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THE 15TH LEGION AT EMONA – SOME THOUGHTS

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Dedicated to Géza Alföldy on the occasion of his sixtieth birthday

The theory that the *legio XV Apollinaris* (the epithet most probably having been acquired after the battle at Actium)¹ had a camp at Emona (the present-day Ljubljana, Slovenia) is not supported by convincing arguments. The existence of a legionary camp at Emona would simultaneously support the concept that the settlement was not established as a colony before Tiberius. A fragmentary imperial inscription citing Augustus (already noted as *divus*) and Tiberius (*ILJug* 303) is dated to early 15 AD: although it is badly damaged, the remaining words, carved in monumental letters, clearly indicate that the emperors had enabled the city to undertake some major construction, most probably city walls with towers, as the text ends with the word [--- *d]eđerunt*. The early Tiberian date was considered by B. Saria as a *terminus ad quem* for the establishment of a colony in Emona, and he argued that a legionary camp existed at the site of the later city until the beginning of Tiberius' reign. Although W. Schmid had immediately afterwards expressed doubts about this thesis,² it was nonetheless widely accepted in the subsequent literature.³ It should be emphasized that Saria's main

¹ Cf. L. Keppie, *The Making of the Roman Army*, London 1984, 210; E. Ritterling, *Legio*, in: *RE* 12, 2 (1925), 1474.

² W. Schmid, Emona ni bila vojaški tabor (Das vermeintliche Legionslager von Emona), *Glas. Muz. dr. Slov.* 22, 1941, 44–54.

³ B. Saria, Emona als Standlager der Legio XV. Apollinaris, in: *Laureae Aquincenses* 1 (Diss. Pann. 2, 10), 1938, 245–255; idem, Doneski k vojaški zgodovini naših krajev v rimski dobi (Beiträge zu einer Militärgeschichte unseres Gebietes in römischer Zeit), *Glas. Muz. dr. Slov.* 20, 1939, 119–121; idem, Emona ni bila vojaški tabor? (Emona kein Legionslager?), *ib.*, 22, 1941, 55–57. M. Pavan, *La provincia romana della Pannonia Superior* (Atti della Accad. Naz. dei Lincei 352, 1955; Memorie [Cl. di Scien. morali, storiche e filol.], ser. 8, vol. 6, fasc. 5), Roma 1955, 382; G. Alföldy, *Noricum*, London, Boston 1974, 57; A. Mócsy, *Pannonia and Upper Moesia*, London, Boston 1974, 74–76; idem, *Der Kleine Pauly*, s.v. Pannonia; H. Stiglitz, Carnuntum, in: *RE Suppl.* 12 (1970), 1576; J. Fitz, in: *The Archaeology of Roman Pannonia* (ed. A. Lengyel, G. T. B. Radan), Lexington, Budapest 1980, 143, as well as many others. Cf. F. Vittinghoff, *Römische Kolonisation und Bürgerrechtspolitik unter Caesar und Augustus*, Wiesbaden 1952, 124 n. 4, who does not deal specifically with the founding of a colony at Emona, although he cited Saria's opinions. Idem, Zur römischen Municipalisierung des lateinischen Donau-Balkanraumes. Methodische Bemerkungen, in: *ANRW* II 6 (1977), 12; with a still unchanged opinion: M. Pavan, Aquileia città di frontiera, in: *Vita sociale, artistica e commerciale di Aquileia romana* (Ant. Altoadr. 29) I, Udine 1987, 33–34 (= *Dall' Adriatico al Danubio*, Padova 1991, 136–137). L. Plesničar-Gec, Aquileia ed Emona, in: *Aquileia e l' arco alpino orientale* (Ant. Altoadr. 9), Udine 1976, 120–123; eadem, *Keramika emonskih nekropol. The Pottery of Emona Necropolises* (Dissertationes et Monographiae 20), Ljubljana 1977, 60. Cf. also eadem, I rapporti tra Emona e la Venetia, in: *La Venetia nell' area padano-danubiana. Le vie di comunicazione* (Convegno intern. Venezia 6–10 aprile 1988), Padova 1990, 329–336, where it is stated that Emona is an Augustan colony. For the Augustan material in Emona see additionally T. Bezczyk, Amphorae from the Forum of Emona, *Arh. vest.* 45, 1994, 81–93. For Emona having been a Tiberian foundation see, for ex., A. Degrassi, *Il confine nord-orientale dell' Italia romana* (Diss. Bernenses 1, 6), 1954, 110–111, and also J. Šašel, Emona, in: *RE Suppl.* 11 (1968), 564–565. See also C. Zaccaria, Da

argument, the tombstone of T. Iunius Montanus (*AIJ* 173), has no weight at all in proving the existence of a legionary camp in Emona, as Saria interpreted Montanus' function of *pro legato* incorrectly: i.e. as the officer acting as substitute for the legionary legate, although in fact this title represented an equestrian officer who performed mainly administrative, and partly military-technical duties, characteristic of those sections of the Empire where Roman domination had not yet been entirely consolidated. The Augustan group of these officers to which T. Iunius Montanus undoubtedly belonged, is attested precisely in the Illyrican and Alpine regions.⁴ The Augustan-Tiberian inscription referring to construction need not be related at all to a contemporary assignment of colonial rights to the city, as an emperor could have granted permission for the building of walls at any point, for which several analogies exist.⁵ In reference to Schmid's arguments against the legionary fortress it must also be noted that those based on epigraphic material are invalid. Arguments against the presence of a legionary camp in Emona were developed in several articles by J. Šašel,⁶ and other scholars have also arrived at the same conclusions.⁷ Nonetheless, the hypothesis that the legion XV *Apollinaris* was stationed at Emona became almost an accepted fact in modern literature.⁸

Aquileia ad Emona e da Emona ad Aquileia, in: *Aquileia - Emona. Archeologia fra due regioni dalla preistoria al medioevo*, Udine 1989, 24. Cf. B. Levick, *Tiberius the Politician*, London 1976, 139, who by mistake placed Emona in Dalmatia. L. Keppie, *Colonisation and Veteran Settlement in Italy in the First Century A.D.*, *Pap. Brit. Sch. Rome* 52, 1984, 77–79, suggested that it had been founded or reinforced with veterans late in Augustus' reign.

⁴ J. Šašel, *Pro legato*, *Chiron* 4, 1974, 467–477 (= *Opera selecta* [Situla 30], Ljubljana 1992, 305–315); H. Devijver, *The Monument of the Equestrian Officer T. Iunius Montanus (AIJ 173 – Emona)*, *Ancient Society* 23, 1992, 61–70. See also D. B. Saddington, *The Armed Forces and the Equestrian Administrators of Early Imperial Sardinia and Corsica*, in: *Sardinia antiqua. Studi in onore di Piero Meloni in occasione del suo settantesimo compleanno*, Cagliari 1992, 269, and n. 29, for a different opinion.

⁵ For ex., *ILS* 2702: the colony of *Fanum Fortunae*, founded under the Triumvirate, received town walls under Augustus in AD 9 or 10. Cf. Vittinghoff, *op. cit.* n. 2 (*ANRW*), 11.

⁶ J. Šašel, *Emona*, in: *RE Suppl.* 11 (1968), 561–566; before this in his article together with I. Weiler, *Zur augusteisch-tiberischen Inschrift von Emona, Carnuntum Jahrbuch* 8, 1963–1964, 40–42; *Discussione al Seminario Aquileiese su alcune questioni fondamentali per la storia di Emona, Aquileia e l'arco alpino orientale* (Ant. Altoadr. 9), Udine 1976, 132–140.

⁷ Thus for ex. C. M. Wells, *Emona and Carnuntum: Evidence for the Start of Roman Occupation*, in: *Roman Frontier Studies 1969* (Eighth Intern. Congress of Limesforschung, ed. E. Birley, B. Dobson, M. Jarrett), Cardiff 1974, 185–190; P. Kos, *The Monetary Circulation in the Southeastern Alpine Region ca. 300 B.C. – A.D. 1000* (Situla 24), Ljubljana 1986, 54–56.

⁸ Thus for ex. G. Forni, *Esperienze militari nel mondo romano*, in: *Nuove Questioni di Storia Antica*, Milano 1969, 815–885 (= *Scritti vari di storia, epigrafia e antichità romane* [ed. M. G. Angeli Bertinelli], Roma 1994, 308); J. C. Mann, *Legionary Recruitment and Veteran Settlement during the Principate* (Occasional Publications 7), London 1983, 9 and 32; and M. Pavan, *Presenze di militari nel territorio di Aquileia*, in: *Il territorio di Aquileia nell'Antichità* (Ant. Altoadr. 15/2), Udine 1979, 470–473 (= *Dall'Adriatico al Danubio*, Padova 1991, 166–168); idem, *Aquileia città di frontiera* (n. 3), 33–34 (= *Dall'Adriatico al Danubio*, 136–137); Z. Visy, *Der pannonische Limes in Ungarn*, Budapest 1988, 17; R. L. Dese, Jr., *Cultural Change and Imperial Administration: the Middle Danube Provinces of the Roman Empire* (American University Studies, Ser. 9, History, vol. 99), 1991, 34.

The 15th legion was one of the legions recruited in Cisalpine Gaul in 53 BC by the order of Caesar and trained by T. Labienus in Gallia (cf. *bell. Gall.* VI 1).⁹ This legion was sent in 52 against the Iapodes, who had attacked Cisalpine cities, including Aquileia and Tergeste (*bell. Gall.* VIII 24.3: *T. Labienum ad se evocat; legionem autem XV, quae cum eo fuerat in hibernis, in Galliam togatam mittit ad colonias civium Romanorum tuendas, ne quod simile incommodum accideret decursione barbarorum ac superiore aestate Tergestinis acciderat, qui repentino latrocinio atque impetu Illyriorum erant oppressi*). Its winter camp was undoubtedly in the region of Aquileia, as is confirmed by data in *bell. Gall.* I 10.3 (. . . *ipse in Italiam magnis itineribus contendit duasque ibi legiones conscribit et tres, quae circum Aquileiam hiemabant, ex hibernis educit et, qua proximum iter in ulteriorem Galliam per Alpes erat, cum his quinque legionibus ire contendit*). Caesar gave this legion to Pompey in 50 BC and may have established a new one with the same number; a legion bearing number XV, and later known as Apollinaris, was formed by Octavian in 41–40, or even earlier.¹⁰ One of the earliest tombstones of a soldier of the 15th legion was found at Most na Soči.¹¹ The legion most probably participated in the Illyrian wars of Octavian in 35–33 BC, and after the battle of Actium, it was incorporated into the regular Augustan army in 27 BC.

In his article about the early history of the legion XV, Šašel convincingly argued that as early as the period of Caesar, Cisalpine Gaul had extended far enough to the east so as to include the Nauportus and Emona regions, which at that date would no longer have been incorporated within Illyricum.¹² It is not entirely clear how the occupation advanced, but it seems that in the second half of the 1st century BC an actual danger would have been represented primarily by the Iapodes, rather than the Carni and the Taurisci, who along with the Iapodes had been conquered by Octavian in 35 BC (*Illyr.* 16.46). Tergeste and Odra, a famous pass mentioned by Strabo (most probably the present-day Razdrto) under a mountain of the same name (almost certainly the present-day Nanos), were settlements of the Carni (Strabo, VII 5.2 C. 314; Pliny, *N. h.* III 131). Nauportus was settled by the Taurisci (Strabo, *ib.*), however, as is indicated by archaeological finds,¹³ these settlements were

⁹ J. Šašel, Zur Frühgeschichte der XV. Legion und zur Nordostgrenze der Cisalpina zur Zeit Caesars, in: *Römische Geschichte, Altertumskunde und Epigraphik. Festschrift A. Betz* (Archäologisch-epigraphische Studien 1), Wien 1985, 547 (= *Opera selecta*, 469).

¹⁰ Keppie (n. 1), 100, 102, 200.

¹¹ Šašel (n. 9), 547–555.

¹² G. E. F. Chilver, *Cisalpine Gaul: Social and Economic History from 49 B.C. to the Death of Trajan*, Oxford 1941, for ex., does not deal with this section of the frontier; Degraffi (n. 3), 46–53, cf. also 109–113, included merely Tergeste with its *ager* within Cisalpine Gaul. J. Fitz, *Die Verwaltung Pannoniens in der Römerzeit I*, Budapest 1993, 11–12, cited Šašel's hypothesis, but did not take up his point of view on the matter.

¹³ M. Stokin, A. Baudek, unpublished material from the excavations of M. Stokin at Razdrto, forthcoming; for Nauportus see J. Horvat, *Nauportus (Vrhniko)*, Ljubljana 1990; for Emona: B. Vičič, Zgodnjersko naselje pod Grajskim gričem v Ljubljani, Gornji trg 15 (Frühromische Siedlung unter dem Schloßberg in Ljubljana, Gornji trg 15), *Arh. vest.* 44, 1993, 153–201, as well as idem, Zgodnjersko naselje pod Grajskim gričem v Ljubljani. Gornji trg 30, Stari trg 17 in 32 (Frühromische Siedlung unter dem Schloßberg in Ljubljana. Gornji trg 30, Stari trg 17 und 32), *Arh. vest.* 45, 1994, 25–80.

romanized at an early date.¹⁴ It is generally believed that Catmelus and his auxiliary units fighting in the Istrian war (178–177 BC) on the side of the Romans against the Histri (Livy 41.1: . . . *ab eadem regione mille ferme passuum castra erant Gallorum: Catmelus pro regulo erat tribus haud amplius militibus armatorum*), acted in the name of the Norican king. As has been pointed out by G. Dobesch, it cannot be entirely excluded that the Gauls under Catmelus were part of those Carni who had settled in the previously Venetic area.¹⁵ This would particularly confirm the conjecture that relations between the Carni and the Romans were not in general hostile, especially if it is taken into account that the city of Tergeste had attained the status of a colony at least under Octavian, and perhaps even under Caesar.¹⁶ The power of the Taurisci, whose western area of settlement encompassed the Ljubljana basin, notably Nauportus and Emona, was greatly weakened by the Norici, it appears, even prior to the arrival of the Romans.¹⁷ As is also indicated by the epigraphic finds, the settlements of the Ljubljana basin were romanized as early as the period of Caesar. Nauportus, for example, was administratively organized as a Roman *vicus* with two *magistri vici*, while in Emona the presence of an Aquileian *sevir* is attested at approximately the same time. A Republican tombstone of T. Caesernius Diphilus was found in Emona, the freedman of Assupa, *Aquileiae sexvir* (*AIJ* 176; the nature of the Republican sevirate still cannot be determined exactly on the basis of available evidence), proving that as early as the mid 1st century BC and perhaps even earlier, freedmen of the Caesernii family were involved in affairs in the settlement.¹⁸

The Ljubljana basin is an extremely transitional area and as such it is geographically quite distinct, although it is considered part of the Alpine foothills. Thus it naturally gravitated towards the north and the Norican kingdom must undoubtedly have attempted to extend its authority over the Taurisci settled in the Emona basin. However, on one side the basin opens towards the Adriatic, on the other towards the Celeian region, but the distance to the Adriatic is much shorter than the distance to Celeia. In times of danger either exits could have been barred, and its strategic position was of great advantage either to Noricum (which in the 1st century BC extended far into adjacent regions that later belonged to Pannonia) or to the Roman state as it gradually advanced along the ancient amber route towards the east and northeast. It may very reasonably be presumed that the Emona basin was in the hands of the stronger side, i.e. the Romans (Fig. 1). Romanization, however, must have penetrated through the Emona region also into Pannonia, since Velleius mentions – referring

¹⁴ G. Bandelli, La presenza italica nell'Adriatico orientale in età repubblicana (III–I secolo a. C.), in: *Aquileia, la Dalmazia e l'Illirico* (Ant. Altoadr. 26/1), Udine 1985, 59–84, especially 77–83; C. Zaccaria, *Suppl. Ital.* 10, 1992, 150–152; M. Šašel Kos, *Nauportus: antični literarni in epigrafski viri* (Nauportus: Literary and Epigraphical Sources), in: Jana Horvat, *Nauportus (Vrhnika)*, Ljubljana 1990, 17–33 (pp. 143–159).

¹⁵ G. Dobesch, *Die Kelten in Österreich nach den ältesten Berichten der Antike*, Wien, Köln, Graz 1980, 98–108.

¹⁶ A. Fraschetti, Per le origini della colonia di Tergeste e del municipio di Agida, *Siculorum Gymnasium* 28, 1975, 319–335. cf. Zaccaria (n. 14), 152.

¹⁷ Šašel Kos (n. 14).

¹⁸ For Nauportus, cf. Šašel Kos (n. 14), where all the inscriptions are cited; for the Caesernii: J. Šašel, *Caesernii, Živa ant.* 10, 1960, 201–221 (= *Opera selecta*, 54–74).

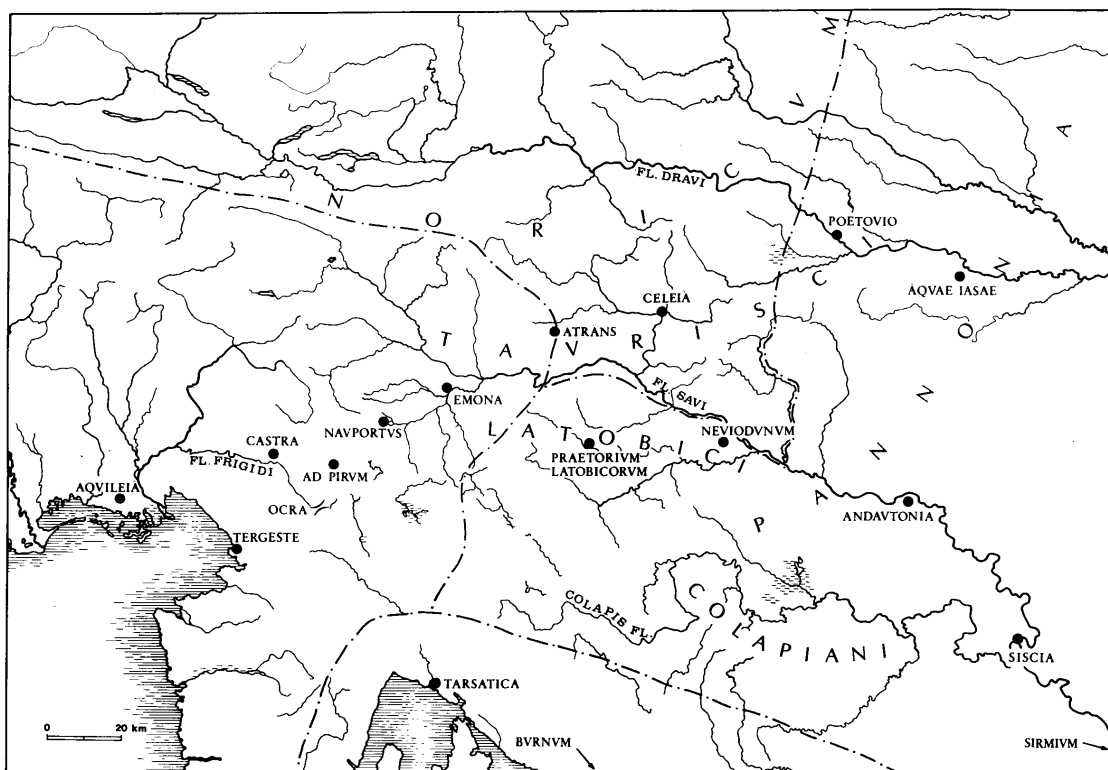


Fig. 1: The Emona basin in the 10th region

to the great Pannonian-Dalmatian revolt in AD 6 – that Pannonians (probably the upper class) knew Latin and many of them were even familiar with Roman culture and intellectual pursuits (II 110.5: . . . *in omnibus autem Pannoniis non disciplinae tantum modo sed linguae quoque notitia Romanae; plerisque etiam litterarum usus, et familiaris animorum erat exercitatio*).¹⁹ His statement is undoubtedly exaggerated, but it may be assumed that he did base it on some actual facts.

There is no indisputable proof to contradict the opinion of Mommsen that Emona became a colony as early as under Octavian, after or at the same time as Tergeste (unless Tergeste should be considered a Caesarian colony, such as Pola, founded in 47–46 BC).²⁰ The fact that Illyricum is not mentioned on the *Monumentum Ancyranum* (*Res gestae* 28) among the provinces in which Augustus established colonies of veterans, is often cited as proof that the colony in Emona was not founded by Octavian. This argument would be entirely without significance, if one considers Šašel's opinion that Emona was not included in Illyricum, but rather in Cisalpine Gaul, which in my opinion is more than likely, and which has been, on

¹⁹ A. Mócsy, *The Civilized Pannonians of Velleius*, in: *Rome and her Northern Provinces. Papers presented to S. Frere*, Gloucester 1983, 169–178; see also A. J. Woodman, *Velleius Paterculus. The Tiberian Narrative* (2.94 – 131), Cambridge 1977, 158–159.

²⁰ *CIL* III, p. 489. See also E. Kornemann, *RE* 4, 1 (1900), 529 no. 100; most recently, although without arguments, G. L. Gregori, *Sull'autonomia amministrativa di Glemona, Aquileia nostra* 61, 1990, 223.

the basis of some additional considerations, argued above.²¹ It further seems to me that on the basis of four veteran inscriptions (including the recently discovered one published below) it is not necessary to conclude that Emona was a veteran colony, rather its colonists, as is indicated by the inscriptions, were mainly civilian inhabitants who settled in the city mostly from northern Italy, while veterans were only sporadically settled in it, such as in Aquileia.²² Unlike in Savaria, none of them stated that he was *deductus coloniam* (see *Die röm. Steindenkmäler von Savaria*, nos. 95 and 96). At least part of the colonists must have undoubtedly been Italic settlers who had been driven from their hometowns by newly settled veterans of Octavian and Antony. However, it is equally possible to argue that the city was actually founded as a veteran colony for former soldiers of the 8th and 15th legions, later known as *Augusta* and *Apollinaris*.²³ There is little evidence for the chronological determination of the beginning of the colony and none of it is definitive, neither the title of the colony – in the case of Emona *colonia Iulia* – nor the *tribus Claudia* of its citizens, which is often related to Claudius' policy of municipal development.²⁴ It appears, primarily from the list of praetorians from Rome, that several times citizens from Emona incorrectly noted their voting district to have been *Iulia*; this so-called pseudo-tribus was derived from the name of the colony.²⁵ *Colonia Iulia* in principle would be the name that a city gained under Caesar and Octavian (up to 27 BC),²⁶ but not always, as occasionally the name *Iulia* was also given to cities established by Augustus, Tiberius(?), Caligula, Julia Domna, Maximinus and Philippus.²⁷ The name of the *tribus*, too, need not in principle be a chronological indicator, as the material known to date indicates that the most varied factors played roles in the enrolling new citizens in individual *tribus*.²⁸

It is more difficult to circumvent the fact that neither the archaeological nor numismatic finds discovered to the present, whose dating mostly commences in the late Augustan and early Tiberian periods, would support a hypothesis that there was an Octavianic settlement

²¹ J. Šašel, Zur verwaltungstechnischen Zugehörigkeit Emonas, *Acta Arch. Acad. Sc. Hung.* 41, 1989, 169–174 (= *Opera selecta*, 707–714).

²² Šašel (n. 3), *ib.* In the opinion of Lawrence Keppie, however, the inscriptions do suggest a colony for soldiers of legion XV.

²³ This is the opinion of Dr. Lawrence Keppie, for which I would like to thank him again in this place.

²⁴ G. Forni, Le tribù romane in Pannonia, in: *Carnuntina* (Römische Forschungen in Niederösterreich 3), 1956, 40–44; idem, Die römischen Tribus in Pannonien, *Carnuntum Jahrbuch* 2, 1956, 13–22.

²⁵ Šašel (n. 3), *ib.*; G. Forni, *Le tribù romane* III, 1. *Le pseudo-tribù*, Roma 1985, p. 57–58 (nos. A 49–53); p. 86–87 (nos. 234–243).

²⁶ M. Christol, M. Heijmans, Les colonies latines de Narbonnaise: un nouveau document d'Arles mentionnant la *Colonia Iulia Augusta Avennio*, *Gallia* 49, 1992, 41–44; cf. also K. Kraft, Die Rolle der Colonia Julia Equestris und die römische Auxiliarrekrutierungen, *Jb. Röm. Germ. Zentralmus.* 4, 1957, 91.

²⁷ B. Galsterer-Kröll, Untersuchungen zu den Beinamen der Städte des Imperium Romanum, in: *Epigr. Stud.* 9 (1972), 65–70; Vittinghoff, op. cit. n. 3 (ANRW), 10. Tiberius' policy of founding cities is not entirely clear, see also G. Alföldy, Municipales Tibériens et Claudiens en Liburnie, *Epigraphica* 23, 1961, 53–65. The policy of urbanization and citizenship under Caesar and Augustus is also discussed by P. A. Brunt, *Italian Manpower, 225 B.C. – A.D. 14*, Oxford 1971, 234 ff. and in appendices 15–17; Emona, however, is not mentioned. See also L. Keppie, *Colonisation and Veteran Settlement in Italy, 47–14 B.C.*, London 1983, 46; 209. Šašel (n. 3), also agreed with Saria's dating under Tiberius.

²⁸ Vittinghoff, *ib.*, 11 ff.

in Emona.²⁹ In my opinion an argument *e silentio* – although so often used in archaeology – has no weight whatsoever and cannot be cited as evidence. Rather it is necessary to seek this settlement, which need not have been large (the average colony from the period of the Triumvirate would number 3000 men³⁰), beyond the region of Gradišče where the Augustan-Tiberian city was located. Remains of earlier strata have actually been found beyond Gradišče on the left bank of the Ljubljanica, although it is unfortunately impossible to classify them more specifically.³¹ However, among the unpublished material in the City Museum there are a few fragments of amphorae and other ceramics that may in all probability be dated to the second half of the 1st century BC. Still, this early settlement should probably be sought on the right bank of the river, in the area of Stari and Gornji Trg [Old and Upper Markets].³² This section of Ljubljana is, unfortunately, entirely built over, and it would be difficult to carry out archaeological research. After all, exceedingly little has been discovered from the La Tène settlement as well, although its existence is proven through the name Emona itself. A transferal of settlement sites would certainly have been possible.³³

The fact that the city is not mentioned in Velleius Paterculus, who reported on the Pannonian-Dalmatian rebellion in 6–9 AD, is in terms of the probable early colonization of Emona interesting and at first glance contradictory. He mentioned that the main rebel command intended to occupy the region of Nauportus and Tergeste and invade Italy (II 110.4: . . . *pars petere Italiam decreverat iunctam sibi Nauporti ac Tergestis confinio* . . .). If Emona had truly been an Octavianic colony, established a short time after the end of the wars of Octavian in Illyricum in 32 BC, then at the time the rebellion broke out it must have existed as a city with the status of a colony for some thirty-five years, thus not even an entire generation. In the La Tène period it was overshadowed by the settlement at Nauportus, as is clearly stated by Strabo (IV 6.10 C. 207 and VII 5.2 C. 314). The importance of both settlements was probably equivalent in the time of Velleius, although Nauportus was still the main centre of the region, and as a major reloading station and a settlement of Roman citizens it enjoyed a certain reputation. It also lay closer to Italy, and it is thus understandable that Velleius would mention its territory. The fact that it was inhabited by Roman citizens is apparent both from the inscriptions and from Tacitus, who noted that it had been granted the status of a Roman *vicus* which closely resembled a *municipium* (*Ann.* I 20.1).

²⁹ I. Mikl-Curk, Vom Beginn der Römerzeit im nördlichen Jugoslawien, *Arch. Jug.* 14, 1973, 41–42.; eadem, Terra sigillata iz emonskih grobišč (Terra sigillata aus den Gräberfeldern von Emona), *Arh. vest.* 30, 1979, 339–340 and *passim*; see also eadem, Rimska lončenina z nekaterih emonskih najdišč (Römische Keramik von einigen Fundstätten in Emona), *Arh. vest.* 30, 1979, 372–387; L. Plesničar-Gec, Aquileia ed Emona, in: *Aquileia e l'arco alpino orientale* (Ant. Altoadr. 9), Udine 1976, 119–132; Kos (n. 7); idem, *FMRSI* I, for the survey of the numismatic finds in the entire territory of Ljubljana.

³⁰ Brunt (n. 27), 259–260.

³¹ L. Plesničar-Gec, Il problema urbanistico di Emona, in: *La città nell'Italia settentrionale in età romana* (Coll. Ec. fr. Rome 130), 1990, 653–663, especially 660–662.

³² See Vičič (n. 13).

³³ Two colonies at one site are occasionally attested in sources, see, for ex., H. Lieb, Zur zweiten Colonia Raurica, *Chiron* 4, 1974, 423.

The importance of the settlement at Nauportus is also eloquently indicated by the equally odd fact that Emona is not mentioned in Tacitus in connection with the rebellion of the Pannonian legions after the death of Augustus in 14 AD. Again, only Nauportus is mentioned. However, the existence of a town at Emona in this period is indisputable, since as early as during Augustus' lifetime some major construction (city walls with towers?) was planned, which Tiberius had completed. This leads to the question as to why the Romans did not establish the colony at Nauportus, but instead decided on Emona, which prior to this was a much less important settlement in the region. It is clear that the foundation of the Roman colony in Emona must be considered through the prism of the gradual conquest of the lands of the Pannonians and the Segestani. As Nauportus was important to the Romans (and before them, to the Norici or Taurisci respectively) primarily in terms of economy and trade, conditioned by the fact that the settlement lay at the beginning of navigable river routes, which were not merely much cheaper and more convenient, but most likely safer than overland routes, so Emona primarily had a significant geo-political position. Its location was extremely favourable in terms of transportation connections and in the strategic sense, as the city was pressed between two hills (Grajski hrib [Castle Hill] and Rožnik) and lay along a navigable river, further controlling the juncture of the Ljubljanica and the Sava Rivers at present-day Črnuče. The Sava flowed directly to the important Pannonian settlement of Siscia, earlier Segestica.³⁴ Emona could thus secure the route to Italy much better than Nauportus, and from this standpoint it undoubtedly belonged strategically to the 10th region and not to Pannonia. It was, quite clearly, the key to Italy.

Considering that Aquileia had been founded as early as 181 BC and Istria was conquered in 177 BC, and considering that the Norican Kingdom cultivated friendly relations with the Romans – just like the Veneti (Polybius II 23.2; 24.7) – it is clear that romanization also advanced, although perhaps slowly, in regions beyond the hinterland of Aquileia that gravitated towards Italy. These included the transitionally significant area between what was then Cisalpine Gaul (a province from ca. 90 to 42 BC, and later part of Italy, cf. App., *Bell. civ.* V 3; 22; III 30; Dio, 48.12) and the Norican kingdom, which encompassed the present day Kras (Karst) region, the pass through Ocra below Nanos, the Postojna gates and the Ljubljana basin. The Romans attempted to conquer this area very early: it is known from the sources that in 171 BC the consul L. Cassius Longinus who intended to reach Macedonia, marched with his army through these regions, on account of which the Histri, Carni and Iapodes lodged a complaint against him in Rome.³⁵ These peoples, who had complained to the Senate because of the injuries committed, evidently must have already had definite agreements with the Romans, as otherwise their representatives would not have expected the Senate to mediate in this affair. C. Sempronius Tuditanus campaigned against the Taurisci,

³⁴ J. Šašel, Siscia, in: *RE Suppl.* 14 (1974), 702–741 (= *Opera selecta*, 600 ff.).

³⁵ See most recently V. Vedaldi Iasbez, *La Venetia orientale e l'Histria. Le fonti letterarie greche e latine fino alla caduta dell'Impero Romano d'Occidente* (Studi e ricerche sulla Gallia cisalpina 5), Roma 1994, 29–30.

Carni, Histri and Iapodes in 129 BC,³⁶ and in 115 BC Aemilius Scaurus celebrated a triumph over the Carni.³⁷ At the time when Caesar acceded to the proconsulate of Cisalpine Gaul and Illyricum, this region was in all likelihood to a great extent under the influence of romanization, since the sources report only about the invasion of the Iapodes into the Tergeste district.

The close connections of this region, mainly with Aquileia and perhaps also with other parts of Cisalpine Gaul, closer than would in principle be anticipated, are indicated by characteristic autochthonous names that appear on the Republican inscriptions of Nauportus and Emona. Two such are the *cognomina* of the freedmen of two Aquileian families, C. Fabius Corbo (*ILLRP* 33) and Q. Annaius Torravius (*ILLRP* 34). *Corbo* was most probably a Norican name; although it is not attested precisely in this form, it appears twice in Noricum as *Corbus*.³⁸ In the same manner *Torravius* is nowhere documented in this form, the closest being the gentilicium *Turravius* known from a dedicatory inscription from Celeia, although both names were definitely derived from the Venetic-Histriean name *Turus*.³⁹ It is not excluded that both men arrived in Aquileia as slaves, since a trade in slaves from the eastern Alpine and western Balkan regions is sufficiently documented;⁴⁰ they may have advanced socially, achieved the status of freedmen, and settled as such in their “homeland”. Even more uncommon is the male name *Assupa*,⁴¹ known from the tombstone in Emona of the Aquileian *sevir* T. Caesernius Diphilus (*AIJ* 176), buried in Emona. Diphilus was the freedman of T. Caesernius Assupa; *Assupa* is a so-called northern Adriatic name, presently documented only by the name *Assoparis* (gen.) from Brigetio (*CIL* III 4332), the second part of which may well be compared, for example, with the name *Voltuparis* (gen.), characteristic of the Emona-Ig area.⁴²

It is interesting that the Aquileian T. Caesernius Assupa had a northern Adriatic name, and it is not excluded that his ancestors belonged to the upper class of his clan somewhere from the northern Adriatic or eastern Alpine region – perhaps actually from the area of the Ljubljana basin – and settled in Aquileia with a solid economic basis, becoming related to the Caesernii through marriage. His wealth would further be indicated by the fact that he

³⁶ G. Bandelli, Contributo all’interpretazione del cosiddetto *elogium* di C. Sempronio Tuditano, in: *Aquileia repubblicana e imperiale* (Ant. Altoadr. 35), Udine 1989, 111–131.

³⁷ *CIL* I, 1, 2nd ed. p. 49 = *In. It.* 13, 1, p. 84–85, frg. 36 (*M. Aemilius M. f. L. n. Scaurus co(n)s(ul) [an.] DCXXXIX de Galleis Karneis V[–De]c.*).

³⁸ *CIL* III 6497 = *ILLPRON* I 607, from the region of Virunum; *CIL* III 11743 = E. Weber, *Die römischen Inschriften der Steiermark*, Graz 1969, no. 26 = *ILLPRON* I 1260, from Kuglstein in the vicinity of Graz.

³⁹ J. Untermann, *Die venetischen Personennamen*, Wiesbaden 1961, Map 31; *CIL* III 5191, line 11: *Turravius Castor*.

⁴⁰ J. Šašel, Contributo alla conoscenza del commercio con gli schiavi norici ed illirici alla fine del periodo repubblicano, in: *Atti del III Congresso Internazionale di Epigrafia Greca e Latina*, Roma 1959, 143–147.

⁴¹ It has been erroneously assumed that *Assupa* was a feminine name, see for ex. S. Panciera, *Vita economica di Aquileia in età romana*, Aquileia 1957, 76. This is actually an epichoric masculine personal name ending in *-a*, similar to the names *Atara*, *Cacurda*, *Lotta*, *Namma* and others; see A. Betz, *Epigraphisches aus Pannonien und Noricum*, *Carinthia* 146, 1956, 437–438.

⁴² Untermann (n. 39), 131.

had a prominent freedman. It is certainly also not excluded that Assupa's ancestors had been of slave origin and were later freed, their fate being similar to the fate suggested for Corbo and Torrvavius. It is certainly indisputable that T. Caesernius Assupa had been a rich Aquileian entrepreneur in the mid 1st century BC or even earlier – his wealth may have been related to metallurgy⁴³ – whose freedman Diphilus achieved for his social status a rather prominent function of a *sevir*. This office is not entirely clear, but it most probably had organizational, political, and religious significance.⁴⁴ As is indicated by Republican inscriptions on which the *sevirate* is mentioned, organizations of this type existed in cities independently of the *Augustales* much earlier; at a later date, due to the supposed points of similarity, the organization of the *Augustales* evidently somehow became connected to the *sevirate*. The Greek name *Diphilus* does not necessarily indicate that the freedman was from the Greek east in origin, on the contrary, he, like his master, could have been from the Aquileian hinterland. His local name which may have been difficult to pronounce, could have been exchanged for a Greek one, as slaves from the Greek east were more valuable at market.⁴⁵ His activities in Emona in the mid 1st century BC are not explained (did he come as a merchant?), but clearly the settlement was important enough to attract settlers from Aquileia with a certain social position. His status as a resident is indicated by his tombstone which he had erected while still alive.

Large numbers of military forces operated both in the Caesarian and Octavianic-Augustan periods in the eastern section of Cisalpine Gaul and its hinterland: the army was concentrated in this region particularly in the period of the Iapodian invasion of northern Italy in 52 BC, and at the time of the wars of Octavian in Ilyricum in 35–33 BC. The same was true in the period of the Pannonian wars under Agrippa and Tiberius in 14–9 BC and the Pannonian-Dalmatian rebellion in 6–9 AD. Evidence for active soldiers and veterans of the 15th legion in the hinterland of Aquileia was gathered by J. Šašel.⁴⁶ Tacitus, who wrote about the rebellion of the Pannonian legions after the death of Augustus in 14 AD (*Ann.* I 16–29), reported that three legions had a summer camp somewhere in Pannonia, most probably somewhere near the then border, in the hinterland of Poetovio or, more probably, Siscia (I 16.1–2: *hic rerum urbanarum status erat, cum Pannonicas legiones seditio incessit . . . castris aestivis tres simul legiones habebantur, praesidente Iunio Blaeso . . .*).⁴⁷ These legions were the IX *Hispana*, which has until now left no trace in the province,⁴⁸ the VIII *Augusta*, whose veterans are known from Poetovio and Emona, and the XV *Apollinaris*, documented at Aquileia and Emona and later at Scarbantia and Carnuntum. Since in Aquile-

⁴³ J. Šašel, Le famiglie romane e la loro economia di base, in: *Vita sociale, artistica e commerciale di Aquileia romana* (Ant. Altoadr. 29/1), Udine 1987, 145–152 (= *Opera selecta*, 529–537).

⁴⁴ R. Duthoy, Les *Augustales, in: *ANRW* II 16, 2 (1978), 1260–1265.

⁴⁵ H. Solin, *Beiträge zur Kenntnis der griechischen Personennamen in Rom* I (Commentationes Humanarum Litterarum 48), Helsinki 1971, 146 ff.

⁴⁶ Šašel (n. 9).

⁴⁷ Siscia was suggested by J. Šašel, *RE Suppl.* 14 (1974), 734 (s.v. Siscia).

⁴⁸ A supposed helmet found in Kupa and belonging to a soldier of the 9th legion, cited by J. Šašel, *ib.*, must have been a misunderstanding (?).

leia most traces were left by legion XV *Apollinaris*, E. Ritterling assumed that its camp must have been situated the closest to Italy.⁴⁹ The usual conjecture is that these legions had winter camps in Emona, Poetovio and Siscia: in this combination, Emona is the most doubtful. In my opinion it would make more sense to seek the camp of one of the three legions, probably IX *Hispana*, closer to the borders of the province, most probably in Sirmium, which was a powerful Roman military stronghold in the period of the Pannonian-Dalmatian uprising;⁵⁰ this idea has already been expressed by A. Mócsy.⁵¹ The winter camp of the XV *Apollinaris* should perhaps be sought in the district of Siscia; the countermark *Apol* on a coin of Augustus from Sisak may be cited in support of this opinion, and an inscription of a *centurio* of the legion, Ti. Claudius Pontius, probably from the first half of the 1st century AD (*CIL* III 10853), as well as a tombstone from nearby Topusko from the 1st century AD for a veteran of the XV *Apollinaris*, L. Valerius Verecundus, *domo Siscia*, although apparently of Italic origin (*ILJug* 3117).⁵² Other countermarks with *Apol* have otherwise been discovered only in Ljubljana (one) and at Sotin (= Cornacum) on the Danube (two).⁵³

From the summer camp shared by the three legions, from which they evidently had a long journey (I 20. 1), individual units were sent to Nauportus to build roads, bridges and fulfill other orders, perhaps including the parcelling of land intended for veterans (I 20.1: *interea manipuli ante coeptam seditionem Nauportum missi ob itinera et pontes et alios usus . . .*).⁵⁴ This can be concluded on the basis of a note in Tacitus, which records in the context of the same rebellion that the soldiers complained they had received mountainous and marshy plots in place of cultivated land upon discharge from the army (I 17.3: *. . . ubi per nomen agrorum uligines paludum vel inculta montium accipiant*). This note could well refer to the already existing colony of Emona, where some veterans actually did settle, as they are documented epigraphically.

⁴⁹ Ritterling (n. 1), 1748.

⁵⁰ For a detailed account of these events in Velleius Paterculus and Cassius Dio, see M. Mirković, Sirmium – its History from the I Century A.D. to 582 A.D., in: *Sirmium I*. Beograd 1971, 12–13; M. Šašel Kos, *Zgodovinska podoba prostora med Akvilejo, Jadrantom in Sirmijem pri Kasiju Dionu in Herodijanu. A Historical Outline of the Region between Aquileia, the Adriatic, and Sirmium in Cassius Dio and Herodian*, Ljubljana 1986, 166–191.

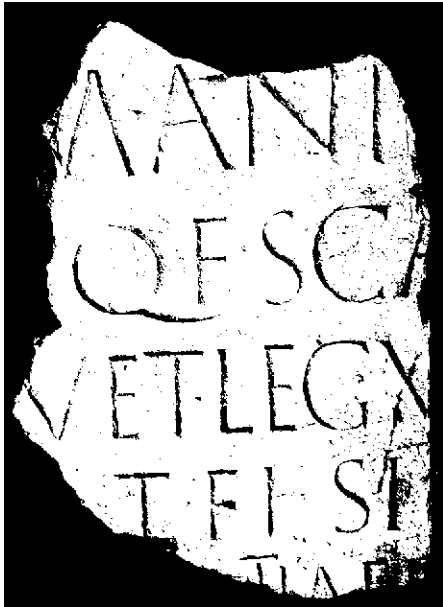
⁵¹ Mócsy, Pannonia and Upper Moesia (n. 3), 42–43; idem, Zur frühesten Besatzungsperiode in Pannonien, *Acta Arch. Acad. Sc. Hung.* 23, 1971, 45. Fitz (n. 12), 206, however, suggested Emona, Sirmium and Savaria as possible camps for the 15th legion.

⁵² M. Šegvić, Natpis veterana XV. Apolinarske legije u Topuskom (L'inscription du vétéran de la XV^e Légion Apollinaire à Topusko), *Vjes. Arh. muz. Zag.* 21, 1988, 57–66.

⁵³ Kos (n. 7), 51–52.

⁵⁴ Šašel Kos (n. 50), 195–197.

A veteran of the 8th legion⁵⁵:



---?]
 [---?] *M(arcus) An+[---]*
 [---?] *Q(uinti) f(ilius) Sca(ptia tribu ?) [---]*
 [---?] *vet(eranus) leg(ionis) V[III ---]*
 [---?] *t(estamento) f(ieri) i(ussit) si[bi et ---]*
 [---] *tiae +[---]*
 [---?]

The inscription is unpublished, but is mentioned by L. P(lesničar) in *Var. spom.* 17–19/1, 1974, 200. It is a fragment, broken on all sides, found in 1973 in the vicinity of the northern wall of Emona (at the site of the Šumi candy factory, between the western wall of the Vega secondary school and Slovenska Road, 50 meters from the northern wall of Emona). Judging by the letters and the formulation, the inscription is from the first half, or even the beginning, of the 1st century AD. In terms of analogous military inscriptions at Aquileia (cf. *Inscr. Aquil.* 2795) the veteran did not necessarily have a cognomen, thus it is not possible to determine how much of the inscription is missing. However, probably there is no text is missing on the left side of the fragment. Of the last visible letter of the *nomen gentile* in the first preserved line only the vertical stroke is preserved, thus the name can mainly be completed as *Anicius*, *Aninius*, *Antistius* and *Antonius*, all gentilicia well documented in northern Italy. His voting district, the *Scaptia*, might indicate that he was from *regio X*: *Scaptia* is characteristic of the citizens of Altinum and Forum Iulii. Further possibilities for the veteran's origin would include three cities in *regio VII* (Faesulae, Florentia, Vetulonia), as well as Stoberra in Macedonia, whose citizens were also enrolled in this *tribus*. Of the letter indicating the number of the legion in the third preserved line only the left oblique stroke of a *V* is visible, which is damaged in such a way that on the first sight it suggests a letter *X*; however, the letter *V* is absolutely assured. In view of the early date of the inscription (letters, *ductus*) it is hardly plausible to postulate a different restoration of the number of the legion, such as *VII Gemina*. The letters *SCA* may best be interpreted as *Sca(ptia tribu)*, although they could theoretically be explained as the beginning of a cognomen.⁵⁶ However, the parallels in Emona (see below), as well as in Aquileia indicate, that on early inscriptions the *tribus* is often noted, while the cognomen is lacking. Among the inscriptions of active soldiers and veterans of the 8th legion from Aquileia (*Inscr. Aquil.* 2753–2760) there are two on which soldiers, bearing no cognomen,

⁵⁵ Photo by courtesy of the City Museum in Ljubljana.

⁵⁶ Kindly suggested by prof. Werner Eck.

noted the *tribus* (nos. 2755: *M. Miledius M. f. Pol.*; 2756: *L. Titius L. f. Vot.*), and there are none without its mention (*Scaptia* is documented once: no. 2757).

Veterans of the 15th and 8th legions:

L(ucius) Oclatius Tarquiniensis vet(eranus) / leg(ionis) XV h(ic) s(itus) e(st). / T(itus) Calventius / ⁵ T(iti) f(ilius) vet(eranus) leg(ionis) VIII / et Oc<l>atia L(ucii) l(iberta) / Expectata de / suo posuerunt.
(CIL III 3845 + p. 2328, 188 = ILS 2264).

L. Oclatius perhaps emigrated to Emona from Etruscan Tarquinia, as was believed by Dessau, although his cognomen may not have had geographical connotations,⁵⁷ while his colleague from the 8th legion did not have a cognomen. The *Oclatii* may have been members of the municipal aristocracy (if the inscription AIJ 218 from Lesce, mentioning one *M. O(clatius) Avitus, d(ecurio) c(oloniae) E(monae)*, is correctly supplemented), and may have been related by marriage to the local families, as would be indicated by the name *Avitus*, particularly characteristic of Celtic regions.⁵⁸ Both phenomena may be regarded as entirely normal for veterans and their descendants.

A veteran of the 15th legion:

T(ito) Vario T(iti) f(ilio) / Pap(iria) Narbon(e) / [v]et(erano) leg(ionis) XV / [a]n(norum) LX / ⁵ [Petr]oniae / [...] + D+++NI? / [---]
(AIJ 174 [= CIL III 3847 = 10757; cf. ILJug, corr. ad AIJ, p. 4*, no. 174).

T. Varius, who settled as a veteran in Emona, and whose gentilicium is otherwise not documented for Emona, was originally from Narbo; his origin could not have been determined on the basis of his name alone. His wife most probably belonged to the *Petronii*, who are known to be among the first, Republican period settlers of the Ljubljana basin, most likely from Aquileia.⁵⁹

A veteran of an unknown legion:

C(aius) Vettennius [C(ai) f(ilius) ---] / veteranus leg(ionis) [---] / h(ic) s(itus) est / monumentum [---] / ⁵ T(itus) Vettenius C(ai) [f(ilius) ---] / frater ob piet[at]em [---?]
(CIL III 3848)

The only probable restoration would be either legion XV or VIII, as the veterans of other legions have not been documented in Emona to the present. The gentilicium, which is Italic, is extremely rare, and is not attested in the southeastern Alpine and western Balkan regions.

⁵⁷ H. Solin, Zur Tragfähigkeit der Onomastik in der Prosopographie, in: *Prosopographie und Sozialgeschichte* (ed. W. Eck), Köln, Wien, Weimar 1993, 1–33.

⁵⁸ A. Mócsy, et al., *Nomenclator* (Diss. Pann. 3/1), 1983, s. v.; G. Alföldy, *Die Personennamen in der römischen Provinz Dalmatia* (Beiträge zur Namenforschung Bh. 4), Heidelberg 1969, 160.

⁵⁹ Šašel Kos (n. 14), 152.

The inscription, judging by the shape of the letters, may well be dated as early as the first half of the 1st century AD, and the brothers may not necessarily have had a cognomen. In that case, only a small section of the inscription would be missing on the right side of the monument.

The number of veterans is relatively small and would not necessarily prove the existence of a veteran colony in Emona, and certainly not a previous existence of a military camp in the settlement. Emona may well have been a civilian colony in which veterans of the legions stationed in the northern Illyricum settled after their service. Veterans were frequently settled in the vicinity of existing colonies that awarded them land for cultivation, such as is explicitly attested on the epigraphic documents of Narona: two dedications to the divine Augustus and Tiberius were found in the village of Ljubuški that were erected by the *veterani pagi Scunastici*, who were given land by the colony of Narona (*quibus colonia Naronit(ana) agros dedit*, *ILJug* 113 and 114). A series of veterans of the *legio XV* and others are also documented for Aquileia (*Inscr. Aquil.* 2791–2796 for the 15th legion; probably also 2798 = *CIL* V 928, which is generally cited as the tombstone of an active soldier of the 15th legion).⁶⁰ Emona was otherwise first mentioned as a city with the status of a colony by Pliny (*N. h.* III 147), although judging by the designation *Iulia*, which is primarily – but not exclusively – characteristic of Caesarian and Octavianic colonies, such as Salona, Narona, Pola, and perhaps Parentium,⁶¹ it is more than likely that it was founded by Octavian. The *tribus Claudia* would not contradict this, as inhabitants, for example, of the nearby colony of *Iulia Concordia* were also enrolled in it.⁶² The imperial inscription, erected in the spring of 15 AD soon after Augustus' death, on which it is documented that the town had then received some major communal structure – the text is usually completed with the words [*murum turresq(ue)*] (*ILJug* 303) – does not necessarily indicate that the colony would have originated in that period, but merely that there was certainly no legion in the city at that time.⁶³

Only two serving legionaries of the 15th legion are known from Emona:

C(aius) Clodius C(ai) f(ilius) / Vel(ina) Secundus mil(es) / leg(ionis) XV Apol(linaris) / Clodiae C(ai) f(iliae) Tertiae / ⁵ sorori anorum (!) / NXX (!) h(ic) s(ita) e(st). / C(aio) Caestidio L(ucii) f(ilio) Pol(lia) / Petronia P(ubl(i)i) f(ilia) Dyssulla / v(iva).
(*CIL* III 10769; see Pl. IV.4)

The inscription is early, from the first half of the 1st century AD, on the basis of the shape of the letters, the formulation, and the fact that C. Caestidius has no cognomen. The

⁶⁰ Šašel (n. 9), 553 n. 14: the inscription *Inscr. Aquil.* 2798 is broken off in the relevant section, thus it could equally be supplemented as a funerary inscription of a veteran; indeed, this is even more probable. See also Pavan, *Presenze di militari* (n. 8), 470–473 (= *Dall' Adriatico al Danubio*, 166–168).

⁶¹ Keppie (n. 27), 202–203.

⁶² J. W. Kubitschek, *Imperium Romanum tributim discriptum*, Pragae, Vindobonae, Lipsiae 1889, 109–110.

⁶³ Šašel-Weiler (n. 6); Šašel, Emona, in: *RE* (n. 6).

Clodii were, considering the *tribus Velina* characteristic of Aquileians, most probably from Aquileia, just as the above mentioned Petronii; both families are well documented both in Aquileia and Emona, in Aquileia mainly also *Cai Clodii*.⁶⁴ On a dedication to Hercules, walled into the Ljubljana cathedral, L. and C. Clodius are mentioned: judging by the *tribus Velina*, the father L. Clodius Alpinus had settled in Emona from Aquileia, while his son C. Clodius Clemens was already a citizen of Emona, enrolled in the voting district of *Claudia* (AIJ 152). A member of the same family may have been Clodia Clementilla, who had an altar erected in Emona to the Great Mother of the Gods, Cybele (CIL III 14354,8). The origin of the *gens Caestidia* is not clear,⁶⁵ as the name is extremely rare, and it is otherwise undocumented in the southeastern Alpine, western Balkan and northern Italic regions. The family most likely was from an Italic area. It is interesting that the name *Dyssulla* is unknown throughout the rest of the Empire. The name *Dussona*, however, is known from a Dalmatian inscription from Vrutci (*Spomenik Srpske Akademije* 98, 1941–1948, p. 242), and according to G. Alföldy it certainly was not Illyrian, as had been supposed by A. Mayer, but rather considering parallels with the root of *dus-*, collected in Holder, was apparently Celtic.⁶⁶ Thus, it is not excluded that *Dyssulla* could have been an autochthonous Celtic name.

Cereri sac(rum) / Vibius frumentarius / leg(ionis) XV vol⁵to suscept/o <f>(aciendum) c(uravit).

(CIL III 3835 + p. 2328,188 = AIJ 151; see Pl. IV.5)

If this inscription were genuine, it would be the earliest epigraphic document for a legion's *frumentarius*; however, doubts about its authenticity are justified, although despite hesitation Mommsen did not classify it among forgeries. He remarked in reference to traces of modern repairs: "*Non tantum in fine corrupta est, cum requiratur F. C., sed etiam quod cognomen abest militis, instauratori tribuendum est.*" Even greater doubt about the authenticity of the inscription was expressed by A. von Premerstein, who added: "*übrigens will auch f(aciendum) c(uravit), für welches Z. 6 EC offenbar steht, für eine sacrale Dedikation kaum passen. Schon Thalnitschers Copien geben die Inschrift im wesentlichen, wie sie heute ist; nur haben sie Z. 6 übereinstimmend F. C. Eine abweichende, gewiss unzuverlässige Abbildung steht auf dem Titelpuffer zu Thalnitschers Epitome chronologica rerum memorabilium urbis Labacensis, Laibach 1714. Das Denkmal, über welches Thalnitscher ganz unbestimmte, zum Theil wohl sich widersprechende Fund- und Standortsangaben bringt, war seit 1697 in seinem Besitze; der Verdacht liegt sehr nahe, dass die Inschrift auf seine Veranlassung mit Verwendung einer antiken Basis schwindelhaft restauriert wurde.*"⁶⁷ E.

⁶⁴ M. Šašel Kos, *The Epigraphic Collection of the National Museum in Ljubljana*, forthcoming.

⁶⁵ Šašel, Emona, in: *RE* (n. 6), 566 n.; H. Solin, O. Salomies, *Repertorium nominum gentilium et cognominum Latinorum*, Hildesheim, Zürich, New York 1988, s.v., cite only the inscription from Emona for the name.

⁶⁶ Alföldy (n. 57), 191–192; A. Mayer, *Die Sprache der alten Illyrier* I, Wien 1957, 132; A. Holder, *Altceltischer Sprachschatz* I, Leipzig 1896 (repr. Graz 1961), 1387–1388.

⁶⁷ A. v. Premerstein, J. G. Thalnitschers Antiquitates Labacenses, *Jh. Österr. Arch. Inst.* 5, 1902, Bbl. 28–29 no. 35.

Ritterling and W. G. Sinnigen also regarded the text as uncertain;⁶⁸ M. Clauss, however, maintained that after its publication by Saria in *AIJ* (no. 151) it can confidently be considered as genuine, although he, too, referred to the strange omission of the soldier's *praenomen*.⁶⁹

The inscription was a dedication on a small altar of local limestone, erected to Ceres by the *frumentarius* of the *legio XV, Vibius*. The legion is noted without its appellation, which is characteristic of early inscriptions.⁷⁰ The period of the first half of the 1st century would also be indicated by the fact that the legionary did not have a cognomen. It is interesting that the gentilicium *Vibius* is among the rare names that are documented for the Republican period on the eastern coast of the Adriatic.⁷¹ On the other hand, it is necessary to note that *Vibius* was often used as a single (peregrine) name or even as a cognomen precisely in Noricum and some parts of Pannonia, and must evidently have concealed an autochthonous name.⁷² As is apparent from the cited observations of the previous editors of this inscription, the authenticity of the text is disputed, and the inscription is unusual primarily because the soldier does not cite his *praenomen*, which is incomprehensible for a legionary from among the *principales*, with a rank of *frumentarius*, who necessarily must have had Roman citizenship.⁷³ Reasons for omitting a *praenomen* on a publicly placed altar cannot be satisfactorily explained. Equally unusual is the incorrect abbreviation *E. C.* in the last line (the formula *f(aciendum) c(uravit)* being intended), in relation to which Premerstein observed that in fact it had no place on a dedication to a deity: both elements would indicate that the text is not genuine. It must additionally be emphasized that the inscription was carved in an exceptionally awkward manner, which, given a date of the first half of the 1st century and the fact that it was ordered by a soldier of an upper rank, is more than odd. The letters are of entirely irregular form; the awkward *ductus* of the inscription could perhaps be explained if the text had subsequently been re-carved with a chisel, as had already been suggested by Vodnik, and later by Mommsen.⁷⁴ An additional element for suspicion is that a legionary *frumentarius* would have erected an altar exactly to Ceres, as almost involuntarily this may be interpreted as some jest by a forger. The role of the *frumentarius* – as is indicated by the name – in the early Principate was actually to supply the army with provisions, however this func-

⁶⁸ Ritterling (n. 1), 1748; W. G. Sinnigen, The Origins of the *frumentarii*, *Memoirs of the American Academy in Rome* 27, 1962, 216 n. 19.

⁶⁹ M. Clauss, *Untersuchungen zu den principales des römischen Heers von Augustus bis Diokletian. Cornicularii, speculatores, frumentarii* (Diss. Bochum), 1973, 126–127 n. 55.

⁷⁰ Legion XV *Primigenia* had been founded during the reign of Caligula and was in existence until AD 70.

⁷¹ Bandelli (n. 14), 80.

⁷² F. Lochner von Hüttenbach, *Die römerzeitlichen Personennamen der Steiermark*, Graz 1989, 181–182.

⁷³ D. J. Breeze, The organisation of the career structure of the immunes and principales of the Roman army, *Bonner Jahrbücher* 174, 1974, 266, 268–269, 271, 274–275 (= D. J. Breeze, B. Dobson, *Roman Officers and Frontiers* [Mavors 10], 1993, 32, 34–35, 37, 40–41); Clauss (n. 67), *passim*.

⁷⁴ V. Vodnik, *Laibacher Wochenblatt* 1818, No. 14; idem, *Mitt. Hist. Ver. Kr.* 1848, 91; Mommsen, *CIL* III 3835.

tion developed in another direction, and at the latest from Hadrian onwards, *frumentarii* were documented in the role of police, or secret imperial agents.⁷⁵

On the other hand, the authenticity of the inscription would be supported by the simple fact that it would be difficult to hypothesize for the period at the end of the 17th century – or even earlier – that someone in Ljubljana could counterfeit an inscription like the one discussed above, as this would imply an exceptionally thorough knowledge of Roman antiquities. This text unites some very precise and in a certain sense complex elements, such as the rank of *frumentarius*, the dedication to Ceres, and the mention of the 15th legion exactly in Emona, where its possible presence opens a series of interesting problems. It would thus be difficult to claim that the inscription could have been created without some previously existing genuine text, with a more or less similar content, which served the copier as a model.

Nonetheless only one inscription of an active soldier of the 15th legion so far found in Emona can be cited with certainty (the above mentioned *CIL* III 10769). The tombstone was found, as were several other inscriptions from Emona, at the Church of St Christopher in the area of the northern cemetery of Emona, although not *in situ*, and thus the archaeological context of the find cannot be reconstructed.⁷⁶ Military presence in Emona in the first half of the 1st century AD may further be indicated by a fragment of a tombstone with a non-preserved inscription, on which military decorations are depicted.⁷⁷

As is clear from the evidence discussed above, the epigraphic documents cannot support the theory that a legionary camp existed at Emona. The same is true of the numismatic finds, whose structure does not correspond to the structure and quantity of monetary finds characteristic of Augustan legionary camps.⁷⁸ Ritterling's opinion on this matter remains more or less relevant even today: "*Die Annahme, dass die hiberna der XV Apoll. zur Zeit des Augustus in der Gegend von Emona zu suchen seien, hat manches für sich: aber Zeugnisse dafür fehlen bis jetzt.*"⁷⁹ It is significant to note that Ritterling, as is evident from the quotation, did not hypothetically locate the winter camp of the *legio* XV at Emona, but rather in the vicinity of Emona. Future finds may nonetheless show that it was actually located at Siscia, or elsewhere.

Even less correct is the common assumption that Emona was a Tiberian foundation, summarized by A. Mócsy in his *RE*-article on the province of Pannonia: "*Die Gründungszeit hat B. Saria Laureae Aquincenses I 252 ff. endgültig auf Tiberius festsetzen können. Die Gründung erfolgte durch Ansiedlung von Veteranen der Legio XV Apollinaris . . .*"⁸⁰ As argued above, there is no evidence that Emona was founded as a colony by Tiberius, and

⁷⁵ *Diz. ep.* s. v. 221 ff; A. v. Domaszewski, *Die Rangordnung des römischen Heeres*. 2. durchgesehene Aufl., Einführung, Berichtigungen und Nachträge von B. Dobson, Beihefte der Bonner Jahrbücher 14 (Köln 1967) XII, XXIII, 34–35, 48, 88, 107: especially for the later period.

⁷⁶ Schmid (n. 2), 46–47 and n. 4.

⁷⁷ V. A. Maxfield, A Soldier's Tombstone from Emona (Vojaški nagrobnik iz Emone), *Arh. vest.* 37, 1986, 279–286.

⁷⁸ Kos (n. 7).

⁷⁹ Ritterling (n. 1), 1748, and in the footnote.

⁸⁰ *RE Suppl.* 9 (1962), 596.

neither is it true that the settlement was colonized by the veterans of the 15th legion, since veterans of the 8th legion are equally attested numerically among the inhabitants of Emona. It is apparent from the above that the circumstances of the transfer of the 15th legion to Carnuntum are also entirely unclear.⁸¹

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⁸¹ Cf. M. Kandler, in: H. Stiglitz, M. Kandler, W. Jobst, Carnuntum, in: *ANRW* II 6 (1977), 658–659. For the traditional date of AD 14 see H. Stiglitz, Carnuntum, in: *RE Suppl.* 12 (1970), 1576. For the early history of the Roman Carnuntum see especially D. Gabler, Zum Anfangsdatum des römischen Carnuntum, *Mitt. Ges. Freunde Carnuntums* 3, 1981, 2–32.



CIL III 10769 from Emona



AIJ 151 from Emona