent the greater part of their lives in a state organization, where it was extremely important when somebody entered a unit, and left it, hence his years of service should be known well.

In the town of Celeia, age is incised on seven inscriptions (nos. 1, 5, 6, 7, 10, 11, and 12). The rounding of numbers is evident: 70, 75 (no. 1); 40 (no. 5); 25, 60, 50 (no. 7); 50, 35 (no. 10); 45, 35 (no. 12). The years are precisely stated with the soldier who died soon after entering the army, on the Dacian campaign, at the age of 23 (no. 11). Inscription no. 12 is erected to Aurelius Secundinus, who died as a child at only seven years of age; the precise stating of the years is more frequent with young persons.

The precise stating of age is evident also with the two persons on inscription no. 6 (38, 24 years), in which the age of the veteran C. Iunius Iseus (60) upon his death is also rounded. The age of Ulpia Aphrodisia on this inscription, 25 years and 1 month, is also interesting since such precise stating of age is a rare, but understandable phenomenon on the military and other inscriptions.<sup>71</sup>

The situation in the *ager* is similar – age is stated on five inscriptions (nos. 14, 15, 18, 19, and 20). The most interesting is inscription no. 19, where ages of four individuals are noted: the first one is the s. c. centenarian,<sup>72</sup> his wife was also of the venerable age of 90, while the remaining two persons, who could have been their children, supposedly both died at twenty-two. With the first two, the rounding of the years is obvious, and with the latter two the identical of age is unlikely. All other years are rounded to 5 or 10: 65 (no. 14); 50, 40, 30 (no. 15); 50 (no. 18); 30 (no. 20).

### CONCLUSION

Military inscriptions of Celeia attest mostly legionaries, praetorians, centurions, and veterans; the veteran Sacronius Verinus (no. 18) was *custos armorum*. Among legions, *II Italica* – the only Norican legion, *V Macedonica*, *VI Ferrata*, *VIII Augusta*, and *X* and *XIII Gemina* are attested. The last three belonged to the neighbouring Pannonian army during different time periods. Among auxiliary units, *ala I Commagenorum* is documented twice and once *ala Asturum*. Both units belonged to the Norican army and were stationed in the province between the 1<sup>st</sup> and the 3<sup>rd</sup> centuries.<sup>73</sup>

None of the three dedicators of the votive altars are common soldiers: Barbius Finitus (no. 8) is a praetorian, Ulpus Valerianus (no. 9) a centurion, and L. Septimius Tertinus (no. 13) a centurion or a *beneficiarius*. This fact can be connected to the costs for the monument's erection, which must have been extremely difficult for a common soldier to afford.

In Celeia, we can distinguish between the local people, who returned to their homeland after the completed military service, and the foreigners, who were stationed in the vicinity and settled here. Praetorians (nos. 2, 7, 8, and 21) and the second generation of the legion *II Italica* (nos. 10, 11, 12<sup>2</sup>, 13, 15, and 20) are distinctive among the former. Only one

foreigner is explicitly attested (no. 1): his *origo* was Verona. Soldiers mentioned on the inscriptions nos. 3 (or 4), 14, 17, and 19 were most probably also recruited in Celeia, although in some cases the precise data are lacking.

When comparing the inscriptions of two Norican towns Flavia Solva and Celeia, we need to consider the historically conditioned differences between them, primarily the earlier foundation of Celeia, where soldiers are more numerous. These differences also influenced the presence of the army in the town, the recruitment of soldiers, and the return of veterans to their home town. They are approximately 100 in Celeia compared to 46 in Flavia Solva.

Celeia and Flavia Solva are not comparable in the number of the inscriptions but they are comparable in respect of units and their number. In both *municipia* the majority of soldiers served in the legion *II Italica* (in Celeia 11, including the *beneficiarii*, in Solva 7). Functions attested in both towns are very similar: centurions are well attested, and so are also praetorians (Flavia Solva 11, Celeia 12 – including those attested in other parts of the Empire). The expected differences between the town and *ager* occur, most noticeably in the form of the monuments, their number, and a wider variety of units and functions within the town.

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<sup>71</sup> This is the only statement of years and months in the Celeian area (no example with days has yet been discovered).

<sup>72</sup> About the rounding of years, centenarians, and about the counting of years in general, see Šašel Kos 2006, 175–197. Cf. also the appended references.

<sup>73</sup> Cf. Ubl 2005, 107–120.