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2009

FILOZOFSKI FAKULTET  
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RADOVI ARHEOLOŠKOG ZAVODA  
PAPERS OF THE DEPARTMENT  
O F A R C H A E O L O G Y

# SADRŽAJ

## CONTENTS

<i>Boban TRIPKOVIĆ</i>	KONTINUITETI KUĆA I DOMAĆINSTAVA NA SREDIŠNJEMU BALKANU OD 5300. DO 4600. G. PR. N. E. HOUSE(HOLD) CONTINUITIES IN THE CENTRAL BALKANS, 5300-4600 BC <i>Izvorni znanstveni članak / Original scientific paper</i> _____	7
<i>Hrvoje KALAFATIĆ, Saša KOVAČEVIĆ &amp; Amelio VEKIĆ</i>	GROB KASNOGA BRONČANOG DOBA IZ ZBELAVE KOD VARAŽDINA LATE BRONZE AGE GRAVE IN ZBELAVA NEAR VARAŽDIN <i>Izvorni znanstveni članak / Original scientific paper</i> _____	29
<i>Marina MILIČEVIĆ BRADAČ</i>	SPOMENI BOŽICE DIJANE IZ KOLONIJE <i>CLAUDIA AEQUUM</i> I LOGORA <i>TILURIUM</i> MONUMENTS TO THE GODDESS DIANA FROM THE <i>CLAUDIA AEQUUM</i> COLONY AND THE <i>TILURIUM</i> CAMP <i>Izvorni znanstveni članak / Original scientific paper</i> _____	51
<i>Ante RENDIĆ-MIOČEVIĆ</i>	NADGROBNA PLOČA MARKA AURELIJA SERENA IZ ILOKA ( <i>CUCCIUM</i> ) GRAVESTONE OF MARCUS AURELIUS SERENUS FROM ILOK ( <i>CUCCIUM</i> ) <i>Izvorni znanstveni članak / Original scientific paper</i> _____	79
<i>Kristina JELINČIĆ</i>	RIMSKE STAKLENE NARUKVICE KAO PRILOG POZNAVANJU ANTIČKOGA OREŠCA ROMAN GLASS BRACELETS AS A MEANS TO UNDERSTANDING OREŠAC IN ANTIQUITY <i>Izvorni znanstveni članak / Original scientific paper</i> _____	105
<i>Goran BILOGRIVIĆ</i>	KAROLINŠKI MAČEVI TIP K TYPE K CAROLINGIAN SWORDS <i>Izvorni znanstveni rad / Original scientific paper</i> _____	125
<i>Tajana PLEŠE &amp; Krešimir KARLO</i>	MONASTERIUM OMNIUM SANCTORUM DE ZTREZA ORDINIS S. PAULI PRIMI EREMITAE MONASTERIUM OMNIUM SANCTORUM DE ZTREZA ORDINIS S. PAULI PRIMI EREMITAE <i>Izvorni znanstveni članak / Original scientific paper</i> _____	183
<i>Boris MAŠIĆ &amp; Tajana PLEŠE</i>	O SKUPNOME NALAZU ZLATNOGA NOVCA UZ CRKVVU BLAŽENE DJEVICE MARIJE U REMETAMA ON THE GROUP FIND OF GOLD COINS NEXT TO THE CHURCH OF THE BLESSED VIRGIN MARY IN REMETE <i>Izvorni znanstveni rad / Original scientific paper</i> _____	207

<i>Marina MILIĆEVIĆ BRADAČ</i>	MIRJANA SANADER: <i>DALMATIA: EINE RÖMISCHE PROVINZ AN DER ADRIA, ORBIS PROVINCiarUM</i> , ZABERN'S BILDBÄNDE ZUR ARCHÄOLOGIE, SONDERBÄNDE DER ANTIKEN WELT, VERLAG PHILIPP VON ZABERN, MAINZ AM RHEIN, 2009 <i>Recenzija / Review</i> _____	221
<i>Iva KAIĆ</i>	DOPUNA BIBLIOGRAFIJE PROFESORA MARINA ZANINOVIĆA SUPPLEMENT TO THE PROF. MARIN ZANINOVIĆ BIBLIOGRAPHY <i>Stručni članak / Professional paper</i> _____	229
<i>Urednici / Editors</i>	UPUTE ZA PREDAJU RUKOPISA ZA ČASOPIS <i>OPUSCULA ARCHAEOLOGICA</i> INSTRUCTIONS FOR SUBMISSION OF MANUSCRIPTS FOR THE JOURNAL <i>OPUSCULA ARCHAEOLOGICA</i> _____	237

Ante RENDIĆ-MIOČEVIĆ

## NADGROBNA PLOČA MARKA AURELIJA SERENA IZ ILOKA (CUCCIUM)

### GRAVESTONE OF MARCUS AURELIUS SERENUS FROM ILOK (CUCCIUM)

Izvorni znanstveni članak / Original scientific paper

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*U najistočnijemu dijelu Hrvatske, na području grada Iloka (Cuccium), slučajno je 2000. godine otkrivena rimska kamena nadgrobna ploča s natpisom. Spomenik je pravokutnoga oblika, a osam redaka raspoređenih na gotovo čitavoj prednjoj strani natpisnoga polja uokvireno je jednostavnom rubnom profilacijom. Tekst epitafa odnosi se na vojnoga veterana, nekadašnjega centuriona u I. kohorti Luzitanaca (cohors I Lusitanorum), Marka Aurelija Serena (Marcus Aurelius Serenus) koji je preminuo s 56 godina, kao i na njegovu ženu. Na natpisu je ujedno navedeno ime mjesta u kojemu je pokojnik stekao građansko pravo, odnosno mjesta koje mu je bilo zavičaj, a riječ je o gradu Bassianae, današnjim Petrovcima kod Rume. Iz natpisa je razvidno da je za postavljanje nadgrobna spomenika pokojnomu mužu i sebi zaslužna žena, Klaudija Maksimila (Claudia Maximilla). Titulus najvjerojatnije potječe iz kasnih desetljeća 2. stoljeća ili s početka 3. stoljeća. Detalj koji privlači osobitu pozornost svakako je ime vojne jedinice koje je razmjerno često zastupljeno na vojničkim diplomama, ali samo u rijetkim prigodama i na kamenim spomenicima. Od triju evidentiranih natpisa s imenom I. luzitanske kohorte dosad je bio poznat jedan. Još je međutim zanimljivije da čak dva natpisa potječu iz hrvatskoga dijela Podunavlja, što je svakako podatak koji bismo teško mogli pripisati samo slučajnim okolnostima. Na osnovi arhivske korespondencije pohranjene u zagrebačkome Arheološkom muzeju usta-*

*In 2000, a Roman gravestone bearing an inscription was found by chance in Croatia's easternmost periphery, in the environs of the town of Ilok (Cuccium). It is rectangular in shape, and its eight lines extending over almost the entire front of the inscription field are framed by a simple border moulding. The text of the epitaph refers to a military veteran, a former centurion of cohors I Lusitanorum, Marcus Aurelius Serenus, who died at the age of 56, and to his wife. The inscription also specifies the name of the place where the deceased acquired citizenship, i.e. his original home, the city of Bassianae, today's Petrovci near Ruma. It is apparent from the inscription that the wife of the deceased, Claudia Maximilla, deserves credit for placing the gravestone to her husband and herself. The titulus probably originated in the latter decades of the second century, or the beginning of the third century. A detail which attracts particular attention is certainly the name of the soldier's unit, which appears with relative frequency on military diplomas, but only sporadically on stone monuments. Of the three recorded inscriptions bearing the name of the cohors I Lusitanorum, until now only one was known. Even more interesting, however, is that two inscriptions are from the Croatian part of the Danubian Basin, something that may scarcely be ascribed to coincidence. Based on archival correspondence held in the Archaeological Museum in Zagreb, it was ascertained that besides the Ilok inscription, another inscription mentioning the cohors I Lusitanorum*

novljeno je da je osim spomenutoga iločkog natpisa još jedan natpis na kojemu se spominje I. kohorta Luzitanaca bio pronađen u obližnjemu Sotinu, ali je, nažalost, odavno zagubljen, pa se ne može analizirati ni podvrgnuti cjelovitom stručno-znanstvenom vrednovanju. Za razliku od iločkoga natpisa spomenik iz Sotina, sudeći prema podatcima zabilježenima na sačuvanoj skici, nije bio nadgrobna karaktera, nego se radilo o žrtveniku posvećenom Jupiteru. Čini se da je žrtvenik dala načiniti skupina Tračana, koji su, po svemu sudeći, u spomenutoj kohorti bili zastupljeni u razmjerno velikome broju.

Podatak o postojanju dvaju kamenih spomenika s imenom I. luzitanske kohorte iz hrvatskoga dijela dunavskoga graničnog područja dopunjuje sliku o djelovanju i mogućim pravcima kretanja vojnih jedinica u hrvatskome dijelu Podunavlja. Naime spomenici o kojima je riječ potvrđuju pretpostavku da je određeno vrijeme I. kohorta Luzitanaca boravila u utvrdi (castellum) u Sotinu (Cornacum) zajedno s drugim vojnim jedinicama za koje se pretpostavlja da su ondje bile stacionirane, a to se najvjerojatnije zbivalo još tijekom 1. stoljeća. Nakon otkrića spomenutih spomenika u drugacijemu bi svjetlu trebalo promatrati i značenje pretpostavljene utvrde u Iloku kako zbog podataka navedenih na nadgrobnoj ploči Marka Aurelija Serena tako i zbog grobnih nalaza s vojničkom opremom iz ranih desetljeća 1. stoljeća otkrivenih tijekom nedavnih arheoloških istraživanja provedenih na tome području.

*Ključne riječi:* Ilok – Cuccium, nadgrobni titulus, natpis, Marcus Aurelius Serenus, limes, cohors I Lusitanorum, Sotin – Cornacum

Osim vijesti o aktualnim događanjima u najistočnijem hrvatskom gradu i njegovu bližem okruženju u dvobroju se *Iločkoga lista* u ljetnim mjesecima 2000. pojavio i kratak osvrt na slučajni nalaz rimske kamene nadgrobne ploče s natpisom.<sup>1</sup> Neočekivani nalaz odmah je pobudio znatiželju u lokalnoj sredini, a ubrzo je privukao pozornost i pojedinih zainteresiranih stručnjaka. Razumljivo je stoga što sam se vrlo rado odazvao pozivu da prilogom o tek otkrivenome natpisu sudjelujem u planiranome zborniku Muzeja grada Iloka.<sup>2</sup> Budući da tekst koji je davno bio dostavljen nakladniku do danas nije ugledao svjetlo dana, nije neobično što su se u međuvremenu, usputno ili s više pozornosti, na njega osvrnuli i drugi autori (Batorović 2003: 4; Sanader 2003: 142; Lőrincz 2005: 63 i d.).

was discovered in nearby Sotin, but it was unfortunately lost long ago, so it cannot be analyzed nor undergo comprehensive scholarly evaluation. In contrast to the Ilok inscription, the monument from Sotin, based on the data recorded on the preserved sketch, was not a gravestone, rather it was an altar dedicated to Jupiter. It would appear that the altar was made at the behest of a group of Thracians, of whom, by all accounts, there were a high number in the aforementioned cohort.

The data on the existence of two stone monuments featuring the name of cohors I Lusitanorum in the Croatian part of the Danubian borderlands supplement knowledge on the activities and possible directions of military deployments in the Croatian Danubian zone. The monuments discussed here confirm the hypothesis that for a certain time cohors I Lusitanorum was posted in the fort (castellum) in Sotin (Cornacum) together with the other military units that were assumed to have been stationed there, and this probably occurred during the first century. In the wake of the discovery of these monuments, the significance of the assumed fortress at Ilok should also be viewed in a different light, both due to the information provided by the gravestone of Marcus Aurelius Serenus and the grave goods with military equipment from the early first century discovered during recent archaeological research conducted in this area.

*Key words:* Ilok/Cuccium, grave titulus, inscription, Marcus Aurelius Serenus, limes, cohors I Lusitanorum, Sotin/Cornacum

Besides news on current events in Croatia's easternmost town and its immediate environs, the double issue of the local newspaper *Iločki list* for the summer months of 2000 also contained a brief report on the chance find of a Roman stone gravestone bearing an inscription.<sup>1</sup> The unexpected find immediately aroused curiosity locally, and it rapidly attracted the attention of some interested experts. It is therefore understandable that I gladly accepted an offer to write a piece about this just-discovered inscription for a planned anthology published by the Ilok Town Museum.<sup>2</sup> Since this text, long since submitted to the publisher, has not been published to this day, it is not unusual that in the meantime other authors referred to it, either in passing or with greater attention (Batorović 2003: 4; Sanader 2003: 142; Lőrincz 2005: 63 ff.).

<sup>1</sup> M. Batorović, "Arheološki nalaz u Iloku", *Iločki list*, br. 66–67, god. VII, lipanj, srpanj i kolovoz 2000, str. 5.

<sup>2</sup> U trenutku predaje rukopisa činilo se da je objavljivanje zbornika samo pitanje dana ili možda tjedna. Međutim okolnosti očigledno nisu išle na ruku nakladniku. Premda se godine koje su protekle od otkrića spomenika i predaje zgotovljenoga rukopisa bliže dvoznamenkastomu broju, ništa ne ukazuje na to da bi se zbornik uskoro mogao objaviti. Zbog takvih okolnosti, ali i zbog razmjerno kratkih rokova za predaju rukopisa, tekst je nastajao u priličnoj žurbi, pa su se u njemu potkrale određene nepreciznosti i manjkavosti. Zato sam za ovu prigodu pripremio tekst koji je djelomice korigiran i znatno proširen te nadopunjen novim podatcima kojih nije bilo u prethodnoj inačici.

<sup>1</sup> M. Batorović, "Arheološki nalaz u Iloku", *Iločki list*, no. 66–67, vol. VII, June, July and August 2000, p. 5.

<sup>2</sup> When the manuscript was submitted, it appeared that the publication of the anthology was only a question of days, or perhaps weeks. However, circumstances obviously did not favour the publisher. Even though the years since discovery of the monument and submission of the completed text are approaching double digits, there is no indication that the anthology may be released any time soon. Due to these circumstances, and also because of the relatively short deadlines for handing in manuscripts, the text was written rather hastily, so it contained some imprecisions and shortcomings. Therefore, on this occasion I prepared a text which has been partially corrected and considerably expanded, and supplemented with new data not contained in its previous variant.

Spomenik o kojemu će biti riječi u nastavku u osnovi je jednostavna kamena nadgrobna ploča (*titulus*) postavljena u spomen na preminuloga vojnog veterana Marka Aurelija Serena (*Marcus Aurelius Serenus*) (sl. 1). Po završetku aktivne vojne službe taj je vojni veteran, čini se, umirovljeničke dane provodio na hrvatskome dijelu Podunavlja, gdje je, po svemu sudeći, i umro. Detalj koji na iločkome natpisu privlači osobitu pozornost svakako je podatak o vojnoj jedinici u kojoj je pokojnik bio na dužnosti zapovjednika centurije. U natpisu je navedeno da je Marko Aurelije Seren tu dužnost obavljao u I. kohorti Luzitanaca (*cohors I Lusitanorum*), jedinici kojoj je, kao i drugim vojnim formacijama s područ-

The artefact to be discussed in the following pages is basically a simple gravestone (*titulus*) placed in memory of a deceased military veteran *Marcus Aurelius Serenus* (Fig. 1). Upon completing his active military service, this veteran, it would appear, spent his retirement in the Croatian part of the Danubian Basin where, by all indications, he also died. A detail on the Ilok inscription which merits particular attention is the information on the military unit in which the deceased served as a centurion commander. The inscription states that Marcus Aurelius Serenus carried out his duties in *cohors I Lusitanorum*, a unit with – like other formations from the territory of Pannonia Inferior – the basic



Slika 1. Natpis veterana Marka Aurelija Serena iz Iloka (arhiv Muzeja grada Iloka).

Figure 1. Inscription of the veteran Marcus Aurelius Serenus from Ilok (archives of the Ilok Town Museum).

ja Donje Panonije, osnovni zadatak bio nadziranje granice na Dunavu.<sup>3</sup>

U spomenutome novinskom osvrtu uz popratni je tekst objavljena i crno-bijela fotografija novootkrivenoga natpisa. Zahvaljujući autoru novinskoga članka, ondašnjemu ravnatelju Muzeja grada Iloka Mati Batoroviću, koji me obavijestio o nalazu i potaknuo me da ga obradim i objavim u muzejskoj publikaciji, uspio sam pribaviti vrlo kvalitetne fotografije. To mi je puno pomoglo u provjeravanju pojedinih detalja i poglavito u pokušajima transkribiranja svih dijelova natpisa.<sup>4</sup> Ujedno bih napomenuo da tijekom pisanja priloga za zbornik iločkoga Muzeja još nisam imao na raspolaganju podatke o okolnostima nalaza, osim onih koji su bili zabilježeni u novinskom članku. Nisu mi bili poznati ni drugi važni detalji, primjerice dimenzije slova, rubnoga pojasa i natpisnoga polja i sl. O tome sam potpunije obaviješten tijekom višekratnih posjeta Iloku i nakon obavljene autopsije spomenika.

Uoči skorašnjega otvaranja obnovljene reprezentativne zgrade iločkoga Muzeja i njegova novoga stalnog izložbenog postava za arheološku bi dionicu, i to naročito za dio postava koji se odnosi na rimsko doba, nadgrobna ploča Marka Aurelija Serena trebala biti vrijedna i zbog mnogo razloga iznimno zanimljiva akvizicija. Osim podataka koji su osobne naravi (pokojnikova imena, njegovih godina života i sl.) na natpisu su zabilježeni i detalji koji mogu imati šire značenje: oni, na neki način, mogu pridonijeti boljemu poznavanju prilika u podunavskim područjima tijekom prvih stoljeća rimske uprave u tim krajevima. Budući da je čitav spomenički fundus iločkoga Muzeja u novije vrijeme temeljito revidiran i uglavnom stručno valoriziran te tako pripremljen za izlaganje, može se očekivati da će novoot-

mission of defending border on the Danube River.<sup>3</sup>

In the aforementioned newspaper article, the text was accompanied by a black-and-white photograph of the newly-discovered inscription. Thanks to the text's author, the director of the Ilok Town Museum at the time, Mato Batorović – who notified me of the find and encouraged me to conduct an analysis and publish it in the Museum's publication – I managed to acquire some very high-quality photographs. This aided me considerably in the verification of individual details and, most of all, in attempts to transcribe all parts of the inscription.<sup>4</sup> I should also mention that while writing the article for the Ilok Museum's publication, I still did not have any data on the circumstances of the find, with the exception of those noted in the newspaper piece. I was also unfamiliar with other important details, such as, for example, the dimensions of the letters, the border and the inscription field, etc. I became more apprised of these aspects during multiple visits to Ilok, particularly after I conducted an "autopsy" on the monument.

With the imminent opening of the renovated and upgraded building of the Ilok Museum and its new permanent exhibition, the gravestone of *Marcus Aurelius Serenus* should be a valuable and multiply intriguing acquisition for its archaeology section, particularly that portion of the latter dedicated to the Roman era. Besides the personal information (the name of the deceased, his age and so forth), the inscription also records details with a broader significance: in a way, they may contribute to a better understanding of circumstances in the Danubian regions during the first centuries of Roman governance. Since the Ilok Museum's entire collection of monuments has recently undergone a thorough re-evaluation and general expertise-based examina-

<sup>3</sup> Potrebno je napomenuti kako postoje indicije da je približno u isto vrijeme na području Mezije, a kasnije u Gornjoj Meziji, djelovala kohorta istoga imena i rednoga broja (*cohors I Lusitanorum*). Vjerojatno je taj podatak potaknuo pretpostavke o pridjevku *equitata* za "panonsku" kohortu unatoč činjenici što takav epitet nije bio potvrđen odgovarajućim nalazima (Lőrincz 2002: 37). U Meziji je međutim pod nazivom *cohors I Lusitanorum* djelovala još jedna pomoćna jedinica istoga imena i rednoga broja, ali njezinu je imenu bio pridodan još i počasni pridjevak *Cyrenaica* (usp. Wagner 1938: 163 i d.; Beneš 1978: 44–45). To potvrđuje vojnička diploma iz 145. godine podrijetlom iz Bugarske na kojoj se spominje *cohors I Lusitanorum Cyrenaica* (Roxan 1994: 286–288). Spomenuta kohorta i druge vojne jedinice iz podunavskih krajeva pridonosile su ostvarivanju sigurnosno-strateških ciljeva rimske države, osiguranju njezinih granica te daljnjemu širenju rimske vlasti na područja istočno od Dunava. Zbog toga su za rimsku državu u sigurnosno-strateškom pogledu podunavski krajevi imali prvorazredno značenje. Posve je sigurno da je prisutnost rimskoga vojnog elementa u tim vrlo osjetljivim graničnim područjima (dunavski limes, odnosno *Ripa Pannonica*) bila iznimno važna za rimsku državu.

<sup>4</sup> Koristim priliku zahvaliti kolegi Batoroviću na ustupljenim fotografijama i ponuđenoj obradi iločkoga natpisa.

<sup>3</sup> It should be noted here that there are indications that a cohort with the same designation and number (*cohors I Lusitanorum*) operated in the territory of Moesia, and later in Moesia Superior, at roughly the same time. This is probably what inspired conjecture on the adjective *equitata* for the "Pannonian" cohort, despite the fact that such an epithet has not been confirmed in the relevant finds (Lőrincz 2002: 37). However, another auxiliary unit with the same designation and number operated in Moesia under the title *cohors I Lusitanorum*, but the honorary descriptive *Cyrenaica* was also added (cf. Wagner 1938: 163 ff.; Beneš 1978: 44–45). This is confirmed by the military diploma from 145, originally from Bulgaria, which mentions *cohors I Lusitanorum Cyrenaica* (Roxan 1994: 286–288). This cohort and the other military units from the Danubian regions contributed to the achievement of the security and strategic objectives of the Roman state, the defence of its borders and the further expansion of Roman authority to the territories east of the Danube. The Danubian regions were therefore of first-class significance to the Roman state in terms of security and strategy. It is entirely certain that the presence of the Roman military element in these very sensitive border zones (the Danube limes, or *Ripa Pannonica*) was exceptionally vital to the Roman state.

<sup>4</sup> I would like to take this opportunity to thank the colleague Batorović for providing me with the photographs and the opportunity to analyze the Ilok inscription.

kriveni *titulus* u muzejskome izložbenom postavu zauzeti istaknuto mjesto.

Osim jednostavne profilacije nadgrobna ploča iz Iloka nema nikakvih ukrasnih elemenata bilo figuralnoga bilo ornamentalnoga karaktera. Oštećenje većih razmjera vidljivo je na dijelu rubne profilacije, odnosno u gornjemu desnom uglu kamene ploče, dok se tragovi manjih oštećenja naziru i u suprotnome, lijevome uglu. Na temelju podataka iz novinskoga članka i analize naknadno pribavljenih fotografija moglo se zaključiti da je *titulus* načinjen od vrlo kvalitetnoga bijelog vapnenca, u što sam se ubrzo i osobno uvjerio tijekom kasnijih obilazaka Gradskega muzeja u Iloku. Unatoč neznatnim deformacijama u oblikovanju pojedinih slova i njihovim neujednačenim dimenzijama te mjestimično nedovoljno pažljivu proporcioniranju pojedinih dijelova teksta u ponešto skučenome prostoru natpisnoga polja ipak se može zaključiti da je klesar imao vještu ruku i da je zanatski bio dobro potkovan. Moguće je govoriti i o precizno definiranom duktusu većine urezanih slova pisanih razmjerno kvalitetnom rimskom kapitalom. Podatak o ukupnim dimenzijama ploče bio je poznat iz novinskoga članka, ali sam ga nakon osobnoga provjeravanja djelomice korigirao dodavši u ovoj prigodi i dimenzije drugih relevantnih detalja, o čemu u novinskoj osvrtu nije bilo riječi.

*Titulus* je visok 54,4 cm, širok je 52,8 cm, dok mu debljina iznosi 9,2 cm (ovisno o mjestu mjerenja varira od 8 do 10 cm). Još bih dodao da visina natpisnoga polja iznosi 41,8 cm, širina 40,4 cm, a širina ruba, zajedno s jednostavnom profilacijom, iznosi 6,2 cm. Prema tomu iločki je *titulus* pravokutnoga oblika, premda bi se na prvi pogled moglo reći da je u osnovi riječ o kvadratu jer su sve četiri stranice približno jednakih dimenzija. Natpisno polje omeđeno je jednostavnim, dvostruko profiliranim, rubnim pojasom. Iz često spominjanoga novinskoga članka može se saznati da je ploča bila otkrivena 18. svibnja 2000. te da je do otkrića došlo prilikom kopanja kanala za uvođenje plinskih instalacija u ulici Matice hrvatske, pred kućnim brojem 3. Budući da je, prema istome izvoru, ukupna dubina iskopa kanala dosegala približno 80 cm, a drugih podataka o okolnostima nalaza nema, logično je pretpostaviti da se ploča nalazila u sloju koji nije mogao biti na velikoj dubini. Zbog lokacije na kojoj je spomenik pronađen postavlja se i pitanje o mogućem kontekstu nalaza. Jedna od pretpostavki bila bi da je natpis slučajno dospio do nalazišta, odnosno da je do toga mjesta dopremljen i ondje zbog nepoznatih razloga odložen. Druga, svakako prihvatljivija, pretpostavka bila bi da je spomenik na tome mjestu bio postavljen s namjerom

tion and thus prepared for exhibition, one may expect that this newly-discovered *titulus* will assume a prominent place among the Museum's exhibits.

Besides the simple moulding, the gravestone from Ilok has no other decorative elements, neither figural nor ornamental. More extensive damage is visible on a part of the border moulding, in the upper right-hand corner of the stone slab, while traces of minor damage can be discerned in the opposite, left-hand corner. According to the information from the newspaper piece and analysis of the subsequently obtained photographs, one may conclude that the *titulus* was made of very high-quality white limestone, which I confirmed personally during the later tours of the Ilok Town Museum. Despite negligible deformations in the shape of individual letters and their non-uniform dimensions, and the, at places, insufficiently attentive proportioning of individual sections of the text in the somewhat cramped inscription field, one may nonetheless conclude that the mason had a skilful hand and that he was a deft craftsman. It is also possible to speak of a precisely defined duct on most of the engraved letters written in relatively high-quality Roman capitals. The total dimensions of the slab were specified in the newspaper article, but after a personal inspection I corrected them partially, adding the dimensions of other relevant details that were omitted in the newspaper piece.

The *titulus* is 54.4 cm high and 52.8 cm wide, while its thickness is 9.2 cm (depending on where it is measured, it varies from 8 to 10 cm). I should add that the height of the inscription field is 41.8 cm and its width is 40.4 cm, while the width of the border, together with the simple moulding, is 6.2 cm. The Ilok *titulus* is therefore rectangular, although at first glance one may say that it is basically a square, because all four of its sides are roughly the same length. The inscription field is bordered by a simple, doubly moulded peripheral belt. The oft-cited newspaper article indicates that the slab was discovered on 18 May 2000, and that the discovery was made when a trench was being excavated for a gas pipeline in Matice hrvatske street, in front of the building at address nr. 3. Since, according to that same source, the total depth of the trench was approximately 80 cm, with no other data on circumstances of the find indicated, it is logical to assume that the slab was at a layer that could not have been very deep. The location at which the monument was discovered prompts questions about the potential context surrounding the find. One hypothesis was that the inscription made its way to this site by chance, i.e. that it was brought to this place and then deposited for unknown reasons. The second, certainly more acceptable, hypothesis was that the monument was placed at this site with the intent of marking the grave of a military veteran. In this case,

da se tako obilježi grob vojnoga veterana. U tome slučaju spomenik je trebao biti postavljen upravo na mjestu gdje je pronađen ili u njegovoj neposrednoj blizini. Zato bismo mogli zaključiti da je riječ o izoliranome grobu koji se u skladu s ondašnjim običajima nalazio u blizini ceste. Međutim nije isključeno da je na tome mjestu bila veća skupina grobova, odnosno odgovarajuća nekropola, ali za takvu pretpostavku nema nikakvih pokazatelja. Odgovor na to pitanje trebalo bi potražiti u arheološkim iskopavanjima, što je u gusto urbaniziranoj sredini teško ili čak nemoguće ostvariti.

Tekst iločkoga epitafa sadrži osam redaka rapoređenih na natpisnome polju. Pojedine riječi klesar se trudio odvojiti karakterističnim trokutastim interpunkcijama, premda u tim nastojanjima nije bio do kraja dosljedan. Primjetno je da su, *grosso modo*, u gornjim recima slova malo uvećana u odnosu na donje retke, što se osobito odnosi na prvi redak, a djelomice i na sljedeća četiri retka. Prema dnu natpisnoga polja slova se smanjuju, s izuzetkom posljednjega retka, gdje su, čini se, jednaka onima iz prvih nekoliko redaka. Moguće je također zapaziti da je slovo O pisano vrlo neujednačeno ne samo kad je riječ o dimenzijama nego i kad se radi o njegovu specifičnome duktusu, odnosno načinu njegova pisanja. U nekoliko navrata to je slovo umanjeno do gotovo minijturnih dimenzija, kakvo je primjerice posljednje slovo kognomena u drugome retku i drugo slovo u kratici *COH(ortis)* u trećemu retku. Donekle im nalikuje i slovo u riječi *CONIUG(i)*, posljednjoj u šestome retku.

Cjelovit tekst natpisa glasi:

*D(is)M(anibus)*  
*M(arco) · AUREL(io) · SERENO · VET(erano)*  
*EX · 7(centurione) · COH(ortis) · I · LUSIT(anorum) · DOMO ·*  
*BASS(ianis) · VIXIT · ANN(os) · LVI ·*  
 5 *H(oc)S(epulcrum)F(ecit)(?)*  
*CL(audia) MAXIMILLA CONIUG(i)*  
*PIENTISSIMO · ET · SI*  
*BI POSUIT*

U slobodnome prijevodu tekst bi glasio otprilike ovako:

Bogovima Manima / Marku Aureliju Serenu, veteranu / bivšemu centurionu I. kohorte Luzitanaca, iz /Basijana (kojemu je zavičaj u Basijanama?), koji je živio 56 godina. / Ovaj grob je načinila / Klaudija Maksimila, mužu / najodanijem i se / bi ga je podigla.

Čini se da u vezi sa sadržajem teksta nema nejasnoća. Nakon uobičajene posvete Manima zabilježene u

the gravestone should have been installed at precisely the place where it was found or in its immediate vicinity. This is why we may conclude that this was an isolated grave which, in line with the customs of the time, was located near a road. However, the possibility that there was a larger group of graves, or a corresponding necropolis, at this site cannot be discounted, although there are no indicators to support this hypothesis. The answer to this question should be sought in archaeological excavations, which would be difficult, if not impossible, in such a densely urbanized settlement.

The text of the Ilok epitaph contains seven lines arranged in the inscription field. The mason made an effort to divide the individual words with the characteristic triangular punctuation, although he was not entirely consistent in these efforts. It is apparent that, *grosso modo*, the letters in the upper lines are larger than those in the lower lines, which is particularly true of the first line, and partially so for the next four lines. Toward the bottom of the inscription field the letters diminish in size, with the exception of the last line where, it would appear, they are the same size as in the first several lines. It is also possible to notice that the letter O was written very unevenly not only when speaking of dimensions but also when considering his specific duct, i.e. his writing style. At several places, the letter is reduced to almost miniature dimensions, such as the last letter of the cognomen in the second line and the second letter in the abbreviation *COH(ortis)* in the third line. The letter in the word *CONIUG(i)*, the last in the sixth line, resembles them to a certain extent.

The entire text of the inscription reads:

*D(is)M(anibus)*  
*M(arco) · AUREL(io) · SERENO · VET(erano)*  
*EX · 7(centurione) · COH(ortis) · I · LUSIT(anorum) · DOMO ·*  
*BASS(ianis) · VIXIT · ANN(os) · LVI ·*  
 5 *H(oc)S(epulcrum)F(ecit)(?)*  
*CL(audia) MAXIMILLA CONIUG(i)*  
*PIENTISSIMO · ET · SI*  
*BI POSUIT*

In a free translation, the text would read roughly as follows:

Dedicated to the Manes-gods / to *Marcus Aurelius Serenus*, veteran / former centurion of *cohors I Lusitanorum*, from / *Bassianae* (whose homeland is in *Bassianae*?), who lived 56 years. / This grave was made by / *Claudia Maximilla*, for her husband / most devoted and for / herself it was erected.

prvome retku u nastavku je, u drugome retku, ime pokojnika pisano u karakterističnome sustavu *tria nomina*. *Marcus*, pokojnikov *praenomen*, razmjerno je čest u rimskoj onomastičkoj ostavštini, a slično bi se moglo zaključiti i za gentilicij carskoga imena *Aurelius*. Na području Panonije nakon Karakale gentilno ime *Aurelius* bilo je vrlo zastupljeno, i to više u istočnome nego u zapadnome dijelu provincije, ali je bilo rasprostranjeno i u drugim rimskim provincijama (Barkóczy 1964: 258).<sup>5</sup> Znakovito je da je nakon Marka Aurelija u Panoniji bilo evidentirano približno petsto osoba takva gentilnoga imena. Poznato je da je podjela građanskih prava u tim krajevima bila potaknuta aktivnostima Marka Aurelija, a taj je proces bio intenziviran u doba Karakaline vladavine, poglavito nakon 212. godine, odnosno nakon donošenja *Constitutio Antoniniana*, jer je taj čin omogućio podjelu rimskoga građanskog prava svim građanima Carstva. Međutim sagleda li se ukupan broj osoba s gentilnim imenom *Aurelius*, može se doći do zanimljiva zaključka da je njihov broj veći u istočnim nego u zapadnim područjima Panonije. To se odnosi i na učestalost stjecanja građanskih prava: za razdoblje vladavine Septimija Severa karakteristično je primjerice da su takvi procesi bili intenzivniji u istočnim nego u zapadnim dijelovima provincije (Barkóczy 1964: 294).<sup>6</sup> Usporedbe radi, u Dalmaciji je većina Aurelija stekla građansko pravo za vladavine careva Marka Aurelija i Karakale, a možda i Komoda (Alföldy 1969: 47, s.v. "Die kaiserlichen Gentilnamen").

Rasprostranjenostu kognomena *Serenus* na panonskome području bavili su se mnogi autori. O tome je primjerice pisao Mócsy (1959), nakon njega i Barkóczy (1964) i obojica dijele mišljenje da se taj kognomen pojavljivao i prije vladavine Marka Aurelija. Barkóczy smatra da je taj kognomen u kasnijim razdobljima bio zastupljeniji u istočnoj nego u zapadnoj Panoniji, a njegovi su nositelji podjednako pripadali domaćemu stanovništvu i novopridošlim orijentalcima (Barkóczy 1964: 324, s.v. "Serenus"). Za kognomen *Serenus*, kao i za pojedine njegove derivacije, obojica također drže da potječe iz sjeverne Italije, odnosno iz južne Galije (Barkóczy 1964: *ibidem*; Mócsy 1959: 190, s.v. "Serenus"). Mócsy (1988: 382) je u tome bio još precizniji ističući učestalost njegova pojav-

It would appear that there are no ambiguities pertaining to the text. After the customary dedication to the Manes in the first line of the text, in its continuation, in the second line, the name of the deceased is written in the characteristic *tria nomina* composition. *Marcus*, his *praenomen*, is relatively frequent in the Roman onomastic heritage, and a similar conclusion may be made of the gentilician of the imperial name *Aurelius*. The gentilician *Aurelius* was quite common in the territory of Pannonia after Caracalla, more so in the eastern than the western section of the province, although it was widespread in other Roman provinces as well (Barkóczy 1964: 258).<sup>5</sup> It is notable that after the reign of Marcus Aurelius, almost five hundred persons with this gentilician were recorded in Pannonia. It is known that the conferral of citizenship in these regions was spurred by the activities of Marcus Aurelius, and this process intensified during Caracalla's rule, particularly after 212, after the promulgation of the *Constitutio Antoniniana*, for this act enabled the granting of Roman citizenship to all citizens of the Empire. However, an examination of the total number of persons bearing the gentilician *Aurelius* may lead to the intriguing conclusion that their number was higher in the eastern than in the western areas of Pannonia. This also pertains to the frequency of acquiring citizenship: during the reign of Septimius Severus it was characteristic, for example, that such processes were more intense in the eastern rather than western sections of the province (Barkóczy 1964: 294).<sup>6</sup> For comparison's sake, in Dalmatia most of the *Aurelii* acquired citizenship during the reigns of Marcus Aurelius and Caracalla, and perhaps of Commodus as well (Alföldy 1969: 47, s.v. "Die kaiserlichen Gentilnamen").

The distribution of the cognomen *Serenus* in the Pannonian region has been studied by many scholars. Mócsy (1959), for example, wrote about that, and after him Barkóczy (1964), and both shared the view that this cognomen appeared even prior to the reign of Marcus Aurelius. Barkóczy believed that in later periods this cognomen was more common in eastern than in western Pannonia, and its bearers were equally members of the local population and Oriental newcomers (Barkóczy 1964: 324, s.v. "Serenus"). Both also asserted that the cognomen *Serenus* and its deriva-

<sup>5</sup> Pisac također navodi da se lokalni *Aurelii* mogu razlučiti od onih koji su se u Panoniji nastanili tijekom vladavine Marka Aurelija, odnosno nakon nje (Barkóczy 1964: 258).

<sup>6</sup> Zanimljivo je da su u najznačajnijemu gornjopanonskom (*Pannonia Superior*) civilnom i vojnom središtu *Carnuntum* pojedini *Aurelii* došljaci iz Germanije, neki su orijentalci, a ima i onih koji nose keltska i ilirska *cognomina*. Međutim nije zabilježena nijedna osoba za koju bi se moglo reći da je bila iz toga mjesta ili iz bliže okolice (Barkóczy 1964: 268).

<sup>5</sup> This same scholar also noted that the local *Aurelii* can be discerned from those who settled in Pannonia during the reign of Marcus Aurelius or afterward (Barkóczy 1964: 258).

<sup>6</sup> It is interesting that in the most important civilian and military centre in Pannonia Superior, *Carnuntum*, some *Aurelii* were settlers from Germania, while some were Oriental, and there were those who bore Celtic or Illyrian *cognomina*. However, not one person was recorded who could be said to have been from that actual place or its immediate vicinity (Barkóczy 1964: 268).

ljivanja u južnoj Galiji i primijetivši da u određenoj mjeri isto vrijedi i za područje oko Padove. Prema mišljenju G. Alföldyja, koji navodi nekoliko natpisa s imenom *Serenus* iz Salone, čini se da je taj kognomen bio posvuda rasprostranjen, naročito u keltskim područjima (Alföldy 1969: 294). Za njegov derivirani oblik *Serenianus* Barkóczy (1964: 324) je konstatirao da je razmjerno rijedak i istaknuo da ga je moguće pronaći samo u sjevernoj Italiji i južnoj Galiji. Prema njegovoj evidenciji iz vremena nakon Marka Aurelija na panonskome je području evidentirano ukupno sedam natpisa na kojima se pojavljuje kognomen *Serenus*, a svi su iz različitih nalazišta u današnjoj Mađarskoj. Zanimljivo je da jedan od njegovih nositelja ima gentilno ime *Aurelius*, a nije izostao ni ženski oblik istoga gentilicija, *Aurelia* (*ibid.*). Prema statističkim podacima o ukupnome broju primjera iz Panonije iz razdoblja prije Marka Aurelija i nakon njega taj bi broj danas trebalo proširiti naknadno evidentiranim primjerima: kognomen *Serenus* najčešći je na italskome području (Barkóczy navodi 15 takvih primjera) i u Hispaniji (13 primjera). U odnosu na nadgrobni spomenik o kojemu je riječ u ovome prilogu važnije je istaknuti da je taj kognomen gotovo jednako brojan i u Panoniji (12 primjera ili točnije 13 ako se računa i novi primjerak iz Iloka), dok je u drugim provincijama, čini se, manje zastupljen (Lőrincz 2002: 71; Mócsy 1959: 190). Potrebno je napomenuti da se osim spominjanoga deriviranog oblika *Serenianus* sporadično pojavljuju i druge izvedenice kognomena *Serenus*, i to i u muškome i u ženskome obliku, primjerice *Serennius*, *Serenilla*, *Sereninus*, *Serenius*, *Serena*, keltski oblik *Serenua*, zatim *Sereninus* i sl. (Lőrincz 2002: 71; Kajanto 1965: 261). Analizirajući *in extenso* latinska *cognomina*, Kajanto je oblik imena *Serenus* svrstao u poglavlje o imenima koja označavaju dobar (blag, smiren) karakter s elementima veselosti, duhovitosti i sklonosti sportu (Kajanto 1965: 260, s.v. 4, “Gentleness of Character – joyous, humorous, sportive”), a slično ga je okarakterizirao i Dean (1916: 68 i d., 285) svrstavši ga među kognomene rimskih vojnika koji označavaju mentalne ili moralne karakteristike. Ujedno je upozorio na činjenicu da su primjeri s pridjevima koji označavaju povoljne osobine, što je slučaj i s imenom iločkoga veterana, brojniji od drugih, a ujedno su šire rasprostranjeni. Isti autor navodi i primjere imena s dvama kognomenima među kojima je i ime vojnika koji je službovao u Arabiji oko 215. godine, Aurelija Ulpija Serena (na grčkome jeziku *Aurelios Oulpios Serrenos*) (Dean 1916: 107, s.v. “Double cognomina”, 103 i d.). Postoje i naznake da su istočno od Norika nositelji kognomena *Serenus* najčešće bili vojnici (usp. Mócsy 1988: 382–383), što je bio slučaj i s po-

tives originated in Northern Italy, or Southern Gallia (Barkóczy 1964: *ibidem*; Mócsy 1959: 190, s.v. “Serenus”). Mócsy (1988: 382) was even more precise in this, stressing the frequency of its appearance in Southern Gallia, and noting that to a certain degree the same applies to the area around Padua. In the opinion of G. Alföldy, who cited several inscriptions from Salona bearing the name *Serenus*, it would appear that this cognomen was widespread everywhere, particularly in the Celtic regions (Alföldy 1969: 294). Barkóczy (1964: 324) asserted of its derived form *Serenianus* that it was relatively rare, and he stressed that it could be found only in Northern Italy and Southern Gallia. According to his records, a total of seven inscriptions bearing the cognomen *Serenus* were registered in the Pannonian region after the reign of Marcus Aurelius, all from various sites in today’s Hungary. It is interesting that one of its bearers also had the gentilician *Aurelius*, while the feminine form of the same gentilician, *Aurelia* (*ibid.*) was not lacking. According to statistics on the total number of examples from Pannonia from the period prior to Marcus Aurelius and afterward, this number should today be expanded to include subsequently registered examples: the cognomen *Serenus* is most frequent in the Italic region (Barkóczy cited 15 such examples) and in Hispania (13 examples). With reference to the gravestone examined in this article, it is important to stress that this cognomen was almost equally numerous in Pannonia (12 examples, or more accurately, 13 if one counts the newest example from Ilok), while it was, it would appear, less present in other provinces (Lőrincz 2002: 71; Mócsy 1959: 190). It bears noting that apart the aforementioned derived form *Serenianus*, other variants of the *Serenus* also appear sporadically, in both the masculine and feminine form, for example *Serennius*, *Serenilla*, *Sereninus*, *Serenius*, *Serena*, the Celtic form *Serenua*, and also *Sereninus*, etc. (Lőrincz 2002: 71; Kajanto 1965: 261). In an extensive analysis of Latin *cognomina*, Kajanto classified the form of the name *Serenus* in his chapter on names denoting a positive (gentle, tranquil) character with elements of joy, good humour and a predilection for sports (Kajanto 1965: 260, s.v. 4, “Gentleness of Character – joyous, humorous, sportive”), and it was similarly characterized by Dean (1916: 68 ff., 285), classifying it among the *cognomina* of Roman soldiers which denote mental and moral capacity. He also pointed out that examples with adjectives denoting favourable characteristics, as is the case with the name of the Ilok veteran, are more numerous than others, and they are also

kojnim veteranom, bivšim centurionom u I. kohorti Luzitanaca, Markom Aurelijem Serenom čija je nadgrobna ploča otkrivena u Iloku.

U nastavku natpisa odgovarajućom je kraticom jasno istaknut pokojnikov veteranski status. Početak trećega retka mogao bi međutim potaknuti određene dvojbe, ponajviše zbog toga što se čini da početnomu slovu *E*, kojemu je uspravna linija blago zakosjena, nedostaje gornja vodoravna hasta. No iz konteksta se može zaključiti da je gotovo sigurno riječ o slovu *E*, a izostanak gornje haste vjerojatno je posljedica karakterističnoga načina pisanja, odnosno činjenice da se okomita linija slova *E*, koja je u ovom slučaju zakosjena, u tolikoj mjeri približila sljedećemu slovu *X* da za nju nije ostalo dovoljno prostora. Dakle trebalo bi zaključiti da redak započinje prijedlogom *ex*, sa značenjem ‘bivši’, odnosno ‘nekađasnji’. Na epigrafskim spomenicima ima razmjerno mnogo sličnih primjera, osobito među nadgrobnim natpisima. Zanimljivo je da nekoliko takvih natpisa javnoga, sepulkralnoga ili votivnoga karaktera, koje su većinom podigli pojedinci što su obnašali različite vojničke dužnosti, potječe upravo iz mjesta koje se spominje na iločkome natpisu, dakle iz Basiana (*Bassianae*), odnosno iz današnjih Petrovaca kod Rume u Vojvodini ili iz bliže okolice toga mjesta.<sup>7</sup> Iza prijedloga *ex* na tim i na brojnim drugim natpisima navedeni su nazivi različitih dužnosti što su ih pokojnici prethodno obnašali bilo da je riječ o njihovim civilnim bilo o vojnim funkcijama. Tako se primjerice pojavljuju “bivši” konzularni beneficijar (*ex beneficiario consularis*), “bivši” pretorijanac (*ex praetorio*), “bivši” dekurion (*ex decurione*), “bivši” duplikarac (*ex duplicario*) (Brunšmid 1904–1911),<sup>8</sup> zatim “bivši” službenik u sudskim strukturama vojnih formacija (*ex statore*) (CIL III/1, 4379: 548; Farkas & Gabler 1994: 76), a i “bivši” centurion (*ex centurione*), što pokazuje primjer s nadgrobne ploče iz Iloka. Osim na nadgrobnoj ploči preminuloga basijanskog veterana, “bivšeg” centuriona u I. kohorti Luzitanaca, isti se oblik razmjerno često pojavljuje na nadgrobnim spomenicima još nekih “bivših” centuriona (Šašel & Šašel 1986: br. 2102, 203), a prepoznajemo ga i na poznatome sarkofagu Aurelija Saturnina iz Solina (Bulić 1912: 6–7). Potrebno je

more widespread. The same author also cites examples with double cognomina, among which one is the name of a soldier who served in Arabia at around 215, *Aurelius Ulpius Serenus* (in Greek, *Aurelios Oulpios Serrenos*) (Dean 1916: 107, s.v. “Double cognomina”, 103 ff.). There are also indications that east of Noricum, those who bore the cognomen *Serenus* were most often soldiers (cf. Mócsy 1988: 382–383), which was also the case with the deceased veteran, the former centurion in *cohors I. Lusitanorum*, *Marcus Aurelius Serenus*, whose gravestone was discovered in Ilok.

The continuation of the inscription clearly emphasizes the deceased man’s veteran status with the appropriate abbreviation. The beginning of the third line can nevertheless engender some doubt, primarily because it appears as though the first letter *E*, on which the upright line is slightly aslant, is missing the upper horizontal bar. Even so, from the context one may conclude that this is almost certainly the letter *E*, while the absence of the upper bar is probably the result of a specific writing style, i.e. the fact that the vertical line of the letter *E*, which is slanted in this case, is so close to the next letter, *X*, that there was no space left for it. Thus, the proper conclusion is that the line begins with the adverb *ex*, with the meaning of ‘former’, or ‘erstwhile’. On epigraphic monuments, there are relatively many similar examples, particularly among sepulchral inscriptions. It is interesting that several such public, sepulchral or votive inscriptions, largely erected by individuals holding various military posts, originated precisely in the place mentioned in the Ilok inscription, *Bassianae*, meaning from today’s Petrovci, near Ruma in Vojvodina, or from the immediate vicinity thereof.<sup>7</sup> After the adverb *ex* on these and many other inscriptions, the various duties previously performed by the deceased are cited, whether in a civilian or military capacity. Thus, for example, there is a “former” beneficiarius consularis (*ex beneficiario consularis*), “former” praetorian (*ex praetorio*), “former” decurion (*ex decurione*), “former” duplicarius (*ex duplicario*) (Brunšmid 1904–1911),<sup>8</sup> and a “former” military judicial clerk (*ex statore*) (CIL

<sup>7</sup> Nedavno je objavljena opsežna rasprava o različitim pretpostavkama što ih literarni i drugi izvori donose u vezi s lociranjem Basijana. Između ostaloga govori se i o mogućnosti da se grad nalazio na mjestu današnje Požege (Srša 2009: 365–378).

<sup>8</sup> To su sljedeći spomenici: sarkofag “bivšega” konzularnog beneficijara Marka Aurelija Glabriona iz Siska, br. 343, 205–206; žrtvenik koji je Jupiteru posvetio “bivši” pretorijanac Julije Januarije iz Rume, br. 740, 333; žrtvenik koji je Jupiteru i drugim božanstvima posvetio “bivši” dekurion Ulpije Flavio iz Petrovaca, br. 741, 333–335; žrtvenik koji je Mitri posvetio “bivši” duplikarij Veturije Dubitat iz Dalja, br. 742, 335.

<sup>7</sup> Recently an extensive discourse was published on the various theories contained in the literature and other sources with reference to the location of *Bassianae*. Among other things, the possibility that the town was at the site of today’s Požega was brought up (Srša 2009: 365–378).

<sup>8</sup> These are the following monuments: the sarcophagus of “former” beneficiarius consularis *Marcus Aurelius Glabrio* from Sisak, no. 343, 205–206; the altar dedicated to Jupiter by “former” praetorian *Iulius Ianuarius* from Ruma, no. 740, 333; an altar dedicated to Jupiter and other deities by “former” decurion *Ulpius Flaus* from Petrovci, no. 741, 333–335; an altar dedicated to Mithras by “former” duplicarius *Veturius Dubitatus* from Dalj, no. 742, 335.

također istaknuti da je u obama citiranim slučajevima riječ *centurio* izostala u punome obliku i da je nadomještena karakterističnim znakom obilježavanja centurijske časti (*vitis*), što je čest slučaj. U nastavku natpisa, nakon još jednoga znaka interpunkcije, u trećemu je retku navedeno ime kohorte u kojoj je tijekom aktivnoga službovanja basijanski veteran obnašao dužnost zapovjednika centurije. Kohorta u kojoj je bio na toj dužnosti dobila je ime po Luzitancima, populaciji koja je obitavala u najzapadnijim područjima Iberskoga poluotoka. Po nje je, podsjetio bih, bilo nazvano nekoliko kohorti, označenih, dakako, različitim rednim brojevima. U nastavku istoga retka i na početku sljedećega naveden je Serenov zavičaj, *Bassianae* (današnji Petrovci kod Rume), grad koji nije mnogo udaljen od Iloka (nekadašnji *Cuccium*), nalazišta nadgrobne ploče. Izrazom *domo* najvjerojatnije se željelo istaknuti da su *Bassianae* mjesto u kojemu je on stekao građansko pravo, a postoji mogućnost da se ondje rodio i proveo dio života, možda i u zrelijoj dobi, odnosno nakon što je bio umirovljen. Međutim nalaz nadgrobne ploče u Iloku više bi išao u prilog pretpostavci da je pozne godine proživio u gradu u kojemu je, po svemu sudeći, umro i ondje bio sahranjen, a to bi trebao biti *Cuccium*. Pritom, dakako, treba imati na umu pretpostavku da *titulus* u Ilok nije dospio slučajno jer je u to teško povjerovati. Za dostojno obilježavanje mjesta ukopa pobrinula se pokojnikova žena koja je to na natpisu izričito naglasila dodavši da je ploču s natpisom dala postaviti i sebi.

Nakon podatka o pokojnikovim godinama života u petome retku urezana su samo tri slova, skraćenice *H S F*. Uzimajući u obzir sadržaj prethodnih redaka, tu bi skraćenicu vjerojatno trebalo čitati *H(oc) S(epulcrum) F(ecit)*. U nastavku teksta, u šestome retku, pojavljuje se ime pokojnikove žene Kladije Maksimile (*Claudia Maximilla*) za koju je navedeno da je mužu i sebi dala načiniti nadgrobnu ploču. Poput sustava *tria nomina* kod muških osoba ženama u provincijama građanski je status, kao i posjedovanje različitih privilegija, često označavao sustav *duo nomina* (Kajava 1995: 237). Pojedina *praenomina* pojavljuju se i kao *nomina*, pa je ponekad teško odrediti o kojemu je imenskome obliku riječ. U carsko vrijeme nomenklatura ženskih osoba koje su nosile neko od “carskih” imena – među takvima je i *Claudia* – nerijetko je indicirala da je ime korišteno kao prenamen, a ne kao nomen (*ibid.* 244). Na natpisu iz Iloka gentilicij *Claudia* ne bi se međutim trebao odnositi na nomen, nego na prenamen.<sup>9</sup> Zanimljivo je također da je broj nekih prenomena u pojedinim razdobljima bio u porastu jer su se koristili zajedno s carskim gentilnim imenima

III/1, 4379: 548; Farkas & Gabler 1994: 76), and a “former” centurion (*ex centurione*), which is shown by the example of the gravestone from Ilok. Besides the gravestone of the deceased Bassian veteran, the “former” centurion in *cohors I Lusitanorum*, the same form appears with relative frequency on the gravestones of several more “former” centurions (Šašel & Šašel 1986: no. 2102, 203), while it can also be recognized in the well-known sarcophagus of *Aurelius Saturninus* from Solin (Bulić 1912: 6-7). It is also necessary to emphasize that in both cited cases, the word *centurio* was absent in its full form, and that in its place the characteristic symbol of the centurion’s rank (a *vitis*) was written, which is frequently the case. In the continuation of the text, after another punctuation mark, the third line specifies the name of the cohort in which the Bassian veteran held the rank of centurion during his active service. The cohort in which he held this post was named after the Lusitanians, a population that resided in the westernmost territories of the Iberian Peninsula. To recall, several cohorts were named after them, but denoted, naturally, by different numbers. In that same line, and at the beginning of the next, the home town of *Serenus* is mentioned, *Bassianae* (today’s Petrovci, near Ruma), a town which was not very far from Ilok (formerly *Cuccium*), the site of the gravestone. The expression *domo* was probably intended to stress that *Bassianae* was the place where he gained citizenship, and there is a possibility that he was born and spent part of his life there, perhaps also in his latter years, after he retired. However, the gravestone in Ilok would seem to lend more credence to the hypothesis that he spent his elderly years in the city in which he, by all indications, died and was buried, and that should be *Cuccium*. Here, one must bear in mind the assumption that the *titulus* did not end up in Ilok by chance, because that would be difficult to believe. The wife of the deceased saw to it that his burial site was properly marked, stating this expressly in the inscription, adding that the stone with its inscription was also placed for her as well.

After the indication of the age of the deceased, only three letters are engraved in the third line, the abbreviation *H S F*. Taking into account the content of the preceding lines, this abbreviation should probably be read as *H(oc) S(epulcrum) F(ecit)*. In the next, sixth line, the name of the spouse of the deceased is specified, *Claudia Maximilla*, of whom it says that she commissioned the gravestone for husband and herself. Like the *tria nomina* formula for men, women in the provinces were denoted with the *duo nomina* formula to demonstrate citizenship and the entitlement to various privileges (Kajava 1995: 237). Individual *praenomina* also appear as *nomina*, so it is sometimes difficult to determine the specific nomen

<sup>9</sup> O tome usp. Kajava 1995: 237.

(*ibid.* 242). No bilo je i slučajeva da je žena uzimala ne samo novi nomen nego i novi prenamen. Toj su kategoriji pripadale i neke žene bivših vojnika, a nije bilo neuobičajeno ni da se veterani žene svojim oslobođenicama (*ibid.* 243). Zabrana vojničkih brakova u carsko doba u praktičnome je životu s vremenom gubila važnost, pa su tijekom 3. stoljeća vojnici često sklapali brakove prije nego što su okončali vojnu službu (*ibid.* 236). Nakon vladavine Marka Aurelija za kognomen *Maximilla* analize su pokazale da nije bio tipičan za Panoniju te da je najčešći bio na području južne Galije (Barkóczy 1964: 318).<sup>10</sup> Statistički pokazatalji daju povoda pretpostavci da je u nekim područjima Carstva taj kognomen bio razmjerno često u upotrebi. Lőrincz (2000: 69) je primjerice evidentirao čak 61 primjer, od toga 9 iz Panonije, a 13 iz provincije *Gallia Narbonensis*; 11 primjera dokumentirano je u Dalmaciji, a 7 na području Italije, dok se u drugim područjima Carstva ne pojavljuje u tolikome broju.<sup>11</sup> U spomenutome je kontekstu važan podatak da su kognomeni *Maximus*, *Maxumus* ili *Maxsimus* vjerojatno bili najbrojniji u čitavome Carstvu, a zanimljivo je istaknuti da se za kognomene *Maximilla*, *Maximinus*, *Maximianus*, odnosno *Maximinianus* može zaključiti da su na području provincije Dalmacije bili razmjerno česti među stanovništvom domaćega podrijetla (Kajanto 1965: 257; Alföldy 1969: 242 i d.). Za kognomen *Maximilla* Alföldy (1969: 242) je ustvrdio da potječe iz keltskoga područja, a odande se raširilo posvuda. Među onima koji su takvim pitanjima posvećivali osobitu pozornost svakako je bio i Mócsy. Izdvojio je neveliku skupinu imena iz sjeverne Italije za koja je ustvrdio da su razmjerno rijetko potvrđena. Među njima je i kognomen *Maximilla*, koji bi, prema njegovu mišljenju, trebao pripadati tipu “provincijalnih” imena. On ujedno smatra da se takva imena odnose na derivirane oblike imena i da su u suprotnosti s onim što je on okarakterizirao kao “uobičajen” tip imena (Mócsy 1984: 209).<sup>12</sup> U vezi sa spomenutim primjerima zanimljivo je istaknuti da su navedena i njima slična imena u osnovi prijevod njihovih

formula. During the imperial era, the nomenclature of women who bore some of the “imperial” names – and *Claudia* was among them – often indicated that the name was used as a praenomen, and not as a nomen (*ibid.* 244). However, on the inscription from Ilok, the gentilitian *Claudia* should not refer to the nomen, but rather the praenomen.<sup>9</sup> Also interesting is that the number of some praenomina in individual periods grew because they were used together with the imperial gentilitian (*ibid.* 242). However, there were cases in which a woman assumed not only a new nomen but also a new praenomen. Some wives of former soldiers also belonged to this category, and it was not unusual for veterans to wed their freed slaves (*ibid.* 243). The ban on military marriages during the imperial era lost its importance over time, so during the third century soldiers often married prior to ending their military service (*ibid.* 236). After the reign of Marcus Aurelius, analyses have shown that the cognomen *Maximilla* was not typical of Pannonia, and that it was most common in the territory of Southern Gallia (Barkóczy 1964: 318).<sup>10</sup> Statistical indicators back the hypothesis that this cognomen was in use rather frequently in some territories of the Empire. Lőrincz (2000: 69) recorded as many as 61 examples, of this 9 from Pannonia, and 13 from the province of *Gallia Narbonensis*; 11 examples were documented in Dalmatia, 7 in Italy, while it did not appear in such numbers in other parts of the Empire.<sup>11</sup> In this context, an important fact is that the cognomina *Maximus*, *Maxumus* or *Maxsimus* were probably the most numerous throughout the entire Empire, and it is interesting that the cognomina *Maximilla*, *Maximinus*, *Maximianus*, and *Maximinianus* were relatively frequent in the province of Dalmatia among the domicile population (Kajanto 1965: 257; Alföldy 1969: 242 ff.). Alföldy (1969: 242) asserted of the cognomen *Maximilla* that it originated in the Celtic zone, whence it spread in all directions. Mócsy was certainly among those who dedicated particular attention to this matter. He distinguished a smallish group of names from Northern Italy, and ascertained that they have been rather rarely confirmed. Among them is the cognomen *Maximilla*, which should, in his opinion, belong to the “provincial” type names. He also believes that such names were derived name forms and that they

<sup>10</sup> Jedan od dvaju primjera iz područja Panonije što ih Barkóczy navodi (oba su iz današnje Mađarske) odnosi se na osobu koja nosi isto ime kao i žena koja je dala postaviti iločki *titulus* (*Claudia Maximilla*). Međutim za njezina je muža navedeno da mu je zavičaj provincija *Raetia (domo Raetia)* (Barkóczy 1964: 318).

<sup>11</sup> Osim oblika *Maximilla* na širem europskom području pojavljuje se i niz derivacija toga imena (*Maximila*, *Maxsimilla*, *Maxsumilla*, *Maxximilla*) (Lőrincz 2000: 69).

<sup>12</sup> Mócsy (1984: 209–210) također navodi da je osim oblika imena *Maximilla* istomu “provincijalnom” tipu imena moguće pribrojiti i imena *Apronianus*, *Carus*, *Censorinus*, *Marcianus*, *Marcus*, *Martinus* te *Victorinus*, što smatra važnim kronološkim, ali i kuluološkim simptomom jer su latinska imena koja su se udaljila od svojega jasnog značenja nastala u kasnije doba, osobito u provincijama. Kao primjer može poslužiti ime *Marcus* koje dokazuje nepravilnu upotrebu prenomena u funkciji kognomena.

<sup>9</sup> On this, cf. Kajava 1995: 237.

<sup>10</sup> One of the two examples from Pannonia mentioned by Barkóczy (both from today’s Hungary) pertains to a person who bore the same name as the woman who commissioned the Ilok *titulus* (*Claudia Maximilla*). However, her husband is mentioned as originally coming from the province of *Raetia (domo Raetia)* (Barkóczy 1964: 318).

<sup>11</sup> Besides the form *Maximilla*, in the wider European territory a series of derivatives of this name also appear (*Maximila*, *Maxsimilla*, *Maxsumilla*, *Maxximilla*) (Lőrincz 2000: 69).

izvornih, autohtonih imena. To se odnosi naročito na ženske prenomene, točnije na tzv. “numerička”, odnosno “opisna” imena, naprimjer na ime *Maxima* ili *Maxuma* (Kajava 1995: 240).

U vezi s prethodno formuliranim prijedlogom čitanja skraćenice *H S F* valja istaknuti da oko takva rješenja postoje dvojbe, naročito zbog činjenice da se na završetku natpisa pojavljuje još jedan glagol po značenju sličan glagolu *fecit*, a to je glagol *posuit*. Unatoč tome čitanje skraćenice kao *H(ic) S(itus) F(uit)* ne čini mi se prihvatljivim između ostaloga i zbog toga što je pokojnikovo ime u prethodnome dijelu teksta pisano u dativu, a ime njegove žene u nominativu. Mislim da je posve očigledna namjera naručitelja spomenika, a i pisca teksta, da i na taj način bude naglašeno tko je zaslužan za podizanje nadgrobne ploče. Ne mogu se posve isključiti ni drugačije interpretacije navedenih kratica, što se ponajprije odnosi na mogućnost čitanja *H(ic) S(itus) E(st)*. Naime to bi trebala biti prva asocijacija jer je riječ o skraćenici koja se na rimskim nadgrobnim spomenicima vjerojatno najčešće pojavljuje. Usprkos tomu takvo njezino razrješenje u ovome se slučaju ne čini prihvatljivim, osobito zato što posljednjemu slovu nedostaje donja vodoravna hasta. Mislim da je ona u ovoj prigodi svjesno, a ne slučajno izostavljena jer je pisac teksta namjeravao označiti upravo slovo *F*, a ne, što bismo možda očekivali, slovo *E*. Premda nisu rijetki primjeri pogrešaka pri pisanju tekstova na kamenim spomenicima (a to se odnosi i na nadgrobne spomenike), mogućnost nehote pogreške u ovome je slučaju teško zamisliti jer bi eventualnu omašku bilo lako uočiti i ispraviti vrlo jednostavnim dopisivanjem onoga dijela slova koji nedostaje.<sup>13</sup> U takvim okolnostima mogli bismo zaključiti da se natpis sastoji od dvaju dijelova: četiri gornja retka sadrže pojednosti vezane uz pokojnika, dok se preostala četiri donja retka odnose na naručitelja nadgrobne ploče – na ženu koja je mužu i sebi dala načiniti nadgrobni spomenik. U takvu kontekstu pojavljivanje dvaju glagola slična značenja vjerojatno treba pripisati rutinskomu ponavljanju stereotipnih fraza, što je česta pojava na nadgrobnim spomenicima. Nije isključena ni potreba za dodatnim isticanjem doprinosa žene koja je dala načiniti nadgrobnu ploču i tako trajno obilježila mjesto na kojemu će vječno počivati s preminulim mužem. Valja ista-

<sup>13</sup> U transkripciji “spornoga” detalja Lőrincz međutim ne spominje da je riječ o slovu *F*, iako je to neupitno. Čitanje toga dijela teksta zato je razriješio oblikom *H(ic) S(itus) E(st)* zanemarujući činjenicu da je posljednje slovo *F* te da ni u kojemu slučaju ne može biti riječ o slovu *E*, što je jasno vidljivo i na priloženome crtežu (Abb. 5). Ujedno bih naglasio da je ime grada u njegovoj transkripciji pisano u jednini (*domo Bassiana*), a ne u pluralnome obliku (*domo Bassianae*) (Lőrincz 2005: s.v. “Cuccium (Ilok)”, 63 i d.).

contrasted to which he characterized as “customary” name types (Mócsy 1984: 209).<sup>12</sup> With regard to these examples, another interesting aspect is that those cited and names similar to them are basically translations of their original, indigenous names. This applies in particular to women’s praenomina, more precisely the so-called “numerical” or “descriptive” names, such as, for example, the name *Maxima* or *Maxuma* (Kajava 1995: 240).

Concerning the previously formulated proposal for a reading of the abbreviation *H S F*, it bears mentioning that there are some doubts surrounding this solution, particularly due to the fact that the another verb appears at the end of the inscription which is similar in meaning to the verb *fecit*, and that is the verb *posuit*. Despite this, interpretation of the abbreviation as *H(ic) S(itus) F(uit)* does not seem acceptable to me because, among other things, the name of the deceased in the preceding line is written in the dative case, while the name of his spouse is in the nominative. I believe that the intent of the individual who commissioned the monument, and of the writer of the text, is entirely clear, and that is to emphasize who deserves credit for raising the gravestone. Different interpretations of these abbreviations cannot be excluded either, primarily their possible reading as *H(ic) S(itus) E(st)*. For this should be the first association, because this is an abbreviation which probably appeared most often on Roman gravestones. Even so, such a solution in this case does not appear acceptable, particularly because the lower horizontal bar is absent from the last letter. I believe that in this case it was deliberately, and not accidentally, left out because the writer of the text intended to indicate the letter *F*, and not, as we may have perhaps expected, the letter *E*. Although examples of mistakes in the writing of texts on stone monuments are not rare (and this pertains to gravestones as well), the possibility of an unintentional error in this case is difficult to believe, because any possible oversight would have been easy to observe and correct by simply adding on the missing portion the letter.<sup>13</sup> Under such cir-

<sup>12</sup> Mócsy (1984: 209–210) also stated that in addition to the form *Maximilla*, the same “provincial” type of names may include the names *Apronianus*, *Carus*, *Censorinus*, *Marcianus*, *Marcus*, *Martinus* and *Victorinus*, which he considered a vital chronological but also cultural symptom, for the Latin names which moved away from their clear meaning emerged in a later time, especially in the provinces. The name *Marcus* can serve as an example, as it proves the irregular use of the praenomen in the function of a cognomen.

<sup>13</sup> In the transcription of the “contested” detail, Lőrincz does not, however, mention that it is the letter *F*, although this is irrefutable. He therefore resolved the reading of this part of the text with the form *H(ic) S(itus) E(st)*, neglecting the fact that the last letter is *F* and that it cannot by any means be the letter *E*, which is clearly seen in the attached sketch (Abb. 5). I would also stress that the name of the town in his transcription is written in the singular (*domo Bassiana*) rather than in the plural form (*domo Bassianae*) (Lőrincz 2005: s.v. “Cuccium (Ilok)”, 63 ff.).

knuti da se tek nakon razdoblja vladavine Marka Aurelija žena, odnosno netko od članova obitelji, pojavljuje u ulozu osobe koja podiže kamene nadgrobne spomenike u znak sjećanja na preminule vojnike ili veterane. To je naime bila posljedica odluke Septimija Severa o ukinuću uredbe o zabrani brakova za pripadnike vojske, što je omogućilo sklapanje brakova između partnera različitoga etničkog podrijetla i iz različitih zemalja (Barkóczy 1964: 289).<sup>14</sup> Važno je naglasiti da su djeca iz tako sklopljenih brakova uvijek nosila očevo ime (*ibid.*). Sve što je navedeno potrebno je uzeti u obzir pri vrednovanju pojedinih relevantnih podataka zabilježenih na nadgrobnoj ploči iz Iloka.

U uvodnome dijelu bilo je istaknuto da je iločki natpis trebao poslužiti obilježavanju groba pripadnika I. kohorte Luzitanaca (*cohors I Lusitanorum*), pomoćne vojne jedinice u kojoj je, kako je u tekstu navedeno, veteran iz Basijana obnašao dužnost zapovjednika centurije. Zanimljiv je podatak da se ime spomenute kohorte na pojedinim vojničkim diplomama pojavljuje razmjerno često, čak dvadesetak puta, a u rijetkim slučajevima javlja se i na kamenim žrtvenicima, nadgrobnim spomenicima, recipijentima i dr. (Spaul 2000: 61). Prema dostupnoj dokumentaciji djelovanje te kohorte počelo je u Iliriku, najvjerojatnije u Panoniji, možda još i prije sredine 1. st. po. Kr. (Lőrincz 2001: 37–38; Spaul 2000: 62), a po nekima još tijekom prvih godina Carstva (Spaul 2000: 62). Osim za područja Donje Panonije kasnije su aktivnosti I. luzitanske kohorte vezane i za susjednu Gornju Meziju (Lőrincz, 2001: br. 30, 37–38). Međutim valja imati u vidu i razmišljanja onih koji smatraju da nisu u pitanju selidbe iz jedne u drugu provinciju, nego da su pod istim imenom i rednim brojem možda djelovale dvije kohorte, “panonska” i “mezijska”, što bi značilo da je u nazivima kohorti došlo do svojevrsnoga dupliciranja (usp. Wagner 1938: 163 i d.; Beneš 1978: 44–45; Roxan 1994: 286–288; Lőrincz 2001: 37). U takvu kontekstu zanimljivo je istaknuti da nije utvrđeno nalazište najmlađoj među poznatim diplomama s imenom I. kohorte Luzitanaca, koju je moguće datirati oko 200. godine, ali je sigurno da potječe iz panonskih krajeva (CIL XVI: 131, s.v. “Diplomata militaria”, 116–117; Lőrincz 2001: br. 35, *Militärdiplom (FO unbekannt; Pannonien)*, 166–167; Roxan 1994: 286). Sličan zaključak vrijedi i za jednu od najmlađih precizno datiranih diploma, izdanu 5. V. 167. godine, jer i ona potječe iz pa-

cumstances, we could conclude that the inscription consists of two parts: the four upper lines contain details on the deceased, while the remaining four lower lines pertain to the individual who commissioned the gravestone – the wife who had a gravestone made for husband and herself. In this context, two verbs with similar meaning emerge which should probably be attributed to the routine repetition of stereotypical phrases, which is commonplace on gravestones. This additionally does not exclude the need to additionally stress the contribution of the wife, who commissioned the gravestone and thereby permanently marked her final resting place with her husband. It is worthwhile noting that only after the reign of Marcus Aurelius did wives or family members begin to appear as persons who raise gravestones in memory of a deceased soldier or veteran. This was a result of the decision made by Septimius Severus to abolish the ban on marriages for military personnel, which enabled marriages between partners of different ethnic origin and from different lands (Barkóczy 1964: 289).<sup>14</sup> The fact that the children of such marriages always bore the father’s name bears emphasis (*ibid.*). All of this should be taken into consideration in the evaluation of the individual relevant facts recorded on the gravestone from Ilok.

As noted in the introductory section, the Ilok inscription should have served to mark the grave of a member of *cohors I Lusitanorum*, an auxiliary unit in which, as stated in the text, a veteran from *Bassianae* held the rank of centurion. An interesting fact is that this cohort’s name appears relatively often in individual military diplomas, as many as twenty times, while in rare cases it also appears on stone altars, gravestones, recipients, etc. (Spaul 2000: 61). According to available documentation, the operations of this cohort commenced in Illyricum, probably in Pannonia, perhaps even before the mid-first century AD (Lőrincz 2001: 37–38; Spaul 2000: 62), or, according to some, even during the first years of the Empire (Spaul 2000: 62). Besides Pannonia Inferior, later the operations of the *cohors I Lusitanorum* were also linked to the neighbouring Moesia Superior (Lőrincz, 2001: no. 30, 37–38). Here it should be noted that there are those who believe that this did not entail a move from one province to another, but rather the possibility that two cohorts, one “Pannonian” and one “Moesian,” operated under the same name and number, which would mean that there was some duplication among the names of the cohorts (cf. Wagner 1938: 163 and *passim*;

<sup>14</sup> Isti autor također ističe da se žena na natpisima naziva *coniux* ili *uxor*, odnosno *liberta et coniux*. Izraz *coniux* može se odnositi na ženu iz legalnoga braka, ali i iz konkubinata, dok se riječ *uxor* odnosila samo na ženu iz legalno sklopljena braka (Barkóczy 1964: 289).

<sup>14</sup> This same author stressed that a woman is referred to as *coniux* or *uxor*, and *liberta et coniux* on inscriptions. The term *coniux* can denote a woman in a legal marriage, but also in concubinage, while the word *uxor* pertained only to a woman in a legal marriage (Barkóczy 1964: 289).

nonskih krajeva, iz Óbude u Mađarskoj (CIL XVI: 123, 110–111; Lőrincz 2001: br. 33, *Militärdiplom (Óbuda)*, 166). Za razliku od toga nedavno publicirana diploma s dvadesetak godina kasnijim datumom (izdana 11. VIII. 193. godine) podrijetlom je iz glavnoga grada Gornje Mezije, ujedno i važnoga legijskog središta, Viminacija (*Viminacium*), današnjega Kostolca (Pferdehirt 2002: 247–260). Podatci o datumu izdavanja diploma, imenima njihovih nositelja i funkcijama koje su obnašali u različitim vojnim formacijama te neki drugi relevantni podatci mogu ponekad biti razmjerno pouzdan element za definiranje područja u kojima su pojedine vojne jedinice djelovale. Iz primjera koji su prethodno navedeni moguće je primjerice pretpostaviti da je I. kohorta Luzitanaca u tim krajevima bila aktivna tijekom druge polovice 2. stoljeća, odnosno početkom 3. stoljeća.

Osim pokojnikova imena, poglavito njegova gentilicija *Aurelius*, o datiranju iločke nadgrobne ploče može se govoriti i na osnovi pojedinih precizno datiranih vojničkih diploma na kojima je spomenuta *cohors I Lusitanorum*. One su podjednako važne i zbog utvrđivanja pretpostavljenih aktivnosti vojne jedinice u kojoj je *Marcus Aurelius Serenus* obnašao dužnost zapovjednika centurije. Spomenuta kohorta prema nekim je mišljenjima u razdoblju relevantnome za vremensko determiniranje iločkoga natpisa (riječ je o završetku 2. ili početku 3. stoljeća) u nekoliko navrata mijenjala sjedište. Međutim ima i onih koji pretpostavljaju da su istodobno djelovale čak dvije jedinice istoga imena i rednoga broja. Prema tome njih bi trebalo razlikovati, premda se čini vjerojatnijim da je riječ o dvama dijelovima iste vojne formacije (Wagner 1938: 163). Vojna jedinica koja je nosila ime *cohors I Lusitanorum* u svakome je slučaju djelovala u sustavu pomoćnih trupa stacioniranih u istočnim granicama Panonije i na rijeci Dravi. Tijekom Domicijanove vojne kampanje protiv Dačana od 86. do 88. godine ona je zajedno s drugim vojnim jedinicama bila prebačena u Meziju. Uz određene teritorijalne korekcije ta je provincija 86. godine bila podijeljena u dva dijela, Gornju i Donju Meziju, a slične dislokacije vojnih formacija ponovile su se i 97. godine (Spaul 2000: 62). Vjerojatno je to razlog što se u kasnijim razdobljima ime kohorte često pojavljuje na vojničkim diplomama u Gornjoj Meziji, a ponekad se ime kohorte, doduše vrlo rijetko, pojavljuje i na drugim vrstama spomenika (*ibid.*). Ono što se može smatrati sigurnim jest njezino angažiranje u nadzoru dunavske granice, odnosno u čuvanju prijelaza između dviju obala Dunava, o čemu je već bilo govora. Nakon sudjelovanja u Domicijanovim pohodima protiv Dačana kohorta je nesumnjivo imala važnu

Beneš 1978: 44–45; Roxan 1994: 286–288; Lőrincz 2001: 37). Something notable in that context is that the find-site of the youngest known diploma bearing the name *cohors I Lusitanorum*, dated to roughly 200 AD, has not been identified, although it certainly originated in the Pannonia (CIL XVI: 131, s.v. “Diplomata militaria”, 116–117; Lőrincz 2001: no. 35, *Militärdiplom (FO unbekannt; Pannonien)*, 166–167; Roxan 1994: 286). A similar conclusion applies to one of the youngest precisely dated diplomas, issued on 5 May 167, for it also originated in Pannonia, from Óbuda in Hungary (CIL XVI: 123, 110–111; Lőrincz 2001: no. 33, *Militärdiplom (Óbuda)*, 166). By contrast, a recently published diploma with a date approximately twenty years later (issued on 11 August 193) originated in the capital of Moesia Superior, also a major legionary centre, *Viminacium*, today’s Kostolac (Pferdehirt 2002: 247–260). Information on the date of issue of diplomas, the names of their bearers and the functions which they performed in various military formations and other relevant data may sometimes be a relatively reliable element for defining the area in which individual military units operated. Based on the examples previously mentioned, it is possible, for example, to assume that *cohors I Lusitanorum* was active in these regions during the latter half of the second century, and the beginning of the third century.

Besides the name of the deceased, particularly his gentilician *Aurelius*, the Ilok gravestone can also be dated on the basis of individual precisely-dated military diplomas on which *cohors I Lusitanorum* is mentioned. These are equally important because they establish the assumed operations of the military unit in which *Marcus Aurelius Serenus* served as centurion commander. According to some views, this cohort changed its headquarters several times during the period relevant to the chronological determination of the Ilok inscription (the end of the second or beginning of the third century). However, there is some conjecture that two units with the same name and number operated simultaneously. They should therefore be distinguished, although it would appear more likely that these are two parts of the same military formation (Wagner 1938: 163). Be that as it may, a military unit designated as *cohors I Lusitanorum* operated within the system of the auxiliary troops stationed on Pannonia’s eastern border and on the Drava River. During Domitian’s military campaign against the Dacians from 86 to 88, it was transferred to Moesia with other military units. With some territorial adjustments, this province was divided into two parts in 86, Moesia Superior and Inferior, and a similar displacement of military formations was repeated in 97 (Spaul 2000: 62). This is very likely the reason why the cohort’s name appears often on mili-

ulogu i u kasnijim Trajanovim vojnim inicijativama u istim područjima (Wagner 1938: 163). Ako je pak u pitanju bilo djelovanje dviju istoimenih kohorti ili dvaju odjela iste kohorte, logično je pretpostaviti da se u stalnim pokretima “panonska” *cohors I Lusitanorum* sredinom 2. stoljeća zadržavala na području Donje Panonije, dok je “mezijska” bila aktivna na području Gornje Mezije, ali je njihovo kretanje bilo koncentrirano pretežno na područja između dviju provincija (Spaul 2000: 61–62, s.v. “cohors I Lusitanorum”). Spaul prenosi i različita tumačenja aktivnosti I. luzitanske kohorte navodeći da je prema nekim mišljenjima jedinica bila formirana još u prvim godinama Carstva te da je bila stacionirana na istočnim granicama Panonije i na rijeci Dravi, a ima i naznaka da je krajem 1. stoljeća u dva navrata boravila u Meziji. I Spaul i Wagner spominju i treću kohortu istoga imena i rednoga broja, onu s pridjevkom *Cyrenaica*, kojoj je djelovanje bilo vezano uz Donju Meziju (*Moesia Inferior*). O njoj je također već bilo riječi (usp. Wagner 1938: 163 i d.; Beneš 1978: 44–45; Roxan 1994: 286–288; Lőrincz 2001: 37). Nije sa sigurnošću utvrđeno gdje su se mogli nalaziti vojni logori u kojima je bila stacionirana *cohors I Lusitanorum* čije je djelovanje prema svim relevantnim pokazateljima započelo na području Ilirika, odnosno Panonije. Pretpostavlja se da joj je od 106. do približno 118–119. godine sjedište bila *Matrica* (današnja Százhalombatta), premda je upitna vjerodostojnost toga podatka (Lőrincz 2001: 103). Prema nekim pokazateljima od toga vremena pa do otprilike 180. godine kohorta je bila stacionirana u današnjemu Kólkedu (*Altinum*). Pretpostavlja se da joj je nakon toga sjedište mogla biti *Alisca* (Őcsény) u oblasti Szekszárd, iako je Spaulu ta lokacija jednako upitna kao i ona u maločas spomenutoj Százhalombatti (*Matrica*) (Lőrincz 2001: 104). Zanimljivo je da ni Visy (2003: 127) ne spominje da je *Alisca* bila sjedište I. luzitanske kohorte.

Na temelju svega što je dosad rečeno moglo bi se zaključiti da su se sva sjedišta kohorte nalazila na današnjemu području Mađarske (Lőrincz 2001: 52).<sup>15</sup> Međutim nedavno je iznesena pretpostavka da je *cohors I Lusitanorum*, zajedno s drugim vojnim jedinicama stacioniranim u Sotinu (*Cornacum*), određeno vrijeme boravila i u tamošnjemu vojnom logoru (Ilkić 2006: 30). Dakle to znači da bi njezinim potencijalnim sjedištima možda trebalo pridodati i Sotin (*Cornacum*), jedan od vojnih logora koji se nalaze u hrvatskome dijelu Podunavlja. U prilog tomu ide i podatak da iz Sotina potječe kameni žrtvenik gotovo nepoznat domaćoj i inozemnoj

tary diplomas in Moesia Superior, and sometimes the name of the cohort, albeit quite rarely, also appears on other monuments (*ibid.*). What is certain is its engagement in overseeing the Danube border, and guarding the crossing between the river’s two banks, which has already been mentioned. After participation in Domitian’s campaigns against the Dacians, the cohort doubtlessly played an important role in Trajan’s later military initiatives in the same territories (Wagner 1938: 163). If there were in fact two active cohorts with the same name or two sections of the same cohort, then it would be logical to assume that in these constant movements in the mid-second century the “Pannonian” *cohors I Lusitanorum* remained in the territory of Pannonia Inferior, while the “Moesian” cohort was active in Moesia Superior, but their movements were concentrated largely in the territory between the two provinces (Spaul 2000: 61–62, s.v. “cohors I Lusitanorum”). Spaul also had a different interpretation of the activities of *cohors I Lusitanorum*, stating that according to some views the unit was formed in the first years of the Empire and that it was stationed on the eastern borders of Pannonia and on the Drava River, and that there are indications that it was posted in Moesia twice at the end of the first century. Both Spaul and Wagner mentioned a third cohort with the same name and number, bearing the designation *Cyrenaica*, whose operations were associated with Moesia Inferior. This cohort has also already been mentioned (cf. Wagner 1938: 163 ff.; Beneš 1978: 44–45; Roxan 1994: 286–288; Lőrincz 2001: 37). The locations of the military camps in which *cohors I Lusitanorum* whose operations, by all relevant indicators, commenced in the territory of Illyricum, i.e. Pannonia, have not been ascertained with any certainty. It is assumed that from 106 to roughly 118–119 its base was *Matrica* (today’s Százhalombatta), although the reliability of this fact is tentative (Lőrincz 2001: 103). According to some indicators, henceforth until about 180, the cohort was stationed in today’s Kólked (*Altinum*). After this, its base may have been *Alisca* (Őcsény) in the Szekszárd District, although Spaul deems this location as questionable as the previously mentioned Százhalombatta (*Matrica*) (Lőrincz 2001: 104). Interesting is that not even Visy mentioned *Alisca* as the base of *cohors I Lusitanorum* (Visy 2003: 127).

Given the above facts, one may conclude that the base of this cohort was in the territory of today’s Hungary (Lőrincz 2001: 52).<sup>15</sup> However, recently a hypothesis was put forward according to which *cohors I Lusitanorum*, together with other military units stationed in *Cornacum*, spent some time in that military camp (Ilkić 2006: 30). This means

<sup>15</sup> Podatci o sjedištima kohorte očito nisu pouzdani, a iznesene pretpostavke nisu u dovoljnoj mjeri argumentirane.

<sup>15</sup> Data on the bases of cohorts are obviously not reliable, and the hypotheses stated here are not sufficiently supported.

stručnoj javnosti na kojemu se također spominje I. kohorta Luzitanaca. Zanimljivo je da je riječ o jedinome žrtveniku s imenom te kohorte, osim poznatoga ulomka žrtvenika iz Budimpešte na kojemu je sačuvano samo nekoliko karakterističnih slova (Spaul 2000: 61).<sup>16</sup> Žrtvenik iz Sotina posvećen je Jupiteru, Najboljemu i Najvećemu, a bio je sačuvan gotovo u cijelosti. Međutim problem je u tome što je žrtvenik, nažalost, nedostupan jer mu je trag bio zameten nedugo nakon otkrića. Na osnovi crtežaskice iz spisa pohranjenoga u arhivu Arheološkoga muzeja u Zagrebu ipak se može zaključiti da je vojna jedinica koja je žrtvenik posvetila vrhovnomu božanstvu rimskoga panteona bila upravo *cohors I Lusitanorum*, odnosno skupina njezinih pripadnika, i to najvjerojatnije Tračana (*Thracēs*). Naime oni su u toj kohorti zasigurno bili vrlo brojni, što se nikako nije moglo dogoditi u najranijim razdobljima njezina djelovanja. I. luzitanska kohorta bila je samo jedna u nizu vojnih jedinica nazvanih po toj dalekoj iberskoj populaciji. Zanimljiva je koincidencija da je kohorti istoga rednog broja nazvanoj po dedikantima sotinskoga natpisa, Tračanima (*cohors I Thracum c.R.p.f.*), prema sačuvanim pisanim izvorima na čelu bio tribun (*tribunus cohortis*) (Dušanić 1968: 106). Ona je tijekom 4. stoljeća boravila u basijanskoj predgrađu, vjerojatno na položaju *Caput Basensis* (*Bassianense*), a nije isključeno da je tamo boravio samo jedan njezin detašman.

O sotinskoj žrtveniku posvećenom Jupiteru prvi je put bilo riječi u lokalnome srijemskom listu iz 1937, doduše bez pripadajućega crteža,<sup>17</sup> a znatno kasnije i u prigodnome tekstu sotinskoga župnika objavljenome u publikaciji koja nije bila usko stručnoga karaktera, što je samorazumljivo.<sup>18</sup> Nedugo nakon što je žrtvenik bio otkriven, odnosno nakon što je Povjerenstvu zagrebačkoga Muzeja upućen dopis o nalazu žrtvenika, zameo mu se svaki trag, a nije, nažalost, sačuvana ni fotografija za koju se u dopisu od 21. X. 1916. izričito tvrdi da se nalazi u prilogu. U dopisu upućenome na istu adresu samo nekoliko dana kasnije isti je pošiljatelj istaknuo da će žrtvenik željeznicom biti transportiran u Vukovar. Pretpostavi li se da se taj podatak odnosi na žrtvenik koji su Tračani (?) iz I. kohorte Luzitanaca posvetili Jupiteru, bio bi to posljednji trag o zagubljenome spomeniku. Na njega se u još neobjavljenoj doktorskoj disertaciji nedavno osvrnuo M. Ilkić napome-

that Sotin (*Cornacum*), one of the military camps in the Croatian part of the Danubian Basin, should be added to the list of its potential bases. A stone altar from Sotin almost entirely unknown to the domestic and international public on which *cohors I Lusitanorum* is mentioned backs the latter hypothesis. This altar is interesting because it is the only one to bear the name of this cohort, with the exception of altar fragment from Budapest which features only a few characteristic letters (Spaul 2000: 61).<sup>16</sup> The altar from Sotin is dedicated to *Jupiter Optimus Maximus*, and it has been almost entirely preserved. However, the problem is that the altar is, unfortunately, inaccessible because all trace of it was lost not long after its discovery. Based on the sketch from the file held in the archives of the Archaeological Museum in Zagreb, one may conclude that the military unit which dedicated the altar to the supreme deity of the Roman pantheon was in fact *cohors I Lusitanorum*, or a group of its members, mostly likely Thracians (*Thracēs*). They were quite numerous in this cohort, which certainly could not have been the case in the earliest years of its operations. The *cohors I Lusitanorum* was only one in a series of military units named after this distant Iberian population. An interesting coincidence is that a cohort with the same number and named after the dedicants of the Sotin inscriptions, Thracians (*cohors I Thracum c.R.p.f.*), was headed by a tribune (*tribunus cohortis*) according to written sources (Dušanić 1968: 106). During the fourth century it was posted in a suburb of *Bassianae*, probably at the *Caput Basensis* (*Bassianense*) position, and possibility that only single detachment was posted there cannot be discounted.

The Sotin altar dedicated to Jupiter was first mentioned in a local newspaper in Srijem in 1937, albeit without an accompanying drawing,<sup>17</sup> and considerably later it was again mentioned in a text by the pastor in Sotin published in a publication that did not have a strictly scholarly character, which goes without saying.<sup>18</sup> Not long after the altar was discovered, and after a memorandum on discovery of the altar was sent to the Zagreb Museum's Commission, all trace of it was lost, and not even a photograph of it was preserved, even though the memorandum of 21 October 1916 expressly states that one is attached thereto. In a missive sent to

<sup>16</sup> Osim spomenutoga ulomka žrtvenika pisac navodi i 18 sačuvanih diploma; među njima nije ona iz 197. godine ni ona iz oko 200. godine. Spominje i recipijent s imenom kohorte, dva kame-na spomenika s posvetama i dva ulomka nadgrobnih ploča, kao i jednu brončanu ploču (pliticu?) iz Kostolca.

<sup>17</sup> P. Belavić, "Povijesne crtice iz župe Sotin", *Srijemske novine*, 26. VIII. 1937.

<sup>18</sup> F. Gerstner, *Povijesne bilješke Sotina*, Zagreb, studeni 1996, 4.

<sup>16</sup> Besides the aforementioned altar fragment, the writer also cited 18 preserved diplomas; the diploma from 197 is not among them, nor is the one dated to approximately 200. He also mentioned the recipient bearing the name of the cohort, two stone monuments with dedications and two fragments of gravestones, and one bronze plate (saucer?) from Kostolac.

<sup>17</sup> P. Belavić, "Povijesne crtice iz župe Sotin", *Srijemske novine*, 26 Aug. 1937.

<sup>18</sup> F. Gerstner, *Povijesne bilješke Sotina*, Zagreb, November 1996, 4.

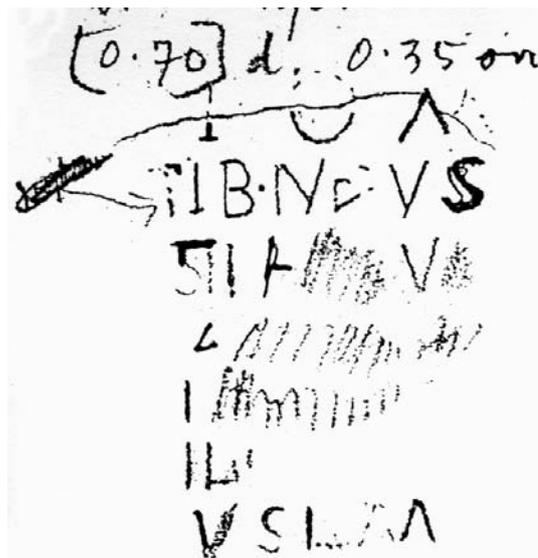


Slika 2. Skica zagubljenoga žrtvenika iz Sotina koji su Jupiteru posvetili Tračani iz I. kohorte Luzitanaca (arhiv Arheološkoga muzeja u Zagrebu).

Figure 2. Sketch of the lost altar from Sotin dedicated to Jupiter by Thracians of cohorts I Lusitanorum (archives of the Zagreb Archaeological Museum).

nuvši da je žrtvenik prethodno opisao Antun Dorn. Naveo je i podatak da je žrtvenik bio iskopan u blizini župnoga ureda u Sotinu, uz lokalni put koji vodi do Dunava. Mjesto nalaza žrtvenika prema istome je izvoru bilo u južnome dijelu pretpostavljenoga vojnog logora, na mjestu gdje su još uvijek vidljivi tragovi antičke gradnje i otkuda potječu brojni nalazi opeka, imbreksa i tegula, a mnogi od njih imaju vojne pečate.<sup>19</sup> Mnogo je razloga zbog kojih treba žaliti što taj žrtvenik nije sačuvan, premda je o njemu ipak moguće kazati pokoju riječ na osnovi priloženoga crteža (sl. 2) i popratnoga komentara autora

<sup>19</sup> Isti autor podsjetio je na podatak koji, doduše, spominju i drugi autori (usp. Brunšmid 1906–1907: 112, sl. 232) da je desetak godina ranije stotinjak metara istočnije bio pronađen i žrtvenik posvećen Liberu (*Liberio Patri*). Danas je pohranjen u zagrebačkome Arheološkom muzeju, a dao ga je načiniti konzularni beneficijar Gaj Antonije Sabin (*Caius Antonius Sabinus*). Znakovit je i podatak o još jednome žrtveniku posvećenomu Jupiteru zabilježen u arhivskome spisu s brojem 9/4 iz 1902. koji je pohranjen u zagrebačkome Arheološkom muzeju. Taj je žrtvenik otkriven u Sotinu oko 1860. pored kućnoga broja 77, a tada je bio u vlasništvu Andrije Ilkića (sl. 3). Natpis je očigledno bio fragmentaran i površinski znatno oštećen, ali je, po svemu sudeći, sadržavao sedam redaka teksta: osim posvete Jupiteru (*I.O.M*) u prvome retku te zavjetne formule (*VSLM*) u posljednjemu retku iz priložene skice nije moguće precizno razlučiti ostale dijelove teksta. Čini se, ipak, da je i u tome slučaju bio u pitanju zavjetodavac iz vojnoga miljea (*Tiberius Nevus?*). U nekoliko nižih redaka slova se jedva naslućuju, ali među njima su očigledno i slova *L*, pa bi zbog toga bilo moguće zamisliti da je i na tome sotinskom spomeniku moglo biti zabilježeno ime I. luzitanske kohorte. No za takvu pretpostavku nema pouzdanih dokaza.



Slika 3. Skica zagubljenoga žrtvenika iz Sotina s posvetom Jupiteru (arhiv Arheološkoga muzeja u Zagrebu).

Figure 3. Sketch of the lost altar from Sotin with dedication to Jupiter (archives of the Zagreb Archaeological Museum).

the same address only a few days later, the same sender pointed out that the altar would be transported by train to Vukovar. If one assumes that this pertains to the altar which the Thracians (?) of cohorts I Lusitanorum dedicated to Jupiter, this would be the last trace of this lost artefact. In an as-yet unpublished doctoral dissertation, M. Ilkić recently referred to it, observing that the altar was previously described by Antun Dorn. He also cited the fact that the altar was excavated near the parish rectory in Sotin, next to a local trail that leads to the Danube. According to the same source, the altar's find-site was in the southern section of the assumed military camp, at a place where traces of Roman-era construction are still visible, and where numerous bricks, *imbrices* and *tegulae*, many of them bearing military stamps, were found.<sup>19</sup> There

<sup>19</sup> The same author recalled a fact – to be sure, one cited by other scholars as well (cf. Brunšmid 1906–1907: 112, Fig. 232), that roughly ten years previously an altar dedicated to Liber (*Liberio Patri*) was discovered about one hundred meters farther east. Today it is held in the Archaeological Museum in Zagreb; it was commissioned by beneficiarius consularis *Caius Antonius Sabinus*. Also notable is another altar dedicated to Jupiter recorded in archival file no. 9/4 from 1902 which is held in Zagreb's Archaeological Museum. This altar was discovered in Sotin at around 1860 next to address number 77, at the time owned by Andrija Ilkić (Fig. 3). The inscription was obviously fragmentary and its surface severely damaged, but, by all accounts, it contained seven lines of text: in addition to the dedication to Jupiter (*I.O.M*) in the first line and the votive formula (*VSLM*) in the last line, the remainder of the text cannot be discerned precisely based on the sketch provided. It would nonetheless appear that the dedicant was in this case as well from a military milieu (*Tiberius Nevus?*). In several lower lines the letters are barely visible, but they obviously include letters *L*, leading to suppose that this Sotin monument may also record the name of cohorts I Lusitanorum. But there is no reliable evidence to support this hypothesis.

dopisa. Navodi se da je spomenik bio pronađen s južne strane župnoga stana, zatim da je vjerojatno bio načinjen od vapnenca te da mu je gornji dio oštećen (na crtežu je vidljivo da mu nedostaje čitav desni akroterij). S objiju strana crteža zabilježene su i dimenzije spomenika, ali nije posve jasno na što se odnose zapisani brojevi. Ipak, čini se da je visina natpisnoga polja iznosila ukupno 104 cm, a širina 94 cm, iako je moguće da se zapisane mjere odnose na visinu čitavoga žrtvenika, a ne samo na natpisno polje. Na crtežu je odgovarajućim vodoravnim profilacijama jasno naznačena karakteristična trodijelna podjela: za natpis je rezervirano središnje polje s tekstom raspoređenim u pet redaka. U prvome je retku posveta Jupiteru, odnosno uobičajena kratica posvetne formule *I. O. M* s naznačenim interpunkcijama. U sljedećemu retku navedeni su dedikanti, po svemu sudeći Tračani (*Thracēs*). Prva dva slova, *T* i *H*, očigledno su bila pisana u ligaturi, dok je pretposljednje slovo u istome retku (najvjerojatnije se radilo o slovu *E*) na priloženoj skici izostalo bilo zbog toga što ga nije ni bilo na natpisu bilo zbog pogreške načinjene pri transkribiranju teksta. Treći redak započinje kraticom *COH*, nastavlja se kratkom vodoravnom linijom, što je vjerojatno oštećenje koje je na takav način prikazano na crtežu, a potom slijedi redni broj kohorte (*I*). Četvrti redak očigledno sadrži naziv kohorte, ali je upitno je li on bio napisan u skraćenome (*LUSITAN*) ili u cjelovitome obliku. Međutim valja napomenuti da prvo slovo više nalikuje slovu *I* nego slovu *L* te se na crtežu gotovo ne razlikuje od oznake rednoga broja kohorte iz prethodnoga retka. No iz konteksta je posve jasno da je ipak riječ o slovu *L*, dok je slovo *N*, po svemu sudeći, predstavljalo kombinaciju slova *A* i *N* koja su bila pisana u ligaturi, a to na crtežu nije jasno naznačeno. Posljednji znak u istome retku nalikuje slovu *S*, što je teško protumačiti i tomu pronaći neko suvislo objašnjenje. Iako nije moguće precizno determinirati to slovo, najlogičnije je pretpostaviti da je riječ o slovu koje se ipak moglo odnositi samo na neko od slova punoga oblika imena kohorte (*LUSITANORUM*) jer je za to preostalo dovoljno raspoloživa prostora u produžetku retka. U posljednjemu retku posve jasno su transkribirane kratice dedikacijske formule *V.S.L.M.* Kao i u većini sličnih slučajeva kratice su bile odvojene interpunkcijama. Dakle može se pretpostaviti da bi natpis trebalo transkribirati na sljedeći način:

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

*THRAC[e?]S*

*COH(ortis)I*

*LUSITAN[orum]*

5 *V(otum).S(olverunt).L(ibentes).M(erito)*

are many reasons to regret the loss of this altar, although a few things may be said of it based on the attached sketch (Fig. 2) and the accompanying comments by the letter's author. He stated that the artefact was found on the southern side of the parish rectory, and then that it was probably made of limestone and that its upper portion was damaged (on the drawing it is apparent that the entire right acroterion is missing). The altar's dimensions are recorded on both sides of the drawing, but it is not entirely clear as to what the numbers refer. Nonetheless, it would appear that the height of the inscription field was 104 cm in total, and its width was 94 cm, although it is possible that the measurements pertain to the height of the entire altar, and not just the inscription field. On the drawing, the typical tripartite division is indicated by the appropriate horizontal moulding: the central field is set aside for the inscription, with its text arranged in five lines. The first line is a dedication to Jupiter, or rather the customary abbreviation of the dedicatory formula, *I. O. M* with punctuation marks. The next line specifies the dedicants, by all indications Thracians (*Thracēs*). The first two letters, *T* and *H*, were obviously written in ligature, while the penultimate letter in the first line (probably the letter *E*) was lacking on the attached sketch, either because it was not on the inscription or due to an error in transcription of the text. The third line begins with the abbreviation *COH*, continues with a short horizontal line, which is probably damage shown in this manner on the drawing, followed by the cohort's number (*I*). The fourth line obviously contains the name of the cohort, but there is some question as to whether it was written in truncated (*LUSITAN*) or complete form. However, it bears noting that the first letter resembles the letter *I* more than the letter *L*, and on the drawing it almost does not differ from the number of the cohort in the preceding line. The context nevertheless makes it entirely clear that it is the letter *L*, while the letter *N*, by all indications, is in fact a combination of the letters *A* and *N* that were written in ligature, but this is not clearly indicated on the drawing. The last symbol in the same line resembles the letter *S*, which is difficult to interpret or coherently explain. Even though it is impossible to precisely determine this letter, the most logical assumption is that this is a letter which can form a part of the full name of the cohort (*LUSITANORUM*), as sufficient space for this is available in the rest of the line. In the last line, the abbreviations of the dedicatory formula *V.S.L.M.* were transcribed quite clearly. As in most similar cases, the abbreviations were divided by

Premda predloženo čitanje natpisa ne ostavlja mnogo prostora za drugačija prihvatljiva rješenja, ipak valja uzeti u obzir i mogućnost da bi u drugome retku umjesto vjerojatne dopune teksta slovom *E* redak mogao biti nadopunjen i nekim drugim slovom, najvjerojatnije slovom *U*. U tome bi se slučaju radilo o osobnome imenu *Thracus*, a ne o Tračanima kao populaciji, pa bi zbog toga i završne posvetne kratice glasile *V(otum).S(olvit).L(ibens).M(erito)*. U takvu je mogućnost teško povjerovati, iako se ime *Thracus* pojavljuje u panonskome onomastiku, doduše, koliko je meni poznato, na samo jednome poznatom primjeru (Lőrincz 2002: 120). Stoga bih zaključio kako mi se čini logičnijim da se taj dio teksta dovodi u vezu s pripadnicima tračke populacije. Za nju je poznato da je u kasnijim razdobljima u I. luzitanskoj kohorti bila zastupljena u velikome broju.

U Sotinu su (*Cornacum*) osim civilnoga stanovništva u utvrdi podignutoj tijekom 1. stoljeća sjedište imale *cohors I Montanarum*, *cohors II Aurelia Dardanorum Antoniniana*, kao i *equites Dalmatae* (Sanader 2003: 141–142; 2006: 156).<sup>20</sup> Od te su utvrde preostali, nažalost, odviše skromni ostatci. Pretpostavka o mogućem sjedištu I. luzitanske kohorte u Sotinu zasniva se ponajviše na interpretaciji teksta i crteža zagubljenoga žrtvenika, ali i na činjenici da se ime I. luzitanske kohorte pojavljuje na nadgrobnoj ploči Marka Aurelija Serena iz Iloka. Takve pretpostavke ne bi trebale biti iznenađujuće, a čini se da se podudaraju i s mišljenjem Visyja koji je ustvrdio da je “na hrvatskome i srpskome dijelu panonske granice (*limes Pannonicus*), osim onih poznatih, bilo i drugih utvrda, negdje u blizini Vukovara i Petrovaradina” (Visy 1994: 86–87). Visy navodi i podatak da je izgradnja dunavskih utvrda bila povezana s procesom pacifikacije provincije i događanjima s druge strane granice. Posljednje su utvrde iz doba Trajanove, odnosno Hadrijanove vladavine. Od toga vremena pa do, približno, završetka 3. stoljeća nije se bitno mijenjao karakter i broj utvrda, kao ni broj angažiranih vojnih jedinica. U objema Panonijama bile su stacionirane četiri legije i desetak pomoćnih četa (*alae*) te približno dvadeset kohorta s logorima koji su bili raspoređeni na desnoj strani Dunava, od Klosterneuburga do Novih Banovaca. Spominje se 39 poznatih utvrda namijenjenih pomoćnim četama, a njima bi trebalo pridodati i nekoliko manjih utvrda na lijevoj obali Dunava te još nepoznate utvrde za koje pisac pretpostavlja da su morale biti na hrvatskome i srpskome dijelu panonske granice. Međutim Visy tvrdi

punctuation marks. Thus, it may be assumed that the inscription should be transcribed as follows:

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

*THRAC[e?]S*

*COH(ortis)I*

*LUSITAN[orum]*

5 *V(otum).S(olverunt).L(ibentes).M(erito)*

Although the proposed reading of the inscription does not leave much room for a different acceptable solution, it is worth considering the possibility that in the second line, instead of the likely addition of the letter *E*, some other letter, most likely *U*, may be added to the text. In this case it would be the personal name *Thracus*, and not the Thracians as a population, so then the final dedicatory abbreviation would therefore be *V(otum).S(olvit).L(ibens).M(erito)*. This possibility is difficult to believe, even though the name *Thracus* did appear in Pannonian onomastics, although, to my knowledge, in only one known example (Lőrincz 2002: 120). I would therefore conclude that a more logical possibility is that this part of the text pertains to members of the Thracian population. The latter were known to be in *cohors I Lusitanorum* in a considerable number in later periods.

In addition to the civilian population, the *cohors I Montanarum*, *cohors II Aurelia Dardanorum Antoniniana*, and *equites Dalmatae* also had their bases in the fort erected in Sotin (*Cornacum*) during the first century (Sanader 2003: 141–142; 2006: 156).<sup>20</sup> Unfortunately, the remains of this fort are only meagre. The hypothesis on the base of *cohors I Lusitanorum* in Sotin is based primarily on the interpretation of the text and sketch of the lost altar, and also the fact that the name *cohors I Lusitanorum* appears on the gravestone of *Marcus Aurelius Serenus* from Ilok. Such hypotheses should not be surprising, and it would appear that they also comply with the opinion of Visy, who asserted that “in the Croatian and Serbian parts of the Pannonian border (*limes Pannonicus*), there were other forts besides those already known, somewhere in the vicinity of Vukovar and Petrovaradin” (Visy 1994: 86–87). Visy also cited the fact that construction of the Danube forts was linked to the process of pacification of the province and events on the other side of the border. The last forts date to the reigns of Trajan and Hadrian. Henceforward until roughly the end of the third

<sup>20</sup> Autorica se osvrće na topografske prednosti Sotina ističući vrlo povoljan strateški položaj civilnoga naselja i utvrde koji su zaštićeni trima strminama. Naglašava i važnost blizine utvrda u Dalju (*Teutoburgium*) i Iloku (*Cuccium*) te važnost kontakata s njima.

<sup>20</sup> Sanader concentrated on the topographic advantages of Sotin, stressing the very favourable strategic position of the civilian settlement and the fort, protected by three steep slopes. She also underscored the importance of the proximity of the fortifications in Dalj (*Teutoburgium*) and Ilok (*Cuccium*) and the importance of contacts with them.

da 30 pomoćnih jedinica nije moglo imati potpunu kontrolu nad 43 utvrđena mjesta. Pokušava za to pronaći i prihvatljivo objašnjenje zaključujući naposljetku da se broj jedinica nije povećavao u kasnijim desetljećima 2. stoljeća ili u 3. stoljeću bez obzira na to što je politička i vojna situacija postajala ozbiljna, čak i kritična. Slično razmišljaju još neki autori. Soproni (1980: 219) drži da je Panonija tijekom četiriju stoljeća bila jedna od najvažnijih graničnih provincija Rimskog Carstva, a tamošnje utvrde najprije su imale ofenzivni, a tek kasnije i defenzivni karakter. Soproni se slaže s Visyjevim zapažanjem da je limes na austrijskome i mađarskome području bio znatno bolje istražen od hrvatskoga i srpskoga graničnog sektora ističući da su istraživanja graničnih fortifikacija u tim područjima upravo započinjala. Pretpostavku o tome da je I. luzitanska kohorta možda boravila u Sotinu nedavno je iznio i Ilkić (2006: 30). Naime čini se da nalaz dvaju natpisa (jednoga zavjetnog i jednoga nadgrobnog) na kojima se spominje ista kohorta, a nađeni su na razmjerno maloj udaljenosti na hrvatskome dijelu dunavskoga limesa (Sotin – *Cornacum*, odnosno Ilok – *Cuccium*), teško može biti protumačen kao koincidencija. Wagner je primjerice zapazio neobičnu činjenicu da do njegova vremena dokazani boravak I. luzitanske kohorte u provinciji koji je trajao više od 100 godina nije urodio očekivanim tragovima sačuvanima na natpisima. Osim na vojnim diplomama jedini trag njihove nazočnosti donosi *cursus honorum* jednoga tribuna *legio I adiutrix* iz Libarne odlikovanoga zbog zasluga u ratu sa Suebima koji je, između ostalog, zapovijedao i I. kohortom Luzitanaca (Wagner 1938: 162). Zato pretpostavku o eventualnome boravištu I. kohorte Luzitanaca na području hrvatskoga dijela dunavskoga limesa, naročito u arheološki neistraženome Sotinu (*Cornacum*), ne bismo smjeli olako odbaciti. Razlog je tomu i činjenica da je vrlo dobro poznato kako su se veterani često zadržavali u blizini vojnih središta, odnosno naselja koja nisu previše udaljena od logora u kojima su bili u vojnoj službi. Eventualni boravak kohorte u tamošnjemu logoru mogao bi se vezati za razmjerno kasna razdoblja, najvjerojatnije za 3. stoljeće nakon što je spomenuta kohorta, po svemu sudeći, bila stacionirana u oblasti Szekszárd (*Alisca*) u današnjoj Mađarskoj, što bi trebalo značiti da je to bilo barem nekoliko desetljeća nakon 180. godine.

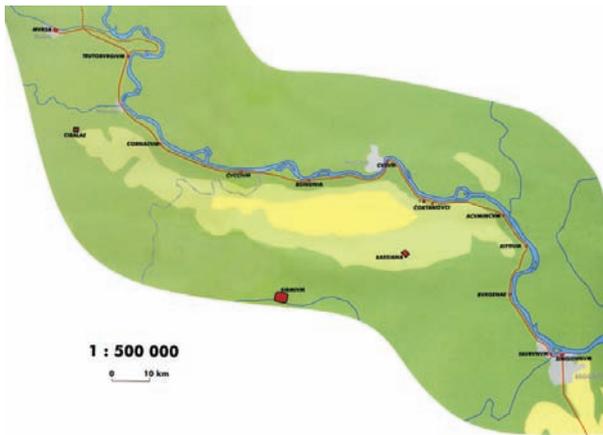
Osvrt na nadgrobnu ploču iz Iloka zaključujem konstatacijom kako sve govori u prilog pretpostavci da novootkriveni *titulus* potječe iz kasnih desetljeća 2. stoljeća ili s početka 3. stoljeća. Na njemu su kao zavičaj Marka Aurelija Serena jasno istaknute *Bassianae*, grad kojemu su ostatci otkriveni

century, the character and number of forts did not change, nor did the number of troops deployed. Four legions and a dozen auxiliary companies (*alae*) and approximately twenty cohorts were stationed in both Pannonias, with camps distributed along the right bank of the Danube, from Klosterneuburg to Novi Banovci. A total of 39 known forts intended for auxiliary companies are mentioned, and several smaller forts on the Danube's left bank should be added to these, as well as some unknown fortifications which the aforementioned scholar assumed were in the Croatian and Serbian sections of the Danubian borderlands. However, Visy claimed that 30 auxiliary units could not have exercised complete control over 43 fortified positions. He attempted to find a suitable explanation for this by finally concluding that the number of units did not increase in the final decades of the second century or in the third century regardless of the fact that the political and military situation was becoming serious, perhaps even critical. Some other scholars share this view. Soproni (1980: 219) maintained that for over four centuries Pannonia was one of the most vital border provinces of the Roman Empire, and the local fortresses initially had an offensive character, and only later became defensive. Soproni agreed with Visy's observation that the *limes* in Austrian and Hungarian territory has been much better researched than the Croatian and Serbian border sector, stressing that research into border forts in these territories was still in its beginnings. The hypothesis that *cohors I Lusitanorum* may have stayed in Sotin was also recently put forth by Ilkić (2006: 30). Namely, it would appear that the discovery of two inscriptions (one votive and one sepulchral) mentioning the same cohort at a relatively short distance from each other in the Croatian part of the Danube *limes* (Sotin/*Cornacum* and Ilok/*Cuccium*), can scarcely be interpreted as a coincidence. Wagner, for example, observed the peculiar fact that up to his time the proven stay of *cohors I Lusitanorum* in the province, which lasted over one hundred years, did not yield the expected traces preserved in inscriptions. Besides military diplomas, the only trace of their presence is contained in the *cursus honorum* of a tribune of *legio I Adiutrix* from Libarna, conferred for services in the war with the Suebi, who, among other things, also commanded *cohors I Lusitanorum* (Wagner 1978: 162). The hypothesis concerning the possible stay of *cohors I Lusitanorum* in the territory of the Croatian section of the Danube *limes*, particularly in the archeologically unexplored Sotin (*Cornacum*), should therefore not be so readily discounted. An additional reason for this is the fact that veterans often spent time in the vicinity of military compounds, meaning settlements not too distant

na lokalitetu “Grad”, sjeverno od današnjih Donjih Petrovaca kod Rume (Đorđević 2007: 45). U tome je gradu, čini se, proveo dio života, iako je pitanje je li posljednje godine ili dane života proveo u njemu ili u mjestu u kojemu je bio pokopan, dakle u obližnjemu Iloku (*Cuccium*). Kad je o Basijanama riječ, svakako valja naglasiti da su se najznačajnija događanja u okviru uobičajenih romanizacijskih procesa u njemu zbivala u flavijevsko, trajansko-hadrijansko i u seversko doba (Dušanić 1967: 75). Za Trajanove vladavine *Bassianae* su u sastavu Donje Panonije (*Pannonia Inferior*), a upravo u to vrijeme dograđuje se postojeći sustav utvrda (*castella*) prijeko potrebnih za smještaj pomoćnih vojnih jedinica. Istraživanja koja su bila provedena u dva navrata, 1882. i 1935, otkrila su dijelove bedema s kulama (Đorđević 2007: 47). U gotovo neizmjenjenome obliku opstat će gotovo do kraja 3. stoljeća. Kao *civitas Bassianae* grad je funkcionirao od 1. stoljeća, preciznije od Domicijanova vremena, odnosno od vremena njegova pohoda protiv Dačana kad su se zbog povećanih potreba za vojnim formacijama morale ojačati postojeće i formirati nove pomoćne čete (*auxilia*). Municipalni status *Bassianae* su stekle 124. godine. U to je vrijeme primjerice *cohors I Britannica*, koja je prema nekim mišljenjima u Panoniji boravila od 80. do približno 100. godine, vjerojatno bila prebačena u Titel ili *Acumincum* (Dušanić 1967: 69), a bila je smještena u utvrđi (*castellum*) basijanskoga limesa najvjerojatnije lociranoj na ušću Tise u Dunav. Zaključak o jačanju postojećih i dovođenju novih pomoćnih četa potkrepljuju i odgovarajući nalazi nadgrobnih spomenika, kao i činjenica da su njihovi veterani stranoga podrijetla vrlo često bili disperzirani po većim panonskim središtima (Dušanić 1968: 95). Osim što se u doba Flavijevaca, najprije Domicijana, a zatim i Vespazijana, dovođenjem svježih trupa nastoje ojačati postojeće jedinice, niču i nove utvrde (Mócsy 1974: 81). Domicijanovi ratovi s Dačanima, Suebima i Sarmatima pokazali su kolika je u strateškome pogledu bila važna Panonija koja će od toga vremena u vojničkome pogledu biti među najvažnim provincijama Carstva (*ibid.* 85). Čini se da je upravo u to vrijeme znatan dio basijanskoga stanovništva stekao i građansko pravo. Vjeruje se da su municipalitet *Bassianae* stekle u doba Hadrijana koji je možda i osobno boravio u tome gradu. U određenome smislu *Bassianae* tek tada postaju grad (*urbs*) u pravome smislu riječi. Ima naznaka da je 202. godine u gradu boravio i car Septimije Sever, a nešto kasnije, 214. godine, možda i njegov sin Karakala, ujedno nasljednik na carskome prijestolju, koji je u to vrijeme boravio u Donjoj Panoniji. Vjeruje se da je on tada Basijanama dodijelio status

from the camps in which they were serving. The possible stay of the cohort in the local camp may be linked to relatively late periods, probably the third century, after this cohort, by all accounts, was stationed in the district of Szekszárd (*Alisca*) in today's Hungary, which should mean that it was a minimum of several decades after 180.

I shall conclude these considerations of the gravestone from Ilok with the assertion that all indications support the hypothesis that this newly-discovered *titulus* originated in the late second century or the beginning of the third century. The text on it clearly states that *Marcus Aurelius Serenus* was originally from *Bassianae*, a city/town whose remains were discovered at the “Citadel” (“*Grad*”) site north of today's Donji Petrovci near Ruma (Đorđević 2007: 45). It would appear that he spent a part of his life there, although there is some question as to whether he spent his last years or some years of his life there or in the place of his burial, thus in nearby Ilok (*Cuccium*). With reference to *Bassianae*, it should certainly be stressed that the most important events involving the customary Romanization occurred in it during the Flavian, Trajanic-Hadrianic and Severan eras (Dušanić 1967: 75). During Trajan's rule, *Bassianae* was a part of Pannonia Inferior, and it was precisely during this period that the existing system of forts (*castella*) so vital to accommodation of auxiliary military units was expanded. Research conducted on two occasions, in 1882 and 1935, uncovered parts of bulwarks with towers (Đorđević 2007: 47). It would exist in almost unaltered form almost until the end of the third century. It functioned as *civitas Bassianae* from the first century, since Domitian's reign to be precise, i.e. after his campaign against the Dacians, when greater need for military formations led to the reinforcement of existing and establishment of new auxiliary contingents (*auxilia*). *Bassianae* acquired municipal status in 124. During this time, for example, *cohors I Britannica*, which according to some views was posted in Pannonia from 80 to roughly 100, was probably transferred to Titel or *Acumincum* (Dušanić 1967: 69), and it was accommodated in a fort (*castellum*) of the Bassian *limes*, probably located at the mouth of the Tisza river into the Danube. The conclusion on the reinforcement of existing and introduction of new auxiliary companies is backed by the complementary discovery of gravestones, and the fact that their veterans of foreign origin were very often dispersed throughout the larger Pannonian centres (Dušanić 1968: 95). The Flavian era, particularly under Domitian and then Vespasian, not only saw the introduction of fresh troops in an attempt to reinforce existing units, but also the erection of new fortifications (Mócsy 1974: 81). Domitian's wars with the Dacians, Suebi and Sarmatians demonstrat-



Slika 4. Karta dijela dunavskoga limesa (Visy 2003, autor karte: László Sebők).

Figure 4. Map of a part of the Danube limes (Visy 2003, author of the map: László Sebők).

kolonije. Valja naglasiti da su u selu Dobrinci, smještene samo 3 km zapadno od Donjih Petrovaca, tijekom nekoliko istraživačkih kampanja otkriveni ostatci bedema i kula utvrde podignute u 2. i obnovljene u 3. stoljeću (*caput Bassianense*). U njoj je bilo sjedište II. pomoćne legije (*legio II. Adiutrix*) (Đorđević 2007: 47–48). Nema nikakve dvojbe da je za rast ugleda toga donjopanonskoga grada iznimnu važnost imala naglašena prisutnost vojnoga elementa. Taj sloj stanovništva uvelike je pridonosio i gospodarskomu razvoju grada, kao i njegovoj ubrzanom urbanizaciji, odnosno dinamičnoj graditeljskoj aktivnosti, a time i svekolikome prosperitetu ne samo grada nego i čitave provincije (Dušanić 1967: 70 i d.).

O mjestu u kojemu je basijanski veteran najvjerojatnije proveo posljednje dane života nema toliko relevantnih podataka. *Cuccium* je, čini se, imao utvrdu (*castellum*) podignutu prije završetka 1. ili početkom 2. stoljeća (Mócsy 1974: 104; Sanader 2003: 142).<sup>21</sup> Očito je da se ona morala nalaziti na mjestu današnjega iločkog Gornjeg grada. Riječ je o izvanredno povoljnoj strateškoj poziciji, mjestu koje je i vizualno bilo povezano s obližnjom nizvodnom utverdnom na području Sotina (*Cornacum*). Osobito je važno što je odande bilo moguće dobro nadzirati i široka područja na suprotnoj strani Dunava (sl. 4). Položaj utvrde visoko iznad korita Dunava pokazuje da je utvrda bila dobro zaštićena (Sanader 2003: 142; 2006: 156). Na temelju dostupnih podataka pretpostavlja se da su u tamošnjoj utvrdi bile smještene dvije vojne konjaničke forma-

ed just how vital Pannonia was in strategic terms, and it henceforth became one of the Empire's most important provinces from the military standpoint (*ibid.* 85). Apparently it was precisely at that time that a considerably portion of Bassianae's population acquired citizenship. It is believed that *Bassianae* was granted municipal status during the reign of Hadrian, who may even have visited it personally. In a certain sense, *Bassianae* only then became a city (*urbs*) in the true sense of the word. There are indications that Emperor Septimius Severus also stayed there in 202, while somewhat later, in 214, his son and imperial heir Caracalla may have done the same while on a sojourn in Pannonia Inferior. It is believed that at that time he granted *Bassianae* colonial status. Worthwhile mentioning is that during several research campaigns the remains of ramparts and towers (*caput Bassianense*) erected in the second and reconstructed in the third century were discovered in the village of Dobrinci, only 3 km west of Donji Petrovci. This was the base of the second auxiliary legion (*legio II. Adiutrix*) (Đorđević 2007: 47–48). There can be no doubt that the military element was exceptionally important to the enhancement of the reputation of this town in Pannonia Inferior. This segment of the population largely contributed to its economic growth as well, and to its rapid urbanization, i.e. the dynamic construction activities, and thus to the overall prosperity of not only the town but the entire province (Dušanić 1967: 70 ff.).

There are not as many relevant data on the place where the Bassian veteran most likely spent his last days. *Cuccium* did, it would appear, have a fortress (*castellum*) raised prior to the close of the first or the beginning of the second century (Mócsy 1974: 104; Sanader 2003: 142).<sup>21</sup> It is apparent that it must have been located at the site of today's Upper Town in Ilok. This is an exceptionally sound strategic position, a place that was even visually linked to the nearby fortress downriver in the area of Sotin (*Cornacum*). Particularly important is that from there it was also possible to oversee a broad swath of the opposite bank of the Danube (Fig. 4). The position high above the Danube's river bed demonstrates that the fortress was well protected (Sanader 2003: 142; 2006: 156). Based on available data, it is assumed that two cavalry formations, *cuneus equitum Promotorum Cuccis* and *equites sagittarii Cuccis* were posted in the fortress, both, to be sure, in very late periods (*ibid.*). Thanks to the most recent archaeological discoveries, particularly

<sup>21</sup> Prema Mócsyevu mišljenju gotovo sve limes-utvrde na Dunavu bile su sagrađene između 89. i 102. godine, a garnizoni iz unutrašnjosti provincije bili su tada povučeni i raspoređeni uzduž granice.

<sup>21</sup> According to Mócsy, almost all *limes* fortifications on the Danube were built between 89 and 102, while the garrisons in the provincial interior were at the time withdrawn and distributed all along the border.

cije, *cuneus equitum Promotorum Cuccis* i *equites sagittarii Cuccis*, obje, doduše, u vrlo kasnim razdobljima (*ibid.*). Zbog najnovijih arheoloških otkrića, naročito onih koja se odnose na zanimljive nalaze vojničke opreme iz sredine 1. stoljeća, danas bi s čvršćim argumentima trebalo razmišljati o utvrdi koja je u nekakvu obliku funkcionirala i u ranijim razdobljima, pa bi zato njezina važnost trebala biti veća i u sveukupnome sustavu dunavskoga limesa.<sup>22</sup> U istome kontekstu vjerojatno bi trebalo drugačije gledati i na boravak vojnih jedinica na tim prostorima, a naročito na području samoga Iloka (*Cuccium*).<sup>23</sup> U vezi s takvim zbivanjima valjalo bi promatrati životni put Marka Aurelija Serena, veterana i bivšega centuriona u I. kohorti Luzitanaca, čija je nadgrobna ploča slučajno otkrivena u Iloku. Spomenik vjerojatno potječe s kraja 2. stoljeća, a najkasnije s početka 3. stoljeća. Nadgrobna ploča preminuloga vojnog veterana, nekadašnjega rimskog centuriona, otkrivena je za izvođenja radova na gradskim infrastrukturnim sadržajima. Tako je, nakon mnogih stoljeća ležanja pod zemljom, ponovno ugledala svjetlo dana potaknuvši zanimanje domaće i inozemne stručne javnosti.<sup>24</sup>

those pertaining to the intriguing finds of military equipment from the mid-first century, today there are firm grounds for consideration of a fortification that functioned in some capacity even in earlier periods, so that its importance should be greater in the overall system of the Danube *limes*.<sup>22</sup> It is in this context one should probably take a different view of the deployment of military units in this region, particularly in Ilok (*Cuccium*) itself.<sup>23</sup> It is with a view to these events that one should probably contemplate the life's journey of *Marcus Aurelius Serenus*, a veteran and former centurion of *cohors I Lusitanorum*, whose gravestone was discovered in Ilok entirely by chance. The monument probably dates to the very end of the second century, or the beginning of the third century at the very latest. The gravestone of this deceased military veteran, a former Roman centurion, was discovered during works on the local urban infrastructure. Thus, after many centuries below ground, it was once more brought to the light of day, sparking the interest of the domestic and international scholarly public.<sup>24</sup>

<sup>22</sup> Mogućnost gradnje utvrde u Iloku još u 1. stoljeću, odnosno početkom 2. stoljeća, spominju i drugi autori (usp. Sanader 2003: 142).

<sup>23</sup> Prema Lőrinczu (2005: 63) do otkrića nadgrobne ploče Marka Aurelija Serena nije se računalo na postojanje auxilijarne utvrde iz vremena ranoga principata na području Iloka. Isti autor ističe da o mjestu boravka I. luzitanske kohorte nije bilo provjerenih, pouzdanih podataka. Sam je autor kao sjedište spomenute kohorte prije ratova s Markomanima i Sarmatima, odnosno tijekom sedmoga i osmoga desetljeća 2. stoljeća, predlagao utvrdnu *Altinum*, a nakon toga, u doba Komodove vladavine, odnosno nakon 180. godine, njezino je sjedište mogla biti *Alisca*. Tomu je razlog što je naziv kohorte ranije bio posvjedočen samo na vojničkim diplomama. Na temelju pokojnikova imena i Lőrincz predlaže datiranje natpisa na kraj 2. stoljeća, a ujedno smatra da se Marko Aurelije Seren nakon časnoga otpusta više nije vratio kući, nego se zadržao u mjestu u kojemu je službovao. Zbog toga Lőrincz zaključuje da je I. luzitanska kohorta od Komodova vremena bila stacionirana u Iloku (*Cuccium*), što sam u svojemu prilogu i ja pokušao argumentirati.

<sup>24</sup> Koristim prigodu da zahvalim I. Radmanu-Livaji na korisnim sugestijama, osobito u vezi s literaturom o djelovanju vojnih jedinica na području Podunavlja. Zahvaljujem i S. Miheliću na prijevodu skraćenoga teksta na engleski jezik koji je morao biti prilagođen satnici znanstvenoga skupa *Proagon – Conference in Honour of Erwin Pochmarski (Konferenz zu Ehren von Erwin Pochmarski)* održanoga od 12. do 14. srpnja 2008. u Grazu (organizirao ga je tamošnji Institut für Archäologie – Karl-Franzens-Universität u povodu obilježavanja 65. obljetnice života Erwina Pochmarskoga). Budući da prilog o nalazu rimske stele iz okolice Zagreba, što sam ga planirao objaviti u zborniku posvećenome E. Pochmarskom, nisam uspio dovršiti u zadanim rokovima, nema ga u spomenutoj publikaciji. Zato E. Pochmarskom sa zadovoljstvom posvećujem ovaj prilog o iločkome natpisu, temi o kojoj sam govorio i na spomenutom skupu u Grazu.

<sup>22</sup> Other scholars also mentioned the possibility of construction of the Ilok fortress as early as the first century or the beginning of the second century (cf. Sanader 2003: 142).

<sup>23</sup> According to Lőrincz (2005: 63), until the discovery of the gravestone of *Marcus Aurelius Serenus*, nobody considered the existence of an auxiliary fortification in the Ilok area during the early Principate. This same scholar stressed that there were no verified, reliable data on the location of Lusitanian cohort's stay. Lőrincz himself proposed the *Altinum* fortress as the base of this cohort prior to the wars with the Marcomanni and Sarmatians, i.e. during the seventh and eighth decades of the second century, while thereafter, during the reign of Commodus (after 180), its base may have been in *Alisca*. This would be the reason why the cohort's name was earlier found only in military diplomas. Based on the name of the deceased, Lőrincz also proposed a dating for the inscription to the end of the second century, although he also believed that after honorary discharge, *Marcus Aurelius Serenus* did not return home, but rather remained at the site at which he had served. Because of this, Lőrincz concluded that *cohors I Lusitanorum* was stationed in Ilok (*Cuccium*) since the reign of Commodus, which is what I attempted to show in my own contribution to this question.

<sup>24</sup> I would like to take this opportunity to thank I. Radman-Livaja for the useful suggestions, particularly tied to the literature on the operations of military units in the Danubian Basin. Thanks also go to S. Mihelić for the translation of the summarized text into English, which had to be adapted to the lecture hour of the seminar *Proagon – Conference in Honour of Erwin Pochmarski (Konferenz zu Ehren von Erwin Pochmarski)* held in Graz on 12–14 July 2008 (organized by the local Institut für Archäologie – Karl-Franzens-Universität to mark the 65<sup>th</sup> birthday of Erwin Pochmarski). Since I did not manage to complete the paper on the discovery of a Roman stela in the Zagreb vicinity, which I had planned to contribute to the proceedings dedicated to Pochmarski within the stipulated deadline, it is not included in that publication. Therefore, I am pleased to dedicate to him this paper on the Ilok inscription, the topic of my lecture at the aforementioned seminar in Graz.

## KRATICE / ABBREVIATIONS

CIL	<i>Corpus Inscriptionum Latinarum</i>
OPEL	<i>Onomasticon Provinciarum Europae Latinarum</i>

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