

Vojaki iz Celeje na tujem

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Izvleček

Članek o celejskih vojaki, ki so izpričani drugod po rimskem imperiju, je dopolnitev prispevka o vojaških napisih Celeje (Visočnik 2008). V katalogu so zbrani latinski napisi, v katerih so omenjeni posamezniki, ki izvirajo iz Celeje oz. iz njene okolice in so velik del svojega življenja preživeli v eni izmed mnogih rimskih vojaških enot. Domov se niso vrnili, saj so se po končani vojaški službi ali ustalili v bližini krajev, kjer je službovala njihova vojaška enota, ali pa je nenadna smrt predčasno zaključila njihovo vojaško kariero. *Origo*, ki je na tak ali drugačen način zapisan ob imenu celejskih vojakov, pa nam omogoča, da s pomočjo obstoječih epigrafskih baz (heidelberška, frankfurtska, rimska in *LUPA*) takšne Celejane najdemo in jih analiziramo. Katalogu napisov, ki so jih našli skoraj po vsem rimskem imperiju, namreč sledi še podrobna analiza imen, enot in funkcij, ki se pojavijo na zbranih napisih.

Ključne besede: antika, epigrafika, Norik, Celeia, rimska vojska, epigrafske baze

Abstract

The article discusses Celeian soldiers attested elsewhere in the Roman Empire, who had spent the greater part of their lives in one of many Roman military units. The catalogue consists of Latin inscriptions mentioning such individuals, supplementing the analysis of military inscriptions from Celeia (Visočnik 2008). These soldiers did not return home for, after the completion of their service, they had either settled near the place where their military unit was stationed, or else sudden death had prematurely ended their military career. *Origo*, which is written alongside the name of Celeian soldiers, enables us to find and analyse these Celeians with the help of the existing epigraphic databases (Heidelberg, Frankfurt, Rome and *LUPA*). The catalogue of inscriptions, which were discovered practically throughout the Roman Empire, is followed by a detailed analysis of the names, units, and functions appearing on the assembled inscriptions.

Keywords: antiquity, epigraphy, Noricum, Celeia, Roman army, epigraphic databases

UVOD

V članku je predložen katalog napisov, v katerih so omenjeni vojaki iz Celeje, ki so izpričani drugod po rimskem imperiju; sledi jim podrobna analiza skoraj vseh vidikov, ki se odpirajo ob preučevanju vojaških napisov oz. vojakov na tujem v rimskem času. *Origo*,¹ ki je v vseh primerih zapisan ob imenu posameznika, nam omogoča identifikacijo oseb, ki so kakorkoli menjale svoje prebivališče. Vpoklic v vojaško službo je samo ena izmed možnosti za "selitev" oz. življenje na tujem. Tem malo več kot 30 napisom sta torej skupni dve stvari: *origo Celeia*

ter navedba ene izmed mnogih vojaških enot, pa naj gre za legije, pomožne čete ali pretorijanske kohorte. Pripadniki viteškega razreda, ki so lahko delovali kot poveljniki katere izmed pomožnih enot ali kot vojaški tribuni v legiji, pri obravnavi niso upoštevanji. Nekateri med poznanimi vojniki iz Celeje, ki jih na tem mestu navajamo, so po končani vojaški službi svoje javno delovanje nadaljevali v upravi mesta, kjer so se ustalili. Zadostili so finančnim in moralnim standardom in bili sprejeti v svet stotih (*ordo decurionum*), kjer so opravljali upravne funkcije in postali del municipalne elite. Komentarji k posameznim ali skupini napisov bodo omogočali primerjavo z drugimi mesti ter umestitev mesta Celeja v čim

¹ Za *origo* glej González Fernández 2011.

bolj pravilen zgodovinski kontekst romanizacije, urbanizacije in administracije rimske države v vzhodnoalpskem prostoru. Podobno kot v članku iz leta 2008 se tudi zdaj ne ukvarjamo z vojaškimi funkcijami viteške kariere (*cursus honorum*); Tita Varija Klementa (in njemu podobnih posameznikov) torej ne obravnavamo.

Katalog napisov je nastal s pomočjo štirih epigrafskih baz: heidelberške (EDH), frankfurtske (EDCS), rimske (EDR) in *UBI ERAT LUPA (LUPA)*. Navedene reference so povzete iz teh virov, pri čemer imajo heidelberška, rimska in *LUPA* napise tudi same oštevilčene. Veliko vojakov iz kataloga, ki sledi, je zbral že J. Šašel v članku o Celeji v *RE*; navedeni so med epigrafskimi viri, torej med napisi, ki izrecno navajajo Celejo.²

KATALOG VOJAŠKIH NAPISOV

Katalog ni opremljen s slikovnim gradivom, saj kakovostnih fotografij ni mogoče pridobiti brez večjih zapletov. Pri večini napisov pa je povprečna fotografija na voljo znotraj zapisa v eni ali drugi epigrafski bazi.

Italija

Rim

1. Nagrobnik za pretorijance Publija Elija Finita, Publija Elija Respekta in Publija Elija Tutorja, ki ga je dal postaviti pretorijanec Publij Elij Tutor

P(ublio) Aelio P(ubli) f(ilio) Clau(dia) / Finito Celeia, / mil(iti) coh(ortis) IX pr(aetoriae) 7 (centuria) / Piseni, mil(itavit) an(nos) III, / vix(it) ann(os) XXII. / P(ublius) Aelius Tutor, m(iles) / coh(ortis) IX pr(aetoriae) | 7(centuria) Piseni, / fratri pientissimo / et P(ublio) Aelio Respecto, / mil(iti) coh(ortis) VI pr(aetoriae) |(centuria) / Dextri, et P(ublio) Aelio / Tutori, mil(iti) coh(ortis) / VIII pr(aetoriae) | 7 (centuria) Caesili, / municipib(us) h(eres) f(aciendum) c(uravit).

Prevod: Publiju Eliju Finitu, Publijevemu sinu, ki je vpisan v volilno okrožje Klavdija, iz Celeje, vojaku Devete pretorijanske kohorte iz Pizenove centurije, ki je kot vojak služboval 3 leta in živel 22 let. Dedič Publij Elij Tutor, vojak Devete pretori-

janske kohorte iz Pizenove centurije je poskrbel za postavitev (nagrobnika) najbolj predanemu bratu in rojakoma Publiju Eliju Respektu, vojaku Šeste pretorijanske kohorte iz Dekstrove centurije, ter Publiju Eliju Tutorju, vojaku Osme pretorijanske kohorte iz Kajsilove centurije.

Objave: AE 1924, 107; EDH 026452; EDR 072922.

Datacija: 1. pol. 2. st.

2. Nagrobnik za pretorijanca Publija Elija Sura

D(is) M(anibus). / [---] P(ublio) Aelio P(ubli) f(ilio) / Suro Claudia / Cel{l}jeia, mil(iti) coh(ortis) IIII / pr(aetoriae) | 7 (centuria) Traebelli Maxsimi (!). Mil(itavit) / ann(os) II vix(it) ann(os) XXII. H(eres) f(aciendum) c(uravit).

Prevod: Božanskim Manom. Publiju Eliju Suro, Publijevemu sinu, ki je vpisan v volilno okrožje Klavdija, iz Celeje, vojaku Četrte pretorijanske kohorte iz centurije Trebela Maksima, ki je kot vojak služboval 2 leti in je umrl star 22 let. Dedič je poskrbel za postavitev.

Objave: CIL VI 2522; EDR 103466 (s fotografijo in več literature).

Datacija: 2. st. (?).

3. Nagrobnik za nekdanjega pretorijanca Gaja Kornelija Memorja

D(is) M(anibus). / C(aius) Cornel(ius) Memor / d(omo) Celeia, q(uondam) mil(es) / coh(ortis) IIII pr(aetoriae) | 7 (centuria) Patroili. / Mil(itavit) ann(os) XXVIII ite/ratus, vixit ann(os) LXXX. / Aur(elius) Ingenuilis, opt(io) / et heres eius b(ene) m(erenti) / posuit.

Prevod: Božanskim Manom. Gaj Kornelij Memor, doma iz Celeje, nekdanji vojak Četrte pretorijanske kohorte iz centurije Patroila, ki je kot vojak služboval dvojno – 28 let, in živel 80 let. Avrelj Ingenuilis, option (centurionov pomočnik) in njegov dedič, je postavil zelo zaslužnemu.

Objave: CIL VI 2534; EDR 104322 (z več literature).

Datacija: 2. st./začetek 3. st.

² Šašel 1970, predvsem 140–142.

4. Nagrobnik za pretorijanca Gaja Valerija³ Kupita

D(is) M(anibus). / C(aio) Valerio C(ai) f(ilio) / Cla(udia) Cupito / Celei(a)e, mil(iti) coh(ortis) / VI pr(aetoriae) 7 (centuria) Aureli. / Mil(itavit) ann(os) VI, vix(it) / ann(os) XXIII. / C(aius) Quartius Secun/dus, mil(es) leg(ionis) XIII / Gem(inae), fratri b(ene) m(erenti) / et Numisia Sabi(na?) / coniugi b(ene) m(erenti). / T(estamento) p(oni) i(ussit). Hered(es) f(aciendum) c(uraverunt).

Prevod: Božanskim Manom. Gaju Valeriju Kupitu, sinu Gaja, iz Celeje, vojaku Šeste pretorijanske kohorte iz centurije Avrelija, ki je kot vojak služboval šest let in živel 24 let. Gaj Kvartij Sekund, vojak Trinajste dvojne legije, zelo zaslužnemu bratu in Numisija Sabina zelo zaslužnemu možu. Z oporoko odločil postaviti. Dediči so poskrbeli za postavitev.

Objave: CIL VI 2619 = 32655; EDR 103496 (s fotografijo in več literature).

Datacija: 2. st.

5. Nagrobnik za pretorijanca Marka Saturija Maksima

D(is) M(anibus). / M(arcus) Saturius / M(arci) f(ilius) Cla(udia) Maximus / Celeia, eq(ues) / coh(ortis) X pr(aetoriae) | 7 (centuria) / Apti. Mil(itavit) ann(os) / XII, vix(it) ann(os) / XXX. H(eres) f(aciendum) c(uravit).

Prevod: Božanskim Manom. Mark Saturij Maksim, sin Marka, ki je vpisan v volilno okrožje Klavdija, iz Celeje, konjenik Desete pretorijanske kohorte iz centurije Apta, ki je kot vojak služboval 12 let in umrl star 30 let. Dedič je poskrbel za postavitev.

Objave: CIL VI 2751; EDR 104878.

Datacija: 2. st.

6. Nagrobnik za pretorijanca Gaja Julija Vera

C(ai) Iuli Veri, mil(itis) / coh(ortis) VIII pr(aetoriae) P(iae) V(indicis) | 7 (centuria) Quieti, oriundi / ex civitate Cele/iae (!), qui militav(it) an(nis) XIII mensibu[s] ---]. / C(aius) Reginius P[---] / [---]s comm(anipularis?).

Prevod: Gaju Juliju Veru, vojaku Osme pretorijanske kohorte vestne in zaščitnice iz centurije

Kvieta, ki izvira iz mesta Celeje, in je kot vojak služboval 14 let, ... mesecev Gaj Reginij ... sotovariš iz manipla.

Objave: CIL VI, 37218 = AE 1903, 124 = AE 1903, 167; EDH 031101; EDR 071923 (s fotografijo).

Datacija: 2. st.

Etrurija/Regio VII

Falerii

7. Nagrobnik za pretorijanca Gaja Akvilija Verekunda

D(is) M(anibus). / C(aio) Aquilio C(ai) f(ilio) / Clau(dia) Verecun/do Celeia, mil(iti) / coh(ortis) IIX pr(aetoriae) |(centuria) / Vetti, vix(it) ann(os) / XX, mil(itavit) ann(os) II. / Censorinus / Secundus et / Aelius Severus.

Prevod: Božanskim Manom. Gaju Akviliju Verekundu, sinu Gaja, ki je vpisan v volilno okrožje Klavdija, iz Celeje, vojaku Osme pretorijanske kohorte iz centurije Vetija, ki je umrl star 20 let in je kot vojak služboval 2 leti. Postavila Cenzorin Sekund in Elij Sever.

Objave: Di Stefano Manzella 1981, 142–143, št. 20 = AE 1982, 273; EDH 001705; ARACHNE⁴ 46936.

Datacija: 2. pol. 2. st. (?).

Venecija in Histrija/Regio X

Vicetia

8. Nagrobnik za pretorijanca Marka Valerija Ingenuina

D(is) M(anibus). / M(arcus) Valerius M(arci) f(ilius) / Vol(tinia) Cl(audia) Celeia / Ingenuinus, / mil(es) coh(ortis) III pr(aetoriae). / Mil(itavit) ann(os) VIII, / vix(it) ann(os) XXXV. / L(ucius) Valerius fr(ater) / b(ene) m(erenti) p(osuit).

Prevod: Božanskim Manom. Mark Valerij Ingenuin, Markov sin, vpisan v volilno okrožje Voltinija, iz Klavdije Celeje, vojak Tretje pretorijanske kohorte,

³ Za Valerije glej Alföldy 1964–1965.

⁴ <http://arachne.uni-koeln.de/item/objekt/46936> (zadnji dostop 19. 10. 2012).

ki je kot vojak služboval 9 let in živel 35 let. Brat Lucij Valerij je postavil nagrobnik zelo zaslužnemu.

Objave: Pais 1884, 610.

Datacija: 2. st.

Britanija

Deva (Chester)

9. Nagrobnik za vojaka Kvinta Valerija Frontona

Q(uintus) Valeri(us) Q(uinti) f(ilius) Cla(udia) / Fronto Cele(i)a, miles leg(ionis) / II ad(iutricis) P(iae) F(idelis), an/norum L / stipendioru/m XXV[---] .

Prevod: Kvint Valerij Fronton, Kvintov sin, vpisan v volilno okrožje Klavdija, iz Celeje, vojak Druge pomožne legije, vestne in zveste, star 50 let, ki je kot vojak služil 25? let.

Objave: RIB 479 = AE 1892, 61.

Datacija: konec 1. st.

10. Nagrobnik za vojaka Gaja Julija Kvarta

C(aius) Iulius C(ai) Cl(audia) / Quartus Cel(eia), / mil(es) leg(ionis) XX V(aleriae) v(ictricis) / 7 (centuria) T(iti) Flavi Pro(---), / an(norum) XXX, st(ipendiorum) VII / Rusius Mo[-]N / [---] .

Prevod: Gaj Julij Kvart, Gajev sin, vpisan v volilno okrožje Klavdija, iz Celeje, vojak Dvajsete legije Valerije zmagovite, iz centurije Tita Flavija Pro?, star 30 let, po opravljenih 7 letih vojaške službe. Rusij Mo... (postavil).

Objave: RIB 498.

Datacija: 1./2. st.

11. Nagrobnik za vojaka Marka Sekstija Belika

D(is) M(anibus). / M(arcus) Sextius M(arci) f(ilius) / Clau(dia) Bellic[us] / Cla(udia) Celeia, a[n]/[n]orum XX[---] / [sti]pend[iorum] --- .

Prevod: Božanskim Manom. Mark Sekstij Belik, Markov sin, vpisan v volilno okrožje Klavdija, iz Klavdije Celeje, star 20? let, opravil ? let vojaške službe.

Objave: RIB 504.

Datacija: 2. st.

12. Nagrobnik za vojaka iz Celeje

---] / Celeia miles / leg(ionis) XX V(aleriae) v(ictricis), / anno(rum) XL, stip(endiorum) XX. / H(eres) f(aciendum) c(uravit).

Prevod: ... iz Celeje, vojak Dvajsete legije Valerije zmagovite, star 40 let, po opravljenih 20 letih vojaške službe. Dedič je poskrbel za postavitev.

Objave: RIB 511.

Datacija: 1./2. st.

Dacija

Mehadia (Ad Mediam)

13. Nagrobnik za veterana Kvinta Kanija Restituta

D(is) M(anibus). / Q(uinto) Canio / Q(uinti) f(ilio) Cl(audiae) Celeiae / Restituto, / vet(erano) leg(ionis) / XIII, dec(urioni) col(oniae) Sar(mizegetusae), / vix(it) an(nos) LXXX. / Canius Respectus et / Cania Atticil(l)a fili(i), / item Ulpia Admata, / co(n) iun(x), posuer(unt) b(ene) m(erenti).

Prevod: Božanskim Manom. Kvintu Kaniju Restitutu, sinu Kvinta, ki je vpisan v volilno okrožje Klavdija, iz Celeje, veteranu Trinajste legije, dekurijonu v koloniji Sarmizegetuzi, ki je živel 80 let. Otroka Kanij Respekt in Kanija Aticila ter žena Ulpija Admata so postavili zelo zaslužnemu.

Objave: Piso 1999; AE 1999, 1304 (prim. AE 2004, ad 1181); Królczyk 2005, 173; EDH 012680; LUPA 13237 (brez fotografije, a z opisom ornamentov).

Datacija: 2. st.

Apulum (Alba Iulia)

14. Fragmentaren nagrobnik za veterana Lucija Atija

D(is) [M(anibus)]. / L(ucius) Atius At[---] / Celeia vet(eranus) [---] vix(it) / an(nos) LXXXI C[---]

Prevod: Božanskim Manom. Lucij Atij A ... iz Celeje, veteran, ki je živel 81 let ...

Objave: CIL III 14481 (prim. AE 2004, ad 1181); Królczyk 2005, 157; EDH 038873.

Datacija: 2. pol. 2. st.

Dalmacija

Andetrium (Muć)

15. Nagrobnik za vojaka Lucija Terencija Severa

L(ucio) Terentio / L(uci) f(ilio) Claud(ia) / Severo Cel(eia), / mil(iti) coh(ortis) VIII, / vexilar(io), / ann(orum) / XXX, stipend(iorum) XIV. / L(ucius) Aebutius / Felix posui(t).

Prevod: Luciju Terenciju Severu, Lucijevemu sinu, ki je vpisan v volilno okrožje Klavdija, iz Celeje, vojaku praporščaku osme kohorte, staremu 30 let, ki je odslužil 14 let vojaške obveznosti. Nagrobnik mu je postavil Lucij Ebučij Felix.

Objave: CIL III 2745; EDH 061927.

Datacija: 1. st.

16. Nagrobnik za centuriona Marka Valerija Donika

M(arco) Valerio / Donico, / natus domo / Celeiae, / 7 (centurioni) c(o)hor(tis) III / Alpinorum fecit. / Herennia Pudentilla coniugi / bene merenti.

Prevod: Marku Valeriju Doniku, ki je bil rojen v Celeji, centurionu v Tretji kohorti alpincev. Zelo zaslužnemu možu je postavila Herenija Pudentilla.

Objave: CIL III 2746; EDH 061926.

Datacija: 2. st.

Germanija

Mogontiacum (Mainz)

17. Nagrobnik za konjenika Gaja Romanija Kapitona

C(aius) Romanus, / eq(ues) alae Norico(rum), / Claud(ia) Capito / Celeia, an(norum) XL, stip(endiorum) XIX. / H(ic) s(itus) e(st). H(eres) ex t(estamento) f(aciendum) c(uravit).

Prevod: Gaj Romanij Kapiton, ki je vpisan v volilno okrožje Klavdija, iz Celeje, konjenik ale Norikov, star 40 let, ki je vojaško službo opravljal 19 let. Tukaj je pokopan. Dedič je po oporoki poskrbel za postavitev.

Objave: CIL XIII 7029; EDH 056250; SCHAE-TZE⁵ inv. št. S 607.

Datacija: 1. st.

Norik

Lauriacum (Enns)

18. Nagrobnik za zastavonošo Avrelija

[---] Aurel(ius) [---] / Cel(eia), sig(nifer) leg(ionis) II I[tal(icae). Aur(elio?)] / Annamato, mil(iti) [leg(ionis) ---], / o(bito) an(norum), [---] stip(endiorum) XIIIX et A[---]ano [---] o(bito) an(norum), [---] fe]/cit et sibi et [---] / Epictesi co[n(iugi) et Aure]/li(i)s Priscin[---] / et Florent[---].

Prevod: ... Avrelij iz Celeje, zastavonoša Druge italske legije, Avreliju Anamatu vojaku legije ..., ki je umrl star ..., ko je odslužil 18 let vojaške službe, in A..., ki je umrl star ... je postavil sebi in ženi Epiktezi in Avrelijema Priscinu in Florent...

Objave: CIL III 11822; EDH 035321; LUPA 4515 (s fotografijo in več literature).

Datacija: 3. st.

Spodnja Mezija

Novae (Svishtov)

19. Votivna ara za Jupitra Najboljšega in Največjega, Odvračalca zla

I(ovi) O(ptimo) M(aximo) / Depulsori / [pr]o salute d(omini) n(ostri) / [[M(arci) Aurel(i) Severi Ale]]/[xandri]] Pii Felicis / Aug(usti). / G(aius) Baienius / G(ai) f(ilius) Clau(dia) [I]anuarius Cele/ia, p(rimus) [p(ilus)] leg(ionis) I Ital(icae) Seve/rianae ex voto posu(it). // Dedic(atum) III Non(as) Oct(obres) / Albino et Maximo c(o)n(s)ulibus] / per L(ucium) Mantennium Sa(binum), leg(atum) Aug(usti) pr(o) pr(aetore) / et Servaeum Corne/lianum, leg(atum) leg(ionis) // [A]diutrix, legio prim[a?] tirone probat[o] / [---] caliga prima cu[m] compare cent[urio]ne / [---]cto Baienium / [-----] / [---]AC[---]VMA felice / [---] POT[---]M / [---] DOM[---] R]omam misist[i] / [-----] / [---]SA Iovi

⁵ http://www.landesmuseum-mainz.de/enid/Schae-tze_aus_der_Roemersammlung/Grabstein_des_Reitersoldaten_Romanus_Capito_gt.html (zadnji dostop 2. 8. 2012).

[--- prim]us pilus tibi san[cto] / [ex v]oto posuit
Po[--- Ia]nuarius a[ram?]

Prevod: Jupitru Najboljšemu in Največjemu, Odvračalcu zla. Za blagor našega gospoda Marka Aurelija Severa Aleksandra Pobožnega Srečnega Avgusta. Gaj Baenij Januarij, Gajev sin, vpisan v volilno okrožje Klavdija, iz Celeje. Prvi centurion v Prvi italjski legiji severski, je postavil po zaobljubi. Posvečeno na tretji dan pred oktobrskimi nonami, v letu konzulov Albina in Maxima po Luciju Manteniju Sabinu, cesarskem namestniku v provinci, in Serveju Kornelijanu, poveljniku Prve pomožne legije

Objave: AE 1972, 526; Božilova, Kolendo, Mrozewicz 1992, 30–36, št. 13; Božilova, Kolendo 1997, 62–64, št. 12; EDH 009856.

Datacija: leto 227 po Kr.

20. Nagrobnik za vojaka Valerija Birbilona

[--- V]alerius / C(ai) f(ilius) Claudia / Birbilo Cele(ia), / mil(es) leg(ionis) I Ital(icae) / c(enturia) Cassi Bassi. / Vixit an(nos) XXXVI, / mil(itavit) an(nos) XVI. / Frater imp/ensa sua / posuit.

Prevod: (Gaj) Valerij Birbilon, Gajev sin, vpisan v volilno okrožje Klavdija, iz Celeje, vojak Prve italjske legije, iz centurije Kasija Basa, ki je živel 36 let in kot vojak služboval 16 let. Nagrobnik je postavil brat na svoje stroške.

Objave: Božilova, Kolendo, Mrozewicz 1992, 98–99, št. 59; Božilova, Kolendo 1997, 121–122, št. 85; EDH 027418.

Datacija: 2. st.

Spodnja Panonija

Aquincum (Budimpešta)

21. Nagrobnik za legionarja Tita Plotija Pamfila

T(itus) Plotius Pam/philus Celeia, mil(es) / leg(ionis) II Ad(iutricis) P(iae) F(idelis) 7 (centuria) Nim/pidiani. Defunctus / Alaxandria (!), stip(endiorum) XV, / natione Noricus. / P(osuit) h(eres) Magnus / Atticus.

Prevod: Tit Plotij Pamfil iz Celeje, vojak Druge pomožne legije, vestne in zveste, iz centurije

Nimpidijana, ki je umrl v Aleksandriji, potem ko je odslužil 15 let vojaške obveznosti, po narodnosti Noričan. Postavil je dedič Magnij Atik.

Objave: AE 1936, 163; EDH 024516; LUPA 2833 (s fotografijo in več literature).

Datacija: 2. pol. 2. st.

Zgornja Panonija

Poetovio (Ptuj)

22. Nagrobnik za legionarja Lucija Aneja Sura

L(ucius) Annaeus L(uci) [f(ilius)] / Cla(udia) Surus Cel(eia), / mil(es) leg(ionis) XIII Gem(inae), / ann(orum) XXX, / stip(endiorum) XVIII. / H(ic) s(itus) e(st). / T(estamento) f(ieri) i(ussit).

Prevod: Tukaj je pokopan Lucij Anej Surus, Lucijev sin, vpisan v volilno okrožje Klavdija, iz Celeje, vojak Trinajste dvojne legije, star 30 let in z 18 leti vojaške službe. Z oporoko je odločil postaviti.

Objave: AE 1977, 629; EDH 020446; LUPA 4208 (s fotografijo in več literature).

Datacija: 2. pol. 1. st.

23. Fragmentaren nagrobnik vojaka iz Celeje

IIII[---]XXX[---] / [---] stip(endiorum) VII, domo / Cla(udia) Celeia. / C(aius) Betuscus Tertius, / mil(es) leg(ionis) eiusd(em), fratri / pientissimo posuit.

Prevod: ... po odsluženih 7 letih vojaške službe, doma iz Klavdije Celeje, Gaj Betuskij Tertij, vojak iste legije, postavil najbolj predanemu bratu.

Objave: CIL III 4055; AIJ 370; LUPA 3751 (s fotografijo in več literature).

Datacija: 2. pol. 1. st.

V nadaljevanju navajam predvsem pripadnike pretorijancev, ki pa svojega imena niso zapisali na nagrobniku, temveč so navedeni na daljših seznamih, t. i. laterkulih (*laterculi praetorianorum*) v obliki plošč, ki so jih v večjem številu našli v Rimu. Ker gre za daljše napise, ki ne prinašajo ničesar drugega kot imena, kraj in včasih še funkcijo, ki jo je

lahko nek pretorijanec opravljal, jih ne navajam v celoti, temveč samo imena Celejanov.

V isti sklop napisov sodi tudi cesarski napis iz Spodnje Mezije, ki poleg cesarjeve titulature prav tako navaja seznam oseb. Ker je ohranjen fragmentarno, za vse omenjene posameznike ne vemo, kdo so bili in kaj so počeli. Veliko pa je med njimi takšnih, ki so opravljali katero od vojaških funkcij.

Kot referenca je navedena heidelberška baza ali CIL, kjer je mogoče najti natančnejše podatke o napisih.

Italija

Rim

24.

[---] *Ma]scilin(us?) Cele(ia)*

Objava: EDH 023880 = EDR 073199.

Datacija: 1./2. st.

25.

C(aius) Aufustus C(ai) f(ilius) Cla(udia) Tannio Celei(a) sp(eculator)

M(arcus) Aurelius M(arci) f(ilius) Cla(udia) Avitus Celei(a) tubicen

M(arcus) Aurelius M(arci) f(ilius) Cla(udia) Saturnin(us) Celei(a)

M(arcus) Aurelius M(arci) f(ilius) Cla(udia) Speratus Celei(a)

M(arcus) Aurelius M(arci) f(ilius) Cla(udia) Maximus Celei(a)

T(itus) Adiutorius C(ai) f(ilius) Cla(udia) Gemellus Ce[leia]

Objava: CIL VI, 2382; CIL VI 32638; EDH 015853; EDR 074389 (s fotografijo); fotografija tudi v EDCS.

Datacija: 2. st.

26.

T(itus) M(---)cius Firmus Celeia evo(catus) [S]eptimius Insoques Celein (!)

Objava: CIL VI 32536 (za literature glej še EDCS).

Datacija: konec 2./začetek 3. st.

27.

[---] *ius Celeia*

Objava: CIL VI 32623; EDR 121570 (brez fotografije, a z več literature).

Datacija: 2. st.

28.

M(arcus) Aemilius Verecundus Celei(a) evo(catus)

M(arcus) Aurelius Firminus Celei(a)

T(itus) Tertinius Vitalis Celei(a).

Objava: CIL VI 32627.

Datacija: 2. pol. 2. st.

29.

[---] *Aurel(ius) M(arci) f(ilius) Cl(audia) Servatus Celei(a)*

Objava: CIL VI 32640.

Datacija: 2. pol. 2. st.

30.

[---] *Celeia*

Objava: CIL VI 11668; CIL 06, 32634; SupplIt Imag: Roma 02, 2886; EDR 115796.

Datacija: 243.

Spodnja Mezija

Tropaeum Traiani (Adamclisi)

31. Spomenik cesarja Domicijana?

C(aius) Valeri[us Se]cundus Cele(ia)

Objava: EDH 017350; LUPA 15396 (s fotografijo in z več literature)

Datacija: med letoma 87–90.

ANALIZA

Z namenom, da celejske vojake po imperiju pregledneje predstavim, jih na tem mestu navajam še tabelarično (*tab. 1*). Skupine so se oblikovale na osnovi funkcije, ki jo je posameznik opravljal. Skupini pretorijancev in vojakov (večinoma legionarjev) sta pričakovano največji.

Slednji očitno niso opravljali kakšne posebne funkcije, saj bi bila v nasprotnem primeru ta zapisana. Po številu je skupina sicer enaka skupini pretorijancev, vendar sta med njimi tudi dva fragmentarno ohranjena nagrobnika, pri katerih se o funkciji samo sklepa. V skupini veteranov sta samo dva prav z nazivom *veteranus*, med ostalimi (daljšimi) napisi pa se pojavita še dva posameznika, ki sta opisana kot *evocatus*. Poleg pretorijancev in legionarjev (gre za splošna izraza) srečamo le še konjenika (*eques*) ter nosilca prapora (*signifer*) in dva centuriona. Kot "ostali" so navedeni Celejani, katerih imena so zapisana na daljših seznamih, večinoma na t. i. laterkulih (*laterculi*) iz Rima; to so sezname pretorijancev, ki pa smo jih ločili od ostalih, saj skupaj s cesarskim napisom iz Spodnje Mezije predstavljajo posebno enoto. Med 15 vojaki v tej skupini so izpričane štiri posebne funkcije oziroma natančnejše opredelitve: *speculator*, *tubicen*, *signifer* in *evocatus*.

Pretorijanci (št. 1–8 in 24–30) so v mestu Rimu, pa tudi širše v Italiji predstavljali pomembno vojaško in politično silo. Sicer niso bili nikoli organizirani v legijo, pa vendar je njihovih 9 oziroma od Vespazijana naprej 10 kohort s po 500 ali 1000 predstavnikov pod poveljstvom prefekta pretorija v odločilnih trenutkih rimske zgodovine pogosto prevesilo sile na eno ali drugo stran.⁶ Pretorijance so predvsem v 2. stoletju pogosto rekrutirali tudi v Noriku, kar dokazujejo tako napisi, ki jih obravnavamo na tem mestu, kakor tudi tisti, ki jih poznamo iz same Celeje.⁷

Med pretorijanci imamo pet Elijev (št. 1 in 2), torej Celejane z gentilicijem cesarja Hadrijana, ki jih je zato mogoče vsaj okvirno datirati, torej nekako od sredine 2. st. naprej. Publij Elij Finit je služboval v Deveti pretorijanski kohorti, in sicer v centuriji Pizena. Umrl je mlad, po samo treh letih službovanja, nagrobnik mu je v Rimu postavil brat Publij Elij Tutor, prav tako pretorijanec iste enote. Nagrobnik pa ni bil izključno zanj, temveč še za dva pretorijanca Publja Elija (Respekta in Tutorja), ki sta služila v Šesti in Osmi kohorti. Zaradi besede *municeps* (someščan), ki so jo na nagrobniku uporabili ob slednjih dveh pretorijancih, lahko sklepamo, da sta bila tudi ta dva vojaka iz Celeje. Obravnavani napis gotovo potrjuje teorijo o t. i. vojaških družinah. V tem primeru sta brata

istočasno opravljala vojaško službo v isti pretorijanski kohorti, celo v isti centuriji. Poleg njiju sta na nagrobniku še dve imeni pretorijancev, Elijev, ob katerih origa sicer ni, a bi na osnovi njunih imen in dejstva, da je Publij Elij Tutor naveden kot njihov dedič, lahko sklepali, da sta tudi onadva iz Celeje (če izhajamo iz imen, morda celo člana iste družine). Podobna usoda, namreč smrt pri dvaindvajsetih letih po samo dveh letih službovanja, je doletela tudi Publja Elija Tavra, ki pa je služboval v Četrthi kohorti pretorijancev. Tudi njemu je nagrobnik postavil dedič, ki pa ni imenovan.

Naslednji pretorijanec s cesarskim gentilicijem je Gaj Julij Ver (št. 6), ki bi ga bilo možno (sodeč po imenu) datirati v drugo polovico 1. st.⁸ Deloval je v Osmi kohorti pretorijancev, ki je na tem mestu poimenovana tudi vestna in zaščitnica (*pia* in *vindex*), česar pri pretorijanskih enotah ne srečamo prav pogosto. Njegov *origo* je naveden kot *ex civitate Celeia*; zanimiva pa je tudi navedba trajanja vojaške službe, saj letom sledijo še meseci in, če bi bil spomenik ohranjen v celoti, morda celo dnevi. Gaj Julij Ver je bil očitno tudi eden tistih nesrečnežev, ki mu je do dokončanja vojaške službe preostalo samo še dobro leto. Spomenik mu je dal postaviti Gaj Reginij, očitno tovariš iz manipula, ki je predstavljal približno 1/3 centurije.

Kot pretorijanca sta izpričana tudi dva predstavnika družine Valerijev (št. 4, št. 8), ki je bila tako v Celeji kot tudi Petovioni dobro zastopana in vplivna.⁹ Gaj Valerij Kupit je bil vojak Šeste pretorijanske kohorte, ki je umrl še pred dopolnjenim petindvajsetim letom, po šestih letih službovanja. Za nagrobnik sta poskrbela brat Gaj Kvartij Sekund,¹⁰ vojak Trinajste dvojne legije,¹¹ in žena umrlega pretorijanca. Mark Valerij je služboval v Tretji pretorijanski kohorti, umrl pa je pri 35 letih, po devetih letih opravljanja vojaške službe. Nenavadno pri njem je, da ni bil vpisan v volilno okrožje *Claudia*, kot je bilo za prebivalce Celeje običajno, temveč v volilno okrožje *Voltinia*.

⁸ Prim. Djura Jelenko, Visočnik 2006, 367–368, št. 4, za začetek rekrutiranja pretorijancev iz Norika.

⁹ Prim. Visočnik 2007, 198.

¹⁰ Če sta Gaj Valerij Kupit in Gaj Kvartij Sekund res brata, potem bi pričakovali pri obeh enak gentilicij. Ker ga nimata, lahko predvidevamo, da gre za polbrata, ki sta delila le mamo. Beseda *frater* pa bi lahko bila povezana tudi s posebno bližino, ki se je ustvarila med vojnima tovarišema med skupnim služenjem (prim. Kepartova 1986; Panciera 2004, 294).

¹¹ Za osnovne podatke o legiji, ki je večino druge polovice prvega stoletja preživela v Petovioni, glej Visočnik 2008, 340–341.

⁶ Prim. Keppie 2000a; Passerini 1939; Durry 1938; Šašel 1972.

⁷ Prim. Visočnik 2008, 341; Pochmarski 2007, 274 št. 36–42.

Tab. 1: Vojaki iz Celeje in njihove funkcije.

Ime vojaka	Funkcija, vojaška enota	Datacija	Objava
PRAETORIANI			
Publius Aelius Finitus	miles cohortis IX praetoriae	2. st.	EDH 026452
Publius Aelius Tutor	miles cohortis IX praetoriae	2. st.	EDH 026452
Publius Aelius Respectus	miles cohortis VI praetoriae	2. st.	EDH 026452
Publius Aelius Tutor	miles cohortis VIII praetoriae	2. st.	EDH 026452
Publius Aelius Taurus?	miles cohortis III praetoriae	2. st.	CIL VI 2522
Caius Cornelius Memor	miles cohortis III praetoriae	2. st.	CIL VI 2534
Caius Valerius Cupitus	miles cohortis VI praetoriae	2. st.	CIL VI 2619
Marcus Satorius Maximus	eques cohortis X praetoriae	2. st.	CIL VI 2751
Caius Iulius Verus	miles cohortis VIII praetoriae	2. st.	EDH 031101
Caius Aquilius Verecundus	miles cohortis IIX praetoriae	2. pol. 2. st.	EDH 001705
Marcus Valerius Ingenuinus	miles cohortis III praetoriae	2. st.	Pais 1884, 610
MILITES			
Caius Quartius Secundus	miles legionis XIII Geminae		
Quintus Valerius Fronto	miles legionis II Adiutricis p(iae) f(idelis)	konec 1. st.	RIB 479
Caius Iulius Quartus	miles legionis XX V(aleriae) victricis	1./2. st.	RIB 498
Marcus Sextius Bellicus	?	2. st.	RIB 504
?	miles legionis XX Valeriae vitricis		RIB 511
Lucius Terentius Severus	miles cohortis VIII vexilarius	1. st.	EDH 061927
? Valerius Birbilo	miles legionis I Italicae	2. st.	EDH 027418
Titus Plotius Pamphilus	miles legionis II Adiutricis p(iae) f(idelis)	2. st.	EDH 024516
Lucius Annaeus Surus	miles legionis XIII Geminae	2. pol. 1. st.	EDH 020446
? Betuscus ?	miles legionis ?	2. pol. 1. st. (?)	CIL III 4055
VETERANI			
Quintus Canius Restitutus	veteranus legionis XIII	2. st.	EDH 012680
Lucius Atius At?	veteranus	2. pol. 2. st.	EDH 038873
CENTURIONES			
Marcus Valerius Donicus	centurio cohortis III Alpinorum	2. st.	EDH 061926
Gaius Baienius Ianuarius	primus pilus legionis I Italicae Severianae	227	EDH 009856
DRUGE SLUŽBE			
Caius Romanus Capito	eques alae Noricorum	1. st.	EDH 056250
? Aurelius ?	signifer legionis II Italicae	3. st.	EDH 035321
OSTALI			
Caius Valerius Secundus		87–90	EDH 017350
? Masculin(us)?		1./2. st.	EDH 023880
Caius Aufustius Tannio	speculator	2. st.	CIL VI 2382
Marcus Aurelius Avitus	tubicen	2. st.	CIL VI 2382
Marcus Aurelius Saturninus		2. st.	CIL VI 2382
Marcus Aurelius Speratus		2. st.	CIL VI 2382
Marcus Aurelius Maximus		2. st.	CIL VI 2382
Titus M(?) Firmus	evocatus	konec 2./začetek 3. st.	CIL VI 32536
[S]eptimius Insoques Celein (!)		konec 2./začetek 3. st.	CIL VI 32536
? ?ius		2. st.	CIL VI 32623
Marcus Aemilius Verecundus	evocatus	2. pol. 2. st.	CIL VI 32627
Marcus Aurelius Firminus		2. pol. 2. st.	CIL VI 32627
Titus Tertinius Vitalis		2. pol. 2. st.	CIL VI 32627
? Aurelius Servatus		2. pol. 2. st.	CIL VI 32640
??? Celeia		243	CIL VI 32634

Da je bil nekdo vpisan v drugo volilno okrožje kot večina prebivalcev mesta, ni bil redek pojav.¹²

Gaj Kornelij Memor (št. 3) je prvi med celejskimi pretorijanci, ki so svoje službovanje tudi končali, saj je umrl star 80 let (najbrž ne točno, tudi vojaki in veterani so namreč svoja leta zaokroževali).¹³ Svojo službo je opravljal kar 28 let, zato *iteratus*.¹⁴ Za postavitev nagrobnika je poskrbel dedič Aurelij Ingenuil, ki je prav tako opravljal vojaško funkcijo. Bil je *optio* – centurionov pomočnik.¹⁵ Glede na njegovo ime je napis verjetno nastal konec 2. ali v prvi polovici 3. st.

Med pretorijanci posebej izstopa Mark Saturij Maksim (št. 5), saj je edini služboval kot konjenik v Deseti pretorijanski kohorti. Vsaka pretorijanska kohorta je imela tudi konjeniški oddelek.¹⁶ Svoje službe ni zaključil; umrl je star 30 let, po 12 letih službovanja. Njegov gentilicij *Saturius* je eden izmed tistih, ki v rodni Celeji do danes še niso izpričani.¹⁷ Zunaj Rima, a znotraj Italije,¹⁸ kjer so se pretorijanci tudi pogosto mudili, je v Etruriji (*regio VII*) izpričan še Gaj Akvilij Verekund (št. 7) iz Osme pretorijanske kohorte, ki je umrl star 20 let, po samo dveh letih službovanja v pretorijanski gardi.

Skupino "ostali" načeloma prav tako sestavljajo pretorijanci. Nekatere plošče s sezname vojakov

(pretorijancev) so ohranjene samo fragmentarno, zato vseh imen in funkcij, ki so jih opravljali, sploh ne poznamo. Izpričani pa sta funkciji *speculator* in *tubicen*. *Speculatores* so bili predstavniki elitne enote pretorijancev – telesni stražarji, izvidniki. Tristotim pripadnikom posebne enote pretorijanske garde so namreč zaupali še posebej pomembno nalogo cesarjevih telesnih stražarjev. Lahko pa so bili tudi telesni stražarji upravnikov provinc; izpričani so v številnih provincah, med drugim tudi v Panoniji in Dalmaciji.¹⁹ *Tubicen* pa je bil trobentač v vojski. Za svoje naloge je uporabljal tubo – ravno trobilo s koncem, ki je podoben lijaku. Uporabljali so jo v boju, z njo so dajali znamenja za umik ali boj, za odhod, delo, počitek. Sorodni funkciji v vojski sta bili še *bucinatores* in *cornices*. Vsak manipel in vsaka turma sta imela svojega trobentača.²⁰

Večjo skupino vojakov predstavljajo v glavnem legionarji. Med temi kar štirje napisi izvirajo iz Britanije (št. 9–12); vojaki so najverjetneje delovali v dveh pomembnih britanskih legijah: v Dvajseti Valeriji zmagovalni in v Drugi pomožni. Pri enem ime legije sicer ni ohranjeno, a je verjetnost, da gre za eno od omenjenih legij, precej velika. V drugem primeru pa ni ohranjeno ime vojaka, imamo pa enoto, v kateri je odslužil dvajset let vojaške obveze. Dvajseta legija²¹ je leta 43 sodelovala pri osvajanju Britanije, kjer je potem tudi ostala in imela tabore na različnih lokacijah: Camulodunum (Colchester), Glevum (Gloucester), Viroconium (Wroxeter), Deva (Chester). Morda je sodelovala tudi pri gradnji utrdb na severu Irske. Vojak te legije je bil Gaj Julij Kvart, ki bi glede na svoje ime lahko opravljal službo v Britaniji že v drugi polovici 1. st., ker pa je bil napis najden v Chestru, kjer je bila legija nastanjena kasneje, gre verjetneje za 2. stoletje.²² Drugega vojaka te legije, katerega spomenik prav tako prihaja iz Chestra, ne poznamo po imenu. Zanimivo je, da je umrl star 40 let po dvajsetih letih vojaške službe, pri čemer je zaokroževanje številke več kot očitno. Temu pojavu lahko sledimo tudi v večini drugih primerov, kar je neobičajno, saj bi vsaj pri vojaki pričakovali, da bodo navajali natančna leta službe.

Druga pomožna legija je nastala leta 69 oziroma 70, v tem prvem obdobju je nosila tudi vzdevka *Pia* in *Fidelis*. Že leta 71 je v Britanijo odšla s Petilijem Cerialisom; tam je bila najprej nastanjena

¹² Forni 2006, 71–85; id. 2006, 539–549, kjer avtor poudari, da vsi prebivalci mesta niso nujno vpisani v isto volilno okrožje. *Claudia* tako ni bila volilno okrožje Celeje (mesta), temveč *tribus*, v katerega je bila vpisana večina prebivalcev Celeje. Do zamenjave volilnega okrožja pa je lahko prišlo iz različnih razlogov, ki jih Forni tudi navede. Glej še Forni 1985, 107, 115, 122–124, kjer avtor besedno zvezo *Claudia Celeia* predstavi kot t. i. pseudo-tribu. Prim. tudi Bertolazzi, La Monaca 2010, predvsem 284, kje je *Claudia* v obravnavanem napisu razložena kot del municipijevega imena.

¹³ Scheidel 1996, 97–138, kjer se ukvarja z demografskimi problemi rimske vojske, torej tudi z zaokroževanjem let na nagrobnikih.

¹⁴ Vojaška obveznost pretorijancev je sicer trajala 16 let; očitno jo je opravljal še enkrat (*iteratus* je bil vojak, ki je bil po zaključeni vojaški službi ponovno vpoklican).

¹⁵ Breeze 1993, 71–74, natančno razdela različne vrste optionov, ki so opravljali različne funkcije: *optio centuriae*, *optio valetudinarii*, *optio custodiarum*, *optio campi*, itd. V določenih primerih sta si bili funkciji *optio* in *magister* zelo podobni.

¹⁶ Keppie 2000a, 111.

¹⁷ Gentilicij *Saturius* v Celeji do sedaj še ni izpričan, najti pa je mogoče sorodna osebna imena: *Saturio*, *Saturia*, *Satur*, *Saturus*, ki spominjajo na keltska imena na Sat(t)–, prim. Visočnik 2007, 165, 171.

¹⁸ Prim. Keppie 2000a.

¹⁹ Prim. Domaszewski, Dobson 1967, 20, 99.

²⁰ Prim. Lammert 1939.

²¹ Keppie 2000b, 25–35; Ritterling 1925, 1769–1781.

²² Keppie 2000b, 32, sredina 2. st.

v kraju Lindum (Lincoln), nato pa v kraju Deva (Chester). Leta 86 so jo prestavili na Donavo, v Sirmij (Panonija). Po Domicijanovi vojni z Dačani je leta 89 prišla v Akvink. Legija je sodelovala v drugi Trajanovi vojni proti Dačanom in bila med prvimi enotami, ki so zasedle novo provinco. Leta 113 so jo poslali na fronto proti Partom. Ko je kmalu za tem izbruhnil upor Judov, ga je ta legija pomagala zadušiti.²³ S tem obdobjem lahko verjetno povežemo napis Tita Plotija Pamfila (št. 21), katerega nagrobnik je bil postavljen v Akvinku. Po napisu sodeč je namreč Pamfil umrl v Aleksandriji, kjer je morda delovala le veksilacija te legije. Temu gre pripisati tudi dejstvo, da so mu nagrobnik postavili tam, kjer je pravzaprav še vedno bil izhodiščni legijski tabor. Leta 118 se celotna legija vrne v Akvink, kjer si postavi nov tabor.²⁴ Napis je zanimiv tudi zato, ker je *origo* naveden na dva načina. Ne samo, da je zapisana Celeja; dedič je dal zapisati še to, da je bil Tit Plotij Pamfil po narodnosti Noričan. Vojak te legije je bil tudi Kvint Valerij Fronton, ki je svojo življenjsko pot končal v Britaniji že v 1. stoletju, še preden so legijo prestavili na Donavo. Iz napisa je razvidno, da je opravil vsaj dvajset let, če ne celo trideset let služenja. Ker pa vemo, da so legijo vzpostavili šele leta 69 in je že dvajset let kasneje zapustila Britanijo, moramo zaključiti, da je Valerij Fronton moral že pred letom 69 služiti v neki drugi legiji, in je bil eden od tistih bolj izurjenih in izkušenih vojakov, ki so ga pritegnili v novo legijo, kjer je skrbel za urjenje.²⁵

V Spodnji Meziji je kot legionar Prve italške legije služboval Gaj(?) Birbilon (št. 20), ki je po 16 letih služenja umrl star 36 let. Nagrobnik mu je postavil brat, ki pa se poimensko ni dal zapisati na spomenik. Prva italška legija je bila ustanovljena pod Neronom proti koncu njegovega vladanja, leta 68 je bila v Lyonu (Lugdunum) in se je borila za Vitelija v drugi bitki pri Bedriaku. Vespazijan jo je na začetku svojega vladanja poslal v Mezijo, kjer je bila nastanjena v kraju *Novae*.²⁶

Naslednja dva vojaka sta dokumentirana v sosednji Petovioni (št. 22 in št. 23). Lucij Anej Surus je deloval v Trinajsti dvojni legiji, ki je bila na Ptuju med ok. 45 in 90, torej v obdobju, kamor lahko najverjetneje datiramo oba napisa. Zaradi

fragmentarne ohranjenosti spomenika ime drugega vojaka ni znano. Ker pa mu je nagrobnik postavil brat Gaj Betuscij Tertij, vemo, da gre za pripadnika družine Betuscijev. Brata sta službovala v isti legiji, najverjetneje torej v drugi polovici 1. stoletja. Ponovno se srečamo z vojsko kot tradicionalnim družinskim poklicem. Nastanek napisa bi morda lahko povezali z obdobjem, ko je bila Trinajsta dvojna legija v Petovioni, torej z drugo pol. 1. st. 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 (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.²⁷

Predstavnik Terencijev (št. 15) je izpričan kot vojak praporščak Osme kohorte v Dalmaciji,²⁸ pri čemer lahko gre za vojaka, ki je skrbel za prapor (*vexillum*), lahko pa tudi za vojaka, ki je pripadnik veksilacije, torej manjše enote, ki je bila poslana na začasno nalogo stran od matične enote.²⁹ Najverjetneje gre za vojaka Kohorte prostovoljcev, ki so bili rimski državljani (*cohors VIII Voluntariorum civium Romanorum*); ta je bila del pomožnih enot v Dalmaciji.³⁰ Če je temu res tako, potem je bil Terencij tisti, ki je skrbel za prapor. Glede na navedeno starost in število odsluženih let lahko sklepamo, da so ga vpoklicali že zelo mladega, starega komaj šestnajst let. Z iste lokacije poznamo še centuriona v Tretji kohorti alpincev, Marka Valerija Donika, ki mu je nagrobnik postavila soproga Herenija Pudentila. Kohorta je velik del svoje zgodovine preživela prav v Dalmaciji,³¹ v pozni dobi so jo prestavili v Panonijo, kjer so v Sisciji našli več napisov.³² Donik je opravljal funkcijo centuriona v kohorti, ta je bil po hierarhiji sicer nižje od legijskega centuriona.³³ Pri tem Valeriju je treba opozoriti še na *origo: natus domo Celeiae*, kar je

²⁷ Za legije v Petovioni glej Vomer Gojkovič 2005, 463; Ritterling 1925, 1710–1727, predvsem 1713–1715; Wolff 2000; prim. še Piso 2000, 220–224; Visočnik 2008, 340–341.

²⁸ Najverjetneje gre za vojaka Kohorte prostovoljcev, ki so bili rimski državljani (*cohors VIII Voluntariorum civium Romanorum*); bila je del pomožnih enot v Dalmaciji.

²⁹ Prim. Neumann 1956a; id. 1956b; id. 1956c, veksilacije so tvorili s pritegnitvijo pripadnikov iz različnih enot, tudi različnih legij oz. pomožnih enot. Ponavadi so šteje 1000 oz. 2000 mož.

³⁰ Holder 1980, 152; Zaninović 2007, 181–182.

³¹ Holder 1980, 198.

³² Cichorius 1893, 239–240; Zaninović 2007, 182.

³³ Prim. Domaszewski, Dobson 1967, 53; Dobson 1993a.

²³ Lőrincz 2000b; Ritterling 1925, 1437–1456.

²⁴ Prim. Lőrincz 2000b, 163–164.

²⁵ Birley 1952, 285–287. Za podobne vojaške kariere iz Chestra glej Birley 1986.

²⁶ Ritterling 1925, 1407–1417; Absil 2000.

pleonazem, saj bi bila ali beseda *natus* ali beseda *domo* ob Celeji dovolj.

Poleg že omenjenega nagrobnika iz Spodnje Mezije je potrebno navesti še oltar, ki ga je dal postaviti Gaj Baenij Januarij (št. 19). Ta je v Prvi italjski legiji opravljal razmeroma pomembno funkcijo *primus pilus*, torej funkcijo prvega centuriona prve centurije v legiji, ki je bil obenem tudi poveljujoči oficir tega ranga za celotno legijo.³⁴ Gaj Baenij je dal leta 227 postaviti oltar Jupitru, Najboljšemu in Največjemu, Odvrtačlu zla, torej božanstvu, ki izhaja prav z območja južnega Norika in jugozahodne Panonije, ki so ga častili predvsem na prostoru Celeje in Petovione.³⁵ Oltar je nastal za blagor cesarja Aleksandra Severa, ki ga je (kot je mogoče razbrati tudi s tega napisa) leta 235 po smrti doletela *damnatio memoriae*. Legija je na tem napisu poimenovana *Severiana* – naziv, ki ga je dobila, ker se je borila na strani Septimija Severa. Oltar je tudi edini med obravnavanimi napisi, ki je natančno datiran (5. oktober 227). Na oltarju sta omenjena tudi vladarski namestnik v provinci (*legatus Augusti pro praetore*) *Lucius Mantennius Sabinus* in legijski poveljnik *Servaeus Cornelianus*, njuni kariere sta predstavljeni v delu *Prosopographia imperii Romani*.³⁶

Med starejše spomenike celejskih vojakov po imperiju gotovo sodi nagrobna stela za Gaja Romanija Kapitona (št. 17), ki je bil konjenik v Ali Norikov. Ta ala je dokumentirana v Germaniji, od koder izvira tudi naš spomenik.³⁷ Omemba Celejana na spomeniku kaže na to, da so Celejane rekrutirali že želo zgodaj.³⁸ Svojo konjeniško funkcijo pa je Gaj Romanij dal zelo lepo upodobiti v reliefni niši svoje nagrobne stele.

Na severovzhodu Norika v Lavriaku se pojavi še Avrelij iz Celeje, ki je opravljal funkcijo signiferja v Drugi italjski legiji (št. 18),³⁹ bil je torej zastavonoša,

ki je skrbel za *signum* (prapor). Vsak manipel, ki jih je bilo v legiji 30, je imel svoj prapor. *Signum*, ki so ga zaupali signiferju, je imel obliko daljšega okrašenega kopja. Pri tem je treba paziti, da se *signum* ne pomeša z *vexillum*, ki je bilo znamenje oz. prapor vsake enote konjenice (*ala, turma*).⁴⁰ Signifer Avrelij je postavil spomenik zase, za nekega drugega Avrelija, prav tako vojaka (zelo verjetno iste legije, morda brata ali kakega drugega sorodnika), ženo in še neka Avrelija, za kateja ni jasno, v kakšni zvezi so z njim (morda otroka).

Preostala sta še veterana Kvint Kanij Restitut in Lucij Atij At? iz Dacije (št. 13 in 14). Kanij je služboval v Trinajsti dvojni legiji, ki je v Dacijo morda prišla že v času prve Trajanove vojne z Dačani, gotovo pa je sodelovala v drugi vojni.⁴¹ Preden je prišla v Dacijo, se je ta legija v 1. stoletju relativno veliko selila (Ilirik, Germanija, Panonija); potem pa je ostala v Daciji kot del dačanske vojaške posadke. Svoj tabor je imela v mestu Apulum, od koder izhaja tudi naš drugi nagrobnik.⁴² Kanij je svojo vojaško kariero dokončal in se z družino ustalil v glavnem mestu Dacije Sarmizegetusa (*Ulpia Traiana Sarmizegetusa*), kjer je kariero nadaljeval v municipalni upravi. Postal je namreč dekurion, član mestnega sveta (*ordo decurionum*),⁴³ kar za odslužene vojake, ki so si s svojim delovanjem v vojski pridobili poleg določenega premoženja tudi potreben statusni položaj, ni bilo nič neobičajnega.⁴⁴ Posebej iz province Dacije, ki je znana po svojem posebnem položaju v rimskem imperiju, so znani primeri, kjer so tudi vojaki bili člani sveta stotih.⁴⁵ Ker je nagrobnik Lucija Atija ohranjen fragmentarno, ni znano, v kateri legiji je opravil svoje službovanje. Glede na najdišče (Apulum) pa lahko sklepamo, da gre prav tako za Trinajsto dvojno.

³⁴ Domaszewski, Dobson 1967, uvod XX–XXII; Le Bohec 1994, 43–44; Domaszewski, 1899, 1962–1964; več o vlogi centurionov in primipilov v rimski vojski v Dobson 1993b; prim. še Domaszewski, Dobson 1967, 90–97. Domaszewski in Dobson (1967, 83–90) dodajata še, da so bili centurioni praviloma italjskega izvora ali pa vsaj iz rimskih vojaških kolonij.

³⁵ Za kult Jupitra Depulsorja glej Šašel Kos 1999, 121–129.

³⁶ Prim. *PIR* S 560 in *PIR* M172.

³⁷ Holder 1980, 224; Cichorius 1893, 1252.

³⁸ Tudi pretorijance so rekrutirali zelo zgodaj, kar kaže na pomemben položaj Celeje, ki ga je mesto imelo predvsem v prvem delu svoje "rimske" zgodovine: Visočnik 2008, 336; prim. še Lazar 2002 in Scherrer 2002.

³⁹ Za Drugo italjsko legijo glej Winkler 1971, 85–138; Ritterling 1925, 1468–1476; Petrovitsch 2006; Lőrincz 2000a.

⁴⁰ Prim. Kubitschek 1925 in Neumann 1958a.

⁴¹ Prim. Piso 1999, kjer se ukvarja z omenjenim napisom, še posebej s Kanijem Restitutom in njegovo kariero vojaka in člana municipalne elite.

⁴² Ritterling 1925, 1710–1727, predvsem 1713–1715; Wolff 2000; prim. še Piso 2000, 220–224.

⁴³ Prim. Królczyk 2009, 123–151 za ekonomsko in socialno integracijo veteranov v rimsko družbo; prim. Rosignol 2003, 349–380, še posebej 368–378 glede integracije veteranov v krog lokalne elite in o problemih, ki so s tem povezani; prim. še Mrozewicz 1989, 65–68, kjer predstavi odstotek veteranov, ki so postali člani *ordo decurionum* v donavsko renski regiji.

⁴⁴ Ardevan 1989, 90 ugotavlja, da je bila vloga veteranov v municipalni upravi Dacije manjša kot bi bilo pričakovati.

⁴⁵ Prim. Nelis-Clément 1989, predvsem 149–151.

GEOGRAFSKA RAZPROSTRANJENOST

(sl. 1)

Vojake iz Celeje je mogoče najti po velikem delu Rimskega imperija; največjo skupino predstavljajo pretorijanci, od katerih je velika večina dokumentirana v samem Rimu, samo dva sta iz drugih mest Italije, kjer so bile pretorijanske enote tudi lahko nastavljene. Po štirje Celejani so zastopani v provincah Britanija in Spodnja Mezija. Trije celejski vojaki so dokumentirani v sosednji Panoniji. Zaenkrat ni nobene sledi o celejskih vojakih v afriških provincah in v vzhodnih grških provincah, torej na dveh območjih, ki sta od Celeje močno oddaljeni. Najdlje od doma so torej tisti Celejani, ki so službovali v Britaniji.⁴⁶ Na robu grškega kulturnega kroga sta se znašla samo vojaka v Daciji. Dva celejska vojaka poznamo še

⁴⁶ Za vojaške vezi med Norikom in Britanijo prim. Birley 1952; id. 1985.

iz Dalmacije, po enega pa iz domačega Norika (zunaj Celeje in njenega agra) in iz Zgornje Germanije. Iz analize napisov je mogoče razbrati, da so celejski vojaki službovali tam, kjer se je mudila njihova legija in so se z njo tudi selili tja, kamor je bila prestavljena.

ANALIZA GENTILICIJEV

Vojaki iz Celeje, ki so službovali drugod po imperiju in tam zaključili svojo življenjsko pot, so zanimivi tudi zaradi onomastičnih analiz. Njihova družinska imena (gentiliciji) lahko namreč dopolnijo že znano sliko družin, ki so živele in delovale na ožjem in širšem območju Celeje ter očitno tudi rimski vojski dale nekaj predstavnikov. Kot kaže, so nekatere med njimi bile t. i. vojaške družine, družine, ki jim je bila vojaška služba tako rekoč tradicionalni družinski poklic.



Sl. 1: Razprostranjenost napisov celejskih vojakov po imperiju
Fig. 1: Distribution of epigraphic monuments of Celeian soldiers across the Empire.

Med njimi so izpričani trije cesarski gentiliciji: *Iulius*, *Aelius* in *Aurelius* s po dvema primeroma, ki ne prinašajo novosti v imensko sliko Celeje, saj so vsi ti gentiliciji poznani že z napisov v Celeji. Podobno poznamo tudi že gentilicije *Aemilius*, *Atius*, *Cornelius*, *Terentius* in *Valerius*. Prvič pa se pojavi nekaj družinskih imen, s katerimi se v Celeji do sedaj na napisih še nismo srečali: *Annaeus*, *Aquilius*, *Aufustus*, *Baienius*, *Betuscius*, *Canius*, *Plotius*, *Romanus*, *Saturius* in *Sextius*.⁴⁷ Našteta imena so sicer večinoma italskega izvora, je pa prav, da si jih na tem mestu natančneje pogledamo.

Ime *Annaeus* je izpričano razmeroma pogosto kot gentilno ime, pojavi pa se tudi kot osebno ime (*cognomen*). Poleg Italije, od koder izhaja, ga je mogoče srečati še v provincah Hispanija, Dalmacija, Panonija, Norik in v obeh Mezijah.⁴⁸ Tudi *Aquilius* je pogosto ime, ki je izpričano tudi v oblikah z dvema L. Najdemo ga v Italiji, Hispaniji, Galijah in Reciji.⁴⁹ Imeni *Aufustus* in *Baienius* sta prav tako dokaj pogosti.⁵⁰ Tudi *Betuscius* je do danes izpričan samo v tem primeru.⁵¹ Holder navaja tudi nekaj imen na Betu-, tako bi bilo mogoče, da gre v primeru imena *Betuscius* za t. i. psevdogentilicij.⁵² Ime *Canius* je lahko zapisano na različne načine, uporabljalo se je ali kot gentilicij ali kot osebno ime. Največkrat pa je izpričano v Italiji, Galijah in Dalmaciji.⁵³ Ime *Plotius* je izpričano samo v Hispaniji in Italiji, od koder je družina očitno prišla tudi v Celejo.⁵⁴ Podobno velja tudi za družinsko ime *Romanus*, ki je razširjeno predvsem v Italiji, Galijah in v Dalmaciji. Ime pa je pogosto tudi kot osebno ime oz. *cognomen*.⁵⁵ Ime *Saturius* je izpričano pogosto; v nekaterih primerih je mogoče sklepati na vpliv keltskih imen (keltska imena Sat(t) -).⁵⁶ Gentilicij *Sextius* je pogost predvsem v Italiji, Galijah in Noriku.⁵⁷

NAČIN ZAPISOVANJA IZVORA/POREKLA (ORIGO)

Skupna značilnost vseh obravnavanih napisov je poreklo oziroma izvor (torej *origo*) Celeja. Način, na katerega je zapisan, pa ni pri vseh enak. Ker se pojavijo zanimive besedne zveze, je prav, da se na tem mestu nanizajo še enkrat. V večini primerov (skoraj 20) je zapisana samo *Celeia*, torej v ablativu, kar ustreza ablativu izvora (*ablativus originis*) na vprašanje od kod (iz Celeje). V enem primeru je Celeja zapisana v genitivu, torej *Celeiae*, kjer gre za lokativ na vprašanje kje. Enkrat je Celeji dodan še drugi del njenega imena, torej *Claudia Celeia* (iz Klavdije Celeje). Tema obema možnostma je lahko dodana samo beseda *domo* (doma); tako dobimo *domo Celeia* oz. *domo Claudia Celeia*. V enem primeru je tej besedni zvezi dodan še *natus* (rojen), torej *natus domo Celeiae*, kar slovnično sicer ni najlepše, saj gre za pleonazem. Zanimivi sta še opredelitvi *natione Noricus* in *ex civitate Celeiae*. *Natione Noricus* (po rodu Noričan) dodatno opredeljuje vojaka, pri katerem je že navedeno, da je iz Celeje; s tem je izražena tudi pripadnost provinci. Kar se tiče oznake *civitas* za mesto, se ta beseda z ustanovitvijo municipija očitno ni nehala uporabljati; uporabljena pa je predvsem v splošnem pomenu "mestna naselbina" in ne kot izraz, ki bi pomenil tudi poseben pravni status. Pomislek, da ne poznamo vseh vojakov iz Celeje v tujini, ker niso vsi zapisali svojega porekla, se zdi na prvi pogled upravičen. Ker pa gre večinoma za legionarje oz. pretorijance, je *origo* pričakovano del njihove imenske formule. Gotovo lahko tudi sklepamo, da so bili vojaki tako ali drugače navezani na kraje, od koder so izvirali. Vsekakor je potrebno zaključiti, da poznamo le zelo majhen odstotek vojakov iz Celeje po imperiju, saj niso vsi zapisali svojega imena, predvsem pa se moramo zavedati, da se je do danes ohranilo izredno malo spomenikov z napisi.

PRIMERJAVA S FLAVIJO SOLVO

Članek E. Pochmarskega iz leta 2007, ki je bil spodbuda že za prvo analizo "celejskih" vojakov leta 2008, nam tudi na tem mestu omogoča primerjavo. Če je na eni strani celejskih vojakov po imperiju približno 40, je na drugi vojakov iz Solve, ki so izpričani drugje po imperiju, samo 11, pa še med temi je ena oseba z viteško kariero. Vitezov pa pri obravnavi Celejanov nismo upoštevali. Izpričanih je sedem pretorijancev, dva centuriona

⁴⁷ Prim. Visočnik 2007.

⁴⁸ Prim. OPEL I, 55.

⁴⁹ Prim. OPEL I, 70–71.

⁵⁰ OPEL I: za ime *Aufustus* OPEL I, 94; za ime *Baienius* OPEL I, 109; prim. še *Repertorium*, 27, 31.

⁵¹ Prim. OPEL I, 119.

⁵² Prim. Holder I, 412–413.

⁵³ Prim. OPEL II, 31.

⁵⁴ Prim. OPEL III, 147.

⁵⁵ Prim. OPEL IV, 31.

⁵⁶ OPEL IV, 51; Meid 2005, 283–284.

⁵⁷ Prim. OPEL IV, 79.

ter eden na daljšem spisku vojakov in optionov. Pretorijanci so službovali v različnih pretorijanskih kohortah, njihovi nagrobniki so bili postavljeni v Rimu. Nagrobnik prvega od dveh centurionov, ki je služboval v več legijah, je bil najden v Liguriji (*regio IX*). Drugi centurion je iz Dacije, iz mesta Apulum, kjer je služboval v Štirinajsti dvojni legiji. Omenjeni seznam vojakov so našli v Numidiji.⁵⁸

Primerjava s Flavijo Solvo je zaradi razlike v številu vojakov skoraj nemogoča. Število pretorijancev iz Flavije Solve je sicer primerljivo s pretorijanci iz Celeje, prav tako ne odstopata dva centuriona. Ti dve skupini vojakov tako predstavljata celoto vseh vojakov iz Flavije Solve, ki so delovali drugod po imperiju; bistveno manj jih je dokumentiranih kot vojakov iz Celeje (samo pribl. 1/3).

SKLEPNE MISLI

Katalog celejskih vojakov po imperiju prvič na enem mestu predstavi vse do sedaj znane posameznike, ki so službovali kot vojaki in so izvirali iz Celeje. Največjo skupino predstavljajo pretorijanci (25), katerih večino nagrobnikov so našli v mestu Rim. Veliko skupino predstavljajo legionarji, ki so službovali v različnih legijah v različnih delih rimskega imperija. Zanimivo je, da v t. i. vzhodnih provincah imperija vojaki iz Celeje do sedaj niso izpričani. Njihovo "interesno območje" se na vzhodu konča z Mezijo in Dacijo, praznina pa zajema tudi celotno Afriko. Povezave med Britanijo in Norikom so bile že večkrat ugotovljene in gotovo jih potrjujejo tudi celejski vojaki, ki so službovali v tej provinci, ki je obenem tudi najbolj oddaljena od matičnega mesta naših vojakov. Legionarji iz Celeje so delovali v petih različnih legijah: Prva italska, Druga italska, Druga pomožna, Trinajsta

dvojna, Dvajseta Valerija zmagovalna. Poleg legij pa so izpričane še tri pomožne enote: Tretja kohorta alpincev, Ala Norikov in Osmo kohorta prostovoljcev. Posebno izstopajočih funkcij, ki bi jih opravljali celejski vojaki, ni veliko. Izpričana sta dva konjenika (*eques*), od tega eden v okviru pretorijanskih enot, in prav tako dva centuriona, pri čemer je eden celo *primus pilus*, torej poveljujoči oficir tega ranga za vso legijo. Izstopata še dva vojaka, ki sta opravljala častno delo: paziti sta namreč morala na prapor (*signifer* in *vexillarius*). Pri analizi vojakov iz Celeje smo na novo spoznali tudi nekaj celejskih družin, ki doslej v Celeji še niso bile dokumentirane. Slika družin iz Celeje in s tem prebivalcev mesta in okolice je s to analizo postala popolnejša. Družina Betuscijev bi lahko bila avtohtonega izvora in njihovo ime pseudogentilicij. Za ostale lahko sklepamo, da gre za koloniste oziroma njihove potomce, ki so se priselili predvsem iz severne Italije. Kakor v sami Celeji tudi vojaki po imperiju niso bili posebno dejavni pri postavljanju votivnih spomenikov, saj smo v katalog lahko uvrstili le enega (v Celeji 3), ki pa je posvečen prav Jupitru Najboljšemu in Največjemu, Odvračalcu zla, ki so ga kot vrhovno božanstvo posebej častili prav v južnem Noriku in Petovioni. Že samo po sebi pa je zgovorno število izpričanih vojakov, ki pride še posebej do izraza, če ga primerjamo s številom vojakov iz Flavije Solve po imperiju. Veliko število vojakov iz Celeje in njene okolice, tistih, ki smo jih spoznali po raznih krajih imperija in seveda tudi številnih beneficiarijev, ki so službovali na postaji v Celeji, potrjuje velik pomen tega mesta v Noriku.

Zahvale

Za koristne nasvete in pripombe pri pripravi prispevka se iskreno zahvaljujem Marjeti Šašel Kos in Claudiu Zaccarii.

⁵⁸ Pochmarski 2007, 274.

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Kratice / Abbreviations

- AE* = *L' Année épigraphique*. – Paris.
- AIJ* = V. Hoffiller, B. Saria, *Antike Inschriften aus Jugoslawien 1: Noricum und Pannonia Superior*. – Zagreb 1938.
- CIL* = *Corpus Inscriptionum Latinarum*.
- Holder* = A. Holder, *Alt-celtischer Sprachschatz* I, Leipzig 1896 (repr. Graz 1961); II, Leipzig 1904 (repr. 1962); III, Leipzig 1907 (repr. 1962).
- OPEL* = *Onomasticon provinciarum Europae Latinarum*. Ex materia ab A. Mócsy, R. Feldmann, E. Marton et M. Szilágyi collecta. Composuit et correxit B. Lőrincz. Vol. I: Aba-Byanus, Budapest 2005. Vol. II: Cabalicius-Ixus, Wien 1999. Vol. III: Labarum-Pythia, Wien 2000. Vol. IV: Quadratia-Zures, Wien 2002.
- PIR* = *Prosopographia Imperii Romani* saec. I, II, III (Consilio et auctoritate Academiae scientiarum Berolinensis et Brandenburgensis. – Berlin, New York 1998/2009.
- RE* = Pauly-Wissowa-Kroll-Mittelhaus-Ziegler, *Real-Encyclopädie der classischen Altertumswissenschaft*. – Stuttgart 1893–1995.
- Repertorium* = H. Solin, O. Salomies, *Repertorium nominum gentilium et cognominum Latinorum*. – Hildesheim, Zürich, New York 1988.
- RIB* = R. G. Collingwood, R. P. Wright, *The Roman Inscriptions of Britain (RIB)*. – Oxford 1965.
- SupplIt Imag* = I. Di Stefano Manzella, G. L. Gregori, *Supplementa italica imagines: Supplementi fotografici ai volumi italiani del CIL*. – Roma 2003.

Spletne epigrafske baze / Web databases

- ARACHNE* = iDAI.IMAGES/ARACHNE (skrbnik / Service provider: Deutsches Archaeologisches Institut, Universität zu Köln) <http://arachne.uni-koeln.de/drupal/> [zadnji dostop / last checked 2012-10-19].
- EDCS* = Epigraphik-Datenbank Clausus / Slaby (skrbnik / Service provider: Manfred Clausus). http://oracle-vm.kueichstaett.de:8888/epigr/epigraphik_de [zadnji dostop / last checked 2012-10-19].
- EDH* = Epigraphische Datenbank Heidelberg (skrbnik / Service provider: Heidelberger Akademie der Wissenschaften). <http://edh-www.adw.uni-heidelberg.de/home?&lang=de> [zadnji dostop / last checked 2012-10-19].
- EDR* = Epigraphic Database Roma (skrbnik / Service provider: DigiLab Centro interdipartimentale di ricerca e servizi, Sapienza Università di Roma). <http://www.edr-edr.it> [zadnji dostop / last checked 2012-10-19].
- LUPA* = UBI ERAT LUPA - Roman Stone Monuments (skrbnik / Service provider: CHC - Archäometrie und Cultural Heritage Computing, Universität Salzburg). <http://www.ubi-erat-lupa.org> [zadnji dostop / last checked 2012-10-19].
- SCHAETZE* = Schätze aus der Römersammlung. http://www.landesmuseum-mainz.de/enid/7e5f1e2ad9bc0d80f1a2ffb772c52ffd,0/Roemer/Schaetze_aus_der_Roemersammlung_en.html [zadnji dostop / last checked 2012-10-19].

Celeian soldiers attested across the Empire

Translation

INTRODUCTION

The inscriptions discussing soldiers from Celeia who are attested elsewhere in the Roman Empire, are presented in the catalogue, which is followed by a detailed analysis of several aspects relevant for the study of such military inscriptions during the Roman times. *Origo*,¹ which is in all cases written alongside the individual's name, enables the identification of persons who changed their dwelling place. The draft into the army is just one of the possibilities for "moving" or living abroad. These just over 30 inscriptions have two things in common: *origo* Celeia and the reference of one of the many military units, be it a legion, an auxiliary unit or a praetorian cohort. The members of the equestrian class, who could have been the commanders in one of the auxiliary units or military tribunes in a legion, are not considered in this discussion. Some of the known soldiers of Celeia, who are also presented here, continued their public functions after having completed military service in the administration of the town in which they settled. They met the financial and moral standards and were accepted into the town council (*ordo decurionum*), where they held administrative functions and became part of the municipal elite. Commentary to individual or groups of inscriptions will enable the comparison with other towns and the placement of Celeia into an accurate historical context of Romanization, urbanization, and administration of the Roman Empire in the eastern Alpine territory. Similar to the article from 2008, we again do not deal with military functions of the equestrian career (*cursus honorum*); Titus Varius Clemens (and other individuals similar to him) are therefore not discussed.

This catalogue was assembled with the help of four epigraphic databases: Heidelberg (*EDH*), Frankfurt (*EDCS*), Rome (*EDR*), and *UBI ERAT LUPA* (*LUPA*). References are thus taken from these sources, and the inscriptions in the Heidelberg database, the Rome database, and in *LUPA* are also numbered. It needs to be emphasized that many of the soldiers from this catalogue had been

collected already by J. Šašel for his article about Celeia in *RE*; they are listed among epigraphic sources, hence, among those inscriptions in which Celeia is explicitly stated.²

CATALOGUE OF MILITARY INSCRIPTIONS

This catalogue does not include photographs since quality photos are impossible to acquire without major complications. With most inscriptions an average photo is available within one or the other epigraphic database.

Italy

Rome

1. Tombstone for praetorians Publius Aelius Finitus, P. Aelius Respectus and P. Aelius Tutor dedicated by the praetorian P. Aelius Tutor

P(ublio) Aelio P(ubli) f(ilio) Clau(dia) / Finito Celeia, / mil(iti) coh(ortis) IX pr(aetoriae) 7 (centuria) / Piseni, mil(itavit) an(nos) III, / vix(it) ann(os) XXII. / P(ublius) Aelius Tutor, m(iles) / coh(ortis) IX pr(aetoriae) | 7(centuria) Piseni, / fratri pientissimo / et P(ublio) Aelio Respecto, / mil(iti) coh(ortis) VI pr(aetoriae) |(centuria) / Dextri, et P(ublio) Aelio / Tutori, mil(iti) coh(ortis) / VIII pr(aetoriae) | 7 (centuria) Caesili, / municipib(us) h(eres) f(aciendum) c(uravit).

References: AE 1924, 107; EDH 026452; EDR 072922.

Date: first half of the 2nd c.

2. Tombstone for praetorian Publius Aelius Surus

D(is) M(anibus). / [---] P(ublio) Aelio P(ubli) f(ilio) / Suro Claudia / Cel{l}jeia, mil(iti) coh(ortis) IIII / pr(aetoriae) | 7 (centuria) Traebelli Maxsimi

¹ For *origo* see González Fernández 2011.

² Šašel 1970, mostly 140–142.

(!). *Mil(itavit) / ann(os) II vix(it) ann(os) XXII. H(eres) f(aciendum) c(uravit).*

References: CIL VI 2522; EDR 103466 (with photo and more bibliography).

Date: 2nd c. (?).

3. Tombstone for former praetorian Caius Cornelius Memor

D(is) M(anibus). / C(aius) Cornel(ius) Memor / d(omo) Celeia, q(uondam) mil(es) / coh(ortis) IIII pr(aetoriae) | 7 (centuria) Patroili. / Mil(itavit) ann(os) XXVIII ite/ratus, vixit ann(os) LXXX. / Aur(elius) Ingenuilis, opt(io) / et heres eius b(ene) m(erenti) / posuit.

References: CIL VI 2534; EDR 104322 (with more bibliography).

Date: 2nd/beginning of the 3rd c.

4. Tombstone for praetorian Caius Valerius³ Cupitus

D(is) M(anibus). / C(aio) Valerio C(ai) f(ilio) / Cl(udia) Cupito / Celei(a)e, mil(iti) coh(ortis) / VI pr(aetoriae) 7 (centuria) Aureli. / Mil(itavit) ann(os) VI, vix(it) / ann(os) XXIII. / C(aius) Quartius Secun/dus, mil(es) leg(ionis) XIII / Gem(inae), fratri b(ene) m(erenti) / et Numisia Sabi(na?) / coniugi b(ene) m(erenti). / T(estamento) p(oni) i(ussit). Hered(es) f(aciendum) c(uraverunt).

References: CIL VI 2619 = 32655; EDR 103496 (with photo and more bibliography).

Date: 2nd c.

5. Tombstone for praetorian Marcus Satorius Maximus

D(is) M(anibus). / M(arcus) Satorius / M(arci) f(ilius) Cl(udia) Maximus / Celeia, eq(ues) / coh(ortis) X pr(aetoriae) | 7 (centuria) / Apti. Mil(itavit) ann(os) / XII, vix(it) ann(os) / XXX. H(eres) f(aciendum) c(uravit).

References: CIL VI 2751; EDR 104878.

Date: 2nd c.

6. Tombstone for praetorian Caius Iulius Verus

C(ai) Iuli Veri, mil(itis) / coh(ortis) VIII pr(aetoriae) P(iae) V(indicis) | 7 (centuria) Quieti, oriundi / ex civitate Cele/iae (!), qui militav(it) an(nis) XIII mensibu[s] ---]. / C(aius) Reginius P[---] / [---]s comm(anipularis?).

References: CIL VI, 37218; AE 1903, 124; AE 1903, 167; EDH 031101; EDR 071923 (with photo).

Date: 2nd c.

Etruria/Regio VII

Falerii

7. Tombstone for praetorian Caius Aquilius Verecundus

D(is) M(anibus). / C(aio) Aquilio C(ai) f(ilio) / Clau(dia) Verecun/do Celeia, mil(iti) / coh(ortis) IIX pr(aetoriae) |(centuria) / Vetti, vix(it) ann(os) / XX, mil(itavit) ann(os) II. / Censorinus / Secundus et / Aelius Severus.

References: Di Stefano Manzella 1981, 142–143, no. 20 = AE 1982, 273; EDH 001705; ARACHNE⁴ 46936.

Date: 2nd half of the 2nd c. (?).

Venetia and Histria/Regio X

Vicetia

8. Tombstone for praetorian Marcus Valerius Ingenuinus

D(is) M(anibus). / M(arcus) Valerius M(arci) f(ilius) / Vol(tinia) Cl(udia) Celeia / Ingenuinus, / mil(es) coh(ortis) III pr(aetoriae). / Mil(itavit) ann(os) VIII, / vix(it) ann(os) XXXV. / L(ucius) Valerius fr(ater) / b(ene) m(erenti) p(osuit).

Reference: Pais 1984, 610.

Date: 2nd c.

³ For Valerii see Alföldy 1964–1965.

⁴ <http://arachne.uni-koeln.de/item/objekt/46936> (last access on: Oct. 19, 2012).

Britannia

Deva (Chester)

9. Tombstone for soldier Quintus Valerius Fronto

Q(uintus) Valeri/us Q(uinti) f(ilius) Cla(udia) / Fronto Cele(i)a, miles leg(ionis) / II Ad(iutricis) P(iae) F(idelis), an/norum L / stipendioru/m XXV[---] .

References: RIB 479 = AE 1892, 61.

Date: End of the 1st c.

10. Tombstone for soldier Caius Iulius Quartus

C(aius) Iulius C(ai) Cl(audia) / Quartus Cel(eia), / mil(es) leg(ionis) XX V(aleriae) V(ictricis) / 7(centuria) T(iti) Flavi Pro(---), / an(norum) XXX, st(ipendiorum) VII / Rusius Mo[-]N / [---] .

Reference: RIB 498.

Date: 1st/2nd c.

11. Tombstone for soldier Marcus Sextius Bellicus

D(is) M(anibus). / M(arcus) Sextius M(arci) [f(ilius)] / Clau(dia) Bellic[us] / Cla(udia) Celeia, a[n]/[n]orum XX[---] / [sti]pend[iorum] --- .

Reference: RIB 504.

Date: 2nd c.

12. Tombstone for soldier from Celeia

---] / Celeia miles / leg(ionis) XX V(aleriae) V(ictricis), / anno(rum) XL, stip(endiorum) XX. / H(eres) f(aciendum) c(uravit).

Reference: RIB 511.

Date: 1st/2nd c.

Dacia

Mehadia (Ad Mediam)

13. Tombstone for veteran Quintus Canius Restitutus

D(is) M(anibus). / Q(uinto) Canio / Q(uinti) f(ilio) Cl(audiae) Celeiae / Restituto, / vet(erano) leg(ionis) / XIII, dec(urioni) col(oniae) Sar(mizegetusae), / vix(it) an(nos) LXXX. / Canius Respectus et / Cania Atticil(l)a fili(i), / item Ulpia Admata, / co(n) iun(x), posuer(unt) b(ene) m(erenti).

References: Piso 1999; AE 1999, 1304 (cf. AE 2004, ad 1181); Królczyk 2005, 173; EDH 012680; LUPA 13237 (without photo, but with a description of the decoration).

Date: 2nd c.

Apulum (Alba Iulia)

14. Fragmentary tombstone for veteran Lucius Atius

D(is) [M(anibus)]. / L(ucius) Atius At[---] / Celeia vet(eranus) [--- vix(it)] / an(nos) LXXXI C[---]

References: CIL III 14481 (cf. AE 2004, ad 1181); Królczyk 2005, 157; EDH 038873.

Date: 2nd half of the 2nd c.

Dalmatia

Andetrium (Muć)

15. Tombstone for soldier Lucius Terentius Severus

L(ucio) Terentio / L(uci) f(ilio) Claud(ia) / Severo Cel(eia), / mil(iti) coh(ortis) VIII, / vexilar(io), / ann(orum) / XXX, stipend(iorum) XIV. / L(ucius) Aebutius / Felix posui(t).

References: CIL III 2745; EDH 061927.

Date: 1st c.

16. Tombstone for centurion Marcus Valerius Donicus

M(arco) Valerio / Donico, / natus domo / Celeiae, / 7(centurioni) c(o)hor(tis) III / Alpinorum fecit. / Herennia Pudentilla coniugi / bene merenti.

References: CIL III 2746; EHD 061926.

Date: 2nd c.

Germania

Mogontiacum (Mainz)

17. Tombstone for cavalryman Caius Romanus Capito

C(aius) Romanus, / eq(ues) alae Norico(rum), / Claud(ia) Capito / Celeia, an(norum) XL, stip(endiorum) XIX . / H(ic) s(itus) e(st). H(eres) ex t(estamento) f(aciendum) c(uravit).

References: CIL XIII 7029; EDH 056250; SCHAE-TZE⁵ inv. no. S 607.

Date: 1st c.

Noricum

Lauriacum (Enns)

18. Tombstone for signifer Aurelius

[---] Aurel(ius) [---] / Cel(eia), sig(nifer) leg(ionis) II I[tal(icae). Aur(elio?)] / Annamato, mil(iti) [leg(ionis) ---], / o(bito) an(norum), [---] stip(endiorum) XIIX et A[---]ano [---] o(bito) an(norum), [--- fe]/cit et sibi et [---] / Epictesi co[n(iugi) et Aure]li(i)s Priscin[---] / et Florent[---].

References: CIL III 11822; EDH 035321; LUPA 4515 (with photo and more bibliography).

Date: 3rd c.

Moesia Inferior

Novae (Svishtov)

19. Votive ara for Jupiter Depulsor, Averter of evil

I(ovi) O(ptimo) M(aximo) / Depulsori / [pr]o salute d(omini) n(ostri) / [[M(arci) Aurel(i) Severi Ale]]/[xandri]] Pii Felicis / Aug(usti). / G(aius) Baienius / G(ai) f(ilius) Clau(dia) I[anuarius] Cele(ia), p(rimus) [p(ilus)] leg(ionis) I Ital(icae) Seve(rianae) ex voto posu(it). // Dedic(atum) III Non(as) Oct(obres) / Albino et Maximo c[o(n)s(ulibus)] / per L(ucium) Mantennium Sa(binum), leg(atum) Aug(usti) pr(o)

pr(aetore) / et Servaeum Corne(lianum), leg(atum) leg(ionis) // [A]diutrix, legio prim[a?] tirone probat[o] / [--- c]aliga prima cu[m] compare cent[urio]ne / [---]cto Baienium / [-----] / [---]AC[---]VMA felice / [---] POT[---]M / [---] DOM[--- R]omam misist[i] / [-----] / [---]SA Iovi [--- prim]us pilus tibi san[cto] / [ex v]oto posuit Po[--- Ia]nuarius a[ram?]

References: AE 1972, 526; Božilova, Kolendo, Mrozewicz 1992, 30–36, no. 13; Božilova, Kolendo 1997, 62–64, no. 12; EDH 009856.

Date: 227 AD.

20. Tombstone for soldier Valerius Birbilo

[--- V]alerius / C(ai) f(ilius) Claudia / Birbilo Cele(ia), / mil(es) leg(ionis) I Ital(icae) / c(enturia) Cassi Bassi. / Vixit an(nos) XXXVI, / mil(itavit) an(nos) XVI. / Frater imp/ensa sua / posuit.

References: Božilova, Kolendo, Mrozewicz 1992, 98–99, no. 59; Božilova, Kolendo 1997, 121–122, no. 85; EDH 027418.

Date: 2nd c.

Pannonia Inferior

Aquincum (Budapest)

21. Tombstone for legionary Titus Plotius Pamphilus

T(itus) Plotius Pamphilus Celeia, mil(es) / leg(ionis) II Ad(iutricis) P(iae) F(idelis) 7 (centuria) Nim/pidiani. Defunctus / Alaxandria (!), stip(endiorum) XV, / natione Noricus. / P(osuit) h(eres) Magnus / Atticus.

References: AE 1936, 163; EDH 024516; LUPA 2833 (with photo and more bibliography).

Date: 2nd half of the 2nd c.

Pannonia Superior

Poetovio (Ptuj)

22. Tombstone for legionary Lucius Annaeus Surus

L(ucius) Annaeus L(uci) [f(ilius)] / Cla(udia) Surus Cel(eia), / mil(es) leg(ionis) XIII Gem(inae),

⁵ http://www.landesmuseum-mainz.de/enid/Schae-tze_aus_der_Roemersammlung/Grabstein_des_Reitersoldaten_Romanus_Capito_gt.html (last access on Oct. 19, 2012).

/ ann(orum) XXX, / stip(endiorum) XVIII. / H(ic) s(itus) e(st). / T(estamento) f(ieri) i(ussit).

References: AE 1977, 629; EDH 020446; LUPA 4208 (with photo and more bibliography).

Date: 2nd half of the 1st c.

23. Fragmentary tombstone for soldier from Celeia

IIII[---]XXX[---] / [---] stip(endiorum) VII, domo / Cla(udia) Celeia. / C(aius) Betuscus Tertius, / mil(es) leg(ionis) eiusd(em), fratri / pientissimo posuit.

References: CIL III 4055; AIJ 370; LUPA 3751 (with photo and more bibliography).

Date: 2nd half of the 1st c.

Follow mostly praetorians who had not written their name on the tombstone but are attested on longer lists, the so-called *laterculi praetorianorum*, in the form of slabs, the greater number of which was discovered in Rome. Since these are extensive inscriptions which carry nothing except names, places and special functions of a praetorian, they are here not presented in full length but rather just with the names of the Celeians. The imperial inscription from Moesia Inferior also fell into the same group: in addition to the emperor's titlature, it also only gives a list of names. Because it is preserved fragmentarily we do not know for everyone mentioned on it who they were and what function they held. Many among them had one of the military functions. As a reference we give the Heidelberg database or *CIL*, where more detailed information about the inscriptions can be found.

Italy

Rome

24.

[--- Ma]sculin(us?) Cele(ia)

Reference: EDH 023880 = EDR 073199.

Date: 1st/2nd c.

25.

C(aius) Aufustus C(ai) f(ilius) Cla(udia) Tannio Celei(a) sp(eculator)

M(arcus) Aurelius M(arci) f(ilius) Cla(udia) Avitus Celei(a) tubicen

M(arcus) Aurelius M(arci) f(ilius) Cla(udia) Saturnin(us) Celei(a)

M(arcus) Aurelius M(arci) f(ilius) Cla(udia) Speratus Celei(a)

M(arcus) Aurelius M(arci) f(ilius) Cla(udia) Maximus Celei(a)

T(itus) Adiutorius C(ai) f(ilius) Cla(udia) Gemellus Ce[leia]

References: CIL VI, 2382; CIL VI 32638; EDH 015853; EDR 074389 (with photo); photo also in EDCS.

Date: 2nd c.

26.

T(itus) M(---)cius Firmus Celeia evo(catus) [S]eptimius Insoques Celein (!)

Reference: CIL VI 32536 (see bibliography in EDCS).

Date: end of the 2nd/beginning of the 3rd c.

27.

[---]ius Celeia

References: CIL VI 32623; EDR 121570 (without photo, but with more bibliography).

Date: 2nd c.

28.

M(arcus) Aemilius Verecundus Celei(a) evo(catus)

M(arcus) Aurelius Firminus Celei(a)

T(itus) Tertinius Vitalis Celei(a).

Reference: CIL VI 32627.

Date: 2nd half of the 2nd c.

29.

[---] Aurel(ius) M(arci) f(ilius) Cl(audia) Servatus Celei(a)

Reference: CIL VI 32640.

Date: 2nd half of the 2nd c.

30.

[---] Celeia

References: CIL VI 11668; CIL 06, 32634; *SupplIt*

Imag: – Roma 02, 2886; EDR 115796.

Date: 243 AD.

Moesia Inferior

Tropaeum Traiani (Adamclisi)

31. Monument of emperor Domitian?

C(aius) Valeri[us Se]cundus Cele(ia)

References: EDH 017350; LUPA 15396 (with photo and more bibliography).

Date: 87–90 AD.

ANALYSIS

With the intention of making the presentation of Celeian soldiers throughout the Empire clearer, they are here presented also in a table (*tab. 1*). Groups were formed based on functions performed by certain individuals. As expected, groups of praetorians and soldiers (mostly legionaries) are the biggest.

The latter obviously did not hold any special function, otherwise it would have been explicitly stated. In number this group matches the group of praetorians but it includes two fragmentarily preserved tombstones, where we can only assume about the soldier's function. In the group of veterans only two have the word *veteranus* explicitly written, while among other (longer) inscriptions two other individuals appear who are described as *evocatus*. Besides praetorians and legionaries, which are relatively common expressions, we also find a cavalryman (*eques*), a standard bearer (*signifer*), and two centurions. As "others" we have written those Celeians, whose names are written on longer lists, mostly the so-called *laterculi* from Rome. These are lists of praetorians which had been separated from others since, together with the imperial inscription from Moesia Inferior,

they represent a special unit. Among 15 soldiers in this group we also have *speculator*, *tubicen*, *signifer*, and *evocatus*.

Praetorians (nos. 1–8 and 24–30) in Rome, and also wider in Italy, were an important military and political force. They were never organised as a legion, yet their 9 and – from the time of Vespasian – 10 cohorts with 500 or 1000 representatives each under the command of the praetorian prefect bore the decisive role in the crucial moments of Roman history.⁶ Praetorians were especially in the 2nd century often recruited also from Noricum, which is proven by inscriptions discussed here as well as those known to us from Celeia itself.⁷

Among praetorians we find five Aelii (nos. 1 and 2), therefore Celeians with the imperial gentilicium of emperor Hadrian, indicating a period from the middle of the 2nd century on. Publius Aelius Finitus served in *cohors IX praetoria*, in the *centuria* of Pisenus. He died young, after only three years of service; his tombstone was erected in Rome by his brother Publius Aelius Tutor, also a praetorian in the same unit. The tombstone was not erected solely for him but also for two other praetorians, Publius Aelius (Respectus and Tutor), who served in *cohors VI* and *VIII*. Due to the word *municeps* (fellow citizen) written by the names of these two soldiers on the tombstone we can assume that they were also from Celeia. This inscription surely confirms the theory about the so-called military families. In this case, two brothers at the same time served in the same praetorian cohort, even the same *centuria*. The tombstone carries two other names of praetorians, Aelii, which do not have their *origo* written but we can assume, on the basis of their names and the fact that Publius Aelius Tutor is stated as their heir, that they were also from Celeia (considering the names, they were possibly even members of the same family). A similar fate, namely death at twenty-two years of age after only two years of service, fell upon Publius Aelius Taurus, who served in *cohors IV praetoria*. His tombstone was also erected by his heir who is here not named.

The next praetorian with an imperial gentilicium is Caius Iulius Verus (no. 6) who could be (according to the name) assigned to the second half of the 1st century.⁸ He was from *cohors VIII praetoria*,

⁶ Cf. Keppie 2000a; Passerini 1939; Durry 1938; Šašel 1972.

⁷ Cf. Visočnik 2008, 341; Pochmarski 2007, 274 nos. 36–42.

⁸ Cf. Djura Jelenko, Visočnik 2006, 367–368 no. 4 for the beginning of recruiting praetorians from Noricum.

Tab. 1: Soldiers from Celeia and their ranks.

Soldier's name	Function, military unit	Date	Reference
PRAETORIANI			
Publius Aelius Finitus	miles cohortis IX praetoriae	2 nd c.	EDH 026452
Publius Aelius Tutor	miles cohortis IX praetoriae	2 nd c.	EDH 026452
Publius Aelius Respectus	miles cohortis VI praetoriae	2 nd c.	EDH 026452
Publius Aelius Tutor	miles cohortis VIII praetoriae	2 nd c.	EDH 026452
Publius Aelius Surus	miles cohortis III praetoriae	2 nd c.	CIL VI 2522
Caius Cornelius Memor	miles cohortis III praetoriae	2 nd c.	CIL VI 2534
Caius Valerius Cupitus	miles cohortis VI praetoriae	2 nd c.	CIL VI 2619
Marcus Saturius Maximus	eques cohortis X praetoriae	2 nd c.	CIL VI 2751
Caius Iulius Verus	miles cohortis VIII praetoriae	2 nd c.	EDH 031101
Caius Aquilius Verecundus	miles cohortis IIX praetoriae	2 nd half of 2 nd c.	EDH 001705
Marcus Valerius Ingenuinus	miles cohortis III praetoriae	2 nd c.	Pais 1984, 610
MILITES			
Caius Quartius Secundus	miles legionis XIII Geminae		
Quintus Valerius Fronto	miles legionis II Adiutricis p(iae) f(idelis)	end of the 1 st c.	RIB 479
Caius Iulius Quartus	miles legionis XX V(aleriae) victricis	1 st /2 nd c.	RIB 498
Marcus Sextius Bellicus	?	2 nd c.	RIB 504
?	miles legionis XX Valeriae vitricis		RIB 511
Lucius Terentius Severus	miles cohortis VIII vexilarius	1 st c.	EDH 061927
? Valerius Birbilo	miles legionis I Italicae	2 nd c.	EDH 027418
Titus Plotius Pamphilus	miles legionis II Adiutricis p(iae) f(idelis)	2 nd c.	EDH 024516
Lucius Annaeus Surus	miles legionis XIII Geminae	2 nd half of 1 st c.	EDH 020446
? Betuscus ?	miles legionis ?	2 nd half of 1 st c. (?)	CIL III 4055
VETERANI			
Quintus Canius Restitutus	veteranus legionis XIII	2 nd c.	EDH 012680
Lucius Atius At?	veteranus	2 nd half of 2 nd c.	EDH 038873
CENTURIONES			
Marcus Valerius Donicus	centurio cohortis III Alpinorum	2 nd c.	EDH 061926
Gaius Baienius Ianuarius	primus pilus legionis I Italicae Severianae	227	EDH 009856
OTHER RANKS			
Caius Romanus Capito	eques alae Noricorum	1 st c.	EDH 056250
? Aurelius ?	signifer legionis II Italicae	3 rd c.	EDH 035321
OTHERS			
Caius Valerius Secundus		87–90	EDH 017350
? Masculin(us)?		1 st /2 nd c.	EDH 023880
Caius Aufustius Tannio	speculator	2 nd c.	CIL VI 2382
Marcus Aurelius Avitus	tubicen	2 nd c.	CIL VI 2382
Marcus Aurelius Saturninus		2 nd c.	CIL VI 2382
Marcus Aurelius Speratus		2 nd c.	CIL VI 2382
Marcus Aurelius Maximus		2 nd c.	CIL VI 2382
Titus M(?) Firmus	evocatus	end of 2 nd / beginning of 3 rd c.	CIL VI 32536
[S]eptimius Insoques Celein (!)		end of 2 nd / beginning of 3 rd c.	CIL VI 32536
? ?ius		2 nd c.	CIL VI 32623
Marcus Aemilius Verecundus	evocatus	2 nd half of 2 nd c.	CIL VI 32627
Marcus Aurelius Firminus		2 nd half of 2 nd c.	CIL VI 32627
Titus Tertinius Vitalis		2 nd half of 2 nd c.	CIL VI 32627
? Aurelius Servatus		2 nd half of 2 nd c.	CIL VI 32640
??? Celeia		243	CIL VI 32634

which is here also called *pia* and *fidelis*, the names not very often given to praetorian units. His *origo* is stated as *ex civitate Celeia*; it is also interesting how the duration of his military service is given, namely, the years are followed by months and, if the monument had been preserved completely, possibly even by days. Verus was obviously also one of those unfortunates who, at the time of his death, had only about a year of service left. His monument was erected by Caius Reginus, obviously a friend from the maniple, which was approximately 1/3 of a *centuria*.

Two members of the family Valerii are also identified as praetorians (nos. 4 and 8). This family was well represented and very influential in both Celeia and Poetovio.⁹ Caius Valerius Cupitus was a soldier in *cohors VI praetoria* and died before he turned twenty-five, after six years of service. His tombstone was erected by his brother Caius Quartus Secundus,¹⁰ soldier of *legio XIII Gemina*,¹¹ and the praetorian's wife. Marcus Valerius served in *cohors III praetoria* and died aged 35, after nine years of military service. What is unusual with him is that he was not enlisted into the voting tribe *Claudia*, as was usual for the inhabitants of *Celeia*, but into the voting tribe *Voltinia*. To be enlisted into another voting tribe than most inhabitants of a town was not a rare occurrence.¹²

Caius Cornelius Memor (no. 3) is the first among the Celeian praetorians who also completed his military service and died when he was 80 years old (this is probably not the exact number since soldiers

and veterans also rounded up their age).¹³ He was a soldier for 28 years, thus *iteratus*.¹⁴ His tombstone was erected by his heir Aurelius Ingenuilis, who was also a soldier. He was an *optio* – centurion's helper (executive officer, lieutenant).¹⁵ According to his name, the inscription can probably be dated to the end of the 2nd or in the first half of the 3rd century.

Marcus Saturius Maximus (no. 5) stands out from other praetorians because he was the only one to serve as a horseman in *cohors X praetoria*. Each praetorian cohort also had a cavalry division.¹⁶ He did not complete his service, since he died at the age of 30, after 12 years of service. His *gentilicium* Saturius is one of those which have up until today not been attested in his native *Celeia*.¹⁷ Outside Rome, but inside Italy,¹⁸ where praetorians are frequently attested, we also find, in Etruria (*regio VII*), Caius Aquilius Verecundus (no. 7) from *cohors VIII praetoria*, who died at the age of 20, after only two years of service in the praetorian guard.

The group "others" is mostly also composed of praetorians. Some of the slabs on which these lists of soldiers (praetorians) were written are preserved only fragmentarily. Thus all the names and functions are not even known. Nevertheless, we have two functions attested: *speculator* and *tubicen*. *Speculatores* were representatives of the elite praetorian unit – bodyguards, scouts. Namely, three hundred members of a special unit of the praetorian guard were entrusted with the especially important task of emperor's bodyguards. They could also have been bodyguards of provincial governors; they are attested in numerous provinces, also in *Pannonia* and *Dalmatia*.¹⁹ *Tubicen*, on the other hand, is a trumpeter in the army, who plays a *tuba* – a level

⁹ Cf. Visočnik 2007, 198.

¹⁰ If Caius Valerius Cupitus and Caius Quartus Secundus are indeed brothers, the same *gentilicium* should be expected in both their names. Since this is not the case here we can assume that these are stepbrothers who shared their mother. The word *frater* could also be connected to the friendship created between two comrades during their years of service (cf. Keparťova 1986; Panciera 2004, 294).

¹¹ Basic data about the legion which spent most of the second half of the 1st century in Poetovio are found in Visočnik 2008, 340–341.

¹² Forni 2006, 71–85; id. 2006, 539–549, where the author emphasizes that not all inhabitants of a town are necessarily enlisted into the same voting tribe. *Claudia* was thus not a voting tribe of *Celeia* (town), but a *tribus*, into which most of inhabitants of *Celeia* were enlisted. See also Forni 1985, 107, 115, 122–124, where the author regarded *Claudia Celeia* as the so-called pseudo-tribus. Cf. also Bertolazzi, La Monaca 2010, especially 284, where *Claudia* in the mentioned inscription is explained as a part of the municipium's name.

¹³ Scheidel 1996, 97–138 where demographic problems of the Roman army are dealt with, thus also the rounding up of years on tombstones.

¹⁴ The military service of praetorians lasted 16 years; *iteratus* was a soldier recalled to service after being discharged (*Oxford Latin Dictionary*).

¹⁵ Breeze 1993, 71–74 precisely defines various kinds of *optiones*, who also performed different functions: *optio centuriae*, *optio valetudinarii*, *optio custodiarum*, *optio campi*, etc. In certain instances he equates the functions of *optio* and *magister*.

¹⁶ Keppie 2000a, 111.

¹⁷ *Gentilicium* Saturius has yet not been attested in *Celeia*, yet related personal names can be found: Saturio, Saturia, Satur, Saturus, which resemble Celtic names beginning with Sat(t)-, cf. Visočnik 2007, 165, 171.

¹⁸ Cf. Keppie 2000a.

¹⁹ Cf. Domaszewski, Dobson 1967, 20, 99.

brass instrument with the end similar to a funnel. It was used in battle to signal retreat or attack, departure, work or rest. Related military functions were *bucinatores* and *cornices*. Every maniple and every *turma* had its own trumpeter.²⁰

A bigger group of soldiers is compiled mostly of legionaries. Four inscriptions originate from Britain (nos. 9–12); these soldiers were most probably members of two important British legions: *legio XX Valeria Victrix* and *legio II Adiutrix*. On one inscription the name of the legion is not stated but the probability that we are dealing with one of the mentioned legions is very high. On another inscription the name of the soldier is not preserved while we have the unit in which he served for twenty years. *Legio XX*²¹ participated in the conquest of Britannia in 43, later stayed there and built camps at several locations: Camulodunum (Colchester), Glevum (Gloucester), Viroconium (Wroxeter), Deva (Chester). It could have also participated in the building of forts in the north of Ireland. A soldier of this legion was Caius Iulius Quartus who, according to his name, could have performed his service in Britannia already in the second half of the 1st century. But since the inscription was found in Chester, where the legion was stationed later, the 2nd century is more probable.²² The second Celeian soldier from this legion, whose monument was also found at Chester, is unknown to us by name. What is interesting is that he died aged 40, after twenty years of military service, where the rounding up of years is more than obvious. This phenomenon can be seen also in most other examples, which is rather unusual – with soldiers one would expect that they kept precise records of their years of service.

Legio II Adiutrix was formed in 69 or 70, when it also carried the names *Pia* and *Fidelis*. It went to Britannia already in 71, led by Petilius Cerialis; there it was first stationed in Lindum (Lincoln), then in Deva (Chester). In 86 it was transferred to the Danube, to Sirmium (Pannonia). After Domitian's war with the Dacians it came to Aquincum in 89. The legion participated in Trajan's second war against the Dacians and was among the first military units to conquer the new province. In 113, it was sent to the front against the Parthians. When soon after, the revolt of Jews occurred, this legion helped in its repression.²³ The inscription

of Titus Plotius Pamphilus (no. 21) can probably be connected to this period since his monument was erected in Aquincum. According to the inscription, Pamphilus died in Alexandria, where only a *vexillatio* of this unit could have been stationed. Thus we can assume that his tombstone was erected at the place where the base legionary camp was built. In 118 the entire legion returned to Aquincum and there built a new camp.²⁴ This inscription is intriguing also due to the fact that *origo* is stated in two ways. Not only that Celeia is written explicitly; but the heir also stated that Pamphilus was of Norican nationality. Quintus Valerius Fronto was also a soldier of this legion, who ended his life in Britannia in the 1st century, before the legion was transferred to the Danube. It is clear from the inscription that he had completed at least twenty years of service (perhaps even thirty), since we know that the legion was only formed in 69, and twenty years later it had already left Britain; therefore we must conclude that Valerius Fronto served in some other legion before 69 and was one of the soldiers transferred to *legio II Adiutrix* to help with training.²⁵

Caius? Valerius Birbilo (no. 20) was a legionary of *legio I Italica* in Moesia Inferior who died aged 36, after 16 years of service. His tombstone was erected by his brother who did not write his own name on the monument. *Legio I Italica* was founded by Nero towards the end of his rule; in 68 it was stationed in Lyon (Lugdunum) and fought for Vitellius in the second battle at Bedriacum. Vespasian sent it to Moesia at the beginning of his reign and it was there stationed at *Novae*.²⁶

The next two soldiers are documented in the neighbouring Poetovio (nos. 22 and 23). Lucius Annaeus Surus served in *legio XIII Gemina*, which was stationed at Poetovio between ca. 45 and 90, therefore in the period in which we can most probably also date both of these inscriptions. Due to fragmentary preservation we do not know the name of the second soldier. Yet due to the fact that his tombstone was erected by his brother Caius Betuscus Tertius, we know that the fallen soldier was a member of the family of Betuscii. Both brothers served in the same legion, most probably in the second half of the 1st century. Again we meet the army as a traditional family occupation. The

²⁰ Cf. Lammert 1939.

²¹ Keppie 2000b, 25–35; Ritterling 1925, 1769–1781.

²² Keppie 2000b, 32, middle of the 2nd century.

²³ Lőrincz 2000b; Ritterling 1925, 1437–1456.

²⁴ Cf. Lőrincz 2000b, 163–164.

²⁵ Birley 1952, 285–287. For similar cases of military careers from Chester, see Birley 1986.

²⁶ Ritterling 1925, 1407–1417; Absil 2000.

inscription could be connected to the period when *legio XIII Gemina* was stationed at Poetovio, thus the second half of the 1st century. After the battle at Actium it was located in Illyricum, from where it was moved 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 *legio VIII Augusta* and remained there until around 90, when Domitian sent it to Vindobona.²⁷

A representative of the Terentii (no. 15) is attested as a standard bearer of the *cohors VIII* in Dalmatia²⁸ and this could be either a soldier in charge of the standard (*vexillum*) or a soldier, member of a vexillation, therefore a smaller unit temporarily sent on a mission away from the basic unit.²⁹ This is probably the soldier of *cohors Voluntariorum*, the soldiers of which were Roman citizens (*cohors VIII Voluntariorum civium Romanorum*), and which was part of auxiliary units in Dalmatia.³⁰ If this is indeed true, then Terentius was the one who was in charge of the standard. According to the stated age and the number of years in service, we can assume that he was drafted very young, at barely 16 years of age. From the same location we also know the centurion of *cohors III Alpinorum*, Marcus Valerius Donicus whose tombstone was erected by his wife Herenia Pudentilla. This cohort spent a major part of its history in Dalmatia³¹ and was later transferred to Pannonia, where several inscriptions were found in *Siscia*.³² Donicus was the centurion of the cohort, and in the hierarchy was lower than the legionary centurion.³³ His *origo* is stated as *natus domo Celeiae*, which is pleonastic, since either *natus* or *domo* would suffice.

Besides the already mentioned tombstone from Moesia Inferior there is the altar erected by Gaius Baenius Ianuarius (no. 19). He held the relatively important position of *primus pilus* in *legio I Italica*,

the first centurion of the first *centuria* in the legion, i.e. the commanding officer of this rank for the entire legion.³⁴ In 227 Gaius Baenius had the altar erected to Jupiter Depulsor, Averter of evil, this being a deity originating from the area of southern Noricum and western Pannonia, who was worshipped mostly in the regions of Celeia and Poetovio.³⁵ The altar was set up for the welfare of the emperor Alexander Severus, who was struck with *damnatio memoriae* after his death in 235, as can also be seen from this inscription. The legion is named *Severiana* on this inscription – the name received for fighting on the side of Septimius Severus. The altar is also the only one among the discussed inscriptions which is precisely dated (5th October 227). The altar also mentions *legatus Augusti pro praetore* Lucius Mantennius Sabinus and legionary legate Servaeus Cornelianus, whose careers are discussed in the *Prosopographia imperii Romani*.³⁶

A funerary stele for Caius Romanus Capito (no. 17), who was a cavalryman in *ala Noricorum*, belongs among the older monuments of Celeian soldiers in the Empire. The presence of this *ala* is attested in Germania and our monument also originates there.³⁷ The mention of a Celeian on the monument points to the fact that men from Celeia were recruited very early, which accords well with the early annexation of the Norican kingdom.³⁸ In the niche of Capito's funerary stele, there is a beautiful relief depicting the deceased cavalryman.

One Aurelius from Celeia, a *signifer* in *legio II Italica* (no. 18),³⁹ is documented in the northeast of Noricum, in Lauriacum. He was a standard-bearer in charge of the *signum* (standard); every maniple – each legion had 30 – had its own standard. The *signum*, which the *signifer* was entrusted with, had a shape of a prolonged decorated lance. We

²⁷ For legions in Poetovio see Vomer Gojkovič 2005, 463; Ritterling 1925, 1710–1727, especially 1713–1715; Wolff 2000; cf. also Piso 2000, 220–224; Visočnik 2008, 340–341.

²⁸ Most probably a soldier of *cohors Voluntariorum*; this was a cohort of Roman citizens (*cohors VIII Voluntariorum civium Romanorum*), and was part of auxiliary units in Dalmatia.

²⁹ Cf. Neumann 1956a; id. 1956b; id. 1956c, vexillations were formed from members of various units, also different legions or auxiliary units. They usually comprised 1000 or 2000 men.

³⁰ Holder 1980, 152; Zaninović 2007, 181–182.

³¹ Holder 1980, 198.

³² Cichorius 1900, 239–240; Zaninović 2007, 182.

³³ Cf. Domaszewski, Dobson 1967, 53; Dobson 1993a.

³⁴ Domaszewski, Dobson 1967, introduction XX–XXII; Le Bohec 1994, 43–44; Domaszewski, 1899. For more about the role of centurions and *primipili* in the Roman army see Dobson 1993b; cf. also Domaszewski, Dobson 1967, 90–97. Domaszewski and Dobson (1967, 83–90) add that centurions were generally of Italic origin or at least from the Roman military colonies.

³⁵ For the cult of Jupiter Depulsor see Šašel Kos 1999, 121–129.

³⁶ Cf. *PIR* S 560 and *PIR* M172.

³⁷ Holder 1980, 224; Cichorius 1893, 1252.

³⁸ On Celeia and Noricum in general, see, in addition to Šašel 1970, also Lazar 2002 and Scherrer 2002.

³⁹ For *Legio II Italica* see Winkler 1971; Ritterling 1925, 1468–1476; Petrovitsch 2006; Lőrincz 2000a.

must not confuse a *signum* with a *vexillum*, which was a symbol or a standard of every cavalry unit (*ala*, *turma*).⁴⁰ *Signifer* Aurelius had a monument erected for himself, for another Aurelius, also a soldier (probably of the same legion, possibly a brother or some other relative), for his wife, and some other Aurelii, for whom it is not clear in what relation they are to him (possibly children).

Last are the veterans Quintus Canius Restitutus and Lucius Atius At? from Dacia (nos. 13, 14). Canius served in *legio XIII Gemina*, which could have come to Dacia already at the time of Trajan's first war with the Dacians, and was certainly there for the second war.⁴¹ Before it came to Dacia this legion had moved quite a lot during the 1st century (Illyricum, Germania, Pannonia); later it stayed in Dacia as part of the Dacian military garrison. Its camp was located in Apulum, the town from which our second tombstone originates.⁴² Canius completed his military career and settled with his family in the Dacian capital of Sarmizegetusa (*Ulpia Traiana Sarmizegetusa*). There he continued his career in municipal administration. He became a *decurio*, a member of the town council (*ordo decurionum*),⁴³ which was not unusual for soldiers who had completed their service, acquiring certain wealth and the necessary status.⁴⁴ Examples of soldiers, who were members of the town council, can frequently be found in the province of Dacia, which is known for its specific position in the Roman Empire.⁴⁵ Since the tombstone of Lucius Atius is only fragmentarily preserved, it is not possible to know in which legion he served. According to the find-spot (Apulum), we can assume that it is again *legio XIII Gemina*.

⁴⁰ Cf. Kubitschek 1925 and Neumann 1958a.

⁴¹ Cf. Piso 1999, 379–382, where he discusses the mentioned inscription and especially Canius Restitutus and his career as a soldier and as a member of the municipal elite.

⁴² Ritterling 1925, 1710–1727, especially 1713–1715; Wolff 2000; cf. also Piso 2000, 220–224.

⁴³ Cf. Królczyk 2009, 123–151, for the economic and social integration of veterans in the Roman society; cf. Rosignol 2003, especially 368–378, on integration of veterans in the milieu of local elite and problems connected with this; cf. also Mrozewicz 1989, 65–68, for the percentage of veterans, who became members of the *ordo decurionum* in the regions of the Danube and the Rhine.

⁴⁴ According to Ardevan 1989, 90, the role of veterans in municipal administration in Dacia was smaller than expected.

⁴⁵ Cf. Nelis-Clément 1989, especially 149–151.

GEOGRAPHIC DISTRIBUTION

(fig. 1)

Soldiers from Celeia can be found along a great part of the Roman Empire; the biggest group is formed of praetorians, most of whom are attested in Rome itself, only two are found in other towns of Italy where praetorian units could also have been stationed. Four examples of Celeians respectively are attested in the provinces of Britannia and Moesia Inferior. Three Celeian soldiers are documented in neighbouring Pannonia. So far there are no traces of Celeian soldiers in African provinces and the eastern Greek provinces, which may be due to mere chance. Furthest from home are thus those Celeians who served in Britannia.⁴⁶ Only those two soldiers who served in Dacia found themselves on the border of the Greek cultural circle. Another two Celeian soldiers are known from Dalmatia and one from his home province of Noricum (outside Celeia and its ager), as well as one from Germania Superior. The Celeian soldiers served where their legions were stationed and moved along with them.

ANALYSIS OF THE GENTILICIA

Soldiers from Celeia who served elsewhere in the Empire and ended their lives there are interesting also for onomastic analyses. Their family names (*gentilicia*) can, in fact, supplement the already known picture of families who lived and worked in Celeia and its ager and also gave some of their representatives to the army. As it seems, some of these were the so-called military families – families to whom army was a traditional occupation.

Three imperial gentilicia are attested: Iulius, Aelius, and Aurelius with two examples each. These do not bring anything new to the names attested in Celeia since all of these gentilicia are known from other inscriptions within Celeia itself. Similarly, we are also familiar with gentilicia Aemilius, Atius, Cornelius, Terentius, and Valerius. However, there are some of the family names appearing for the first time, which we have not yet met on the inscriptions from Celeia: Annaeus, Aquilius, Aufustus, Baienius, Betuscus, Canius, Plotius, Romanus, Saturius, and Sextius.⁴⁷ These names are mostly of Italic origin and we will take a closer look at them here.

⁴⁶ For military ties between Noricum and Britannia cf. Birley 1952; id. 1985.

⁴⁷ Cf. Višočník 2007.

The name Annaeus is fairly frequent as gentilicium but also appears as *cognomen*. Outside Italy, from where it originates, it has also been found in the provinces of Hispania, Dalmatia, Pannonia, Noricum, and both Moesiae.⁴⁸ Aquilius is a frequent name which is attested also in the form with two Ls. It is found in Italy, Hispania, Galliae, and Raetia.⁴⁹ The names Aufustus and Baienius are also quite frequent.⁵⁰ Betuscus has only been attested in this case to date.⁵¹ A few names beginning with Betu- are listed also in *Holder*, thus it is possible that the name Betuscus could be the so-called *pseudogentilicium*.⁵² The name Canius can be written in several ways, it was used as gentilicium or as a cognomen or personal name. Most frequently it is attested in Italy, Galliae, and in Dalmatia.⁵³ The name Plotius is attested only in Hispania and Italy, from where the family obviously came to Celeia.⁵⁴ Similar is true also for the name Romanus (or for the family) which is frequent mostly in Italy, Galliae, and Dalmatia. This name is frequent also as a cognomen or personal name.⁵⁵ The name Saturius is frequently attested; in some cases the influence of Celtic names can be seen (Celtic names beginning with Sat(t)-).⁵⁶ Gentilicium Sextius is frequent mostly in Italy, Galliae, and Noricum.⁵⁷

MANNER OF WRITING ORIGIN (*ORIGO*)

The common denominator of all inscriptions here discussed is the provenance (*origo*) Celeia. Yet the manner in which this *origo* is stated is not always the same. Since several interesting phrases occur, it seems appropriate to deal with them in more detail. In most examples (almost 20) simply Celeia is written, thus in the ablative, which corresponds to the ablative of origin (*ablativus originis*), answering the question where from? (from Celeia). In one example Celeia is written in the genitive, thus Celeiae, where we are dealing with

the locative, answering the question where. Once, the name Celeia is supplemented by the other part of its name, Claudia Celeia. Only the word *domo* (at home) can be added to both of these options; thus we get *domo Celeia* or *domo Claudia Celeia*. *Domo Celeia* can be supplemented also by *natus* (born) and we get *natus domo Celeiae* which, grammatically speaking, is a pleonasm, yet its meaning is unambiguous. Also interesting are the definitions *natione Noricus* and *ex civitate Celeiae*. The first one is not used independently, for the tombstone previously states that the person is from Celeia. People of Celeia hence did not only feel the belonging to their town but (at least some of them) also to the entire province. Regarding the word *civitas* used for a town, this word obviously did not cease to be used with the establishment of the *municipium*; but it is used primarily for the more general meaning and not as an expression revealing a special legal status of a town. A concern that we do not know all Celeian soldiers abroad because not all of them wrote down their origin seems justified at first sight. Yet considering the inscriptions collected in the catalogue and the mention of their origin we can conclude that *origo* was an essential part of the name formula. Since soldiers here are mostly legionaries or praetorians and hence Roman citizens, *origo* is an expected part of their name formula. Examples where their origin is stated in more detail than necessary are exceptional. Nevertheless, we must conclude that a very small percentage of Celeian soldiers from abroad are known to date, due to the small number of preserved inscriptions.

COMPARISON TO FLAVIA SOLVA

The article of E. Pochmarski from 2007, which presented an encouragement already for the writing of the first analysis of "Celeian" soldiers in 2008, here again enables a comparison. If on the one hand there are around 40 Celeian soldiers attested elsewhere in the Empire, there are, on the other hand, only 11 such soldiers from Flavia Solva, one of which had an equestrian career. Equestrians were not included in the discussion about the Celeians. Seven praetorians and two centurions are attested, and on a longer list of soldiers and optiones one individual from Solva can also be found. Praetorians served in various praetorian cohorts, and their tombstones were erected in Rome. The tombstone of one centurion who served

⁴⁸ Cf. *OPEL* I, 55.

⁴⁹ Cf. *OPEL* I, 70–71.

⁵⁰ Cf. *OPEL* I: for Aufustus cf. *OPEL* I, 94 and for Baienius *OPEL* I, 109; cf. *Repertorium*, 27, 31.

⁵¹ Cf. *OPEL* I, 119.

⁵² Cf. *Holder* I, 412–413.

⁵³ Cf. *OPEL* II, 31.

⁵⁴ Cf. *OPEL* III, 147.

⁵⁵ Cf. *OPEL* IV, 31.

⁵⁶ *OPEL* IV, 51; Meid 2005, 283–284.

⁵⁷ Cf. *OPEL* IV, 79.

in several legions was erected in Liguria (*regio IX*). The other centurion is found in Dacia, in the town of Apulum, where he served in *legio XIV Gemina*. The above-mentioned list of soldiers was found in Numidia.⁵⁸

The number of praetorians from Flavia Solva is somewhat comparable to the situation in Celeia, the two centurions also do not stand out; only these two groups of soldiers serving abroad are documented from Flavia Solva, representing only ca. one third of such soldiers from Celeia.

CONCLUSION

The catalogue comprises all Celeian soldiers who served elsewhere in the Empire. The biggest group is represented by praetorians (25), the tombstones of the majority of whom were found in Rome. A major group consists of legionaries who served in various legions in different parts of the Roman Empire. It is interesting that soldiers from Celeia have not been attested to date in any of the so-called eastern provinces. Their spread in the east stops at Moesia and Dacia, a void also covers the entire Africa. Connections of Britannia and Noricum have been researched many times before and are surely confirmed also by the Celeian soldiers serving in that province, which is at the same time the most distant one from our soldiers' birth town. Soldiers from Celeia served in five legions: *legio I Italica*, *legio II Italica*, *legio II Adiutrix*, *legio XIII Gemina*, and *legio XX Valeria Victrix*; and in three auxiliary units: *cohors II Alpinorum*, *ala Noricorum*, and *cohors VIII Voluntariorum*. There are not many especially distinguished functions performed by Celeian soldiers. Two cavalrymen (*eques*) are attested, one of whom was a praetorian, and also two centurions, one of whom was even a *primus pilus*, the commanding officer of this rank for the entire legion. Two soldiers held especially honourable positions, namely, they were in charge of the standards (*signifer* and *vexillarius*). Some of the gentilicia of soldiers who served elsewhere in the Empire have so far not been attested at Celeia. Thus this analysis makes the picture of Celeian families more complete. *Betuscii* could have been a family of autochthonous origin and their name the s.c. pseudogentilicium. For others we can assume that they were colonists or their descendents who moved to this area mostly from northern Italy. Only

one votive monument erected by Celeian soldiers abroad has been attested so far, an altar to Jupiter Depulsor, Averter of evil, who was worshipped as the supreme deity especially in southern Noricum and Poetovio. Illustrative is the number of Celeian soldiers serving abroad if it is compared to the number of such soldiers from Flavia Solva, indicating the importance of Celeia. The significant role of Celeia within Noricum is also confirmed by the number of soldiers attested in the town and its territory, including the inscriptions of the numerous *beneficiarii* who served at the station in Celeia.

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⁵⁸ Pochmarski 2007, 274.