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Miroslava Mirković

# Sirmium

## Its History from the First Century AD to 582 AD

Sremska Mitrovica – Novi Sad
2017.

In memory of my brothers,
Srba, Jovan and Zoran.
M.

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# PREFACE

The study *Sirmium, Its History from the First Century AD to 562 AD* was first published in 1971, in volume I of the series *Sirmium,* the first of twelve volumes planed by Vladislav Popović as a publication of all results of historical and archaeological recearches of Roman Sirmium.

I started researching the history of Sirmium and working on the inscriptions from the territory of the town in the 1960s as a member of Miodrag Grbić's archaeological team. We have him to thank for beginning the systematic archaeological investigations of the Roman city in Sremska Mitrovica. A person of significant ability as a scholar, M. Grbić began his schooling in the classical gymnasium in Sremski Karlovci, where Latin was studied from the first day of school, and he finished his education with a PhD received under the famous scientist Lubor Niederle at Charles University in Prague. As a man, he was an altruist with a rare ability to unite scientists under a common goal. He was the first to gather young archaeologists for the research of Sirmium and established cooperation between the Institute for the protection of cultural monuments of Vojvodina and the Archaeological Institute in Belgrade and also helped in establishing cooperation with corresponding scientific institutions in France and the USA.

The publication of the results of the archaeological research in Sirmium is due to the efforts of V. Popović who succeeded M. Grbić as head of the team in Sremska Mitrovica. Of the twelve projected volumes, *Sirmium* I and II (1971), III (1973), VII (1977), VIII (1978), XI (1980) and XII (1980) were published. The early death of V. Popović, who planned these volumes and to a great extent accomplished the task, prevented the publication of the remaining volumes for which the material had already been prepared. He also had an excellent education – he studied and received a PhD at the Sorbonne in Paris. He was a renowned scholar with great organisational skills, which helped him to accomplish multiple cooperation in the research of Sirmium, with the university in Paris and the Smithsonian Institute in the USA, thus gathering a great number of students and archaeologists from across the former Yugoslavia and the world in the archaeological research of Sirmium.

I returned to the study of the history of Sirmium, writing a book in Serbian about this city during the time of antiquity, which was published in Sremska Mitrovica in 2006 in the series *The Treasure of Sirmium* (Blago Sirmijuma) edited by Vladimir Malbašić, who deserves credit for initiating this series. During the 35 years from 1971 to 2006, archaeological, historical and epigraphic research significantly improved our knowledge of Sirmium and contributed to a more complete picture of the Roman city. A great archaeological event was the discovery of the outpost of beneficiarii at the west gate of the town, with 84 altars with inscriptions, most of which are dated. This material has shed a new light on what we knew about the beneficiarii consularis and their function, and it has also increased our knowledge of the army in Sirmium and of the topography of the town. A second important discovery resulted from the excavation of the basilica of St. Irenaeus and the Christian necropolis around it.

I gladly accepted the proposal of the Faculty of Philosophy in Novi Sad to publish the history of the Roman city of Sirmium in Engish. In this way, the results of the recent archaeological and epigraphical research regarding this large urban centre of the Roman Empire would be made available both locally and to the English speaking scientific public. The present volume covers a period of about six centuries of the history of Sirmium, from the first to the sixth century. The first century as the opening date in my study marks the entry of the region on the lower Sava in the Roman world, which begins during Octavian's Illyrian wars. The terminal date, 582 AD is marked by the Avar conquest of the Roman city of Sirmium.

My reconstruction of the history of Sirmium is based on reading the ancient authors. The main source for the inner history of the Roman city, the city government and city inhabitants are the Latin and Greek inscriptions, collected in a corpus in the second part of this book. The first part, the history of Sirmium, is enlarged by a survey of the history of Christendom in Sirmium. In writing an outline of the history of the church in Sirmium, I followed the basic work on Christianity in the Danubian region by J. Zeiller, based on a close study of all available sources, church authors, the Acta Martyrum, and church historians from the fourth to the sixth centuries AD. In addition to the church historians and councils' acts, the events in the Christian church in Sirmium in the 4th century reflect the Christian inscriptions discovered in the two cemeteries on the northern edge of the town.

The second part of this book, containing all the inscriptions from Sirmium and its surroundings, also includes all the inscriptions discovered in Sirmium after 1971, as the most important 80 inscriptions of beneficiarii consularis as well as the Christian inscriptions. The present catalogue increases the previous collection of 90 inscriptions and contains 275 epigraphic texts. The inscriptions catalogue was not included in the book in Serbian.

The results of the archaeological research in Sirmium is briefly presented. Its public buildings, including horrea, a hippodrome, public baths and a large palace, as well as the not less important parts of the city walls and parts of the necropolis, streets and infrastructure were discovered in the archaeological research first conducted by M. Grbić and later by V. Popović in the 1960s and 1970s. That research enabled the reconstruction of the general city plan and its main communications.

The work on the book *Sirmium* in Serbian gave me an opportunity to include in the new text not only the results of archaeological investigations but also my own latest research, primarily on the inscriptions of beneficiarii in Sirmium, as well as on the inscriptions concerning staff in the headquarters of the Emperor Constantine. After 1971, I published the following papers on Sirmium: *Sirmium et l'armée romanine*, Arheološki vestnik (Ljubljana) 41 (Šašlov zbornik) 1990, 631-642; *Beneficiarii consularis and the new outpost in Sirmium,* Roman Frontier Studies 1989, Proceedings of the 15th International Congress of Roman Frontier Studies, ed. A. Maxfeld and M. J. Dobson, Exeter 1991, 252-256; *Beneficiarii consularis in Sirmium*, Chiron 24, 1994, 345-404; *Die christliche Kirche und das Christentum in den zentralillyrischen Provinzen im 4. und 6. Jahrhundert,* Late Roman and early Byzantine Cities on the Lower Danube, from the 4th to the 6th century AD, ed., Biernacki, Poznan 1997, 39-56; *The Staff of Imperial Administration in Sirmium in the first half of the fourth century,* Starinar XLIX, 1998, 93-101; *Sirmium in the Autonomous Towns of Noricum and Pannonia,* Pannonia II, ed. M. Šašel Kos, Ljubljana 2004, 145-156. Thus, the book in Serbian became much more extensive than my earlier study in English in 1971. Besides the inclusion of the results of the latest research, the book was also expanded with new chapters, Appendix 1: A sketch of the history of Christianity in Sirmium, and Appendix 2: Roads and milestones in Srem. The catalogue of inscriptions from Sirmium and the

vicinity, which is an integral part of the study in English from 1971, has significantly increased by of the discovery of the outpost of beneficiarii containing 85 inscribed altars.

I continued my epigraphic research of Sirmium after 2006 and also expanded the historical research. I then published the following papers:

- *Kontinuität und Diskontinuität bei der Entwicklung der Stadt Sirmium,* in O. Heinrich-Tamáska (hrsg.) Keszthely-Fenékpusta im Kontext spätantiker Kontinuitäts-forschung zwischen Noricum und Moesia, Budapest-Leipzig, 2011, 87-96.

- *Jedna karijera i dva portika u Sirmijumu*, Zbornik muzeja Srema 9, 1912, 25-28.

- *Miljokaz iz Sremskih Mihaljevaca i rimski put Sirmijum – Singidunum*, Zbornik muzeja Srema 9, 1912, 29-37.

- *The Roman Army and Roman Cities*, 1st International Roman and Late Antique Thrace Conference "Cities, Territories and Identities", Plovdiv, 7-10. October 2016.

Important for further research of Christianity in Sirmium is the fact that Christian inscriptions discovered around the basilica of St. Irenaeus became available for publication. This significantly increased the catalogue of inscriptions and gave me an opportunity to publish the paper *Christian necropolas and Christian inscriptions in Sirmium* [Hrišćanske nekropole i hrišćanski natpisi u Sirmijumu], Zbornik muzeja Srema 10, 2016, 59-95.

* * *

Even before the arrival of Romans, Sirmium was an important location on the road leading from Aquileia towards the lower Sava and its confluence with the Danube. In Roman times it had the status of a Roman colony, and it stood at an intersection of roads from Italy and towards the military camps on the Danube, and from the beginning of the 4th century Sirmium was one of the most important administrative centres of the Empire. This was also a centre of the military command for the region of Srem and the seat of the provincial governors in later Roman times. For a while it was even a city in which the praetorian prefecture for Illyricum resided. This was a place where Constantine minted golden coins, and there are also indications that he intended to move his capital here. Archaeological research reveals a picture of a highly developed urban centre. The infrastructure and public buildings were designed not only for emperors, but, as in other Roman towns, also served all citizens and contributed to the culture of life in it.

The significance of Sirmium was increased not only by the fact that the Roman emperors who waged wars on the Danube border in the period from the 1st to the 4th century or the emperors passing from the west to the east stayed there, with Constantine and later his son Constantius staying longer than other emperors in Sirmium with their staff. Its importance was also increased by the fact that Sirmium was an organised town with a high standard of living, with an aquaduct, paved streets, town villas and temples, a palace built for the emperors, sewage, public bathrooms and a hippodrome, used by everybody in the town. The new edition contains the notes in which not only the latest results of research are reported, but also includes older papers on Sirmium in order to indicate the history of research here.

The English translation by Mark Stefanovich in Sirmium I is included in the new edition with small changes. The additional parts, about the beneficiarii in Sirmium and about the public buildings, roads and Christendom in Sirmium, are translated by Biljana Radić-Bojanić. The English of the newly added chapters is edited by Christine Prickett. The map of Srem I owe to Dr. Vujadin Ivanišević. I would like to thank Nebojša Kartalija for preparing the tables with photographs of the monuments. Photographs of the ceramic and other materials from the Museum of Srem in Sremska Mitrovica I owe to Slobodan

Maksić, who made them for Sirmium in Serbian. To Jasmina Davidović I have to thank for her readeness to help me in making the photographs of the monuments in the Museum of Srem. I am indepted to Nada Simić Lemajić for assistance and help in printing. For the new edition of history of Sirmium, I owe gratitude to my young colleagues, professors at the Faculty of Philosophy Novi Sad, my former student Ivan Jordović and Svetozar Boškov, and to the publisher, the Faculty of Philosophy, University of Novi Sad.

Miroslava Mirković,
Belgrade, October 2017.

# INTRODUCTION

The history of Roman Sirmium spans a period of about six centuries. It begins with the first attempt of the Romans to gain a foothold in the lower course of the Sava River at the end of the 1st century BC, and closes with its conquest by the Avars in 582 AD. This event puts an end to the existance of Sirmium: the citizens were forcibly dispersed and, a year later, the city was destroyed by fire. Traces of the destroyed Roman settlement, ruins of public baths and palaces where the emperors lived during their temporary stay in the city, of the city ramparts and various monuments have remained under the new settlement Mitrovica which arose at the same place. In the course of ensuing centuries the remains of the Roman town were seen, and sometimes noted down, by warriors and travellers who took the old Imperial road on their way to the East, from Ansbert and Pigafetta to Marsilius. At the beginning of the 17th century, Count Luigi Ferdinand Marsilius, standing in front of the antique ruins of Mitrovica, said that they immediately brought to mind the thought that one of the largest Roman colonies had once flourished here: *Perlustranti locum istum subito persuasio uretur, unam ex maximis Romanorum coloniis olim hic floruit, adeo plena sunt omnia lapidum fragmentis, difractis passimque dispersis lateribus foveisque* ... etc. Today, the spot where Sirmium lay is occupied by the modern town of Sremska Mitrovica. Antique buildings, villae urbanae and the palast and parts of streets and ramparts can still be seen where archaeology has brought them to light. Undoubtedly, these remains, fragmentary as they are, bear witness to the fact that this city was at one time one of the biggest and most important in the northern part of the Balkan Peninsula.

The city had developed over many centuries. The circumstances under which the settlement of Sirmium sprang up are not sufficiently known, for its beginnings fall into a period for which we have small and often unreliable evidence. Sirmium was the first and, for many years, the only civic settlement in the district which was later to become the Roman province of Lower Pannonia (Pannonia Inferior). It did not evolve from one of those settlements existing alongside military camps as other towns on the frontiers did. It is doubtful if any larger military forces were ever stationed there. The first source of information refers to a civilian settlement which developed at the site of an Illyrian-Celtic village. The indigenous element was driven out at an early date and, during the Dalmato-Pannonian rebellion (6-9 AD), Sirmium was already a Roman stronghold. A *colonia* was founded during the reign of the Flavians, probably not on the place of *oppidum civium Romanorum*, but on some distance of it. Little is known of the city life in the first and 2nd centuriy. The rise of Sirmium begins in the second half of the 3rd century, at the time when the political situation necessitated the presence of the emperors at the threatened frontiers on the Rhine, Danube and Euphrates. Almost all the emperors, from the end of the 3rd to the end of the 4th centuries, spent some time in Sirmium whether en route to the East or waging war on the Danube. Triumphs over the barbarians were celebrated and emperors were crowned there.

The tradition of Sirmium as a center and imperial residence had its influence on the barbarians who also held it later on; some rulers of the Goths and Gepids had their capital there in the Later Empire.

From the military point of view, Sirmium was more important as a base in time of war than as a permanent headquarter of larger armed forces. As a permanent legion camp, Sirmium has not been attested by any source data. During the war campaigns against the barbarians on the other side of the Danube, Sirmium was above all a base for troop concentration, as a seat of the high command and of the emperor. It was probably from here that Domitian set out against the Germanic tribes in the Pannonian war. To Marcus Aurelius Sirmium served as the main base and headquarters in his war with the Quadi and Marcomanni. The emperors of the 4th century used Sirmium also as winter headquarters between campaigns. Along with the increase of danger on the Danube in the Late Roman Period, the military importance of Sirmium grew as well, although, even at this time, it quartered no military garrison of any strength. In the period subsequent to the Hun conquest, the frontier of the Empire gradually descended towards the Sava, and Sirmium, for a time, found itself on the boundary line between Byzantium and the barbarians. Civic life subsided and the city turned slowly into a frontier fort. The Hun occupation, though brief, left indenible traces on the history of Sirmium. After the withdrawal of the Huns, the town was left to various barbarian tribes that had settled in Pannonia. Owing to the military weaknesses of the Empire, the Romans strove to protect the area of today's Srem against conquest by making various accommodations with the barbarians. In the 6th century Sirmium, having undergone many ethnic and political changes, became a fort, the only one left to Byzantium north of the Sava River.

In the course of six centuries of its history, Sirmium was always in the center of events of the northern part of the Balkan Peninsula, first as a city and province capital, later as seat of the praetorian praefect and temporary residence of emperors, and finally as a frontier fort in the early Byzantine period. Its significance in the administrative and military system of the Empire is reflected in the Roman and Byzantine historiography. One finds Sirmium mentioned more often in the works of the Roman authors than are the other city centers in the Danubian provinces. Nevertheless, one knows little more about it than about other Pannonian towns, as the relevant data found in literary sources are quite meager in contents. There are few sources, especially in the 4th century, that could afford a relative abundance of information for the reconstruction of its political or economic history. Various chronicles and itineraries mention Sirmium, although extensive accounts of events are hardly to be expected. In the works of historians it is only incidentally mentioned, most often in connection with some battle that had taken place in its vicinity. For chroniclers Sirmium is a place where an emperor was born or assassinated; for itinerary writers just a stop-over on the road between the East and the West.

Chroniclers and epitomizers often rely on each other for information and consequently the same data keep reappearing in various writers with only negligible variations which makes reconstruction of the actual event even more difficult. Nevertheless, all this information together with the epigraphic material, which is particularly significant for the early history of Sirmium, and the archaeological information that it offers, enable us to trace the principal stages of the city's development, from the little known and, chronologically, tentatively established events of the Early Empire to the rather well determined forms of its latter day history. A marked hiatus is felt in our knowledge of the internal life of the city and its social conditions which we can only surmise on the basis of meager epigraphic information and archaelogical investigations.

In modern historiography Sirmium is mentioned in most works concerning the Late Roman Empire, but it is seldom the subject of specific treatment. Events that had taken place in its vicinity between the 3rd and the 6th centuries were of great importance for the Roman state, but their effect upon the history of Sirmium is largely unknown. Separate studies on Sirmium are few. One of the oldest works about it dates back to the 18th century.[1] Travel writers and archaeologists of the 16th and 17th centuries were more interested in the remaining ruins of antique buildings of Sirmium than in their history.[2] Earnest treatment of problems of the history of Sirmium, especially of the latter- day period, begins with Jireček's studies of the Balkan Peninsula.[3] To its scientific investigations significant contributions were added by K. Patsch, N. Vulić and F. Granić. K. Patsch, in addition to several observations made in his contribution to the history of south-eastern Europe, devoted a small paper to Sirmium and its inter-relations with northern Bosnia.[4] N. Vulić made a survey of the history of Sirmium from its beginnings to the Byzantine period, in which he included a survey of the church history as well as the political history.[5] F. Granić devoted several works to the administrative and church organization of Sirmium in the 5th and 6th centuries,[6] whereas F. Barišić treated Srem in the Byzantine period with emphasis on the tribes inhabiting it within the framework of his study of Singidunum in the Byzantine period.[7] He demonstrated to what extent the history of these two cities was intermingled during the Late Roman period. A brief survey of the history of Sirmium as well as commentaries on some archaeological finds were given by V. Hoffiller in a report presented at the Archaeological Congress in Berlin.[8] A. Alföldy discussed some aspects of the history of Sirmium and Srem in his book on the fall of the Roman governing in Pannonia.[9] Useful contributions to the studies of the history of Sirmium were also given by A. Graf, who dealt with the geography and topography of Pannonia,[10] also by G. Alföldy and A. Mócsy. G. Alföldy devoted a study to the military garrison in Pannonia at the end of the 1st century AD;[11] Sirmium took place in A. Mócsy's book about the Pannonia and Upper Moesia and also in his article Pannonia in RE Suppl.[12] Except for the latter works, the history of Sirmium in the 2nd and 3rd centuries has been neglected. The emphasis is usually on the study of its later history for which the data found in literary sources are more frequent and more substantial. The city's role and significance in later centuries is partially the consequence of its earlier development. In the subsequent pages the development of Sirmium should be considered as a whole from its beginnings, prior to the arrival of the Romans, to its capture by the Avars which marks the end of the Antique Period of its history.

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[1] L. Scóreny, Vindiciae Sirmienses, 1736. Sirmium is mentioned by G. Avanci da Farmo in his description of Srem, written on the occasion when this area was given in 1697 to the duke Livius Odeskalhi. On the value of this writing known as the Chronografia istorica del ducato e provincia del Sirmio.

[2] M. A. Pigafetta, Itinerario, Londra 1585 (see Starine JAZU XXII, 1890, 70 ff., ed. Matković); Marsigli 1726: 45.

[3] Jireček 1959a: 211 ff. (published in German in 1879); Jireček 1959b: 524 ff. (in German, 1897); Jireček 1901: 33 ff.

[4] Patsch 1929; idem 1932; idem 1937; idem 1924: 229 ff.

[5] Vulić 1929: 153 ff.; idem 1939: 61 ff.; idem 1934: 1 ff.

[6] Granić 1939: 91 ff.; idem 1933; For his other studies dealing with the ecclesiastical history of Sirmium, comp. note 216.

[7] Barišić 1955; Also comments of the early Byzantine texts in *Vizantijski izvori za istoriju naroda Jugoslavije* I, Beograd 1955, passim.

[8] Hoffiller 1939: 517 ff.

[9] Alföldi 1926.

[10] Graf 1936: 54 ff.

[11] Alföldy 1959: 122 ff.

[12] Mócsy 1962: 515 ff.; Mócsy 1974.

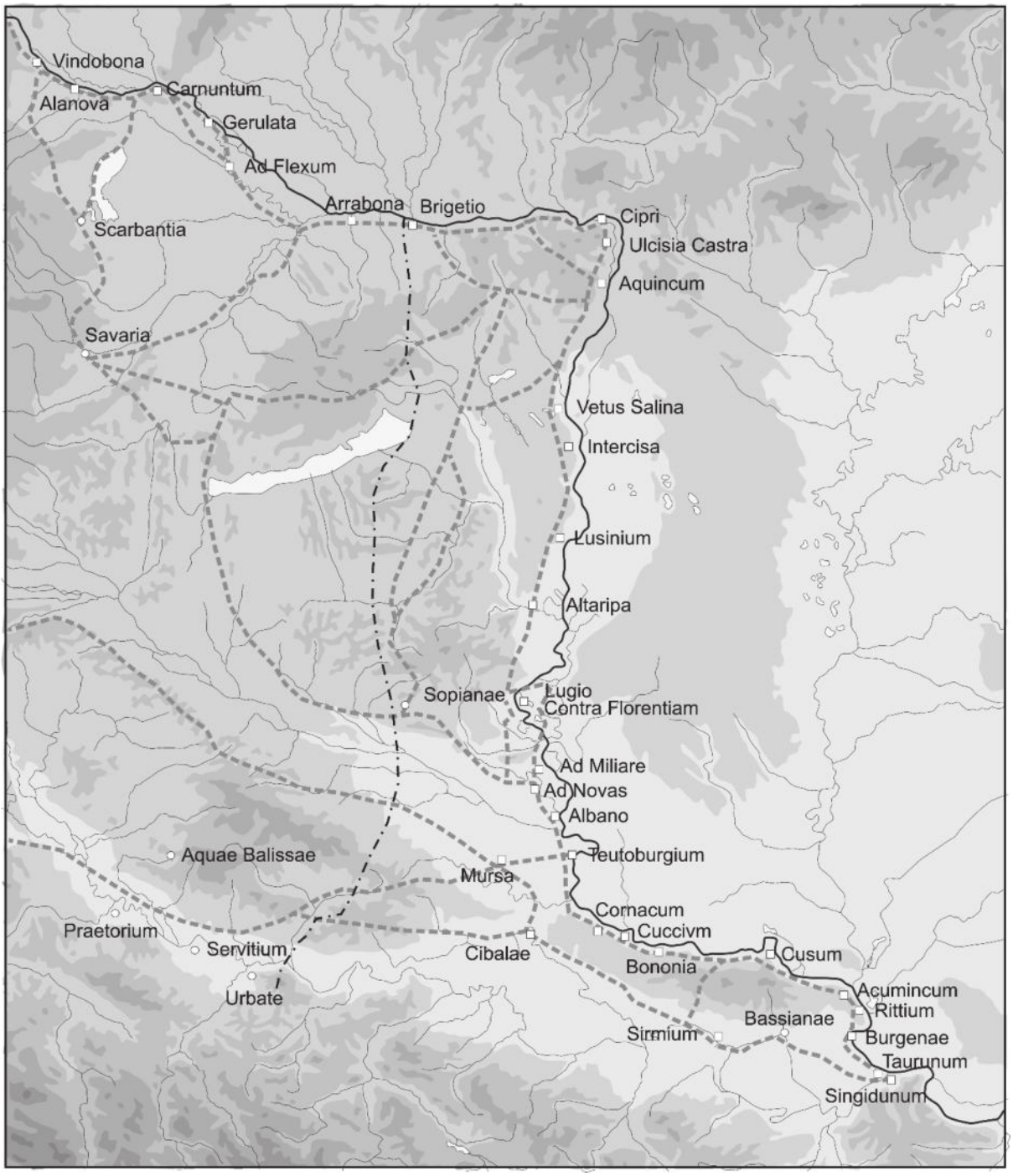


Fig. 1: Eastern part of the Pannonia Inferior

# I PRE-ROMAN SETTLEMENT

The place where Sirmium lays had been inhabited probably many centuries before the coming of the Romans. Traces of prehistoric settlements in the city territory, however, are very scant and unreliable. Prehistoric artifacts have been found, but usually by chance. Archaeological investigations, conducted in the 70s of the 20th century on a large scale, were focused primarily on determining the typical aspects of a Roman town. Depth soundings of Pre-Roman cultures have been carried out only on the Kalvarija hill.[13] The unearthed layers and finds indicate the existence of settlements with a long prehistoric past which, however, remains for the most part unknown. Information furnished by antique writers concerning this region reach back to the first half of the 4th century BC when the Celts, having penetrated into Pannonia, brought displacements and changes in the midst of the Illyrians. However, there are few authentic data, even for the period after the 4th century, and the ethnical picture of Sirmium remains largely spotty and obscure.

Before Romans conquest the territories on the north of the Balkan Peninsula had been inhabited by large tribal communities who lived scattered in villages. In the 3rd and 2nd centuries BC, the Celts held sway over a considerable part of Pannonia.[14] Taurisci lived on one side of the mountain Claudius, Scordisci on the other. Strabo's statement, that the Celtic tribe Scordisci held the region extending from Segestica (Siscia) on the Sava river to the confluence of the Morava and the Danube and further on to the east, probably refers to this period.[15] Sirmium was presumably one of the strongholds in their territory.

Undoubtedly, the coming of the Celts did not result in the extermination of the Illyrians. Masses of Illyrians continued to live in the old villages, probably even in collaboration with the Celts.

Celtic traces have been brought to light in several places of today's Srem. Some of the sites most thoroughly explored, among them the hill Gomolava near the village Jarak east of Sirmium, contain along others, La Tène layers with the characteristics of Celtic material culture.[16] La Tène material was found accidentally in Sirmium. Some tombs, unearthed by the end of the 20th century in the course of

[13] On prehistoric finds: Brunšmid 1902: 93 ff.; Jankulov 1940: 235 ff.; Mirosavljević 1951: 105 ff.; D. and M. Garašanin, Nalazišta, 99 ff.; Garašanin 1957: 81 ff. On the results of investigations performed at the place called Kalvarija in Sremska Mitrovica: Popović 1963: 63-72.

[14] For the Celts in the Balkan Peninsula, comp. Premerstein 1898: 147; Fluss 1921: 832; Vulić 1926: 73 ff.; Patsch 1932: 84; Gavela 1952; Garašanin 1957: 92 ff. and Festschr. Bosch-Gimpera, 1963: 173; Papazoglu 1957: 316; idem 1978: 271-355; Mócsy 1962 : 527; Alföldi 1964 : 107 ff.

[15] Strab. VII 318.

[16] On the excavations at Gomolava: Rašajski 1954: 187 ff.; Nađ 1960: 112 ff.; Girić 1960: 130 ff.; Girić 1965: 16 ff.; Girić 1966: 12 ff.; Girić 1967: 45 ff.; Jovanović 1988.

construction work, contained Celtic La Tène material.[17] La Tène culture layer which have been discovered in the recent excavations on the place near the Palace could be connected with the Celts in this region.[18] Celtic swords found on the territory of Sirmium originate from the armories of the riparian Danube regions which were active in the 2nd century BC.[19] However, the discovery of Celtic arms on a site does not necessarily establish the fact that the Celts inhabited the place, for the Illyrians themselves adopted Celtic armament.[20]

Evidence in the historical and geographic works relative to the part of Pannonia where Sirmium is located, concerns the period not earlier than the 1st and 2nd centuries AD. Data show a changed ethnical situation. The most important change that had taken place, in the meantime, was the decline and withdrawal of the Celts from the Sava. As a result of their struggle against other tribes and, later on, against the Romans, too, the Celts disappeared as a political factor and organized community from the northern part of the latter-day Roman province of Upper Moesia in the course of the 1st century BC.[21] According to Appianus, Illyriké 3, the Scordisci were forced to withdraw to the Danube and the islands after the defeat they suffer from the Romans under the command of Cornelius Scipio Asiagenus in 88 BC. They returned back later and established themselves on the borders of Pannonia. In Pannonia they were gradually assimilated by the Illyrians or kept shifting towards the marginal limits of the Illyrian world. Pliny, whose sources partially originate from the Augustan era, assigns the Celtic tribes Scordisci and Taurisci to either side of the Claudius Mountain – whose exact location is not, however, firmly established – while filling up mid-Pannonia with Illyric tribes.[22] Ancient authors of a later period, Ptolemaeus and Appianus, also place the Scordisci at the extreme limits of Pannonia, up the Danube.[23] Their existence in this region, near the present-day Slankamen, as a peregrin community in the 2nd century AD is further corroborated by epigraphic evidence.[24]



Fig. 2: Coins struck by Celts

[17] Szombathy 1890: 10; Brunšmid 1902: 93; to the La Tène finds belongs a sword preserved in the Museum of Srem in Sremska Mitrovica.

[18] Information by J. Davidović, custos in the Musej Srema in Sremska Mitrovica.

[19] Vinski-Gasparini 1959: 284 ff., with comparisions from the whole district of Srem.

[20] Speaking of the Japodi, Strabo says that they are a Celtic-Illyrian tribe (VII 314), adding that they are an Illyrian tribe with Celtic weapons (VII 315).

[21] For the chronology of these events: Zippel 1877: 178; Premerstein 1898: 147; Vulić 1907: 26. See about this event and its dating Papazoglou 1978: 314 ff.

[22] Plin. n.h. IIII 149: *Mons Claudius cuius in fronte Scordisci in tergo Taurisci.* Comp. Mócsy 1962: 530.

[23] App. Ill. 3; Ptol. II 15.

[24] Mócsy 1959: 78; A. and J. Šašel, ILJ No. 280: *T. Flavius Proculu[s] pr(inceps) praef(ectus) Scor(discorum) ann(orum) XXXXI h(ic) s(itus) e(st). T Fl(avius) Dulcis pater [fili]o suo Pientissimo fecit.*

From the beginning of the 1st century BC, the region of Sirmium was probably again Illyrian. Pliny links Sirmium with the Illyrian Amantini: *Alter amnis Bacuntius in Saum Sirmio oppido influit, ubi civitas Sirmiensium et Amantinorum.*[25]

The text of Pliny raises the question of relationship between the Sirmians, mentioned therein but a single time, and the Amantini, who make up one peregrine *civitas*. The vagueness of the geographical position of the Amantini in Pliny' survey of ethnographic situation in Pannonia makes the solution of this problem more difficult. He mentions them within a group of tribes that were settled in the greater riparian area up the Sava River: *Saus per Colapianos Breucosque – populorum haec capita – praeterea Arviates, Azali, Amantini, Belgites* ... etc.[26] The tribes are cited in alphabetical order and, from this enumerative account, it is not possible to draw any definite conclusions as to their respective locations. Other primary data concerning the Amantini cannot always be reconciled. Festus, for example, mentions the Amantini as a tribe living between the Drava and the Sava Rivers. According to him, they rose in revolt under their leader Baton in the year 6 AD. Only after the suppression of the uprising was the region of the latter-day Savia annexed to the Roman Empire.[27] In other sources the Pannonian tribe that jointed Baton is called Breuci.[28] Festus apparently assigns the Amantini to the region west of Sirmium. An inscription from Bassiana, on the other hand, point out that the Amantini were situated east of Sirmium, in the proximity of today's Ruma. It mentions a boy hostage from the Amantini tribe who drowned in the Sava River at Emona.[29] It would be logical to conclude that this cenotaph originated in the homeland of the deceased. This, in turn, would mean that the Amantini tribe, from which the boy descended, extended over eastern Srem as well.

The quoted evidence refers to the Amantini settled in the parts of Pannonia alongside the Sava River. Ptolemaeus, however, stands in direct contradiction to the above quoted evidence. According to him, Amantini inhabited the northern part of the province of Lower Pannonia, above Breuci, Andizetae and Hercuniates.[30] This information cannot be reconciled to the rest of the evidence regarding the Amantini. Two possible explanations of this difficulty may be offered: either to assume that Ptolemaeus erred or that the Amantini tribe shifted northward in the meantime. The drawback of the latter hypothesis lies in the fact that Pliny, removed from Ptolemaeus by only a few decades, places the Amantini along the Sava River. It remains, therefore, a more plausible conjecture that Ptolemaeus made a mistake in situating this tribe.

The Bassiana inscription and Festus' information on the Amantini raise the question as to whether the Amantini ought to be looked for to the east or to the west of Sirmium. The discrepancy is due, most likely, to the inaccuracy of Festus. He speaks of the Amantini living at the place where one would expect to find the Breuci. It is conceivable that he had substituted one of these two neighboring tribes for the other. His statement, that the Amantini rose in rebellion against the Romans in the year 6 could be

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[25] Plin. n.h. III 148. On the Illyrian origins of the Amantini, comp. Tomaschek 1894: 1725; Budimir 1929: 165; Mayer 1957: 42; Mócsy 1959: 76.

[26] Plin. n.h. III 148.

[27] Festi Brev. 7: *Batone Pannoniorum rege subacto in dicionem nostram Pannoniae venerunt; Amantinis inter Saum et Drauum prostratis regio Saviensis ac Secundorum loca Pannoniorum, obtenta sunt.*

[28] Dio Cass. LV 29; Vell. Pat. II 11.

[29] CIL III 3224.

[30] Ptol. II 15, 2: *Κατέχουσι δὲ ταύτην τὴν ἐπαρχίαν ἐν μὲν τοῖς δισμικοῖς μέρεσιν Ἀμαντινοὶ ἀρκτικώτεροι, ὑφ' οὕς Ἑρκουνιάτες εἶτα Ἀνδίξητες εἶτα Βρεῦκοι.*

explained by the fact that the name Amantini comprised, at one time, all the tribes on the lower course of the Sava River. In that case, the Breuci would be but one of the Amantini tribes. In Roman times when the peregrine communities were organized, the western group entered the community of the Breuci whereas the eastern group joined the *civitas Amantinorum* to which were also added the Sirmienses. The Sirmienses were probably the population around the Sirmium fort which in the pre-Roman period did not make up a separate tribal formation but belonged to the tribe of the Amantini.[31]

The most important information concern the *civitas*, the peregrine community of the Amantini and the Sirmienses which comprised probably the larger part of central Srem. The narrow belt up the Danube, from the Moesian-Pannonian border at the mouth of the Sava in the north to the bend of the Danube, probably belonged to the *civitas* of Scordisci.[32]



[31] Claudii Ptolemaei Geogr. 298 considers however that the Amantini are to be looked for in the north, where itineraries mention the stations Annamantia, Anamatia or Adnamantia. Mócsy 1959: 76, rejects Ptolemaeus'evidence as inexact.

[32] Comp. the inscription from Slankamen, note 24.

# II ROMAN CONQUEST

There is no direct evidence about the Roman wars in the Sirmian region and the conquest of the tribes of Scordisci, Amantini and Breuci. However, there is ground to believe that the Pannonian tribes at the lower course of the River Sava were conquered by the Romans in the second half of the 1st century BC. The first known military campaign against Pannonian tribes on the Sava River was undertaken by Octavian in 35-33 BC. Subsequently, there were additional actions against the Pannonians in which the command was trusted to Tiberius, the future emperor, as the Augustus legatus, so that it is possible to speak of two or three stages of conquest.

Appian and Cassius Dio agree that Octavian subdued the Pannonians or part of them during the war conducted by him during 35-33 BC. Appian considers as Pannonians all the tribes from the Japodi in the west to the Dardani in the east, and his conclusion, made at the end of his Illyrian Book, that the Pannonians were conquered by Augustus, could be taken as an indication that he had in mind the region extending from the frontier of Italy to the Danube.[33] His account was focused on the capture of Segeste (Siscia).[34] The account of Dio's of the war of 35-33 does not contradict Appian's narrative. According to him, after the war with the Japodi, Octavian turned against the Pannonians inhabiting the territories further up the Danube, from Noricum to Moesia. Having conquered Siscia, he subdued the rest of the Pannonian tribes.[35] This lends credence to the hypothesis that Sirmium was also conquered by the Romans during the war of 35-33 BC. However, certain inaccuracies in the accounts of Appian and Dio Cassius raise some doubts among some modern historians as to the allegations that all the Pannonian tribes were conquered on this occasion. Moreover, the sources mention subsequent wars in Pannonia. In modern historiography, there are two theories concerning the conquest of the Pannonian tribes in the lower course of the Sava: according to one, Octavian or Roman forces commanded by his generals, reached the mouth of the Sava river during the war of 35-33. That would indicate that Sirmium was also taken at that time.[36] According to the other, the conquest of the tribes east of Siscia followed later, during Tiberius' wars in Pannonia in 13-9 BC.[37]

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[33] App. Illyr. 28 and 29.

[34] App. Illyr. 22-24. Details about Octavian's war on the lower Save River see Šašel-Kos 2005: 437 ff.

[35] Cass. Dio XLIX 36.

[36] Zippel, op. cit. 231; Vulić, who approached several times the problems of Octavian's Illyrian war, tried to prove that on this occasion tribes from inner Dalmatia, or today's Bosnia, were also forced into submission. In other words, this would mean that the Save valley was occupied too. Comp. Vulić 1903: 489 ff.; Vulić 1907: 39 ff.; Vulić, La guerre d'Octave en Illyrie 35-33 av. Chr., L'Acropole VII, 1932, 115 and VIII, 1933; Vulić 1934: 164; and the last lime in an article published after his death in Vulić 1961: 77 ff. Comp. also Swoboda 1932: 20, 30, 37 and passim, who concludes that the Save valley was conquered on this occasion, with the aim to prevent communication between Antonius and Italy in the forthcoming war. This opinion was accepted by Miltner 1937: 200 ff.; Patsch 1932: 61; Dobias 1929; Josifović 1956: 140 ff.; Mócsy 1959: 127.

[37] Kromayer 1898: 1 ff.; Veith 1914: 105 ff.; Syme 1937: 33 ff.; the same, in his critic of E. Swoboda, Octavianus und Illyricum, JRS 23, 1933, 68 ff.; Schmitthenner 1958: 212-217.

The first viewpoint (E. Swoboda, N. Vulić, K. Patsch and others) relies on the information of Appian and Dio Cassius referred to above. In its support, a sentence from Octavian's speech to his troops before the battle of Actium is quoted. According to Cassius Dio, Octavian, exhorting his soldiers to courage, said that defeat would be unworthy of the conquerors of the Gauls and the Pannonians extending the Roman frontiers to the Danube.[38]

R. Syme pointed out several circumstances against such an interpretation of the evidence: if the Romans had penetrated on that occasion into the lower course of the Sava, they must have clashed with the Breuci. Yet, Appian makes no mention of this tribe. It is scarcely possible that this circumstance was accidentally omitted, for Appian records all, even less known tribes.[39] If he does not mention them, it means that the Romans never reached further beyond Siscia in 35-33. "Other Pannonians" mentioned by Dio must have been tribes from the vicinity of Siscia who had come to help in the fight against the Romans when they laid siege to the fort.[40] In his *Res gestae,* Augustus himself attributes the victory over the Pannonians to his step-son Tiberius.[41]

The war of Tiberius with the Pannonians is mentioned by Suetonius. [42] He speaks of Tiberius' victories over the Breuci and Dalmatae, but that does not necessarily mean that there had not been prior wars with them. This does not, therefore, preclude the possibility that Octavian's forces did penetrate in 35-33 into the area along the Sava River up to its confluence with the Danube. As regards fighting after the conquest of Siscia, there are few known details because Octavian did not personally conduct military campaigns. Consequently, both Appian and Dio, largely depending for their information on the memoirs of Augustus, were not familiar with individual tribes east of Siscia. Nevertheless, there are still some elements in their accounts which would indicate that the Pannonian tribes in the lower course of the Sava River had come in contact with the Romans before. Already during the siege of Siscia, the Romans had come in contact with tribes living on the Danube. From them they obtained boats with which they sailed down the Danube and then up the Sava all the way to the Kupa River. It is recorded by some authors that Octavian's intention was to utilize Siscia as a military base for a planed war against the Dacians and Bastarnae.[43] Regardless of how serious his intention was for such an undertaking war with the Dacians could not be considered before the Romans reached the Danube. Between Siscia and the Dacians, numerous Pannonian tribes were situated who had first to be either subdued or won over.

The quoted evidence does not mention any single tribes on the east of Segeste and Segestani, but data about Pannonians who were ready to subdue themselves to the Romans after the fall of Segeste and the Augustus' wording in his *Res gestae*, that the Roman army reached the Danube make plausible the hypothesis that Pannonians on the lower Save have been brought under the Roman authority in his Illyrian war 35-33 BC. The penetration of Roman troops into the regions of the lower Sava however

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[38] Cass. Dio L. 24, 4: *ἀνάξιον δὲ καὶ ἡμῶν αὐτῶν τῶν τοὺς Γαλάτας κατεστραμμένων, τῶν τοὺς Παννονίους κεχειρωμένων, τῶν μέχρι τοῦ Ἴστρου προκεχωρηκότων* etc.

[39] Syme 1937: 33-46.

[40] Dio Cass. XLIX 37, 6: *καὶ οὕτως ἁλόντων ἐκείνων καὶ τὸ ἄλλο Παννονικὸν ὁμολογίᾳ προσηγάγετο*.

[41] Res gestae divi Augusti c. 30: *Pannoniorum gentes quas ante me principem populi Romani exercitus nunquam adit, devictas per Ti. Neronem, qui tunc erat privignus et legatus meus, imperio populi Romani subieci protulique fines Illyrici ad ripam fluminis Danubii*.

[42] Svet. Tib. 9: *Pannonico (sc. bello) ... Breucos et Dalmatas subegit*. This information is used by Schmitthenner, op. cit. 212, as one of the decisive proofs showing that Octavian in the war of 35-33 B.C. did not go further east than Siscia.

[43] App. Illyr.22 and 23.

did not signify permanent subjugation of the tribes living there. Octavian's Illyrian war may be considered as only the first stage of the warfare in eastern Pannonia.

Two decades later, Tiberius waged war upon Pannonians. Little is known about it. At first, it was conducted by P. Vinicius and M. Agrippa, and finished by Tiberius in his capacity as Augustus' legate.[45] As is confirmed by Suetonius, Tiberius fought against the Breuci.[44] His campaigns can be circumscribed to eastern Pannonia and, according to some information in Dio, Roman allies in subjugating the Pannonians in this war were the Scordisci.[45] At that time, they were settling the furthermost parts of southeastern Pannonia and may have aided the Romans in subduing the eastern Pannonian tribes. Tiberius' military activities probably brought about the imposition of Roman authority in all Pannonia.

## Rebellion against the Romans 6 to 9 AD

The last spark of resistance against the Romans was the rebellion of Pannonian and Dalmatian tribes in the years 6-9 AD. Festus, presumably insufficiently informed of the earlier wars in Pannonia, linked the establishment of Roman authority there to this event, which produced by its scale and duration a deep impression on its contemporaries.[46]

The rebellion broke out in the year 6 AD. Tribes in Pannonia and Dalmatia, dissatisfied with the Roman policy of tax assessment and directly provoked by the recruitment of local population for the war against German king Maroboduus, rose in revolt. During the initial years of the uprising, Sirmium played an important role as a Roman stronghold. Led by Baton of the Breuci tribe, one of the first moves made by the revolting Pannonians was to invest Sirmium and the Romans fortified there. In the territory of the later province of Lower Pannonia, military forces of any importance did not exist at the time. It may be inferred that minor military forces were stationed there. Legions had not yet been stationed in Pannonia but there were some vexillationes that, according to a report by Velleius Paterculus, were dispersed over the Pannonian territories.[47] To the aid of the beleaguered Romans came Aulus Caecina Severus from neighboring Moesia. Sirmium stood fast until the relief arrived. The insurgents gave way only when the troops from Moesia arrived. Thereafter, they were defeated on the Drava River.[48]

In the meantime, the Dalmatae, under their leader bearing the same name Baton, set out for Pannonia after their unsuccessful siege of Salona and futile attempts to penetrate into Italy, with the

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[44] Suet. Tib. 9; Veil. Pat. II 96; Cass. Dio LIV 28; Flor. II 24; Zippel, op. cit. 297 ff.; Patsch 1932: 96 ff.

[45] Dio Cass. LIV 31, 3: *καί σφας ὁ Τιβέριος, πολλὰ μὲν τῆς χώρας πορθήσας πολλὰ δὲ καὶ τοὺς ἀνθρώπους κακώσας, ἐχειρώσατο, τοῖς Σκορδίσκοις, ὁμόροις τε αὐτῶν καὶ ὁμοσκεύοις οὖσι, συμμάχοις ὅτι μάλιστα χρησάμενος.*

[46] Fest. Brev. 7; Suet. Tib. 16; *gravissimum omnium externorum bellorum post Punnica.*

[47] Veil. Pat. Il 110, 6: *magnus vexillariorum numerus ad internecionem ea in regione, quae plurimum ab imperatore aberat, caesus.* R. Saxer, Epigraphische Studien I, 1967, 5, n. 1, thinks that legionary detachments are in question.

[48] Cass. Dio LV 29, 3: *καὶ μετὰ τοῦτο καὶ Βρεῦκοι Παννονικὸν ἔθνος, Βάτωνα καὶ αὐτοὶ ἕτερον προστησάμενοι, ἐπί τε τὸ Σίρμιον καὶ ἐπὶ τοὺς ἐν αὐτῷ Ῥωμαίους ὥρμησαν. καὶ ἐκεῖνο μὲν οὐκ ἐξεῖλον ᾽αἰσθόμενος γὰρ τῆς ἐπαναστάσεως αὐτῶν Καικίνας Σεουῆρος ὁ τῆς πλησιοχώρου Μυσίας ἄρχων ἐπῆλθέ τε αὐτοῖς διὰ ταχέων περὶ τὸν Δράουον ποταμὸν οὖσι καὶ συμβαλὼν ἐνίκησεν᾽, ἀναμαχέσεσθαι δέ πῃ διὰ βραχέος, ἐπειδὴ καὶ τῶν Ῥωμαίων συχνοὶ ἐπεπτώκεσαν, ἐλπίσαντες πρὸς παράκλησιν συμμάχων ἐτράποντο.*

purpose of joining with the insurgent Pannonians and, with united forces, to capture Sirmium. In order to accomplish this more easily, the two Batons first captured the mountain Alma Mons situated not far from the city.

The avant-guarde that was sent by Caecina Severus under the command of the Thracian client-king Rhoemetalces defeated the rebels in a brief encounter. The struggle of the main insurgent forces against Caecina Severus was hard and terminated without decisive results. Soon thereafter, Caecina Severus was compelled to withdraw his forces to Moesia which was under attack by tribes from the left bank of the Danube, Dacians and Sarmatians. The fighting with the Pannonians was continued by Tiberius who had arrived meantime from the west.[49]

In the following year both Batons withdrew to the Volcaean Marches in present-day Slavonia.[50] There they were defeated by the Romans. After that, the Romans deployed their forces over Pannonia with the intention of annihilating the insurgents. A year later, exhausted by famine, the rebels surrendered at the Bathinus River. This river should be located, presumably, in the vicinity of the places over which they fought, that is, in south-eastern Pannonia.[51] Thereafter, the fighting continued in Dalmatia.

It is curious that Sirmium appears in this struggle as a Roman and not an insurgent stronghold. Probably the number of Roman and Italic settlers in Sirmium was already quite large at that time. When Velleius Paterculus states that the Latin language and culture were known and diffused at the beginning of the rebellion,[52] he presumably had in mind such centers as Sirmium. The agrarian region of Pannonia was rather poorly romanized even much later. It was primarily traders who came as settlers. They are mentioned by Velleius Paterculus among those who had suffered at the hands of the insurgents: *opressi cives Romani, trucidati negotiatores* ... etc.[53]

With the extinction of the revolt of the Pannonian tribes, the Romans consolidated their hold on Pannonia. If Octavian's war is considered as the starting phase of Roman penetration, the war of Tiberius would be the terminating stage of the Roman conquest. The suppression of the Dalmato-Pannonian uprising marks the end of resistance of the free tribes.

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[49] Main bibliography: Abraham 1875: 11 ff.; Gardhausen 1896: 780; Rau 1924: 321 ff.; Vulić 1911: 200 ff. and Vulić 1926: 55 ff.; Koestermann 1953: 345 ff.; Pašalić 1956: 297 ff.; Šašel 1953: 263 ff.; Patsch 1932: 110.

[50] Cass. Dio LV 32, 3. The Volcaean Marshes are usually located near the modern town of Vinkovci: Brunšmid 1900: 21; Vulić 1911: 238. However, it remains uncertain if they were north of Vinkovci, in the swamps of the river Vuka, whose name corresponds to the ancient Ulca (C. Goos, Arch, des Vereins für siebenbürgische Landeskunde N. F. XIII, 452), or south of it, near the river Bosut. Comp. B. Saria, RE zw. R. IX, 1961, 541.

[51] Veli. Pat. II 114. 4: *Ferocem illam tot milium iuventutem paulo ante servitutem minatam Italiae, conferentem arma, quibus usa erat apud flumen nomine Bathinum prosternantemque se universam* ... etc. The location of the river Bathinus is uncertain. According to some, it could be Bednja in the Croatian Zagorje (Gros, op. cit. 453; Mayer 1957: 79), Bosut (Cons 1882: 153) or Bosna (Saria 1930: 92; idem, Šišićev zbornik 1929: 137). Budimir 1959: 57 ff. considers that Saria's identification of Bathinus with the river named by Plin. n.h. Ill 148 as Bacuntius, and connected this with the name of today's Bosna, is correct and phonetically fully justified. Pašalić 1956: 297 leaves the question open. Abramić 1929: 147 and Saria, Klio 25, 279, both think that the river Bathinus is confirmed by the inscription CIL III 3201 = 10159.

[52] Vell. Pat. II 110.

[53] Vell. Pat. l.c.

# III *CIVITAS SIRMIENSIUM ET AMANTINORUM*

By its geographical position, Sirmium does not stand out from among the other settlements on the Sava River. It lies on the low sandy bank of the river which rises to a small hill at the present-day Kalvarija. Sirmium acquired its importance only within the network of Roman roads and communications. Through the valley of the Sava River ran the communications between Italy and the Balkan countries. Strabo emphasizes the position of Sirmium on the road to Italy: *ὁδὸς δ' ἀπὸ Τεργέστε ἐπὶ τὸν Δανούιον σταδίων ὅσον χιλίων καὶ διακοσίων. Ἐγγὺς δὲ τῆς Σεγεστικῆς ἐστι καὶ ἡ Σισκία φρούριον καὶ Σίρμιον ἐν ὁδῷ κείμεναι τῇ εἰς Ἰταλίαν* – The road from Tergeste to the Danubius is about one thousand two hundred stadia. Near Segestica and on the road to Italy, are situated both, Siscia and Sirmium.[54]

Engaged early in commercial traffic, probably prior to the Romain conquest of the Sava valley, Sirmium had already developed into an important communication crossroad during the first centuries of Roman rule. At this point the road from Italy branched off into several directions: to the east, it continued toward the mouth of the Danube and further on to Nicomedia; in the north, the road led to Aquincum, the largest military post in Lower Pannonia. Sirmium was connected by road via Bononia to the bank of the Danube. This road is not recorded in any itineraries.[55] From Bononia the road forked off in one direction towards Aquincum and in the other towards Mursa. *Tabula Peuting*. seg. VII, gives four directions leading from Sirmium: one along the Sava towards Italy; the second was leading to Mursa, on the west, and to Aquincum, on the other side; the third followed the direction to the east, towards Moesia and the Black Sea; the fourth was crossing todays Bosnia, towards Salona. The same roads are to be found in the Itin. Ant. 124, 231 and 259. Itin. Hieros. 562-62 mentions Sirmium only as a station on the road to the east.

Sirmium acquired city status under the emperors of Flavian dynastie. Up to the 80s of the 1st century, it was the center of the peregrine community (*civitas*) of the Sirmienses and Amantini. If Pliny meant by Sirmienses Pannonians from greater Sirmium, and by Amantini a part of the earlier tribe, then *Civitas Sirmiensium et Amantinorum*, mentioned by Pliny must have covered a large part of present-day Srem. Amantini probably made up the eastern part of the peregrine community with Sirmium as its centre, whereas the Sirmienses lived in the surroundings of the same centre. It is hardly possible to establish precisely the boundaries of the *civitas.* Extent of their western boundary is not known precisely. Probably the confluence of the Bosna and Sava rivers represented their border with other communities. This could be inferred indirectly. Pliny records that the Bacuntius river flows into

[54] Strab. VII 5, 2. Eng. translation by Horace Leonard Jones, Loeb class. Library, 1967.

[55] Mentionned by Amm. Marc. XX 9, 5. According to him, the length of the road from Sirmium to Bononia was 19 miles. Remains of the road were found near the actual village of Manđelos.

the Sava near Sirmium: *alter amnis Bacuntius in Saum Sirmio oppido influit, ubi civitas Sirmiensium et Amantinorum (n. h.* III 148). The Bacuntius river is today identified with both the Bosut and Bosna rivers. The Bosut flows into the Sava on the left bank, 20 km west of Sirmium. The discrepancy of 20 km between the actual site of Sirmium and the mouth of this river is explained by the shifting of the river bed on the sandy terrain.[56] Shifting of river beds is quite plausible even within a shorter period of time than that which separates antiquity from our age. Nevertheless, the identifying of the Bacuntius with the Bosut cannot be accepted firstly because it is hardly possible that the river changed its course 20 km and secondly, because the Bosut is a northern tributary of the Sava whereas the Bacuntius is cited among the southern tributaries. It seems that this point is particularly stressed in Pliny: *praeterea amnes memorandi Colapis in Saum influens iuxta Sisciam (gemino alveo insulam ibi efficit quae Segestica appellatur); alter amnis Bacuntius in Saum Sirmio oppido influit*... etc.; *supra influit Valdosus, Urpanus et ipsi non ignobiles.* It can be clearly seen from the quoted text that the Bacuntius together with the Colapis (Kupa) are southern tributaries of the Sava, whereas the Valdosus and the Urpanus are northern ones.[57] Consequently, it would seem more plausible to identify this river with the present Bosna. M. Budimir assumed that the name Bosna evolved from an inflection of Basuntius as the name was rendered in Greek. From the Greek inflection, *sigma lunatum* was erroneously transcribed as C. Bosna would evolve from the inflections Basantus or Basuntus which the Slavs found on their arrival.[58] Near the mouth of the Bosna there used to be a post Ad Bassante about 71 miles away, according to some itineraries.[59] The distance to this point is even greater than to the mouth of the Bosut and, therefore, the conjecture about the shifting of the river bed must be rejected. The Tabula Peut. Seg. VII notes a distance of 71 miles between Sirmium and the station *Ad Bassante*. This could be hardly explained by changes in the fluvial bed. The difficulty of linking Sirmium with the mouth of the Bosna could be surmounted only if one assumes that Pliny did not have in mind *oppidum* but *civitas Sirmiensium et Amantinorum*. As a large community, it could have extended up to the Bosna in the west. If this be correct, then the mouth of the Bosna River could be taken as the western boundary of this community.

There is another possibility to explain the discrepancy between the data of Sirmium on the mouth of Bacuntius and the real position of the city: the tribal center (*oppidum*) Sirmium was not necessarily to be searched on the same place as the Roman colonia. The former could be on a hill, like Gomolava.

Outside of *civitas Sirmiensium et Amantinorum* boundaries remained the Scordisci in the east, organized into a separate *civitas* and the Segestani on the west. Towards the Danube, the Sirmium peregrine community was probably comprised of a Celtic-Illyrian tribe of the Cornacates, settled around today's Sotin. They are mentioned by Pliny but overlooked by Ptolemaeus because they did not exist any longer as a tribal unit in his time. He only knew of the fortification Cornacon.[60] Today it is believed that the territory of the Cornacates extended south to the Sava because in the present town of Bijela Crkva there was discovered a military diploma dating back to 54 AD, issued to a Cornacate with an Illyrian name *Dases Dasmeni f(ilius)*. On the basis of this find, the territory of the tribe extended deep into the south.[61]

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[56] Mayer 1957: 78.
[57] Plin. n.h. Ill 149.
[58] Budimir 1959: 63.
[59] Tabula VII: Ad Basante XX - Saldis XXII - Drinum XVIII - Sirmium = 71 miles.
[60] Ptol. II 15, 2.
[61] CIL XVI 2. Comp. Mócsy 1959: 76.

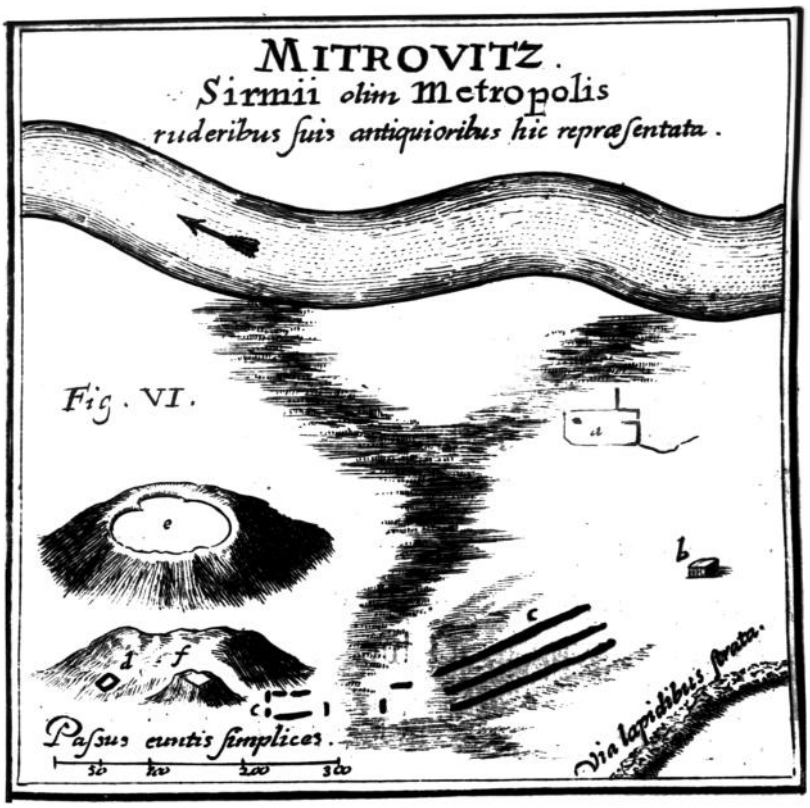


Fig 3: The region of Sirmium (Marsigli, Danubius II).

The discovery of the military diploma does not necessarily mean in itself, that the tribe extended up to the place in which it was found. Military diplomas were easily moved from place to place; on the other hand, it may have been a case of a member of the Cornacates tribe who, after his military service, settled outside of the territory of his tribe. In any event, this document does not represent material which could warrant solving boundary problems among the peregrine communities in Pannonia. The western border of the *civitas Sirmiensium* probably extended from the confluence of the Bosna and Sava toward the Danube in the north. The exact line of demarcation cannot be determined more accurately, however. The eastern boundary of peregrine *civitas Sirmiensium et Amantinorum* is also ambiguous. If the Scordisci occupied only the narrow belt along the Danube, as can be surmised from the information offered by Appian and Ptolemaeus, then the frontier between them and the community of Sirmienses and Amantini must have run east of present day Ruma.

*Civitas Sirmiensium et Amantinorum* must have been organized in the first half of the 1st century. It could be assumed that at the beginning of the 1st century A. D., during the Dalmato-Pannonian rebellion, there existed in Sirmium a community of Roman citizens, organized probably as *conventus civium Romanorum*. It ceased to exist when Sirmium acquired the status of Roman *colonia*. Part of the old tribal territory of Sirmienses et Amantini was incorporated into the city territory of Sirmium.



# IV THE URBAN CENTER OF SIRMIUM

*Colonia Flavia Sirmium, tribus Quirina*

The cities of the Roman Empire were cells within which reposed the system of the administration and government of the State. As self-governing communities, they managed their own revenues and possessed and erected public buildings. In addition, the cities were responsible for the census of all the inhabitants of the province and the collection of taxes. They were administrative capitals of large territories. The governing body in the cities was the council (*ordo*) whose members, known as decuriones, and in the Later Empire curiales, served for life. Their number varied greatly, from 100 to 500. This ordo elected the city magistrates, *duoviri* or *quatuorviri, aediles and quaestores*.

The northern region of the Balkan Peninsula did not know urban life before the coming of the Romans. It was inhabited by large tribal communities of Illyrian, Celtic and Thracian origins, who lived, as Appian said, scattered in the fields and villages and had no state organisation. Trading brought the first Romans to the country on the lower Sava, long before it was subdued by the Roman army.

It can be assumed that in the 80s of the 1st century Sirmium was one of the larger settlements of Roman citizens in the Sava valley. *Oppidum Sirmium* and the *colonia* were not necessarily located at the same place. It would be expected that the *oppidum* occupied a position on a hill, and the only hill on the lower Sava was Gomolava, downstream from the Roman *colonia*, near today's village of Hrtkovci. In the systematic archaeological investigations at this location during 1953-1985, layers from the Neolithic to Roman period were discovered. Here, the La Tène oppidum had strong walls from the second half of the 2nd century and minted money from the 1st century[62]. The pre-Roman settlement existed until the end of the 1st century AD. Pottery of Italic origin and local production has been discovered.[63] Romans grounded their *colonia* in the plains of the Sava river west of the *oppidum*.

The year of the foundation of colonia Sirmium is not known, but it was not prior to 79 AD as can be seen from the fact that Pliny cites Sirmium as *oppidum* (n. h. III 148). It seems that Pliny was well informed about Pannonia. In addition to the sources from the Augustan period, he utilised the contemporary sources as well. Siscia, for example, which had received its status of Roman colonia from Vespasian was recorded by him as *colonia*. The last year when Pliny's work *Naturalis historia* could have been written was the year 79 AD. Approximately up to that time Sirmium had no city status. From the middle of the 1st century AD. Sirmium must have represented a rather large community of Roman citizens with its quasi-municipal organization, a *conventus civium Romanorum*. Hypothesis

[62] Jovanović 1988.

[63] V. Dautova-Ruševljan and O. Brukner, Gomolava, rimski period, Novi Sad 1992.

that it had the status of municipium prior to 73 AD could be hardly proved.[64] Reference to Sirmium as the place of origin of the auxiliary soldier cited in the diploma of the year 73 does not mean that Sirmium was a city. As a place of origin of the auxiliary soldiers are quoted mostly peregrine communities. If a Roman citizen was born in Sirmium or on the territory of the *civitas* he would cite it as his place of origin regardless of wheter it was a city or not.




Fig. 4: Remains of Sirmium (Marsigli, Danubius II)

Sirmium has been attested often in inscriptions as *Colonia Flavia*. The honorific title *Flavia* makes it possible to date the granting of the status of colony to Sirmium in time of the reign of the Flavian emperors, that means before the year 96 AD, when Domitian, the last of them, fall down. Pliny's text points to the conclusion that, prior to the year 79, Sirmium was only an *oppidum*, what could mean *oppidum civium Romanorum*. The year for Sirmium being granted the status of a Roman *colonia* probably lies between these two dates, 79 and 96, probably more close to the reign of the last emperor of the Flavian dynasty. The available data does not permit the fixing of the exact year of this event. It is scarcely probable that this took place during the brief rule of Titus when no event occurred that might have brought him into any contact with Pannonia. His brother and heir Domitian spent some time on the Danube fighting with the tribes of Marcomanni and Quadi along the Pannonian frontiers. Events of the years 89-92 AD brought Sirmium into prominence in military respect. Being situated in the rear of the front, and on the road to Italy, it could have served as a military base during the wars. The termination of Domitian's wars on the Pannonian frontiers may be taken as an approximate date of Sirmium's accession to the status of a *colonia*. It may be assumed that, after the end of the war, many of discharged

[64] Mócsy 1959: 76.

soldiers have been deduced in the territory of new founded *colonia*.[65] However, testimonies concerning veterans settled in Sirmium and in the vicinity of the city are few in number. There is an inscription from the present village of Beočin, no. **249**, dating back probably to the time when Sirmium was declared a colony. It marked the boundaries of the estate of the prefect of the *ala I civium Romanorum*, Tiberius Claudius Priscus. The land granted to him had been taken away from the village of Iosista which must have been situated near Beočin.[66] It is assumed that he was settled there as a discharged veteran after the Pannonian war. The veterans chose Sirmium as their domicile still in the second half of the 2nd century. In the countryside of the city was settled also M. Ulpius Titus whose monument has been found in the monastery of Hopovo, no. **248**. He originated from Sirmium and served in many legions, before he attended the position of the centurion in the *II Adiutrix* legion. Veterans are attested as city magistrates in Sirmium, as for istance Aurelius Atticus in the inscription found in the neighbouring city of Singidunum.[67] To what extent was this the continuation of traditions from the time of the colonia establishment, it is difficult to say.

In the inscriptions, Sirmium is attested as *colonia Flavia Sirmium, colonia Sirmiatum, Sirmensinm* and *Sirmiensium.*[68] In HA, Prob. 21, 1 it is named *colonia Sirmiensium* i *Sirmiorum.* As ethnicon, Stephan the Byzantine gives the form *Σιρμιεύς*.[69]

The inhabitants of the Roman *colonia Sirmium* were registered in the Roman tribus *Quirina*, like the rest of the Flavian colonies. In the inscriptions, Flavia was mentioned as the tribus of Sirmium, not Quirina, after the emperors of Flavian dynasty, which were inscribed as a family within the tribus Quirina.[70] As Roman citizens, the inhabitants of Sirmium theoretically had the right to vote in one of the Roman voting tribes in Rome. However, with the disappearance of the system in which citizens' direct voting in tribes brought the state government to power when the republic in Rome was replaced by the monarchy, registration in one of the 35 Roman tribes lost any real significance. Naming one's tribe along with one's city of origin, however, remained as a mark of Roman citizenship. The tribe Quirina is mentioned in one fragment of an inscription in Sirmium, no. **5**, and as the city of origin of decurion T. Flavius Severus Gogaenus on an inscription from Susek, no. **259**. Tribus Flavia is often recorded in inscriptions outside of Sirmium, as for instance in the lists of discharged solders of Praetorian cohorts.

The city administration of Sirmium followed the usual scheme of magistrates in Roman cities. A town council, *ordo decurionum*, was confirmed, (nos. **1** and **5**, an altar dedicated to *Genio ordinis*, no. **5**, *ordo Sirmensium*, no. **36**, and an inscription from Oescus, CIL III 753 (=ILS 1465) from the year 167/8. City magistrates carried titles common in all towns of the empire: they were *duoviri, quinquennales, quaestores* and *decuriones*. The members of the town council that are known thusfar are Ulpius Priscus Candidianus, *decurio coloniae Sirmii* no. **16**, [Ae]l(ius) Marcellus, *decurio coloniae duovir quinquennalis*, no. **26**, C. Iul(ius) Italicus *decurio coloniae Sirmiorum*, no. **30,** and again as decurio coloniae Sirmie[nsium] in no.

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[65] Kornemann 546, n. 223; Assmann 1905: 108: colonia a Domitiano, certe post annum 79, deducta esse videtur.

[66] Cf. Mócsy 1959: 77.

[67] IMS I, 16.

[68] *Colonia Sirmiatium* - CIL III 753 (Oescus); *colonia Sirmensium* IMS I 16 (Singidunum); colonia Sirmiensium SHA Prob. 21, 1; CIL III 1987.

[69] Steph. Byz. p. 572 (ed. Meineke, 1958). Itin. Anton, mentions it as Sirmium *civitas*, the same as Itin. Hieros. 562 and Cosmogr. c. 25. The same author mentions Sirmium as *oppidum*, while Iul. Honor. Cosmogr. c. 19 and 25 name it *colonia Sirmium.*

[70] *Quirina*: n. 4 and RLIO 12 n. 321. *Flavia* instead of Quirina is attested often outside Sirmium, in the lists of discharged praetorian soldiers, for instance Rome CIL VI 31146; 31140; 3184 or legionary soldiers, for instance IMS II 53.

**31**, T. Aur. Atticus, a veteran of the IV legion *Flavia quinquennalis Singiduni* and *decurio coloniae Sirmens(ium*), IMS I 16. In one of the monuments found in the vicinity of Sirmium, in the present-day village of Jarak, no. **247** is confirmed *C. Iulius C. filius Civilis, decurio coloniae* and his son *C. Iulius Florus*, as well as *decurio coloniae*, mentioned above. *T. Flavius T. filius Severus Gogaenus* with the Roman tribe *Quirina* was *decurio coloniae Sirmii, quaestor, II vir* and *praefectus fabrum*. A *quaestor* and a *decurio M. Titius Proculos* is known from an inscription from Lutvin Han in northern Bosnia, CIL III 12739.

City magistrates had Roman names and *gentile* names after the emperors of the 1st and 2nd centuries, *Iulius, Flavius, Ulpius* and *Aurelius*. It can be concluded that they came from the class of Roman citizens who received Roman citizenship under the emperors of the 1st and 2nd centuries. These citizens must have been numerous early in Sirmium, which is already mentioned by writers of antiquity in the 1st century as a place on the route along the lower Sava. Connections with the native population can be supported only with T. Flavius Severus Gogaenus in an inscription from Susek, no. **259**. This could not be dated before the 2nd century. His indigenous origin is indicated by two circumstances: firstly, his cognomen Gogaenus would belong to a Celtic onomasticon; secondly, the monument was discovered in the region which was inhabited by the Cornacates, a tribe of Celtic origin. He bears the gentile name Flavius, after one of the emperors of the Flavian dynasty, probably the one who gave to Sirmium the status of a Roman *colonia*. It is possible that T. Flavius Severus Gogaenus was one of the first city magistrates in Sirmium. He could also have been a descendant of someone who had acquired Roman citizenship at the time of the Flavian dynasty, perhaps at the time when the Roman *colonia* was founded. The memory of indigenous origin was perhaps already forgotten in the next generation; the daughter in the same inscription bears only the Latin name *Flavia Severina*.

## City plan, comunications and public buildings

Roman Sirmium was situated on the left bank of the Sava river. A reference of Zosimos that the Sava flowed on either side of the city probably concerns not the city, but the district of Sirmium which comprised eastern Srem. This district is referred to as the Isle of Sirmium by the later Roman authors.[71]

Not far from Sirmium, there were some river islets. Menander mentions Cassia and Carbonaria. They probably were not inhabited. During the Byzantine and Avar conflict, they represented a neutral zone where a meeting between khagan Bayan and Roman commander Theognis took place.

Across the Sava river, which is sometimes mistaken for the Danube by some authors of the 6th and 7th centuries, there were two bridges.[72] One of them is mentioned by Zosimos in his account of the struggle between Licinius and Constantine in 314.[73] The bridge downstream from Sirmium was built by hagan Bayan in order to cut off the city from Byzantine territory in Singidunum. During the last days of the siege of Sirmium, Avars controlled the two bridges which led toward Byzantine provinces of Dalmatia and Moesia respectively.[74]

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[71] Menandri fr. 63 p. 264; fr. 64 p. 267. Comp. also Tronoški letopis from the XVIII century – Stanojević 1927: 77; Dinić 1931: 4; Györffy 1959: 9 claims that the information in Jordanes Get. 76 means that even before the arrival of the Avars in Sirmium, it had become a settlement on the Sava island.

[72] Joh. Ephes. XXIV; Mich. Syr. X 18.

[73] Zosim II 18.

[74] Menandri fr. 64 p. 265 and 66 p. 268.

The Roman town developed on the place where the Sava river made a large bend. In the 1st and 2nd centuries Sirmium was an important trading centre on the road leading from Aquileia towards the east. The fact that many emperors in the 3rd and 4th centuries stayed there, either because of wars on the Pannonian borders or in passing from Italy on their way east, contributed to the rise of the town, and it became one of the most significant urban centers in the Empire. In the words of Ammianus Marcellinus, Sirmium was *urbs populosa et celebris*. Spacious suburbs by the city ramparts, and probably beyond them, are already spoken of in the time of Marcus Aurelius.[75] Ammianus Marcellinus



Fig. 5: Sremska Mitrovica (photo by S. Stojinović)

speaks of the large suburb on the northern side of the city when describing the arrival of the emperor Julian in Sirmium.[76] The swamps around it limited the spread of the town in the north and east. It was established that the town spread towards southeast in the second half of the 3rd century. With Diocletian began the era of great construction works. It would continue even after him during the entire 4th century. Among other buildings, the palace for the accommodation of the emperors was constructed. Many emperors from the 2nd to the 5th century stopped in Sirmium either in passing or during the wars on the border. The barbarians who captured the city in the middle of the 5th and again in the 80s of the 6th century were deeply impressed by the monumental aspect of the public buildings in Sirmium. The Huns and Avars tried to embellish their seats with similar buildings and for that purpose they used the war prisoners from Sirmium into their service as masons.[77]

[75] Philostr. loc. cit.: ... *ἐν προαστείῳ ἐν ᾧ πύργοι ἐξωκόδομηντο καὶ ἡμιπύργια.*
[76] Amm. Marc. XXI 10, 1: *eumque (sc. Iulianum) suburbanis propinquitatem amplis nimiumque protentis* ... etc.
[77] One of Attila's cousins, Onegesius, had a thermae built for him by a prisoner from Sirmium (Prise. Pan. f. 8, FHG IV p. 85). For the building of the palace and thermae for the Avar khagan comp. Joh. Ephes. XXIV.

The inscriptions mention porticos and temples. A certain C. Acelius, no. **53**, built two porticos at his own expense. He was a commander of a *cohor I Cretum* and he built them on the occasion of his election as the city duovir, when he gave to the town a sum larger than 20 libras of silver. The inscription belongs to the early period of the city history. C. Iulius Italicus, a city decurion, restored the temple of Mithras, which was in ruins.[78] The temple, consecrated to *Bono evento*, was probably built at the order of the city council. This was effectuated by the guardian of the temple of Cybele, who was a freedman of the *praefectus praetorio* at the time of Constantine.[79]

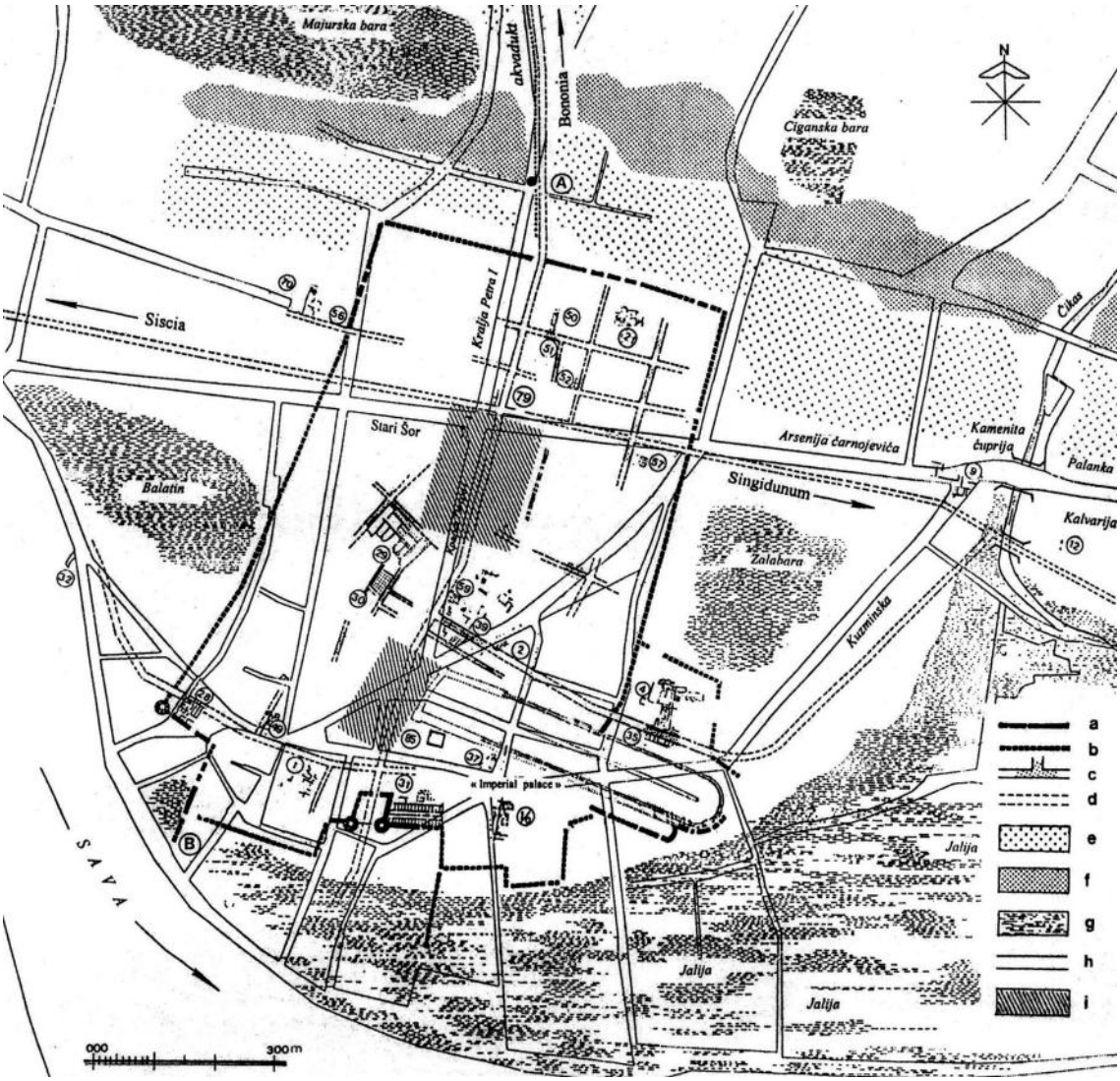


Fig. 6: City plan of Sirmium (by M. Jeremić)

[78] Nos. **30** and **31**.
[79] No. **1**.

# V ARCHAEOLOGICAL INVESTIGATIONS

Avar conquerors left the town in ruins and deserted. Long after the Avar conquest, ruins of ancient Sirmium were noted by later writers. In the 12th century the ruins were seen by Crusaders who passed along this route via Sirmium in the Third Crusade. According to Ansbert, "Sirmium, a once famous town, is now in ruins, which causes the pity of passers-by".[80] A Hungarian charter from 1347 still mentions the toponyms *palatium* and *balneum* in the town of St. Demetrius.[81] The ruins of the town were also marked in the Austrian-Hungarian geographical maps in the 18th century.

Archaeological research in the 1960s and 1970s contributed essentially to the reconstruction of the town streets, buildings and infrastructure of Sirmium. The first archaeological excavations are connected with the name of A. Hytreck, a student of De Rossi who published Christian inscriptions from Rome. They were short and limited to part of the north-eastern necropolis. The results were only preserved in notes which were not published. Accidental finds of monuments were noted by I. Jung, J. Brunšmid and Š. Ljubić. They are mostly published in *Vjesnik Hrvatskog Arheološkog društva*. Letters and drawing by I. Jung, preserved in the Museum Archives in Zagreb have recently been published[82]. Undoubtable merit for restoring archaeological research and systematic archaeological excavation in Sirmium goes to M. Grbić, who gathered the people and institutions in his endeavors to organise the systematic archaeological investigation of ancient Sirmium. At his initiative, protective and systematic excavations began in 1957. They were directed by two institutions: the Archaeological Institute in Belgrade and the Regional Institute for the Protection of Monuments of Culture in Novi Sad. Widescale excavations at various points in the modern town, primarily at locations where new houses were to be built, began in 1962. Besides the two mentioned institutions, this included the Museum of Srem and the Institute for the Protection of Monuments of Culture in Sremska Mitrovica. In 1968, the cooperation of the Archaeological Institute in Belgrade with the Smithsonian Institute in Washington began. Together with the Archaeological Institute in Belgrade, the research was led by Denison University and New York City University. From 1973 until 1975, the Archaeological Institute in Belgrade cooperated with the Ecole française de Rome and the Louvre Museum on the excavations in Sremska Mitrovica.[83] The excavations were led by professor V. Popović from the Archaeological Institute in Belgrade and professor N. Duval from the Louvre, Paris, whose long-term interest in the excavations in Sirmium and the cooperation on the publication of archaeological materials considerably advanced the research. In 1971, the systematic publication of the results of archaeological

[80] *Sirmium famosam quondam civitatem, nunc paret ruinis sat miserandum transeuntis*", ms. In Graz, Chroust 1891: 511-526, comp. Jireček 1959b: 463 ff: Dodatak III: Sirmium i civitas Sancti Demetri, 524 ff.

[81] Codex diplom. patruus VII 400.

[82] Miladinović-Radmilović, Radmilović 2015.

[83] See Bošković, Duval, Gros et Popović 1974: 597 f.

research began in the series *Sirmium*. Unfortunately, the series remained unfinished: the early death of V. Popović and the unfortunate political circumstances in Serbia in the final decade of the 20th century halted further work on the series. Short reports about the results of the excavation were published without analysis of the material in *Arheološki pregled* (AP). In some cases, these were still the only testimony on the discoveries until now.[84]

Archaeological research has showed that in Sirmium, with the exception of the living quarters in the northern part of the town, there were three basic and interrelated horizons in the larger part of the town. What still remains unknown are the prehistorical layer and the layers of the oldest Roman settlement. The pre-Flavian horizon, the one before the establishment of the Roman *colonia*, was determined in the trench research at several locations. However, they cannot be connected into one single layer which would be tracked along a greater surface and thus allow some conclusions regarding the pre-Roman settlement in this place. The most significant is the finding of earth and wooden walls along the lines of later stone city remparts.

Archaeological research, undertaken systematically and on a larger scale in the 1960s and 1970s, unearthed parts of streets, ramparts and public buildings.[85] Palaces and *thermae, horrea,* streets, urban villas and others buildings which are not mentioned by the authors have been discovered in systematic archaeological excavations beneath today's Sremska Mitrovica. This makes possible the reconstruction of the city walls and the layout of the streets. The data obtained by archaeological research as well as those found in literary sources refer, for the most part, to the city in the late Roman period. Traces of the earlier settlement from the 1st and 2nd centuries are much more modest.

The following buildings were discovered during the excavations and systematically explored: 1. City ramparts and towers, 2. Main communications in the city, 3. The imperial palace 4. Hippodrome, 5. *Thermae* (public baths), 6. *Horrea* (public granary), 7. *Villa urbana* (villa in the town), 8. Cemeteries, 9. Early Christian churches, one devoted to Saint Sineros, anofher to Saint Irenaeus. The results of the archaeological investigations are published in the series Sirmium. Of the planned 12 volumes, 7 are published.[86] This makes possible the reconstruction of the city walls and the layout of the streets, *horreum*, palace, *villa urbana* and other buildings.

1. The town had ramparts, which were possibly built by the army. It is not known when they were erected. In the 1st century, at the time of the Dalmatian-Pannonian uprising, Sirmium was fortified, probably with a trench and rampart. It can be assumed that the oldest settlement in Sirmium was protected by walls constructed of air-dried bricks and wood. One inscription indicates that the stone ramparts existed at the end of the 1st century or in the 2nd century. They could have been built at the time of Domitian's wars on the Pannonian border at the end of the 80s and beginning of the 90s of the 1st century. During the long period of peace on the Roman borders from the 2nd until and the first half of the 4th centuries, the ramparts were neglected and left in ruins while the moats were filled in with hewn store. They were rebuilt when the Quadi and the Sarmatians menaced the city in 373 AD.[87]

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[84] Popović, Ochsenschlager, AP 11, 1969: 186 ff., Popović 1971: 122 ff.; Milošević 1971: 3 ff.

[85] For the short reports of the archaeological excavations, see AP 4, 1962, 111-122; 5, 1963, 63-73; 6, 1964, 77-79; 7, 1965, 111; 8, 1966, 132-136. A summarised report is given by V. Popović in volume I od Sirmium, A survey of the topography and urban organisation of Sirmium in the Late Empire, p. 119-133.

[86] I, 1971, II, 1971, III, 1973, VII, 1977, VIII, 1978, XI, 1980 and XII, 1980. Short reports are published in Arheološki pregled 4, 1962, 111-122; 5, 1963, 63-73; 6, 1964, 77-79; 7, 1965, 111; 8, 1960, 132-136.

[87] Amm. Marc. XXIX 6, 9-10; Menandri fr. 4 p. 266 mentions the strengthening of the city walls at the time when a peace treaty had been concluded with the Avars, which was before 579.

The testimony on the oldest stone rampart of Sirmium could be a stone block of limestone, 46 x 56 x 28 cm with the inscription LEG XIII GEM PVC, discovered not far from the nothern wall (no. **50)**. It might have come from a rampart and signify the part of the wall which was constructed by the legion *XIII Gemina*. The abbreviation PVC in the end, whose interpretation could be *p(edes) v(alli) (centum*) may signify the length of the wall built by this unit. The history of the movements of legion *XIII Gemina* suggests that the inscription from Sirmium is dated at the time of Domitian. It was garrisoned in Pannonia beginning in 45 AD, but first in the western part, in Poetovio (Ptuj). At the time of Domitian, probably in the 90s AD, it was transferred to the Danube and located in Vindobona (Vienna). It did not stay there long; already in 101 AD Trajan included this legion in his expedition army in the war against the Dacians. After the war, the *XII Gemina* stayed in Dacia. If the limestone block was built into the wall of Sirmium, the legion *XIII Gemina* mentioned on it might have participated in the construction work in the last decade of the 1st century, during its stay in Pannonia.

The ramparts in Sirmium at the time of Marcus Aurelius may have been mentioned in Filostratos *Vitae sophistratum*. He mentions the towers and semi-towers (*pyrgoi* and *hemipyrgia*) in Sirmium, at the place where Herodus Atticus was accommodated when he came to see Marcus Aurelius to defend himself against the accusations which had been brought against him by the people of Athens. The interpretation of this piece of information is not certain because *pyrgoi* can be towers, but this word can also mean *estate*. *Hemipyrgia*, semi-towers, would be more fitting for the first meaning

The position of the northern and southern rampart was archaeologically determined; traces of the eastern rampart were discovered in 1969. Its position indicates the retraction of the border of the town and the reduction in the scope of the town territory.[88] The position of the western rampart can also be guessed. In 1988 at the western gate of the town an outpost of beneficiarii was discovered. On the south side two walls have been discovered with a distance of 35 meters between them. They were not built at the same time. The one that followed the course of the river Sava is dated to the late Roman times, while the other one is not possible to date. In the area between the two ramparts there were houses which could be dated to the period from the end of the 3rd to the end of the 4th century. Two walls on the south rampart probably protected the fluvial harbor on the Sava. Part of the moat along the rampart was discovered in archaeological research on locality 26. Only one city gate is known of, and it is located on the south part of the rampart. Furthermore, only one tower was archaeologically discovered; it is located in the south-eastern corner of the rampart, in the vicinity of the old hotel "Sirmium".[89]

The remains of the ramparts from the 2nd and 4th century in the south and east indicate that the town changed shape and that it was decreasing in the late Roman period.

2. The systematic research of the communication and streets system began in 1966 and continued in the excavations in 1994 and 2000. A complete picture of the size and aspects of the city was obtained after the available material analyzed by the late architect Miroslav Jeremić. To him we owe the city plan and virtual aspect of the city.[90] The main communication lines in the town, *cardo maximus* and

[88] Jeremić 2003: 92.

[89] Brukner, AP 1, 1959, 118-125; Milošević, AP 3, 1961, 84 ff.; Petrović, AP 4, 1962, 139 ff.; Popović, AP 5, 1963, 68; same, AP 7, 1965, 111 ff; Popović, Ochsenschlager, AP 11, 1969, 187; Popović 1977, 111-122; Bošković, Duval, Gros et Popović 1974: 597 ff.; Baratte, Guyon 1975: 394 ff.; Duval, Popović 1977: 103 ff.; Brukner 1982-83: 5 ff.

[90] He has studied the architecture of Sirmium in many articles and as a subject of his PhD thesis, published by I. Popović after his death, Sirmium, grad na vodi, Beograd 2017; Popović 1993: 89-115; Jeremić 2003: 89-96. The first attempt to reconstruct the main communications and the city plan we own to I. Jung. His plan, preserved in manuscript in the Archives of the Archaeological Museum in Zagreb, was first published by Miladinović-Radmilović, Radmilović 2015, 92.



Fig. 7: The street in Sirmium

*decumanus*, were reconstructed by him.[91] The oldest streets in Sirmium were actually extensions of main roads leading into the town, one that went from Bononia (Banoštor) in the north towards the Sava River in the south of the city (*cardo*) and another that traveled from Siscia towards Singidunum in a west-east direction (*decumanus*). The traces of the Roman road leading to Bononia were discovered about one kilometer away from the northern rampart; the aquaducts that followed this road were discovered in 1994, at a distance of 100 meters from the northern rampart. If this line is extended further, we arrive at a point of entrance into the town. This was one of the two main lines of communication, *cardo maximus*. Finally, in 2000, part of this road was discovered along with the intersection with another main street, *decumanus*, on locality 79.[92] The street was lined with porticos, which were preserved only in traces. Two porticos, built by C. Acelius, are mentioned in the inscription no. **53**, which was found near the northern rampart. The inscription belongs to the early period of the Roman city. There are archaeological traces that allow us to assume that the porticos were restored in the 4th century. Therefore, as V. Popović guessed, the *cardo maximus* would more or less follow the direction of the present-day street of Kralja Petra, while the *decumanus maximus* would coincide with the direction of Arsenije Čarnojević street.[93] At the crossroads of the west-east communication lines there would be a hippodrome.

A part of the street was discovered during the research of the town villa (*villa urbana*). It was paved with large stone plates of irregular shapes. The canal was placed in the middle of the street, at a distance of 2 to 2.2 meters from both edges. On both sides of the street, to the north and south, the bases of the pillars of the porticos were preserved.[94]

According to the present research, the *decumanus* in the north of Sremska Mitrovica coincided with Palanka Street. There was an attempt to identify the eastern gate at the "Stone bridge". At the place where the two communication lines, *cardo* and *decumanus*, intersected on locality 79, M. Jeremić presupposed the existence of a forum.[95]

The banks of the Sava were connected with bridges. One had to be located at the end of the north-south communication line. The bridges across the Sava were known to the writers in the 6th century, However, they sometimes mistook the Sava for the Danube. The bridges had to be constructed before the 6th century. One is mentioned by Zosim, 2, 18, in his report of the battle of Constantine and Licinius in 316 AD. The second, according to the data in Menander, was built by an Avar, Khagan Bayan, in the 80s of the 6th century in order to control and to prevent communication between Sirmium and the Byzantine territory. During the last days of the siege of Sirmium, the Avars controlled two bridges towards the town, one which led to the province Moesia Prima, and the other that led towards Dalmatia.[96] *Pons Bassentis* (a bridge on the river *Bassens*) is mentioned by Christian authors, *Acta sanct., m. Martii*, vol.3, 556-557). V. Popović believes that this bridge connected Sremska and Mačvanska Mitrovica.[97]

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[91] Jeremić 2005: 89-96.

[92] See the map.

[93] Popović 1980: 101 f.

[94] Jeremić 2005: 91.

[95] Jeremić 2003: 93.

[96] Menandr. Fr. 64 and 66, FGH IV, 265 and 268.

[97] On excavations of these places see Brukner, AP 2, 1960, 199 ff.; eadem, Sirmijum. Lokalitet 28, AP 4, 1962, 131 f.; Milošević, AP 3, 1961, 80 f. idem, Sremska Mitrovica (Sirmium) – Banoštor (Bononija), rimske komunikacije i vodovod, AP 11, 1969, 199 ff.; Parović-Pešikan, AP 4, 1962, 123 ff.; eadem, *Pokušaj rekonstrukcije peristila kasnorimske vile u Sirmijumu*, Starinar 20,

3. Of the public buildings, Roman writers mention the imperial palace (*regia, palatium*), the public bath-houses (*balneum*), *curia* and the *forum.*

As a building whose function was to serve for the accommodation of the emperors and their entourage during the wars along the Danube or when they were passing through Sirmium, the palace had to have existed since the time of the Early empire up to the 5th century. Emperors, from Domitian to Constantine, had a temporary seat in Sirmium. Roman writers mention *palatium* and *regia.* This

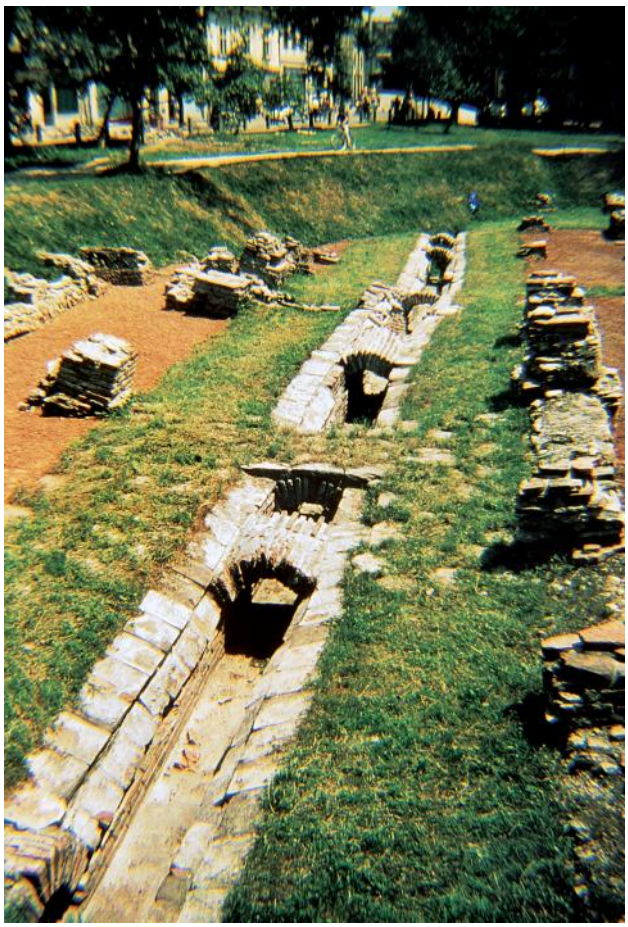

Fig. 8: The street canalization

could be the *basileia* in Philostratus, Vitae Soph. 2, 1, 14. It is first mentioned by Philostratus in his description of a visit by Herod Atticus to the emperor Marcus Aurelius who was in Sirmium at the time.[98] In the course of the 3rd, 4th and 5th centuries the palace served as residence during emperors' temporary

1969, 265 ff..; see also, Starinar 24-35, 1974-1975, 45 ff.; Milošević, AP 4, 1962, 119 ff.; Popović, AP 5, 1963, 63 ff.; idem, Continuité cultuelle et tradition litéraire dans l' église médievale de Sirmium, Sirmium 12, 1980, I-IV); Jeremić 2005: 89 ff.

[98] Philostr. Vita Marci p. 168 *τὰ βασίλεια* (the same term is used for the emperor's palace in Vita Apollinari 2,20); Amm. Marc. XVII 13, 34 year 358 - *regia*; XXX 5, 36 - *palatium*. About the meaning of *palatium* and the differences between *palatium* and *praetorium* comp. Dippenbach, Palatium, Diss. Giessen, 1921; Egger 1966.

stays in Sirmium. Ammianus Marcelinus mentions *palatium* and *regia* in XXX, 5, 16. Along with the city, curia *regia* burnt when it was struck by lightening. According to the same writers, in 361 AD Julian was followed by a mass of people and soldiers into a building called *regia* after he came to Sirmium.

The construction complex in the south part of the town (locality 1e) near the town rampart and not far from the Sava river is considered to be an imperial palace. Archaeological excavations show that the palace extended over a large surface. The construction complex on locality 1e was discovered by accident in 1953. Only one part was excavated, not large enough to allow the reconstruction of the whole structure. It is clear that it belonged to the type of luxurious, spacious building with a hypocaust, floor mosaics, and fresco painted walls, and a tetrapylon in the yard. It is hard to reconstruct the plan of the edifice and to date the layers in it, because the findings are not systematically published.

The construction complex of the palace has, as archaeological research has shown, multiple layers. An interesting intersection of layers was provided by the research of the floor mosaics. They were discovered in several levels from different construction phases. The youngest one is dated to the 4th century. Under the mosaic floor there was a hypocaust with two canals. When they were constructed this destroyed the mosaic floor of the previous construction phase. The remains of this mosaic, with figural motifs of the pagan genre and the accompanying archaeological material provide a basis for the dating of one phase of construction at the end of the 3rd and the beginning of the 4th century. However, this is just a small part of this spacious palace. The canal of the hypocaust which is connected with this construction phase is partly chiseled into the town rampart from the 2nd century. The second canal led towards the gate of the rampart and the town sewage. Under the mosaic floor, fragments of frescoes and roof tiles were discovered. Another interesting discovery is that of the pre-Roman layer below this one, with the remains of a hearth and a hole with late La Tène ceramics.[99]

The imperial palace was set on fire together with other buildings when the forum was struck by lightening around the year 375.[100] It was probably restored later on.

In the proximity of the city, there was another palace erected by Maximianus at the place where his parents had worked as tenants.[101] It is supposed that it was at the location of Glac, 4 km north of the city.

To the luxurious buildings in Sirmium belongs the large architectural complex of "villa urbana" which spreads on both sides of a wide street, with a large peristyle yard and many rooms to the north and south of the street. It was built in a town suburb, where there had been wooden houses in the 1st and 2nd centuries and which were then abandoned in the 3rd century. The edifice would belong to the 4th century, when Sirmium became a large town. The mosaics in some rooms, as shown by their technique and motifs, belong to the late Roman period.[102]

Floor mosaics were also discovered in the palace and the house near the Museum of Srem,[103] as well as many fragments of wall paintings in the fresco technique.[104] Fragments of the decorative marble plates once used as the paneling of the edifices' facades, later used as gravestones in the Christian necropolis, column capitals and other architectural fragments have been discovered in all parts of the city territory.

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[99] Cf. Popović 1971: 119 ff.; Popović 1977: 111 ff.; Duval 1979: 53 ff.; Brukner 1982-1983: 5 ff.; Brukner 1981: 161 ff.; Brukner, Petrović, AP 18, 1976, 65 ff.

[100] Amm. Marc. XXX 5, 16.

[101] Landolfus 172: *Maximianus ortu agresti Pannonioque nam etiam non longe Sirmio. Eminet locus palatio ab eo ibidem constructo ubi parentes eius exercebat opera mercenaria.*

[102] Parović-Pešikan 1971: 15 ff. Parović-Pešikan 1973: 1 ff. On mosaics in the palace, see Parović-Pešikan 1978: 169-185.

[103] Brukner 1981: 161-174.

[104] Popović 2008.

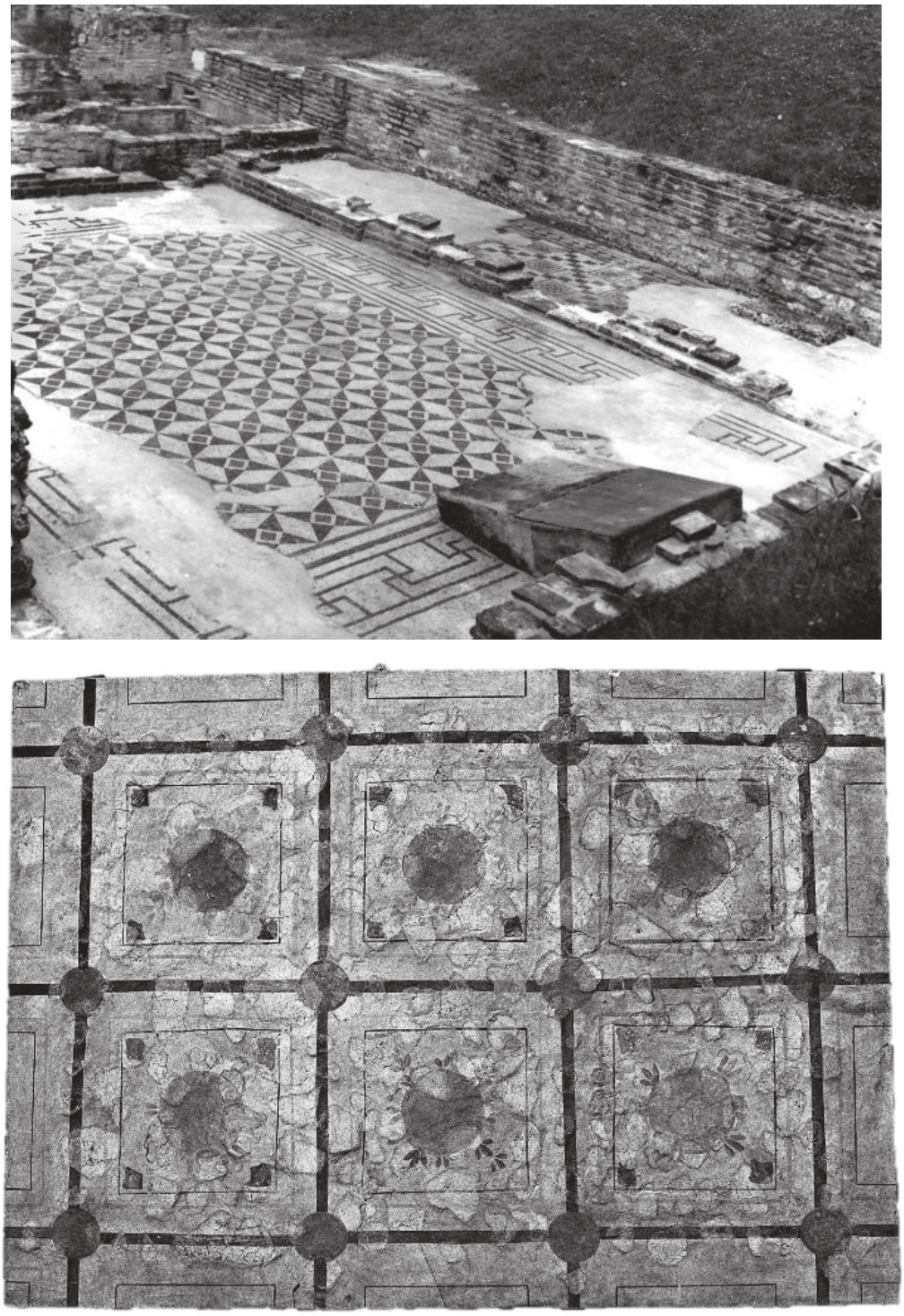

Fig. 9: Mosaics and frescos painting in Sirmium

4. The hippodrome in Sirmium is mentioned by Ammianus Marcellinus in his report about the horse races sponsored by Julian while passing through Sirmium in 361.[105] It was discovered during the archaeological investigations in the southern part of the town, not far from the palace and the rampart. It spread along one of the main streets with three parallel walls. It was 450 m long, its width was 90 by 100 m, 70 m on the inside. This was probably where the circus was. It could have been built under Constantine or under Licinius, probably before 324 AD, as can be concluded on the basis of numismatic findings. The arena was reconstructed during the 4th century, to the north of the palace, not to the south of it, as was usual in imperial residences in other cities.

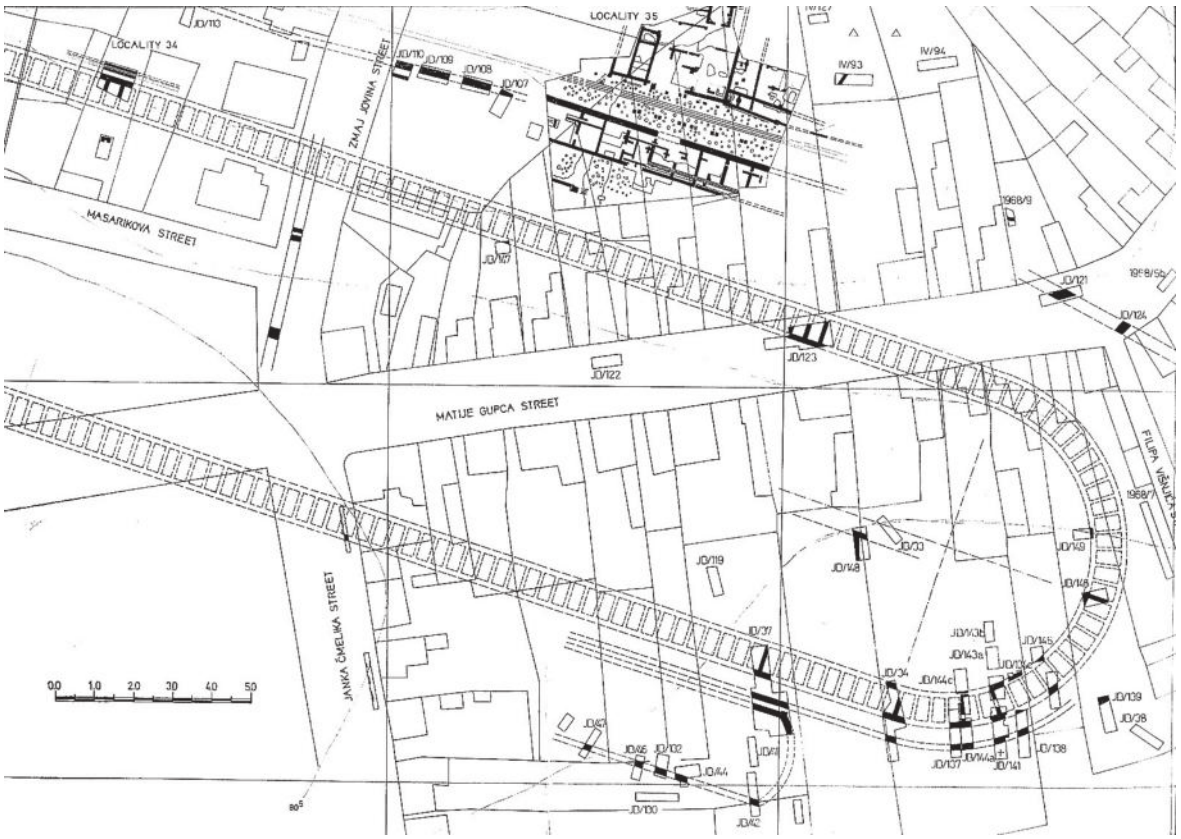


Fig. 10: Plan of the hippodrome

Already by the 5th century the hippodrome lost its function and became a place for the settlement of small, primitive houses. They are dated back to the 5th and 6th centuries. In the south part of the hippodrome, the walls of the small houses were made of wood and clay, while the floors were of lime mortar and compacted clay. The houses in the northern part of the hippodrome were constructed by adapting the substructure of the hippodrome and the free space in the arena. Some of the buildings were

[105] Amm. Marc. XXI 10: *edito (sc. Iulian) postridie curuli certamine cum gaudio plebis...* etc. which A. Graf 1936: 56 takes as a proof of an amphitheater in Sirmium. The hippodrome was excavated in 1970.

heated by a hypocaust. Roman bricks and mortar were also used as construction material in this part of the new settlement, while the floors in some of them were covered by tiles.[106]

It can be assumed that gladiatorial games with wild animals took place in Sirmium. Here a certain Maximinus joined the gladiators team (*collegiatus*) a certain Maximinus *vexillarius bestiaris* who died after being bitten by a leopard and who was buried in Thessalonika.[107]

It is not known whether the city had a theatre. Ammianus mentions the citizens' intention of building one. However, the funds collected for that purpose had to be used for rebuilding the city ramparts in 373 in the face of the sudden danger presented to the city by the attacking barbarians.[108]

5. There is evidence, both written and archaeological, of the public baths in Sirmium. At the time when the Avars were assaulting Sirmium, thermae served as reconnoitering points for the inhabitants. Archaeological research in Sirmium discovered three baths: the so-called "imperial bath" north of the palace, a smaller thermae at the southern rampart in the south of the town, and a thermae which was part of a town villa (*villa urbana*). In the "imperial thermae" there were two phases of construction, the first which can be dated to the time from the 1st to the end of the 3rd century, and the second which belonged to the 4th century. It is possible to date this second phase to the time of Licinius' stay in Sirmium. The thermae near the southern town rampart also belongs to the 4th century. Finally, the thermae in the town villa stretched across both sides of the street. It demonstrates three phases of construction: a) the 1st and 2nd centuries, b) the beginning or the middle of the 3rd century, c) the second half of the 4th century.[109]

The great public baths were probably built during the command of Licinius in the Danubian provinces between 308 and 314 AD. That the baths were built by Licinius is mentioned in the inscription CIL III 10107 (= Dessau ILS 3458)[110], discovered on the island of Brač. The text of the inscription includes some grammatical mistakes if the reading is correct, but it seems that the words Licinius' baths (*thermae Licinianae*) and Sirmium cannot be doubted. It mentions the columns for Licinius' baths in Sirmium which had been carved from the famous marble of Brač. The emperor Licinius, together with his family, spent a longer period of time in Sirmium, until he was defeated by Constantine in 314. The public baths in Sirmium are also mentioned at the time of the Avar siege of the town in the 580s. They served the citizens as a lookout point from which to follow the movements of the Avars in the great plain of Srem.

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[106] Popović, Ochsenschlager 1975: 57 ff. On primitive built houses in the fourth century, see Popović 1982: 545 ff. Jeremić 2002: 51 ff.

[107] AE 2006 1290: *[D(is)] M(anibus) Maximinus qui vi[xit an[nis L. civ<i>s nat(ione) Iusci Sirme(n)se collegiatus [lud]i cent<e>n(a) ri(i) v<e>xillarius [bes]tiari(u)s pre(hen)susyu (!) leopardo [mors]u refugio et mortu(u)s [Thessa]lonice munere Dom[3]us rt Nico contuber[nales.*

[108] Amm. Marc. XXIX 6, 4.

[109] M. Parović-Pešikan, AP 6, 1964, 83 ff.; Parović-Pešikan 1971: 15 ff.; Parović-Pešikan 1973: 1 ff.

[110] Comp. Menandri fr. 27, p. 232. About the archaeological investigation see Parović-Pešikan, AP 6, 1964, 83-90; Popović 1965: 667. The inscription runs as follows: *Herculi Aug(usto) sac(rum) Val. Valerianus mil(les) cum insisterem ad capitella columnarum ad t(h)ermas Licinian(a)s (sic) q.a.se.*iune Sirmi v.l.s*, read by Mommsen, AEM IX 21 as *q(u)as, intellegere, quae fiunt] Sirmi.* Comp, also Bulić, Bull, di arch, e stor. dalm. VIII l.c. Hirschfeld, AEM IX 20 n. 35 thought that the *capitella* were destined for Licinius' baths in Rome. However, Sirmium remains more probable, not only because we find its name in the inscription, but also since the same expression, *capitella columnarum*, is used in the *Passio SS IV Corronatorum* in connection with architecture built up in Sirmium at the time of Diocletianus (p. 325, ed. Wattenbach: *Diocletianus augustus... praecepit ut ex metallo porphyrico columnas vel capitella columnarum ab artificibus inciderentur.*. etc. - quoted according to Bulić, op. cit.). It's very probable that baths are in question, archaeologicaly confirmed at site 29 (V. Popović, Arh. pregled 6, 1964, 79, rejecting earlier indecisions concerning the identification).



Fig. 11: Fresco painting in Sirmium

6. In Sirmium two public granaries (*horrea*) were discovered, one in the northern part of the southern city area (locality 30) and the second in the immediate vicinity of the southern city wall, not far from the Sava River (locality 31). The former, a big granary with a cistern nearby was discovered in the archaeological excavation of 1960-1962. It was a building with a central trapezoid yard measuring 44 m in length and 22 m in width, with two ranges of rooms on both lateral sides, 13 m on the northern and 15 m on the southern side. It is published by N. Duval and V. Popović.[111] Another granary was constructed probably at the end of the third or at the beginning of the 4th century.[112]



Fig. 12: Horreum

8-9. Sirmium had many necropolises located on the edge of the city. They spread on the west and on the northeast of the town, on one side following the road to Cibalae and on the other to Singidunum. In the period when the barbarian tribes ruled in Sirmium, people were also buried in the town. The western necropolis (locality 26) has been systematically researched. V. Popović defined it as pagan from the 2nd and 3rd centuries, while in the 4th century it was used for burying Christians. Its spread was limited by swamps. In the 4th century a chapel of the martyr Sineros was built there. A spacious necropolis was formed around the chapel and another around the basilica consecrated to Saint Irenaeus. People were

[111] Duval, Popović 1977.
[112] See short reference by Jović in AP 4, 1962, 144 ff.

also buried in churches.[113] A smaller necropolis was located in the town itself, at a location where there used to be a luxurious edifice. Isolated graves were discovered in other places as well, near the southern rampart and in the hippodrome. Some of them belonged to the time of Gothic and Gepid domination in the town. Seven graves have been discovered in the palace dating to the time when the palace lost its earlier function. Some of these are with deformed skins and are defined as belonging to the Gepids.[114]

The old town core was destroyed at first by Huns in the middle of the 5th century and by the Avars in the eighth decade of the 6th century. After the Huns, the region was inhabited by nomadic tribes who did not have a tradition of urban life. The decline of the town probably started at the time of the Hun conquests and the gradual disappearance of urban life continued into the fifth century, in the period when Goths began settling in Pannonia. The return of Byzantium to Sirmium in 567, brief and without any real effect in the civil or military sense, did not stop the decline of the city. The definitive end to the existence of the Roman city was brought by the Avar conquest in 583. The new population started inhabiting the southern part of the town near the river Sava, often in houses leaning against the walls of earlier monumental buildings such as the hippodrome. There is no data, either archaeological or literary, about the constructions for Gepid rulers or Avar leaders.[115]

[113] On cemeteries in Sirmium see Milošević 1994: 13 and passim; Mirković 2016: 59-94. On the church of St. Irenaeus see Popović 2003: 259-263.

[114] About the cemeteries in Sirmium in general with the anthropologic analyses of bones from some of the graves, see Miladinović-Radmilović 2011. On the graves in the imperial palace, see Peović, Lučić 2011: 389-413. The graves in the former palace do not represent a necropolis or a part of one, but probably the funerary place of a family or clan.

[115] Popović 1982: 545 ff.



# VI CITY TERRITORY

Sirmium as a city was a Roman creation. Before the coming of the Romans, Pannonians had no cities. Subsequent urban centers such as Sirmium, Siscia, Mursa and other could have been only tribal fortifications in pre-Roman time. According to the testimony of Appian, the Pannonians, when they clashed with the Romans, did not have a cohesive political organization. They lived in fields or villages into clans: *καὶ οὐ πόλεις ᾤκουν οἱ Παίονες οἵδε, ἀλλ᾽ ἀγροὺς ἢ κώμας κατὰ συγγένειαν* (App. Ill. 4, 22). Cities were created by the Romans who incorporated into them considerable portions of country side. However, villages and hamlets continued to exist and sometimes they are used in determining a person's origin. One of the rare testimonies of this kind represents an inscription of a soldier of the praetorian cohort of Aurelius Verus, presumably from the end of the 2nd or beginning of the 3rd century, CIL VI 37213: D. M. *Aur. Vero mil(iti) c(o)hor(tis) VI pr(a)et(oriae) (centurias) Blicisi st<i>p(endiorum) XIIII nat(ione) Pannon(onius) pede Sirmese (sic) pago Martio vico Budalia...* etc. The Roman organization of a city territory and its division into larger villages (*pagi*) and, probably hamlets (*vici*), was presumably influenced by the local conditions the Romans had found upon their arrival. The appearance of a city center was something new. To some extent, a certain cultural influence radiated from it, though it did not penetrate very deeply into the agrarian population which continued to live as before.

Limits of the city territory of Sirmium cannot be fixed with a certainty. Most likely the city territory did not coincide exactly with the boundaries of the earlier peregrine community of the Sirmienses and Amantini. Its northern boundary was probably the Danube, between the present Sotin and Petrovaradin. In eastern Srem, the city territory was bordering with a peregrine community whose location near today's Ruma is affirmed in the 2nd century. Certain points on the boundary line between them can be determined. It probably ran from the present day Jarak (*Fossae*) to the north and, extending west of Ruma and east of Hopovo, issued on to the Danube somewhere between Petrovaradin and Banoštor.

*Fossae,* the outpost on the road leading from Sirmium to Singidunum was included in the city territory if one is to judge by an inscription where a magistrate of the colony is mentioned, no. **247**. This inscription is to be dated at the first half of the 2nd century, when the only Roman *colonia* in Lower Pannonia province was Sirmium. In later authors who speak of the activities of emperor Probus in reclaiming the swamplands in Pannonia, *Fossae* is mentioned as a place in the neighborhood of Sirmium.[116]

It was believed that the name of the village Jarak (trench or canal) is a translation of the Latin word *Fossae* and that is why the Roman village is located in Jarak to-day.[117] However, P. Milošević seems to be

[116] HA, Vita Prob. 18.
[117] Milošević 1988: 117-123.

right when he calls in question the localization of the outpost *Fossis* near present-day Jarak, despite the same meaning of the word in Latin and in Serbian. He emphasized that the road after the farm Crepovac, three miles distant from Sirmium, where the two milestones were found, had to turn south in order to reach the present-day village of Jarak if the outpost *Fossis* is to be searched for in this location, instead of continuing a search to the east. But he does not have a new suggestion as to where Fossis can be located along the road. It is possible that *Fossis* did not mark a settlement, but a canal or a ditch (*fossis*) whose digging was reported by Roman writers.[118] *Fossis* might signify an outpost upon crossing the trench or canal, but not the settlement.

*Bassiana*, the station on the road leading to Singidunum, was probably included in the city territory of Sirmium at first, before it obtained city status. It is located near the present-day village of Donji Petrovci. Ancient authors know the name Bassiana, or Basiana (Ptol. II 15, 4. Itin. Hieros, .563, 9, Jord. Get. 53), and Bassianis in the itineraries (Tabula VI, Itin, Ant. 131, 5, Itin. Hieros, 563, 11). Not. Dign. Occ. XXXII, 59 quotes *Caput Basensis* as the headquarters of a commander of a military unit, *tribunus cohortis primae Thracum civium Romanorum* and as a seat of a textile workshop (*gynaecium)*. Not. Dign., oc. XI 46; in Jordanis Bassiana appears as a *civitas* which has *fines* (Jord. Get. 53: *Dintzig filius Attilae… venientes ad Bassiana Pannoniae… civitatem fines eius coepit praedare,* Iust. Novella XI). *Regio Basianensis* i *r(es) p(ublica) col(oniae) Bassian(ensis)* appears in inscriptions CIL III 3336 and 10205 as well as *m(unicipium)* and *col(onia)* which has its own *decuriones*.

After the Roman conquest, the region of Bassiana was organised as a civitas peregrine. The term *civitas* designated a wider territorial community which had its own borders (*finis*) and centre. Before the foundation of the city, this may have been a peregrine community in the south/east of the province of Pannonia Inferior. Its existence was confirmed by an inscription found in the village Petrovci, where a *princeps* is mentioned, presumably *princeps civitatis*.[119] The name of the peregrine community is unknown. Bassiana was included in the city territory of the newly founded *colonia Sirmium*.

In the late Roman period Bassiana was also referred to as *civitas* but the term has a different meaning. It was a city with a wider territory which had defined borders, *fines*, which were mentioned in late Roman sources. Jordanis, an author from the 6th century, knew in his book *Getica, c.* 53 that Attila's son Dintzig arrived at a Pannonian *civitas* of Bassiana and began to pillage the region on its border. It can be said that topography had to first count on a wider administrative community, which was referred to in sources as *civitas*. *Civitas* was a wider term, territorially spacious, with a city in it.

The large Roman settlement was definitely located near Donji Petrovci. The road had to cross the city territory, but not necessarily the town itself. The outpost on the main communication line towards Singidunum was perhaps at the place that was called *Caput Basensis* in *Notitia dignitatum,* oc. XXXII 59. The excavations of M. Grbić in Donji Petrovci in 1935 and subsequent years indicated without a doubt that there was a larger Roman settlement at this place. An air photography revealed a plan of the settlement with ramparts, streets and houses and basilica. The latter was dated to the period between the 4th and the 6th century.[120]

The surrounding area of today's Monastery of *Hopovo* may also be considered part of the cities territory of Sirmium. From this region originates the inscription walled in the monastery in which Sirmium is cited

[118] Prob. HA 20-21. Comp. Mirković 2008: 64.

[119] It is conjectured that this concerns the peregrine community of the Scordisci, which is hardly possible. Their *civitas* is attested epigraphically around present-day Slankamen.

[120] Grbić 1935: 483-486; idem 1936: 19-31 and idem 1937: 1-7.

as the place of origin of a soldier who had served in the I and II *Adiutrix* Legions, in the *V Macedónica, XIII* and *XIV Gemina* Legions (no. **248**). The inscription carries weight in determining the city borders of Sirmium to the extent that it could be surmized that the soldier in question was buried in his birthplace, somewhere around Hopovo. In that case Sirmium would not mean the city proper but Greater Sirmium.

On the south side, a part of the region to the south of the Sava River also belonged to the city territory Sirmium. The width of this strip cannot be ascertained. Perhaps the boundary on this side coincided with the frontier of the province itself.[121] The west, the territory of Sirmium was probably reduced when the municipium Cibalae was created, not far from today's Vinkovci.

Within the territory of Sirmium, there were a number of settlements, many of which originated in prehistoric times. Their names have come down to us in those cases where some Roman roads went through them. On the basis of itineraries, some names of road-posts are known. On the road from Sirmium to Cibalae, itineraries record the posts of Budalia, Spaneta, Ulmus and Caelena. They followed each other at rather short, almost regular intervals of 8 to 13 miles. But in spite of known distances, their localization is not always reliable, for it is not altogether certain what course followed the road from Sirmium to Cibalae. In this direction, a milestone was unearthed in the immediate neighborhood of Sirmium, near the present day village Laćarak (no. **264**). It is not sure that it was a mutation in the road to Cibalae. The distance to Aquincum was marked on it. From among several hypotheses about the direction of this road, the shortest line linking Sirmium and Cibalae is the most probable.[122] The total distance between these two points, 45-50 miles, is somewhat longer than that between today's Sremska Mitrovica and Cibalae as the crow flies: *Itin. Hieros. 563, 2-7: civitas Cibalis XII - mutatio Caelena XI - mansio Ulmo XI - mutatio Spaneta X - mutatio Vedulia VIII - Sirmium.* According to the *Tabula*, the distance between Sirmium and the first station on the west is somewhat longer: *Sirmium XIII - Ulmospaneta XI - Cansilena XI – "two houses" sign - XI - Ad Labores pont. Ulcae. etc.* The modern road between these two places follows the shortest course and the same may be assumed for the Roman road. Katančić thought that the ancient road was somewhat to the north of the modern road and locates in a different way stations between Sirmium and Cibalae.[123] In that case, the afore-mentioned posts should be searched for along the line of the modern road.

The first *mutation* or *mansio* (road-post) on west of Sirmium, whose name is variously given in the records as *Budalia* and *Vedulia*, lay at a distance of eight miles from Sirmium. This distance would fall roughly near the village of present-day Martinci where it was located by J. Jung.[124] Hitherto, archaeological finds at this site have been rather meager. A little further on, near the village Kuzmin, more important Roman remains have been found. In addition to prehistoric material Roman sarcophagi and tombs have been brought to light.[125] Budalia or Vedulia is known from the following sources; Itin. Ant. 268; Itin. Hieros. 563 (Vedulia); Eutrop. IX 4 (Budalia); Aur. Victor Epit. XXIX 1 (Budalia); lord. Rom. 284; Hieron. Chron. a. Abr. 2268. In all probability, Budalia was an ancient Illyrian or Celtic village in the proximity of which a post on the Roman road developed. The name Budalia is considered a Celtic word; the same root appears in Gaul as an attribute of Mars.[126] The link with Mars is to be assumed in another toponym from this area.

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[121] The provincial border was somewhat on the south of the Save, along a line parallel to the river course.

[122] Two names, Ulmus and Spaneta, being joined in one. On the road line, comp. Ljubić 1890: 96; Graf 1936: 54.

[123] Geogr. I, 334.

[124] Ljubić 1890: 96. Comp. also Kiepert 1913: XVII and Patsch 1897: 988.

[125] D. and M. Garašanin, Nalazišta 99 and 227.

[126] Holder I 628: Budenicus, cogn. Martis gallici.

The larger community of which Budalia was a part was called *pagus Martis*, as is affirmed by an inscription in Rome.[127] Perhaps the name Budalia retained an ancient Celtic meaning of some attribute to Mars. All the known names in the Roman inscriptions from this village, whose inhabitants may have been of Celtic origin, are Latin. Only the nomen gentile, taken from the emperors' names of the 2nd and 3nd centuries, point to ancient peregrine origin of the inhabitants. Cognomina, where one might expect to find older clues, are Latin. This would indicate that this settlement, in the immediate neighborhood of Sirmium, was largely romanized. The village of Budalia is known to Roman historiography as the birthplace of the Emperor Decius. Aurelius Victor puts down the district of Sirmium as the Emperor's native land. A more detailed record, *Epit. de Caes*., specifies the name of the village itself as Budalia. It is submitted that both qoted sentences should be combined into one which would thus read: *(Decius) e Pannonia inferiore Budalia in Sirmiensium vico ortus*.[128] It seems that Budalia is to be found too under the name of vicus Doecis (village of Decius, probably according to the emperor who was born there) on the inscription Ann. épigr. 1914, n. 296: *D.m. in hoc monimento posita sum ego Val. Constantia ex provincia Pannonia vico Doecis quae vixit an. XXXV cuius hunc titlum (sic) posuit Fl. Marcellinus cen(turio) virginae suae aete(rna) s(ede) p(osita) ego h(ic) quiese.* Emperor Decius Trajanus bears the nomen gentile *Messius* which is considered Illyrian.[129] His family, of Illyrian origin but romanized early, may have come from the vicinity of Sirmium.[130] On the other hand, he may be a descendant of a soldier-settler, and the name Messius would then not neccessarily signify that the population of Budalia was of Illyrian origin.

*Pagus Martis* comprised other communities besides Budalia. An additional settlement is epigraphically established although its name could not be ascertained due to the state of preservation of the inscription.[131]

*Hispaneta* or *Spaneta* was situated eight miles from Budalia which would coincide with the distance to the present-day place Kukujevci. It is mentioned only in itineraries.[132]

*Ulmus* was one of the larger stations on this road. It is recorded in itineraries as both *mansio* and *vicus*.[133] *Vicus Ulmus* was 26 miles from Sirmium. If the supposed road course is correct, the station was situated between present Šid and Tovarnik, but closer to the latter.[134] According to a piece of information in Ammianus Marcellinus, the state *villa Pistrensis* (or *Pristense*) was approximately at the same distance.[135] A. Graf places it near Šid.[136] Šid, however, lies on the course of the road, whereas the villa was somewhat away from it and, consequently, it should be looked for to the north or to the south of this place.

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[127] CIL VI 37213.

[128] Eutrop. IX 4 and Aur. Vict. XXIX 1. Comp. Hohl 1911: 204.

[129] Wittig, Messius RE XV, 1931, 1250 n.9. Also comp. Krähe 1929: 73; Mayer 1957: 228.

[130] Similar opinion in Wittig, loc. cit.

[131] CIL V 892: *D.m. Aur. Clariano Aur. Maximianus m. leg. primes (sic) atiuftric.(sic) p]os. fratri caris]simo nat. [Pannonia i]n[f]erio[re pago] Mar(tio) vic[o... d]iano ann*. XVIII.

[132] Itin. Ant. 268 (*Hispaneta*); Itin. Hieros. 563; Tabula VII (*Spanetis*); Geogr. Rav. IV 19. Katančić I 334, following another road direction, locates this station near today's Erdevik. It is located near Kukujevci by Miller 1916: 446; Fluss, RE zw. R. VI, 1927, 1261; Graf 1936 op. cit. 54. On the archaeological finds from that site, comp. Garašanin, Nalazišta 104 and 233.

[133] Itin. Ant. 131, 3 (Ulmos vicus); Itin. Hieros. 563, 4 (mansio Ulmo). On the Tabula the names of Ulmus and of the next station, Spaneta, are combined as *Ulmospaneta*. Since the distance between the two is lacking, the total length of the road from Sirmium to Mursa is 9 miles shorter than it had to be.

[134] The station Ulmus is located near the village Tovarnik by Miller 1916: 446 and Graf 1936: 54.

[135] Amm. Marc. XXIX 6,6 has the form Pistrensis (*publica villa, quam appellant Pistrensem*). Comp. Patsch 1929: 19, Saria 1957: 12 and Mayer 1957: 280 and others, consider *Pristensis* as the proper form, confirmed by the name Sexaginta Prista in Lower Moesia.

[136] Graf 1936: 54.

The next post, *Caelena,* eleven miles from Cibalae to the east, was in all probability not part of the territory of Sirmium.

On the road which ran alongside the bank of the Danube, the territory of Sirmium encompassed most likely the posts Bononia, Cuccium and Cornacum. The distance between Sirmium and Bononia was 19 miles.[137] This road, despite its great military importance, was not recorded in itineraries.

*Bononia* is also recorded as Malata. Malata is a word probably of Daco-Getic origin. As Bononia it appears in Itin. Ant. 243, 1; Fasti Idat. ad. a. 294 (MGH AA IX Chron. min. L, 230); Not. dign. occ. XXXII 14, 33, 41, 44. The name Malata is found in the Tabula VII and in Geographus Ravenatus IV 20 (219, 16), which is in some parts fully depending of the Tabula. It is quite possible that the name of Bononia was given by the Romans to prehistoric Malata, for superstitious reasons.[138] As a toponym, Bononia is met within regions where the Celts had passed. In Roman times Bononia commanded a favorable position as a stronghold fading the barbarians on the left bank of the Danube. During Diocletian's reign the fort Onagrinum was built and garrisoned opposite to it, on barbarian territory.[139]

A few monuments have been preserved from Bononia. A fragment of an inscription, mentioning *Flavius Saecularis, tribunus* is among the most noteworthy (no. **250**). The same person, it seems, is affirmed in an inscription from Rome as *L. Flavius T. filius Quirina Saecularis, tribunus coh(ortis) primae voluptariae (sic) Campanorum in Pannonia Inferiore.*[140] The identification of these two is all the more credible because the *I Campanorum* cohort is attested by other inscriptions from the Sirmium area.

There was a civil settlement in Bononia close to the fortress.There are recorded traces of castles and tombs, sarcophagi and other Roman material.[141] The fortress at or near today's Čerević, south-east of Banoštor, probably belonged to the garrison of Bononia as well. This fortress was situated on the hill of Gradac, at a distance of about 13 km from the Danube. It was garrisoned by contingents of the *II Alpinorum* cohort.[142]

South of the Danube, near the present day village of Beočin, the village of *Josista* was situated as is confirmed by the inscription no. **246**. The landed property of a Roman soldier was within its territory in the first century. The settlement existed also in Pre-Roman times. Neolithic stratum and a necropolis from the La Tène period have been archaeologically confirmed on this site.[143]

Upstream from Bononia, the road alongside the Danube was marked at several points by milestones. A milestone from the year 230 AD, discovered in Neštin (no. **260**), marked the distance

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[137] Amm. Marc. XXI 9, 6; XXXI 11, 6. The first passage names Iulianus, the second Gratianus, who came from the west to Sirmium through Bononia.

[138] Something similar happened with Bononia in Upper Moesia, known in some sources as Ad Malum. The root *mal* -, appearing in Daco-Getic languages, wherefrom it was transferred to modern Rumanian and Albanian, is certainly the older name. Its meaning is believed to be "mound" or "shore". Holder thinks that the name is of Celtic origin, the same as Bononia in Italy (Altcelt. Sprachsch. s.v.). The name Malata, which seems older, belongs to Illyrian names (Krähe 1925: 91; Mayer 1957: 93 and 217). Comp. Graur 1961: 21).

[139] Fasti Idat. ad a. 294; Not. dign. occ. XXXII 41, 48. Comp. B. Saria RE XVIII, 1939, 402.

[140] CIL VI 3520 = ILS 2731.

[141] On archaeological finds from Banoštor (Bononia) see Brunšmid 1895: 183; Garašanin, Nalazišta 221-222; Klemenc 1961: 20. Walls, graves and minor objects were found. A brick with the Greek alphabet is known among others. On the opposite side of the river, on the place of the fortress Onagrinum, traces of a Roman protective system were found (Frölich, Arh. Ert. N. F. 9, 1889, 98-107). The results of the 1970-71 excavations in Bononia are unpublished.

[142] Graves were found in Čerević as early as 1888. The tombs were built from bricks with the stamp LEG VI HERC – *Leg(io) VI Herc(ulia)*, VHAD 10, 1838, 59; Garašanin, Nalazišta 223; Klemenc, op. cit. 21). On the fortification at mount Gradac, 80m x 20m large, comp. O. Brukner, AP 5, 1963, 109 ff.

[143] On the prehistoric finds from Beočin: Arheološka karta Vojvodine I, p. 80; Garašanin, Nalazišta 87.

from Aquincum to this point which lay between the outposts of Bononia and Cuccium. There may have existed at this point a smaller settlement or a sanctuary. A monument consecrated to Diana discovered near Neštin, between Ilok and Susek, no. **255**, might perhaps indicate the existence of a sanctuary.[144]

Near today's Ilok was located the station of Cuccium, 16 miles from Bononia.[145] The hill on the right bank of the Danube gives to this place a very favorable position. An abrupt descent of the river bank makes approach to the fort inaccessible from the Danube side. The Pre-Roman settlement belonged to the Cornacates tribe. There were romanized inhabitants here as early as the first half of the 2nd century. Opposite to Ilok, on the left bank of the Danube, near the present town of Bačka Palanka, some traces of Roman settlements were also unearthed. This would indicate that the Romans held this point on the barbarian side of the Danube.[146]

In the north-west, the tribe Cornacate*s* had probably remained within the territory of Sirmium. *Cornacum* near today's Sotin was a center of the Celtic-Illyrian Cornacates in Pre-Roman times. Archaeological material, gathered in the last century, confirms that Cornacum was settled in the course of a long prehistoric past going back to the Neolithic period. There is also Celtic material.[147] The tribe Cornacates, probably of Celtic originally, was gradually assimilated by the Illyrians. Traces of this process could be detected in the onomasticon where Illyrian and Celtic names are intermixed. The name of the tribe and of the main fortress of the Cornacates is of Celtic origin.[148] During the first half of the 1st century, Cornacates served in the Roman auxiliary forces. Dases Dasmeni, a Cornacatus with an Illyrian name, mentioned in a military diploma from the year 54 as a soldier of the *Cohort I Hispanorum,* must have been recruited in the 30's of the 1st century.[149] Not far from Sotin, where their stronghold Cornacon had been situated, an inscription of a magistrate of Sirmium was discovered (no. **256**).

Ptolemaeus records Cornacon as a *polis*, probably the same as *oppidum* (fortress) on the Danube at the place where the river forms a wide bend, *ἐπιστροφή*.[150] On the the map that accompanies Ptolemaeus' text, this change in the flow of the Danube is represented as a sharp bend to the south and then northward. Thus some sort of a peninsula is created where Cornacum is situated.[151] On such a map one can hardly recognize the present course of the Danube. The view of the entire south-eastern section of Lower Pannonia is considerably distorted. Sirmium lies to the east of its actual location while Bassiana is in front of it, nearer to Cibalae. This kind of displacement can hardly be attributed to the shifting of the riverbeds of the Sava and the Danube. Judging by a text of Ptolemaeus, the course of the Danube did not differ from its present to any marked extent. One of the wide bends was situated by today's Sotin,

[144] For other finds, Garašanin, op. cit. 216.

[145] Itin. Ant. 242, 2; Tabula VII; Geogr. Rav. IV 17 (219, 17); Not. dign. occ. XXXII 6 and 25. Kiepert, FOA XVII; Patsch, RE IV, 1901. On the name, Holder. I 1182; Mayer 1957: 199. Archaeological material is scarce and probably built in the later fortress at the same place. Comp. Brunšmid-Kubitschek, AEM 4 1880, 105; Klemenc 11961 op. cit. 20.

[146] Garašanin, Nalazišta 65 and 216.

[147] Brunšmid 1901: 139; Brunšmid, Kubitschek 1880: 103; Garašanin, Nalazišta 105; Klemenc 1961: 20.

[148] *Dases Dasmeni i*s an Illyrian name, confirmed on the military diploma CIL XVI 2, *Gogaenus*, the name preserved on a stone from Susek, in the vicinity of Ilok (no. **259**) is Celtic. The element *corn-* is known in toponomastics from Gallia (Holder I 1129; 1130; 1384). It is also found in the name of Tri-cornium, in northern Moesia, area held by the Celtic Scordisci (Holder II 1950). Mayer 1957: 196 thinks of an Illyrian origin of the name of Cornacum. Krähe 1929: 142, includes the element *corn* – among Illyrian words, since it appears in the personal name Corinus in Istria. However, this name could be also explained as Latin (Schulze, Lat. Eigennamen 36, 155).

[149] CIL XVI 2.

[150] Ptol. II 15, 2. Comp. also II 15, 5.

[151] Comp. maps X and XXXVII in Claudii Ptolemaei Geographiae codex Urbinas graecus 82, ed. Fischer 1932.

starting near Vukovar. The text of Ptolemaeus may be ambiguous but not erroneous in tracing the course of the river. It involves, rather, an error in map-making. After a deviation to the south, the Danube did not turn again to the north but continued flowing eastward, as today.

Cornacum is also mentioned in the Roman itineraries. Tabula marks it by a sign of two little houses which was a customary symbol for city settlements. It appears for the last time on a map in the 7th century[152]. Cornacum, like the rest of the military fortifications on the Danube, grew in importance in the course of the wars on the Pannonian frontiers under Domitian and Marcus Aurelius, and during o wars in the 4th century. It was probably Domitian's war that brought to Cornacum a certain Marcus Domitius, a soldier of the *IV Flavia* Legion, who originated from Viminacium, a town in Upper Moesia. He was buried in Cornacum as his funerary inscription attests; having been killed in action during the war, after 17 years of military service.[153] The *IV Flavia* Legion took part in Domitian's war on the Danube as well as in subsequent wars during the reign of Marcus Aurelius.[154] Bricks with the seal of the *I Aurelia Dardanorum Antoniana* Cohort were unearthed in Cornacum.[155] This military unit is also attested as part of a garrison stationed in Upper Moesia.[156] It is conceivable that they had taken part in the construction of the Danubian fortifications during a temporary stay in Pannonia.

It is conjectured that the permanent garrison of the fort at Cornacum in the 2nd century consisted of the *I Montanorum* Cohort.[157] The source materials do not corroborate this hypothesis up to the present time. The only reliable sources concerning the Cornacum garrison are of the Later Roman Empire. According to the Notitia Dignitatum, *cuneus equitum scutariorum* and *equites Dalmatae* were stationed here.[158] Traces of the Roman settlement have disappeared. The only testimony of its former existence are various objects of every-day use, such as lamps, ceramic and utensils.[159]

South of Sirmium, on the road leading towards the Drina River, to the mining district and Domavia (Srebrnica), the first station recorded in itineraries was Gensis, situated at the 30 mile far from Sirmium.[160] It is conjectured that a name appearing on an inscription from Skelani, and abreviated as *Gerd*( ), refers to the same. It concerns a certain *IIv[i]r q(uin)q(uennalis) Gerd*(. .).[161] This, on the other hand, would point to a municipal community. If this community were situated 30 miles from Sirmium, then the extension of the city of Sirmium would have been limited at this distance. However, the identification of the station Gensis with the abbreviated name *Gerd* is not altogether certain despite some similarity between the two names, and consequently cannot be accepted as confirmation of the existence of another municipal community on the 30 miles south-east of Sirmium. In any event, the region of today's northern Bosnia was linked with Sirmium by an overland route and by the Sava and

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[152] Itin. Ant. 243, 2 (C*ornaco*); Tabula VII; Geogr. Rav. IV 18 (219, 18); Not. dign. occ. XXXII 3, 12, 31. To be seen for the last time on Beatus' map (Miller 1895: 32, quoted according to Mayer 1957). On Cornacum, see Patsch 1900: 1246-1247; Mócsy 1959: 76 and Nr. 237/1.

[153] No. **91**.

[154] Ritterling 1924: 1545. See further, on the army.

[155] VHAD 5, 1901, 145 = Klemenc 1961: 20.

[156] Wagner 1938: 130; Kraft 1952: 175 and n. 1390.

[157] Radnoti, Barkoczy 1951: 216 arrived at this conclusion on the basis of the order of auxiliary units mentioned in military diplomas from the middle of the 2nd century AD. They consider that order as topographic.

[158] Not. dign. occ. XXXII 22 and 12.

[159] Brunšmid 1901: 143.

[160] Tabula VII: Sirmium XXX - Gensis XV - Ad Drinum.

[161] Patsch 1909: 149; Pašalić 1960: 74-75.

Drina rivers. Trade routes ran over the frontiers of the municipal territory. Some citizens of Sirmium are affirmed in several places in Bosnia. A decurion of Sirmium appears on an inscription from the mining district of Domavia, on the left bank of the Drina; another decurion, together with his family, is attested in northern Bosnia; and in the vicinity of Bosanska Gradiška, on the right bank of the Sava, inscriptions of a certain Ursio and Sirmia were discovered. The latter must have been a freedwoman of the city of Sirmium. The other persons mentioned on the monument, Potamilia Proba and Ingenia, carry the usual Latin or Greek names.[162] Municipal magistrates mentioned on the inscriptions from northern Bosnia probably possessed here, or had come to this district for commercial reasons.

In the territory of Greater Sirmium the Romans formally retained the old division of villages and hamlets. It seems that this division persisted during the entire Roman imperial period. However, internal changes appeared quite early. The introduction of new forms of realty resulted in a reduce of the land ownership of the native population. In the village districts, landed property belonging to veterans have been affirmed, either directly or indirectly.[163] Part of the land passed over into the ownership of the Roman state. The villa Pistrensis, located west of Sirmium, near Šid, must have belonged to the emperor.

With the coming of the Romans, some new forms in the economic structure became manifest. On the veterans' lands, slave labor was probably employed as well. Little is known about the status of independent small free farmers and slaves in the environment of Sirmium, or in Pannonia in general. The slave- ownership system of production was probably accepted even by the well-to-do, Romanized indigenous population. It is plausible that the Pannonians as well as the Dardanians had been acquainted with some rudimentary forms of slavery even in the Pre-Roman era. There is evidence emanating from the Roman period concerning a freedwoman under the patronage of a person of Illyrian origin. The freedwoman, a certain Masti and her master Gresa Dasmeni. whose name is Illyrian, are cited on an inscription discovered recently in the neighborhood of Sirmium, near the village Manđelos.[164] The inscription indicates that slaves existed in the vicinity of the city, some even owned by persons of non-Roman origin, but this fact alone cannot be taken as sufficient ground for ascertaining the extent of slave labor employed in the agrarian district around Sirmium. Generally speaking, little is known about the indigenous people even though they made up the larger part of the population. They lived scattered over the fields of Pannonia, in some cases probably as laborers on veterans' lands. Nothing definite is known of the conditions and arrangements under which they labored. Epigraphic data – the only reliable information in treating the problems concerning the population of Sirmium and its surroundings – pertain to Romans or romanized individuals.

[162] Patsch 1924: 229; CIL III 12739 + 12740.

[163] The boundary stone from Beočin was marking the estates of Claudius Priscus, prefect of the ala I c. R., of the village of Iosista (no. **249**). On the establishment of veterans in Pannonia see E. Štaerman, VDI 1952/2, 107; Mócsy 1959: 89-90.

[164] No. **244**.

# VII THE CITY POPULATION

The first community of Roman citizens in Sirmium, *oppidum civium Romanorum*, was organized by immigrants from Italy. It appears that people from northern Italy had traded in these region even before it was annexed to the Roman Empire and settled here. In the time when Breuci and other Pannonian tribes rebelled against Roman domination, emigrants from Italy must represent in Pannonia an important community, which rebels surrounded in 6 AD in Sirmium. Trade retained primary significance up to the end of the Roman Period. The last evidence relating to immigration to Sirmium from other provinces comes from the 3rd and 4th centuries. Military service also brought Italic people and inhabitants of other provinces to Pannonia. Some of them, after being discharged from the army, settled in Sirmium. Testimonies concerning the settling of discharged soldiers date from the early period, from the 1st and 2nd and also from the first half of the 3th century.

A complete or clear picture of the population of Sirmium cannot be drawn up on the basis of available evidence. Origin is seldom attested, dated inscriptions are few. Most of them can be approximately dated within the 2nd and 3rd centuries. The information about the population of the Roman city which could be directly or indirectly get from the inscriptions could be shortly summarised as follows.

The origin of the Sirmium settlers can be determined only exceptionally. These exceptional cases indicate that there were immigrants in Sirmium from various parts of the Roman Empire. From Gaul originated Cominius Severus (no. **47**) who served as a soldier of the *II Adiutrix* Legion during the Domitian wars on the Pannonian frontiers and was buried in Sirmium. On his funerary stone the town of Vienna in Gaul with its tribus *Voltinia* was given as his birthplace. Apparently he never settled in Sirmium, for it was not his family who made the arrangements for his tomb stone, but Caesernius Macedo, procurator Augusti, of the well known Caesernii family.[165] The nomen gentile Cominius appears again later on, among the inhabitants of Sirmium, but probably not of the same family. In the newly discovered statue basis in Sirmium appears T. Cominius T. f. Secudus with the *tribus Qurina* in wich have been inscribed citizens of Sirmium. The statue has benn erected by his son *[T.] Cominius [..],* (no. **151**). Soldier Cominius Maximus, in an inscription from the vicinity of the military camp in Aquincum, could belong to the same family. He puts down Sirmium as his place of origin.[166] It may be conjectured that the ancestors of them traced their origin to Gaul.

It could be assumed that persons with Latin names, encountered on early monuments, originated from Italy or western provinces. Descendants of the oldest immigrants in Sirmium were Sex. Iuventius

[165] On the family of Caesernii, Šašel 1960: 214-215, n. 65.

[166] CIL III 3320. The soldier's name is not preserved in the inscription. It was Cominius, judging by the daughter's name, Cominia Maximilla.

Ingenuus and S. Curtius Secundus, witnesses in a military diploma from Krnješevci dating from the year 73.[167] The families *Titii* who settled in northern Bosnia, to which some municipal magistrates of Sirmium belonged, were probably of Italic origin, as well as *Caecilii, Cominii, Licinii, Praeconii, Maecii and Albanii*, whose members, serving in the XV Apollinaris and the *IV Flavia* Legions, listed Sirmium as their place of origin.[168]



Fig. 13: The citizens of Sirmium

[167] CIL XVI 18.

[168] *Caecilii* and *Licinii*: RLiÖ 12, 321 = Schober 1923: n. 108; *Praeconii*: CIL III 1435821a; *Maecii*: CIL III 4189 (Dozmat); *Albanii*: Spom. 75, no. 1 (Singidunum). Sirmium as place of origin is found by the *optio* of the *cohors I Alpinorum*, whose name is not preserved (Stuhlweissenburg CIL III 3352).



Fig. 14: Vessel and glass (Museum of Srem)

In all probability, there was a considerable number of immigrants from Dalmatia in Sirmium although there are few direct traces in this respect. Two rather unreliable testimonies concern soldier. A soldier serving in the Ala II Pannoniorum, whose name is partly preserved as *[... ]uli f. Derini,* (no. **55**) may have belonged to the Dalmatian tribe *Derini*.[169] In the other case, the cognomen Dalmata and Dalmatius is mentioned twice: once on an inscription discovered in Čerević (no. **251**) citing a soldier of the *II Alpinorum* cohort, and again on a fragment of a monument recently unearthed near Sremska Mitrovica (no. **33**). It is possible that it refers to *nomina ethnica*. As regards civilians, a direct testimony concerning a person's Dalmatian origin comes from a later period, that of the 3rd and 4th centuries. It is mentioned on a monument that a woman, Maximina, came from Dalmatia (no. **144**). *Iulii* and *Claudii*, among them the city magistrates, taken after the names of emperors of the 1st century, originated

[169] *Derini* could be identical with the *Deretini* in Pliny, n.h. III 143. On this question, Patsch 1905: 240; Krähe 1929: 136.

probably from Italy and western provinces. At that time, Romanization in Pannonia had not yet become widespread.[170]

A certain number of people from the East and from the Greek provinces also lived in Sirmium. A certain *Stigius*, described in the inscription as *Syria genitus* (no. **143**), hailed from the East. The presence of some inhabitants from Greece and the hellenophon countries is affirmed in several inscriptions in Greek. Most of them emanate from the Christians. The last inscription from Sirmium, made during the Avar siege, was written in Greek.[171]



Fig. 15: Reliefs from Sirmium

The reword of Sirmium with the status of colonia did not bring about any significant extension of citizenship to the indigenous population in the city's neighboring districts. The number of Roman citizens within the greater city limits was augmented by means of settling veterans. The peregrine population acquired Roman citizenship individually in the course of the 2nd and 3rd centuries. None of the gentile names is prevalent to such an extent as to suggest mass Romanization. The gentile name Flavius, taken from the emperors who had granted Sirmium the status of colony, does not appear any more often than those inspired by names of other emperors. Even the persons who bore this name cannot always be said to have come from Sirmium. Some of them could have come from other

[170] For ex. *Iulius Florus, dec. col.* - Jarak, no. 77; T.C1. Priscus, praef. alae I c. R. -Beočin, No. 79; *Cl. Tiberina*, citizen of Sirmium, known through an inscription from Alt-Ofen, CIL III 3563; T.C1. *Severinus*, praetorian, CIL VI 32624; *Iulius Asclepiades*, CIL III 3241.

[171] No. **243**.

provinces. The number of *Flavii* is found among the soldiers, and often affirmed in inscriptions of later dates.[172] Among the indigenous who acquired Roman citizenship under the emperors of the Flavian dynasty, was probably a T. Flavius Severus Gogaenus, decurio and duovir of Sirmium. His monument was discovered in the greater city territory, near today's Susek, which was probably his birthplace. He retained in his cognomen the old name *Gogaenus* (no. **259**). The old name, probably Illyrian, was also retained by a Flavius Messianus, the praetorian sodier, CIL VI 32536. The rest of the *Flavii* had Latin cognomens except in one case where the cognomen was Greek. This person was probably an immigrant.[173]

The gentile names of later emperors, Trajan (*Ulpius*) and Hadrian (*Aelius*), are also encountered most frequently among the soldiers from Sirmium. Out of eight *Ulpii* substantiated thus far, seven served in the Roman army in Pannonia.[174] One of them, Ulpius Priscus Candidianus was municipal decurion (no. **16**). The imperial name Aelius has been attested heretofore exclusively among the military or those connected with the army. The *Aelii* from Sirmium served in the units stationed in Pannonia and neighboring provinces, and some served in praetorian cohorts in Rome.[175] Even though it might be supposed that most of them descended from the Pannonian midst in no case was the old name preserved in the cognomen. Three women with the name *Aelia* appear as dedicators on monuments consecrated to soldiers: *Aelia Proculina* is mentioned on a monument found near the military camp of the *II Adiutrix* Legion in Aquincum,[176] whereas *Aelia Procella* and *Aelia Basilissa* are widows of *clavicularii* in the service of *praesides* buried in Sirmium. The same gentile name of both husband and wife may indicate a low social origin of the latter (no. **56**).

The *Aurelii* are more numerous in Sirmium than other imperial gentile names. This also is the case in other cities in the Danubian provinces. It is due to the fact that two emperors carried this gentile name, Marcus Aurelius and Caracalla. The latter had issued an edict, so called *Constitutio Antoniniana*, extending Roman civil rights unto the entire free population of the Empire. Several praetorians of Sirmian origin had the name Aurelius (*Aurelius Verus, Aurelius Septimus, Aurelius Lupus and Aurelius Valentinus).*[177] *Aurelius Clarianus,* affirmed in Aquileia, and *Aurelius Maximus*, soldier of the *I Adiutrix* Legion, served in the armed forces. *T. Aurelius Atticus*, veteran of the *IV Flavia* Legion of Singidunum, originated from Sirmium.[178] *Aurelius Martinus* and *Aurelia Bona* are attested as heirs to *Restitutius Silvanus*, centurion of the *I Minervia* Legion stationed temporarily in Sirmium (no. **46**).

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[172] Known as soldiers: Flavius Saecularis (sic) from Bononia, no. **253**; *C.F1. Messianus*, praetorian, CIL VI 32536 from 209 AD; *T. FI. Asper*, IMS II No. 53), Viminacium, legio *VII Claudia*, 195 AD). Others must be connected with the army: *FI. Novellianus*, CIL III 3320 (Bölcske), whose inscription was found near the camp, and *T. Flavius*, CIL III 3586 (Pest).

[173] *FI. Messianus*, CIL VI 32536. Other *Flavii: Fl. Aulus,* no. **103***, FI. Diogenes*, no. **6** ; Fl. Paternus, no. **22**; *T. Fl. Candidianus*, no. **10**; T.Fl. Potiumenus, no. **11**; *T. Fl(avius)* no. **161**; *Flavius (?) Hatena, protector ducenarius*, no. **28**; *Flavia Ianuaria,* no. **257**, Flavia Severina, no. **259**, etc. see index.

[174] *M. Ulp. Titus, mil. leg. II Ad.*, no. **248** (Hopovo); *M. Ulp. Dassius, mil. leg. XV Apoll.* (Carnuntum, CIL III 4491); *Ulp. Crescens, eq. sing,* in Rome 104-132 AD (CIL VI 31140 = ILS 2181); *M. Ulp. Pudens, eq. sing*, in Rome 111-138 AD, CIL VI 31146 and *M.Ulp. Quietus* on the same monument; *M. Ulp. Messor* and *M. Ulp. Licinius*, soldiers of the *legio VII Claudia* in Viminacium, years 169-195 AD (IMS II No. 53).

[175] *P. Ael. Valerius, trib. coh. I Camp. c.R.*, no. **39**; *P. Ael. Respectus, eq. Rom. a milit*., no. **44** (the father has a Greek cognomen. *Ael. Trophimianus); P. Ael. Natali*s, praetorian, 183-4 AD, CIL VI 32523; *P. Ael. Candidus, eq. sing.* 111-138, CIL VI 31146; *P. Ael. Surio. eq. sing.* CIL VI 3184; *P. Ael. Iulius*, soldiers of the *legio VII Claudia* in Viminacium, 169-195, IMS II 53.

[176] CIL III 3320 (Bölcske).

[177] CIL VI 37213; 32624; 32627. Comp *M. Aurelius Valentius*, CIL XVI 156.

[178] CIL V 892 (Aquileia); JÖAI. 13, 212-213 (Singidunum).

Besides the quoted examples, the name of *Aurelius* is also found in the inscription on the sarcophagus no. **140** (*Aurelia Asclepiodota* and *Aurelius Alexander)*; *Aurelia Dorot[hea*?], 145, *Aurelia Ursa*, no. **148**; *Aur. Simplicius*, no. **147**, with cognomen which is frequent on Christian inscriptions, and others.

It may be supposed that most persons with the gentile name of the emperors of the Flavian dynasty and of those of subsequent emperors, were descendents of the indigenous population. It would appear that Romanized natives often carry the gentile name *Valerius* as well. Many soldiers in the Danubian provinces had this name. There are some amongst them who had preserved their ancient names such as, for example, *L. Valerius Dazantis*.[179] Inasmuch as it can be judged by the number of preserved inscriptions, and persons with the emperor's gentile name, it would seem that most of the inhabitants of Sirmium and its surroundings acquired Roman citizenship in the 2nd and 3rd centuries.

Even through Sirmium had sprung up in the middle of the region inhabited by Illyrians, the native people is seldom mentioned; ancient names appear seldom in Roman inscriptions. Most of the non-Roman names belong to the Illyrian onomasticon. Celtic names appear but rarely in this part of Pannonia. In some exceptional cases, they were preserved in their latinized forms such as *Gogaenus* (*T. Flavius Gogaenus,* no. **259**), *Messianus* (*T. Flavius Messianus)*,[180] *Messor (M. Ulpius Messor*).[181] Illyrian traces are preserved in the gentile name of a soldier of the *II Adiutrix* Legion, *Gramon(ius)*, probably connected with the Illyrian *Grabon/Gramon*, no. **12**. Of Illyrian lineage are the names *Gresa Dasmeni, Dases Dasmeni* and *L. Valerius Dasantis*.[182]

A Thracian name has been affirmed only in the case of a slave girl, *Mastis*, no. **244**. who was probablv brought there. Indigenous names appear on the inscriptions from the Sirmium district somewhat earlier than in the neighboring Moesia. The earliest epigraphic testimony of this kind appears at the end of the 1st or the beginning of the 2nd century, whereas in Moesia they are not generally older than the 3rd century, and their appearance could be linked with an ethnical renaissance.

Citizens of Sirmium in other cities in Pannonia are affirmed most often as legion soldiers. Recruiting in Sirmium for legion service began early because Sirmium already represented a considerable community of Roman citizens in the 1st century. Some of the soldiers of Sirmium origin in the *XV Apollinaris* Legion must have been recruited at the end of the 1st century AD such as, for instance, *P. Maccius Sabinus,* attested by an inscription from Dozmat, *Praeconius Iucundus,* known from an inscription found in Petronell, *Caecilius Celer* and others.[183] Probably a soldier of the *I Adiuitrix* Legion, a *Q. Sabinius Maximus*, who died at the beginning of the 2nd century AD (no. **15**), had been recruited in Sirmium or its proximity.

From the beginning of the 2nd century, recruiting in Sirmium territory was carried out for the II *Adiutrix* Legion. Moreover, recruiting for the *XV Apollinaris* Legion was continued as *Cominius Maximus, vet. ex. sign, leg. II Adiutrix*, CIL III 3320 from Bölcske; M. Ulpius Dasius, mil. leg. XV Apoll. CIL III 4491 from Carnuntum). The short distance and lively traffic between to two neighboring provinces, Pannonia and Upper Moesia, brought about the intermixing of their populations. Citizens of Sirmium are found among soldiers of Upper Moesia. A soldier of the *IV Flavia* Legion, *I. Albanius*

[179] CIL X 3375. Comp. no. **13** - Valerius Florentinus; Valerius Severianus, no. **254** (Ilok).
[180] CIL VI 32536.
[181] IMS II 53.
[182] No. **244** (Manđelos); *Dases Dasmeni*, CIL XVI n. 2; *Valerius Dasantis*, CIL X 3375; C. Ill 10212 - Bassiana.
[183] CIL III 4189; CIL III 1435821a; RLiÖ 12, 321.



Fig. 16: Apollo (Museum of Srem)

*Septimius* from Sirmium, and *T. Aurelius Atticus*, the veteran who had served as a decurion in Sirmium and Singidunum, are both attested in Singidunum.[184]

During the wars of Marcus Aurelius on the Pannonian frontiers, recruiting for the Upper Moesian legions, *IV Flavia* and *VII Claudia*, was carried out as well. *L. Albanius Septimius* from Sirmium served in the *IV Flavia* Legion in the 2nd century (IMS I, no. 34). On a monument of discharged soldiers of the *VII Claudia* Legion in Viminacium in the year 195, six persons designate Sirmium as their place of origin: ... *ustus* (the name was not preserved), *P. Aelius lulius, M. Ulp. Messor, C. Val. Quintianus, T. FI. Aper and M. Ulp. Licinius* (IMS II 53).

Citizens of Sirmium served as soldiers of the I and *II Adiutrix* Legions in the course of the 3rd century, as soldiers of the auxiliary units and praetorian cohorts. These include: *Aurelius Verus* from the village Budalia, on the territory of Sirmium, in an inscription from Rome CIL VI 37212 (Dessau ILS 2034); *Aurelius Maximianus* from the village Mars (*pagus Martis)*, near Sirmium, CIL V 892.

From the middle of the 2nd century, recruiting for the praetorian cohorts had also been carried out on the territory of Sirmium (...*Viator*, on the list of praetorians in the year 141, CIL VI 32519; *P. Ael. Natalis*, attested in the year 183/4, CIL VI 32523; *FI. Messius,* on a monument from the year 209, CIL VI 32536). Two persons, whose names are not entirely preserved, were also from Sirmium, ... *Herculianas* from the year 209, CIL III 2385, and another one, name unknown, on the monument CIL VI 32533 (year 209) as well as *T. Iuvencatus* attested in a list of praetorians in the year 213 (CIL 32538). Prior to the reign of Septimius Severus, provincials from Pannonia were entering the praetorian cohorts having previously served in Roman legions. Emperors nomen gentile prevailed amongthe praetorianer recruited in Sirmium.[185]

In the 2nd century, citizens of Sirmium were also encountered as soldiers of the military units *equites singulares* as, for example, *M. Decimius, P. Ael. Candidus, M. Ulp. Pudens, M. Ulp. Quintus*, all attested in a list of soldiers from the year 138 (CIL VI 31146) as well as *M. Ulpins Crescens* who is attested on a monument from the year 104-132, CIL VI 31140.

The surrounding territories of Sirmium, romanized to a certain extent, did not ceased entirely to furnish soldiers for the auxiliary units. Recipient of the military diploma RMD 21 from 123 AD with the probably Illyrian name *Glavo Novati*, originated from the territory of Sirmium. His wife *Juvena Bellagenti* was Eraviscka. One soldier from Sirmium, belonging to the *I Alpinorum Cohort*, is attested by an inscription in Stuhlweissenburg, CIL III 3352.

[184] IMS I, no. 16 and 34.

[185] Par example, *C. Iulius Herculanus*, CIL VI 32536, *C. Flavius* , CIL VI 32536, *Ulpius*, CIL VI 31140 and CIL VI 31146, the latter two from the tiime of Trajan's reign, *Aelius* CIL VI 3184, *Aurelius* CIL VI 32627. For complete list see Dobó 1940.

# VIII SIRMIUM AND THE ROMAN ARMY

The strategic importance of Sirmium as a military base and a seat of emperors and military command during the wars on the Danube led to the belief in modern historiography that there was a permanent camp of one legion during the time of Domitian's wars on the Pannonian Danube in the 80s and 90s of the 1st century and later at the time when Marcus Aurelius waged wars on the Danube borders against the Svevi, Quadi, Marcomanni, Sarmatians and other tribes. Consequently, there is wide-spread opinion in modern historiography that a legion was garrisoned in the city or its vicinity. There are several hypotheses as to what legion may have been stationed in Sirmium. Fröhlich searched in Sirmium for the camp of the *II Adiutrix* Legion and, later on, Ritterling, like Gündel, maintained that this legion had been stationed within the greater or narrower city limits until the division of Pannonia into two provinces.[186] Ritterling linked this problem to the hypothesis of the territorial boundary division between Pannonia and Upper Moesia at the end of the 1st and the beginning of the 2nd century. An opinion advanced in passing by A. Graf, that the *VIII Augusta* Legion had its permanent headquarters in Sirmium after 45 AD remains without echo.[187] In a study of the problems of the disposition of the military forces in the Danubian district, G. Alföldy came to the conclusion, based on a monument from Sirmium no. **15**, that during Domitian's war the camp of the *I Adiutrix* Legion was garrisoned in Sirmium.[188]

Sirmium could have been used as a military base by the emperors, but it was not a permanent military camp of one of the legions. This is where the army gathered for war and the emperor and his headquarters could have had a seat. There is reason to believe that Domitian during his wars on the Pannonian frontiers was dwelling in Sirmium; Marcus Aurelius was directly confirmed to have his headquarters here. There is, however, no convincing evidence to suggest that the city was a permanent legion camp. Monuments of various legions have been discovered in the city and surroundings. The soldiers and veterans of the following legions were confirmed in the inscriptions from Sirmium: 1. *I Adiutrix*, 2. II. *Adiutrix*, 3. *IV Flavia*, 4. *III Gallica*, 5. *VIII Augusta*, 6. *XIII Gemina* and 7. *I Minervia*. However, a survey of all these inscriptions shows that there is no decisive proof that any of them was permanently garrisoned in Sirmium. There is no archaeological confirmation of any *castrum* in the town or the vicinity which would house either a legion or an auxiliary squad.

The *I Adiutrix* Legion which is also conjectured to have had its permanent camp in Sirmium at the end of the 1st century AD, is attested in only one inscription in Sirmium (no. **15**). It is dedicated to

[186] Gündel 1895: 42; Ritterling 1924: 1444.
[187] Graf 1936: 54.
[188] Alföldy 1959: 122.

Jupiter by a Sabinius Maximus, a soldier of the *I Adiutrix* Legion, *centuria* of Egnatius Paetus.[189] The monument from Sirmium is dated in a complicated way: the same person, Egnatius Paetus, appears on an inscription from nearby Mursa (Osijek) as centurion of the *X Gemina* Legion.[190] It must be dated before the yerar 100, when the *I Adiutrix* Legion was temporarily transferred to Dacia. That means that the Pannonian inscriptions from Sirmium and Mursa must have been dated prior to this time. The absence of the attributes *pia fidelis* on the monuments from Sirmium and Mursa with reference to the *I Adiutrix* Legion which became customary from the beginning of Nerva's reign, would warrant assigning the Sirmium inscription to the period of Domitian's Pannonian war in the years 86-89 AD.[191] The inscription from Sirmium is, therefore, older than the one from Mursa, which would, in turn, indicate that Egnatius Paetus had been transferred from the *I Adiutrix* to the *X Gemina* Legion, at that time garrisoned in Mursa.[192] The dating of the inscription from Sirmium is tempting, but still it represents no proof that the legion was garrisoned in Sirmium.

Legion *II Adiutrix* is mentioned on several inscriptions from Sirmium and the vicinity, but none of them can be taken as testimony of the legion's garrison in the city. The following inscriptions are known:

1. Tombstone no. **47** of *T. Cominus Severus*, son of Titus, inscribed in the Roman tribus *Voltinia*, originally from the town of Vienna in Gallia, a centurion of the legion *II Adiutrix*, who lived for 45 years. He was decorated by the emperor, probably Domitian, for his merits in the Dacian war. The monument was erected by *Caesernius Macedo*, an imperial procurator.

2. Altar no. **18**, which was dedicated to Jupiter and all other gods and goddesses in 148 AD by *C. Antonius Vitalis* (a centurion?) of the legion *II Adiutrix*.

3. Altar no. **12**, dedicated to Jupiter in 223 AD by Titus Gramonius Licilianus, a signifier of the legion *II Adiutrix*.

4. A long funerary inscription in verses, no. **48**, dedicated to Salvius, who died at the age of 33 as a *frumentarius* of the legion *II Adiutrix*. He was buried by his father. The monument is dated to the 2nd century.

5. From the vicinity of Sirmium, from the monastery of Novo Hopovo, comes the tombstone of Marcus Ulpius Titus, no. **248**. He originated from Sirmium and served as a centurion in several legions, *II Adiutrix, I Adiutrix, XIII Gemina, V Macedonica, XIIII Gemina* and again in *II Adiutrix*. It is possible that he lived in the vicinity of Novo Hopovo and that the monument was transported from there and built into the monastery.

6. There is a larger number of soldiers of the legion II *Adiutrix* who served as consular *beneficiarii* in the outpost on the western gate of Sirmium, nos. **58**, **59**, **60**, **62**, **65**, **68**, **69**, **71**, **72**, **77**, **83**, **84**, **87**, **89**, **91**, **92**, **121**, **124**, **125**, **127** in the years **185**, **187**, **189**, **195**, **203**, **204**, **205**, **206**, **208**, **209**, **223**, **224** AD and on undated tombstones.

Inscription no. **47** referring to the soldiers of the *II Adiutrix* legion has been used as evidence that the legion had its permanent camp in Sirmium during Domitian's Pannonian wars in the 90s of the first century. In fact, this is a modern construction that rests on the interpretation of a lost piece of evidence

[189] No. **15**.
[190] Klemenc 1928: 272.
[191] Ritterling 1924: 1437.
[192] Klemenc 1928: 272 ff.

which was contained in Hadrian's biography in the text *Historia Augusta, Vita Hadr.* 2, 2. The early career of the emperor Hadrian is described as follows: Since Trajan took him from his homeland, he treated him as a son and soon gave him a position in court, so he became a *decimvir stlitibus iudicandis*. Later he was promoted to a tribune in the legion *II Adiutrix*. He was transferred to Moesia Inferior towards the end of Domitian's rule. The text does not mention the province where Hadrian served as a tribune of the legion *II Adiutrix*, but it is presumed that it was Moesia Superior, mentioned in the lost part of the text. This hypothesis was first presented by W. Pfitzner in his book *Geschichte der römischen Kaiserlegionen von Augustus bis Hadrian,* published 1881, p. 77 and 122. The reason for this supposition about the presumably lost part of the text is purely philological. The starting point is the presupposed inversion of the adjective and the noun in Hadrian's biography 2, 2, in HA, *Inferiorem Moesiam* instead of the expected *Moesiam Inferiorem*, which is definitely unusual and occurs nowhere else in this writer's text. The inversion of the adjective and the noun, *Inferiorem Moesiam*, instead of the expected word order *Moesiam Inferiorem* could be explained, as he believes, by the fact that the term *Inferiorem Moesiam* stood opposite the term *Moesiam Superiorem* in the previous (lost) sentence. *Inferiorem Moesiam* in the second part of the sentence would correspond to the rhythm of sentences and the spirit of the Latin language. Exactly *Moesiam Superiorem* would be the missing part of the text, as he guesses, which was omitted in the source that the author of Hadrian's biography used in *Historia Augusta.* Therefore, before he was transferred to Moesia Inferior, Hadrian had to serve as a tribune of the legion *II Adiutrix* in Moesia Superior. The confirmation for Pfitzner's hypothesis would be the discovery of a tombstone of one of the soldiers of the legion *II Adiutrix* in the war on the Danube in Sirmium (no. **47**). In order to coordinate these two circumstances, the first being that the tombstone of a soldier from the legion *II Adiutrix* was discovered in Sirmium in Lower Pannonia and not in Moesia Superior, and the second that Hadrian, according to Pfitzer's conclusion, served in this legion in Moesia Superior, Pfitzner presumed further that the border of this province in the first century must be moved to the west, to present-day Srem. The presumption that the legion *II Adiutrix* was part of the garrison from Moesia Superior would be supported by another indirect proof: an inscription from Potentia in Italy, CIL X 135, mentions the tribune of the legion *II Adiutrix* who was awarded in the war against the Svevs and Sarmats, as was believed in Domitian's time, as the *optio* of five legions. The names of these legions are not listed but it is believed that it had to be the army from Moesia which at that time had a military garrison of five legions, one of which must have been the *II Adiutrix*.

Hence, all arguments listed in support of the hypothesis that the legion *II Adiutrix* had a permanent camp in Sirmium in the 1st century are indirect and based on the interpretation of the text in Hadrian's biography, which is presumed to be lost, and on the hypothesis that Srem was included in Moesia Superior in the first century. In order to accept this hypothesis, we would have to prove firstly, that Hadrian was a tribune of the legion *II Adiutrix* in Moesia Superior and secondly that the legion *II Adiutrix* had a permanent camp in Sirmium or its vicinity, and finally that this region was part of Moesia Superior in Domitian's time. The only reliable thing is that an inscription of a centurion from the legion *II Adiutrix*, who was decorated in the war, was discovered in Sirmium. But by itself this monument does not represent definitive evidence that the legion had a permanent camp in Sirmium at that time. The presence of a soldier of the legion *II Adiutrix* in the inscriptions does not mean that the legion was garrisoned here. Inscriptions of soldiers from the legion *II Adiutrix* were found later in Sirmium as well. A monument which mentions a soldier of the legion *II Adiutrix* was dated to 148 and another to 223 AD, the time when it is known that this legion was garrisoned in Aquincum near present-day Budapest. The small evidential value in this combination would be attributed to an inscription from Potentia. The

five legions mentioned there could be an expedition army or a united army of two or more provinces in any war. The dislocation of the border of Moesia Superior in the west to Srem in the period between 86 and 107 AD also remains in the sphere of hypothesis that is difficult to confirm in any sources. In addition, the attempts to defend this opinion on the basis of the data on the borders of provinces in the text *Cosmographia* or on the basis of the movements of auxiliary units remain in the sphere of mere presumptions. In the sources that refer to the last decade of the 1st century and the beginning of the 2nd century, there is no information that would support the presupposed relocation of the borders between Pannonia and Moesia. On the contrary, there is reason, primarily strategic, to believe that until Domitian's time Illyricum spread to the region further east beyond the mouth of the Sava river, all the way to the grand canyon of the Danube in Đerdap. In the period for which there is data on the borders between the Danube provinces, the confluence of the Sava and the Danube was the limitation spot between Pannonia, i.e. Dalmatia (Illyricum) and Moesia. In Plinius, *Naturalis historiae* III 148, Pannonia spread from the confluence of the Sava and the Danube to the west, including Taurunum and the communities of the Amantines and Sirmienses. Claudius Ptolemaeus in his *Geographia*, III 9, 1, also quotes the mouth of the Sava as a border point between Pannonia and Dalmatia on the one side and Moesia Superior on the other, probably having in mind the state from Trajan's time.

Therefore, it seems that none of the proposed arguments offer a reliable basis to assume that *II Adiutrix* was in Sirmium in Domitian's time. From their arrival in the Danube area, the legion II Adiutrix belonged to the army of Pannonia and was garrisoned in Aquincum since Domitian's time. The inscriptions of soldiers and veterans from the legion *II Adiutrix* in Sirmium have nothing to do with the permanent garrison of the legion; they do also not represent a testimony to the deduction of the veterans of this legion in Sirmium, because they are not to be dated to the same time. Among them only *M. Ulpius Titus*, from the tombstone in Novo Hopovo, could have been a veteran living in the vicinity of Sirmium, his home town.

The presence of soldiers from the *III Gallica* legion in Sirmium is difficult to explain because what is known about its history cannot be connected with the Danube region. It belonged to the army of Syria. It is confirmed in the inscription on a sarcophagus discovered in the vicinity of Sirmium (no. **48**). The inscription concerns a soldier of this legion, C. Antonius Victor, who originated from the east (*Trahens, Trahenti origine*), from the community (*civitas*) whose name was not preserved in the inscription. He died at the age of 47 and was buried in Sirmium. He was an *optio spei* in the legion *III Gallica*, which is a rank that cannot be defined more closely. We can only guess that the legion passing through or a short stay was what brought him to southeast Pannonia and Sirmium. It is not known whether this legion participated in a war on the Danube or in the battle for power in Rome.

The legion *I Minervia* belonged to the army of Lower Germania. Its presence in Sirmium is confirmed by an inscription on a tombstone of the centurion Restitutius Silvanus, no. **46**. The tombstone was erected by his heirs, *Aurelius Martius* and *Aurelia Bona*, his wife. The legion *I Minervia* was transferred several times from Germania to the Danube region because of wars. It was a part of Trajan's expedition army to Dacia, and in 166 AD the legion crossed the Danube region on its way to the Parthian front. The name *Aurelius* on the Sirmium inscription would have already indicated the Roman citizenship acquired after the time of Marcus Aurelius or perhaps inherited. The legion, or rather a part of it, might have been temporarily stationed in Sirmium at the time of Gallienus, together with the detachments of other Germanic legions. The presence of its *vexillatio* in Sirmium is confirmed by an inscription on the altar no. **38**, which was dedicated to *Iupiter optimus maximus Monitor* for the salvation and health of the emperor and *dominus* Galienus Augustus and the soldiers of the vexillationes

from Germanic and British legions with their auxiliary troops that were there under the command of *praepositus* Vitalianus. It is possible that these troups were sent to Sirmium in order to fight against Pannonian usurpers in Gallienus' time. At the time of Gallienus, the British soldiers might have come from the legions *II Augusta* and *VI Victrix*, while in Germania the legions *VIII Augusta, XXII Primigenia, XXX Ulpia* and *I Minervia* were permanently garrisoned. Besides *I Minervia*, another Germanic legion, *VIII Augusta*, was confirmed in other inscriptions in Sirmium.

The legion *VIII Augusta* was transferred several times to the Balkans for shorter or longer periods of time. The earliest evidence of this refers to the events after Augustus' death and the rebellion in the Pannonian military camps. The legion's first stay in Pannonia is dated between 14 and 45 AD. After that it was in Moesia for a shorter period of time until the end of the civil war in 69 AD. None of the inscriptions could be connected to that early period of its presence in Pannonia. Two inscriptions of their soldiers come from Sirmium. One *imaginifer* of this legion is mentioned in an inscription from Sirmium, no. **51**. The text of the inscription, carelessly carved and incompletely preserved, as well as the tombstone with an image of a soldier with a spear and a shield, unusual in this part of Pannonia, do not provide any basis for dating. The tombstones of that kind, which can be approximately dated, come from a later period. Together with the legion *I Minervia*, *VIII Augusta* could have been one of the Germanic legions which sent their divisions to Sirmium during Gallienus's time, quoted above, no. **38**. Another inscription from Sirmium, no. **52**, mentions two of the legion *VIII Augusta* centurions, *Gratius Artilius* and *Cludius Clamosus*, who died in a war in Serdica (Sofia today), *bello Serdicensi desiderati*. Their burial and tombstone was taken care of by the association of centurions from that legion (*Schola centurionum*). The absence of the family on the tombstone indicates that they did not come from this city, but were found there during a war in the Balkans. We do not know for sure which war it was. It is possible that the centurions died in one of the wars waged between Roman military leaders for supremacy. *Bellum Serdicense* might have been that war, waged against the usurpers Macrinus and Quietus in Gallienus' time.[193]

The legion *IV Flavia*, which was garrisoned in Moesia Superior, had its permanent camp first in Viminacium and in the final years of Trajan's rule in Singidunum. The legion's name appears on some tombstones from Sirmium and the surrounding fortresses. Probably the oldest testimony of this legion in Pannonia Inferior is the tombstone of a soldier Marcus Domitius, found in present-day Sotin, no. **261**. He originated from Viminacium, and died in Sotin. In addition, three soldiers from this legion served as *beneficiarii consularis* in Sirmium.[194] This is also mentioned on a fragmented inscription from Sirmium (no. **181**). In 164 AD, the legion *IV* Flavia was temporarily placed under the command of the Lower Pannonian governor, some years before the war of Marcus Aurelius on the Danube. It is possible that the *beneficiarius consularis* from this legion served in Sirmium at that time and another one served in Mursa.[195] They probably controlled this area and served as police on the roads and in customs posts.

The stamps of the legion *IV Flavia* appear on the bricks from Sirmium. Its name is abbreviated in various ways: LEG IIII F F, LEG IIII FL CAST., LEG IIII FL P F and LEG IIII FLA.[196] Different stamps signify production in different time periods. The oldest stamp is considered to be one with the name of

[193] Šašel 1961: 3.

[194] Mirković 1994, The beneficiarius in no. **64**, **67**, **69**, **70** and **117** originated from Sirmium.

[195] AE 1973, 443.

[196] Bricks of the legio *IV Flavia*: RO /IIII FF CIL III 3250; LEG IIII FL PF; LEG IIII FL CAST; LEG IIII FL SC ER - CIL III 10664 a, b, c; LEG IIII FLA - AEM 13, 1890, 24; LEG IIII - VHAD 7, 1889, 13,10; Cf. Milošević 1972: 98 f.

the legion abbreviated only by its initials, LEG III F F and is dated to the period before Hadrian. There are two possible explanations for the discovery of bricks with the stamp of a legion from Moesia Superior in the Pannonian town of Sirmium: they were either imported as construction material from Moesia and transported along the river Sava to Sirmium or a detachment of the legion, specializing in the production of bricks tiles, was temporarily sent to Sirmium because of the construction work. The first possibility seems more probable because bricks with the same stamps were found in the main camp of the legion in Singidunum and in many other places in the Moesian part of the Danube.

The other legion from Moesia Superior, *VII Claudia*, was confirmed in Sirmium only through brick stamps, ranging from simple ones like LEG VII CL PF (CIL III 10661 and 10666 c) and LEG VII CL PS = *leg(io) VII Cl(audia) p(ia) S(everiana?)* or *p(ars) s(uperior)*, VHAD 4, 1872, 58, to ones that give the name of a *praepositus* and brickmaker such as [Leg.] VII SC URSACI F ARGVTIO F = *Leg(io) VII s(ub) c(ura) Ursaci F(?) Arcutio f(ecit)*, VHAD n.s. 4, 1899, 224 etc., which was characteristic for the end of the 3rd or the beginning of the 4th century. As some of these stamps were found on bricks from Viminacium, which was a permanent camp of the legion in Moesia Superior and on bricks found in forts along the Moesian bank of the Danube,[197] the same explanation could be applied as that for the seals of the legion *IV Flavia*. A large demand for construction material in Sirmium had to be felt at that time as the town was becoming one of the most important in the Roman state, and the construction material was imported from Moesia Superior.

The legion *XIII Gemina* was also confirmed in an inscription on a stone block, found in Sirmium near the northern city wall, no. **50**. The short inscription reads as follows: *Leg(io) XIII Gem(ina) PVC***.** It was probably inscribed by a detachment of this legion that participated in the construction of the ramparts in Sirmium. It is possible that the abbreviation PVC signified part of a rampart that they built: *p(edes) v(alli) (centum)*. As a parallel for this, we can quote an inscription from Salona CIL III 1979, which testifies to the participation of military units in construction work with the data on the length of the ramparts built by each of them. A simple calculation could help in determining the size of a rampart part built by the legion *XIII Gemina* in Sirmium. If the cohort *I miliaria Delmatarum* in Salona, i.e. a military unit of 1000 soldiers built 800 feet of ramparts, 100 feet of ramparts in Sirmium could have been built by 125 soldiers.

The legion *XIII Gemina* was transfered to Pannonia in 45 AD to substitute for the *VIII Augusta* legion, which was sent to another province. It probably first had a camp in Poetovio (Ptuj) and then was sent to Vindobona (Vienna) on the Danube border, in Domitian's time. Soon after that, in 101 AD, it left Pannonia in order to participate in Trajan's Dacian war. After the war ended, the legion stayed in Dacia as part of the permanent garrison of the new province. As its history shows, the only time when the legion could have stayed in Sirmium is during the 90's of the 1st century, when its permanent camp was in Vindobona. The only trace of its stay in Sirmium is this short inscription on a stone block. It would represent the oldest testimony of the rampart in Sirmium.

Stamped bricks of the *VI Herculia* legion, which was created by Diocletian, are found in Sirmium. According to *Notitia*, part of it was stationed on the left bank of the Danube, in the *castellum Onagrinum*.[198]

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[197] On bricks with the stamps of the legions *IV Flavia* and *VII Claudia* outside of the main garrison comp. Mirković 2015: 130-135.

[198] For bricks of the *VI Herculia* legion see Milošević 1971: 101 f. CIL III 10665 a, b, and c (Banoštor and Čerević).

Iovius Tusculanus *praefectus equitum alae Ityraeorum*, no. **54** was buried in Sirmium. The unit was garrisoned on the Danube bank. The inscription referring to the praefectus of this unit can be assigned approximately to the first half of the 2nd century. The ala was attested as Pannonian in the middle of the 1st century and again in the year 98, and, after a brief stay in Dacia, again in the years 151/160 and 167 AD. After its return from Dacia, its camp was probably in southeastern Pannonia.[199] The presence of one of its soldiers in Sirmium could be explained in two ways: either it was the case of a temporary stop-over of the unit during Domitian's war, in which case the inscription from Sirmium would be contemporary with that of Arabona (CIL III 4371 and 11083), or again, the prefect of the ala mentioned in the inscription could have settled in Sirmium after his discharge from the army. The latter hypothesis sounds more credible in view of the fact that the prefect had the monument erected to his deceased wife.

A soldier of the *ala II Pannoniorum* appears on the fragment no. **55** found in the city of Sirmium. The unit was not a part of the permanent garrison in Pannonia. In the year 88, it was in Syria; in the period between the years 83 and 107 AD, it was attested as Moesian and in the 2nd and 3rd centuries, it was garrisoned in Dacia.[200] The soldier, mentioned in the inscription in Sirmium, traced his origin to Dalmatia. The fact that the monument of its soldier was found in Sirmium can be explained by a short stay of the unit in Pannonia during the Danubian wars.

*Cohorts VII Breucorum* is attested as *Antoniniana* by the stamp on a brick. Bricks bearing the stamp of this cohort have been unearthed not only in Sirmium, but also elsewhere in Pannonia. They are dated from the time when the cohort was garrisoned in the castellum Lugio.[201] The bricks from Sirmium probably came as transported material for construction.

*Cohors I Campanorum* or *Campestris voluntariorum civium Romanorum* erected an altar to Caracalla in Sirmium in the year 212 AD, no. **39.** The unit left traces of its presence in a number of places in south-eastern Pannonia. In Zemun Polje and Sirmium it appears in inscriptions, whereas in Acumincum (Slankamen) it is attested on bricks.[202] Bricks with the stamp COII I CANT – *Coh(ors) I C(ampestris) Ant(oniniana)* have, in this case, a greater value in determining the permanent camp of the cohort than inscriptions have. The altar was dedicated to the emperor in Sirmium, because Sirmium was the most significant urban centre in south-eastern Pannonia. The bricks, on the other hand, testify to the building activities of the unit in Acumincum (Slankamen) during Caracalla's reign. Not far from Acumincum, near Zemun-Polje, a monument was discovered, erected by the princeps of this military unit. This would lend additional support to the supposition that the camp of this unit was situated in Acumincum.

The evidence referring to the *Cohors I Milliaria* is chronologically speaking the latest. According to the text of an inscription from Salona, T. Aurelius Apollonius, centurion of this cohort, was buried in Sirmium. His brother, a merchant, who had come from Syria (*natione Surus*), was also buried in Sirmium.[203] Consequently, the centurion of the cohort was also of Syrian origin. He must have been recruited at the time when this unit was being organised under Alexander Severus. It is known that the

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[199] Wagner 1938: 107.

[200] Wagner 1938: 117.

[201] Wagner 1938: 101.

[202] L. Flavius Secularis, known from an inscription discovered in Banoštor, no. **150**, and from the inscription CIL VI 3520, was probably its tribunus; the inscription from Zemun Polje mentions the cohors, Živa Antika, 17, 1967, 208, n. 7. On bricks from Acumincum, Szilagyi, Diss. pann. II 1, 1933, PI. XXIV n. 46 and the unpublished brick from the Zemun Museum. For the briks found in Sirmium see Milošević 1971 op. cit. in n. 198, 104 f.

[203] CIL III 2006: *Aurelii Flavi negotiantis natione Suri defuncto annorum LV Sirmi et T. Aureli Apollonio fratri eius (centurioni) coh(ortis) I def. Sirmi ann. XXXIII Aur. Aquila pater infelicissimis vivus fecit et Aur. Luciano def an. Ill amico eor. mementi.*

cohort was garrisoned in the Pannonian camp at Ulcisia castra.[204] The reason why one of its centurions was buried in Sirmium remain unknown.

Three of the five quoted auxiliary units epigraphically attested in Sirmium had their permanent camp on the bank of the Danube: *Cohors I Campanorum, Cohors VII Breucorum* and *Cohors I Milliaria*. The *Ala II Pannoniorum* was probably not part of the Pannonian army at the time when the monument in Sirmium was erected. It remains uncertain where the *Ala II Ituraeorum* was garrisoned. It may be concluded, however, that none of the auxiliary troops in the 2nd and the 3rd centuries had its permanent camp in the city of Sirmium. At that time, they were stationed along the bank of the Danube. The inscriptions referring to the *Cohors II Alpinorum* have also been discovered on the bank of the Danube, in Banoštor (Bononia) and in Čerević.[205] It had its permanent camp in Mursa during the time of Claudius and Nero. Some of its units probably took part in the construction of the fort situated down the Danube. The section of the Danube bank between Banoštor and Čerevic was probably already manned by auxiliary troops in the 1st century. There is no information relative to the garrisons of the other castella, Cuccium and Cornacum along the Danubian bank, which were located in what was part of the municipal territory of Sirmium.

It follows from this that Sirmium had no permanent garrison, neither legionary nor auxiliary. The Lower Pannonian *II Adiutrix* legion was garrisoned in Aquincum from the time of Domitian's reign up to late antiquity. The banks of the Danube were protected by a series of fortifications with auxiliary troops, mounted units, so-called alae and infantry or infantry-cavalry cohorts. The south part of Lower Pannonia, which did not have a permanent military garrison, could have been protected by the army of neighbouring Moesia in cases of danger. So, at the time of the Dalmatian-Pannonian uprising, the Romans in Sirmium who were under siege were helped by the governor of Moesia, Caecina Severus with the army under his command[206]. During the rule of Marcus Aurelius, in the 60s of the 2nd century, the legion *IV Flavia*, whose permanent camp was in Singidunum, passed under the command of the governor of Lower Pannonia. Up to the middle of the 5th century, Sirmium remained a civic centre, without military garrison. From time to time, larger military units that participated in the wars on the Danube in the 1st, 2nd, 3rd and the 4th centuries were concentrated in Sirmium or in the city surroundings. However, even in war time, the troops could not be stationed there during the winter season but were garrisoned in nearby forts. From the 4th century, the headquarters of the commanders of the armed forces in Illyricum was located in Sirmium. The presence of the soldiers of the Pannonian, Upper Moesian, Germanic, British and even Oriental legions in Sirmium can be explained in different ways. Some of them were there as soldiers serving in the army that accompanied the emperor during the wars on the Pannonian border along the Danube. Domitian was probably the first Roman emperor who used Sirmium as a base and his headquarters. Other detachments of legions (vexillationes), such as the ones from the legion *XIII Gemina*, participated in the construction of the city ramparts. The emperor Marcus Aurelius stayed for some time in this town, as the sources directly confirm. Constantius spent many months in Sirmium during his wars against the Sarmatians. However, wars were not the only thing that led the emperors to come to Sirmium. The emperors from the 2nd and 3rd centuries stayed in Sirmium on their way from Rome to the east. As these journeys were also often connected with wars in the east, the army accompanied the emperor.

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[204] Wagner 1938: 187.

[205] One *vexillarius* from this cohors is confirmed on the monument from Čerević (no. **251**); the inscription from Banoštor, no. **252**, has only *coh(ors) II*. Nevertheless, it is highly probable that the same unit is in question.

[206] Above, chapter on the Dalmato-Pannonian insurrection, p. 12.

In the 3rd century, Sirmium was a meeting point of armies from the western provinces, Germania and Brittania, which then fought against rebels and usurpers, *adverus defectores et rebelles*, as it was formulated in an inscription from Aquincum. Later, during the preparations for the war against Sarmatians and Jazyges in Bačka, Sirmium played the same role as in Domitian's wars on the Danube: it was the seat of the emperor and his headquarters and probably the main base for army supplies.

In the 4th century, Sirmium was a base where the troops from the forts on the Danube bank were gathered in case of danger, as indicated by Ammianus Marcellinus XXI 9, 5. When Julian approached city in 361, the military commander charged with the defense of this part of the Empire had to assemble troops garrisoned in the neighbouring stations on the frontier and bring them to Sirmium: The count Lucillianus who then commanded the troops stationed in those regions, with headquarters at Sirmium, having some slight intelligence of Julian's movements, gathered together such forces as could be summoned quickly from the neighbouring stations and planned to resist him when he should arrive.[207] Later, after his victorious enrty into the city, Julian did not join them to his army, and knowing that he could not trust these troops he sent the two legions, *VI Herculia* and *V Jovia,* which Lucillianus brought to Sirmium and the *cohors der sagittarii* to the West. He left in Sirmium only the loyal unit of Batavi.[208]

In the period of the Late Empire, Sirmium also did not have a permanent garrison. The text *Notitia dignitatum* or. XXXII 49 mentions the city as the seat of the smaller military troup praefects and an ala: *praefectus militum Calcariensium* and 54. *Ala Sirmenisis*. In addition, the seat of the fleet was in Sirmium, or. XXXII 50. *Praefectus classis primae Flaviae augustae*.

## Military camp: Three or five miles from the city

If what was previously said about military troops is accurate, it can be concluded that Sirmium did not have a permanent garrison or a military fortification. No legionary camp has been found either in the archaeological research or within the territory of Sirmium which was conducted at various points in the Roman city. According to an old rule in the Roman state, the presence of the army and armed men in the city was not allowed for a variety of reasons. An army in a city represents a danger to the citizens and their property even in peace time. In Rome, the army could be gathered only outside the city, on the Campus Martis.

Ancient authors usually inform us that the emperor stayed temporarily in Sirmium, but pay no attention to the problem of where the troops were lodged during the emperor's stay. The question could also be posed in terms of where troops should be placed during short or longer periods of time in big cities such as Constantinople, Nicomedia, as well as Antiochia, Alexandria and Mediolanum and other large urban centres. In the cases of Nicomedia, Constantinople and Naissus, it can be shown that the rule of incompatibility between the city and military camp was respected not only by the legal emperors, but also by usurpers. In Constantinople, the army camped in Hebdomon, seven miles from the city; the meeting place of the army in Nicomedia was three miles distant from the city, as the events at the time of Diocletian's abdication show, and the same applied in Naissus. Excavations in Constantinople, and in Sirmium and Naissus in the Balkans, did not bring to light any military camp within the territory of

[207] Transl. by J. C. Rolfe, Loeb class. Library 1963.
[208] Zosim. III 35.

the city. Emperors Valentinian and Valens camped with the army and staff in Mediana, the state domain at a distance of three miles from Naissus. There are grounds to believe that the army, gathered together for a campaign or other reasons stayed outside Sirmium, at a distance of three miles from the city. But the evidence is inconclusive.

Distances of three and five miles from Sirmium appear on the milestones, without naming the station. Two of them were found at a short distance from the third mile from Sirmium, 4 km to the east of the city, on the Crepovac farm. One dates from the time of Marcus Aurelius and was erected in 161 AD, no. **266** and another was dedicated to Septimius Severus by the governor of Pannonia Inferior, Claudius Claudianus, in 198, no. **268**; the text on the third marble milestone found in Sremska Mitrovica, no. **264** is dated to the year 354 AD. The text notes the repairs to the road leading from Atrans to the river Sava. It begins unusually by giving a distance of five miles, MPV, *m(ilia) p(assum) V*. At the third and fifth mile from Sirmium there is no station recorded in the Roman itineraries. It could have been a villa or a farm within the state domain where the army camped temporarily. The difference given in milestones from 161 and 189, and this from the year 354 AD, could be explained by the measurement of the distance once from the city centre and once from the city walls, or by the fact that the army's camp was moved, although never far from the city.

It seems that the quoted milestones indicate a place at a distance of three or five miles from the city, probably the emperor's or state domain, where a large number of troops temporarily camped, during the campaign on the Danube or on their way to the eastern frontier. Similar to the villa Pistrense to the west of Sirmium,[209] imperial or state domains have to supply provision for the emperors, and their escort, as well as for the army.

Three miles from the city must be the place where Constantius returned after his victory over the Sarmatians in 358 and his proclamation of *Sarmaticus* for the second time. Ammianus Marc. XVII 13, 33 reports: "And when the emperor had been escorted to his palace and refreshed by two days' rest, he returned in triumphal pomp to Sirmium and the companies of soldiers went back to the quarters assigned to them". It is clear that two places at some distance from one another are in question: the palace – probably the one constructed by Maximianus Herculius on the domain where his parents were tenants - and the city of Sirmium. The old Roman principle, not to enter a city with armed forces before a triumph was respected by Constantius. For the armed forces, there was no place in the city; they returned after the triumph to their camps.

## Outpost of beneficiarii in Sirmium

An outpost of beneficiarii consularis was discovered by accident near the western rampart of Sirmium during the construction of a new wing of the hospital in Sremska Mitrovica in 1988. In a Roman building with a porch on columns, 84 altars and one pillar were found with the inscriptions of *beneficiarii consularis*. They were originally arranged in several rows and placed on stone bases. It seems that they were focused around a shrine, most likely of Jupiter, and that after the outpost was abandoned. they were forgotten in that place. Many were dislocated and set on top of each other, as in a warehouse. It seems that all or almost

[209] Amm. Marc. XXVIII 6, 7 records of Constantius' daughter who was very nearly captured while she was taking food in a public villa called Pristensis on her journey to the West.

all the altars left in this place are preserved. The dated altars suggest that the outpost existed for about 78 years, from 157 to 235 AD, i.e. from the last years of Marcus Aurelius' reign until the time of Alexander Severus. The typology of some of the undated altars allow their dating to before 157 AD on the one hand. On the other hand, the later limit of the existence of the outpost can be moved to a time after 235 AD, the year of the accession of the emperor Maximinus Thrax to the throne, because the name of his predecessor Alexander Severus was erased on some altars.[210]

The discovery of a large number of inscriptions dedicated by beneficiarii consularis confirms the earlier assumption of Domaszewski about the existence of an outpost of beneficiarii in Sirmium. His assumption was based not on existing evidence, but on the theory that such outposts were located along the main roads.[211]

The inscriptions from this outpost of beneficiarii, the most numerous in the Roman empire found in one place, open up several issues important for the study of this service in general.

## The length of the service of beneficiarii and *iterata statio*

A large number of altars discovered in Sirmium were dated by consuls. This circumstance allows establishing the length of the service of a beneficiarius in one place. The oldest is dated to 157 and the youngest to 231 AD. The majority of altars was dated to every second year until 191, i.e. in 185, 187, 189 and 191 AD; another group is dated to every fourth year until 199, i.e. 191, 195 and 199 AD. In the first decade of the 3rd century, between 202 and 209 AD, there is a group of altars dated to every year, then after a break of ca. ten years there are again two groups of altars from each year, first in the years 221-224 and again in 228-231 AD. As not all altars were dated, it can be presumed that some altars belonged to the years missing in that series or that they pre-date 157 AD. It is also possible that in the years which were not confirmed as the dates of erecting an altar there were no beneficiarii at the outpost. There are altars in which two or four beneficiarii appear together. They served in Sirmium at the same time. Some of them left behind two altars after a repeated service in the same place (*iterata statione)*. The dated altars together with those which show typological similarities to those dated could be grouped in the following table:

The table includes 67 altars and one pillar; the remaining 12, as they were not completely preserved, do not allow the possibility of dating on the basis of a typological similarity with a dated one. *Iterata statio* (repeated service) happened in the period which would correspond to the rhythm of changing the beneficiarii in an outpost after a certain period ranging from one to four years. Thus, *Ulpius Frequentinus*, a beneficiarius consularis in 191 AD, was in that service a the second time after four years. That is a time interval that is common for other altars in that period, so it could be said that here we have two consequent appointments in the same outpost. *M. Flavius Reburrus*, a beneficiarius consularis in 206, had his *iterata statio* already in 207 AD. His service was in the period when beneficiarii were changed every two years at the outpost in Sirmium. In the years following 221 AD, when the occurrence of two beneficiarii on one altar became the rule, the following examples show that one of them remained in service during the next year or years, while the other one was changed.

[210] Mirković 1994: 345-404.
[211] Domaszewski 1902: 176 f.



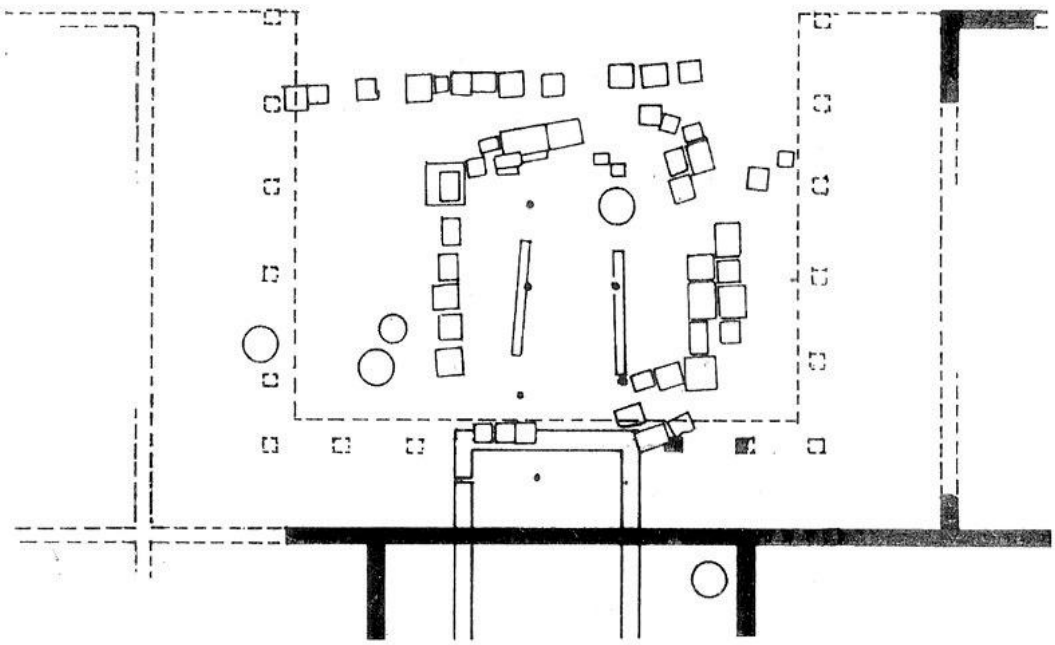

Fig 17: Outpost of beneficiarii (Plan of outpost by M. Jeremić)

Iulius Secundus was a beneficiarius in Sirmium with Upius Vitalis in 221, with Calvius Vitalis in 223 and with Octavius Avitus in 224; Aurelium Domicianus served with Iulius Potentinus in 229 and with Aurelius Florentinus in 230; Titius Faustinus served with Aelius Dignianus in 230 and with Lautius Emeritus in 231 AD.

*Iterata statio* was also confirmed for the beneficiarius Ulpius Frequentinus in 195, whose first term was in 191 AD. T. Aelius Secundus also served again in 199 AD, although his first service was not confirmed in Sirmium. It is possible that he served in another outpost or that after the first service he did not leave an altar behind.

The assumption that beneficiarii established their votive altars at the end of their service leads to the conclusion that their service in Sirmium lasted for different lengths of time in different periods, ranging from one to four years. After that time, *beneficiarii* were replaced with new ones. The number of those who served at the same time in Sirmium probably never exceeded four. Even in a legion the number of *beneficiarii consularis* was not great. This has also been established for beneficiarii in other legions. On the list of discharged soldiers from the legion *VII Claudia*, who were recruited in 169 and discharged in 195 AD, in Viminacium there were all together three beneficiarii.[212]

## Legions and beneficiarii in Sirmium

The *beneficiarii consularis* known from the inscriptions in Sirmium came from the following four legions: *I Adiutrix, II Adiutrix, IV Flavia* and *X Gemina*.

The altar of *beneficiarius* no. **57** from 157 AD is the oldest among those dated in Sirmium. The legion is not named. The altar erected by *C. Annius Quietus*, *beneficiarius consularis* in the legion *X Gemina*, in no. **81** is one of the oldest. He was also the *agrimensor* and a soldier of the legion *X Gemina*. He could have been sent to Sirmium in the years between 105 and 118 AD, when the legion was garrisoned in Pannonia Inferior.

The legion *I Adiutrix* sent only one beneficiarius to Sirmium during Caracalla's reign, when its permanent camp Brigetion was separated from Upper Pannnonia and was included in Lower Pannonia. The only beneficiarius from this legion was confirmed on an altar from 224 AD, no. **74**, together with a beneficiarius from the legion *II Adiutrix.*

Most of the beneficiarii who served in Sirmium came from the legion *II Adiutrix* which was garrisoned in Aquincum (nos. **58**, **59**, **60**, **62**, **65**, **66**, **67**, **68**, **70**, **71**, **73**, **74**, **83**, **84**, **87**, **89?**, **91**, **92**, see index).

Three beneficiarii from *IV Flavia*, nos. **100**, **114**, **117** were probably sent to Sirmium in the 60s of the 2nd century when this legion passed under the command of the Lower Pannonian governor. At that time one beneficiarius was located in Mursa (Osijek) as indicated by an altar discovered in this city, dated by consuls to 264 AD.[213] This legion, whose permanent camp was in Singidunum in Moesia Superior, came under the command of the Lower Pannonian governor Caecilius Rufinus Creperianus. It seems that the legion was transported from Moesia Superior to the Lower Pannonian camp of Aquincum in the 60s of the 2nd century in order to replace the *II Adiutrix* legion, which was temporarily

[212] IMS II 53.
[213] AE 1973, 448.

absent and transported to the East in order to participate in the war waged by Lucius Verus, a co-regent of Marcus Aurelius.[214]

*Beneficiarii consularis* in Sirmium probably did the police service and controlled the customs and the collection and transport of the military annona. There is little known about their activities in general in the Roman Empire. There are two testimonies about the functioning of the services of beneficiarii in the provinces: Plinius' letter XXVII and information in Hadrian's biography, 2, 6, in *Historia Augusta*. Besides that, the testimony of an early Christian writer Tertulianus is also preserved. Plinius mentions *beneficiarii* who were chosen by the governor of the provinces Pontus and Bithynia to accompany the procurator during the collection of wheat (*ad frumentum comparandum*). From the information in Hadrian's biography, it can be concluded that beneficiarii also worked as messengers. Tertulianus's testimony on *beneficiarii*, who as *curiosi* (secret service) took money from gamblers and thieves in towns, completes what is already known about them from other sources, and it also indicates that there was corruption in Roman times as well. The outposts of beneficiarii were located on roads, in customs outposts, on the borders of provinces and in villas. In villas, they must have played some role in the collection of wheat for the army or taxes. It seems that the supervision of traffic and the concern for *cursus publicus* was one of the important functions of beneficiarii. A law from 361 AD prescribes measures that should be taken if beneficiarii neglect this service. This was of extreme importance in the collection of annona.

*Beneficiarii* most likely also controlled the customs. This would explain their presence in Sirmium and other customs outposts. In papyrological texts *beneficiarii* are mentioned as officials to whom law suits directed to the prefect of Egypt were submitted, so it can be assumed that they were mediators between the people and the authorities. As it seems, their authorization included the right to ask the accused to be surrendered to them. In some inscriptions, there is a connection of beneficiarii and prison (*carcer*). It seems that the epigraphic material confirms and completes this information.

It can be concluded that the basic duties of beneficiarii in Sirmium, as in many other outposts distributed along the routes, in road stations and villas, were the following: helping with the collection of annona for the army, controlling traffic and customs. In some areas, outside of the roads they might also control the local population, which would extend their authority to certain police duties. The circumstance that the beneficiarii were recruited from among those who had previously been *frumentarii*, those who had police duties and could be promoted to the service of a *speculator*, i.e. the one who supervises, indicates a connection with police duties. Some of the *beneficiarii* in Sirmium had previously been *frumentarii*; a beneficiarius from the legion *X Gemina*, no. **81**, was also an *agrimensor* (geometrician), which could have been important in road construction.

Some of the *beneficiarii* in the inscriptions from Sirmium originated from this city, while others came from other Pannonian towns. One of them came from a town from Moesia Superior Ratiaria.

Two inscriptions point to the presence of the emperor's staff in Sirmium, probably in the first half of the 4th century. No. **1** attests to Flavius Constantius, custos Matris deae and *libertus* of a *vir eminentissimus*; the second, no. **42**, mentions a *proximus,* a member of the central bureau.

The patron of the former must also have been Flavius Constantius. As *eminentissimus*, he would have ranked among the highest positions, as for instance *praefectus praetorio.* And Flavius Constantius as *praefectus praetorio* is well known from many rescripts which Constantine the Great addressed to

[214] Mirković 1994: 355.

him between AD 324 and 327: CTh, VIII 5, 1, VIII 4, 1, XV 14, 1, I, 5, 1, XII 1, 11, IV 4, 1, II 24, 2.[215] Flavius Constantius, attested to on the altar from Sirmium could be his *libertus* who served on his staff as clerk at that time in Sirmium.

Inscription no. **42** identifies another *libertus* from the central bureau. The position of the *libertus* Postumius who was promoted to be *eques Romanus* is clearly defined by his title *proximus*. That means that Postumius occupied the senior post in the central bureau. *Proximi* were the late 2nd and 3rd entury equivalent of the *tabularii a rationibus*. By the early 3rd century, *proximus* was the highest clerical grade to which imperial freedman could aspire in the palatine central bureau. The grade gave regular access to the freedman procuratorship, including as the highest the post of *procurator provinciae*. In the post-Constantinian period, freedmen were excluded from this office and the *proximi* established the *clarissimi*. Postumius is qualified as *vir egregious,* which means that he had advanced to the post of procurator.[216]

The inscription of Postumius Leo can be dated to the 4th century on the basis of certain chronological indications. Paleography (the letters A, M, E, R, S) and the form of the monument (a marble slab) point to the time after Diocletian. Two further chronological indications bring Postumius Leo's inscription close to the early 4th century. As *libertus* he may have been in the position of *proximus* under Constantine, but not afterwards (Ensslin, RE XXIII, 1957m 1035). Constantine's reign could be taken as *terminus ante quem*. By that time *proximi* were palatine offices of the *sacra scrinia*. That could exlain the term *sacer libertus*. *Sacer* fall into the chronological frame of the Later Roman Empire.

It is significant that Postumius Leo as *libertus* doesn't bear the emperor's name. Well known figures could be patrons of clerks in the palatine service after the Severan dynasty. The patron of Postumius Leo could be identified as one of the Postumii who are known as office holders in the time of the Late Empire, for instance, T. Fl. Postumius Titianus, (PLRE 946 3). Among other high positions, he was *cognoscens vice sacra*, which connects him to the imperial administration. As *cognoscens vice sacra* he was charged with judical duties and the execution of the personal will of the emperor. As *libertus*, Leo could have been first in his service and later promoted to a high position in the palatine service. He died in Sirmium serving as imperial *proximus.*

[215] For more about him, see PLRE I, 1971: 225; Barnes 1982: 139 f.
[216] Weaver 1972: 253.



# IX SIRMIUM AS AN ADMINISTRATIVE AND MILITARY CENTRE IN THE 4th AND 5th CENTURY

Both by its position and the role played in the events of the 3rd to 5th century, Sirmium is ranked as a very important city of the Empire. It was the seat of the governer of the province Pannonia Secunda, headquarters of the military command and, at intervals, also the centre of the prefecture Illyricum at the time when it was separated from the central prefecture.

## Sirmium and the Prefecture of Illyricum

The earliest *praefectus praetorio* in Sirmium may have been Flavius Constantius, *vir emintissimus*, the supposed patron of Flavius Constantius *libertus* and *custor* (!) *Matris deae* on altar no. **1** in Sirmium. Many rescripts by Constantine were addressed to the *praefectus praetorio* Flavius Constantius between 315 and 327 AD.[217] O. Seek suggests that he held his office in the East.[218] However, one of the rescripts, VIII 5, 1, dated in 315 was addressed to him to Sardinia. It can be assumed that he held his office in the time before the territorial *praefecturae* was established and the praefecti attached to specific regions. Flavius Constantius spent some time in the East in 325 and 326 AD, probably together with Constantine after his victory over Licinius, but there is no evidence confirming his praefecture in the East; in March 326, he accompanied Constantine on his journey to the West.[219] There is no further evidence that he was present as *praefectus praetorio* in Rome or in Italy during the visit of Constantine in 326 AD. He might have been in Rome for the first time when he was elected consul in 327. He might have spent the year 326 in Sirmium, probably left in Illyricum by Constantine with his son Constantius to control the Danube border. Some edicts were addressed to him from Italy.[220] Flavius Constantius, attested to on the altar from Sirmium, could have been his *libertus* who served in his staff as clerk.

[217] CTh. VIII 5, 1, VIII 4, 1, XV 14, 1, I 5, 1, XII 1, 11, IV 4, 1, II 24, 2. For more about him, see PLRE I, 1971, 225; Barnes: 1982: 139 f.
[218] Seeck 1919: 54.
[219] PLRE I 225.
[220] CTh VIII 4, 1, III 32, 2 and X 1, 5.

## Sirmium as temporary Seat of Emperors

Several emperors sojourned in Sirmium on different occasions and different raisons and for varying lengths of time. In most cases, they went there because of the threat of war on the Danube or actual warfare with the barbarians. Sometimes they simply made a brief stop-over in Sirmium on their way from one half of the Empire to the other.

As early as the 1st century, during Domitian's reign, Sirmium was used as a base of military actions on the Pannonian frontiers. It was a place of troop concentrations where the emperor had his military headquarters and winter residence between two campaigns. Domitian's stay in Sirmium is not directly confirmed because evidence concerning these events is quite meagre. Discovery of inscriptions referring to soldiers of the legions that took part in this war on the Pannonian frontiers, the *I* and the *II Adiutrix*, indicate the role of the city in this war.

With the close of Domitian's war in the Danube, Sirmium enters upon a period of peace that lasted until the 30s of the 3rd century, except for a brief interruption under Marcus Aurelius. Within that period of well over a hundred years, Sirmium developed into one of the more important municipal centers in Pannonia. Road communications were safe and trade with different parts of the Empire developed undisturbed. The discovery of Roman inscriptions, remains of villas and settlements in the city's surroundings, attest to the spread of Romanization among the indigenous population. Some emperors of the 3rd and the 4th centuries originated from Sirmium or its environment, but this fact doesn't influenced the city developments. Some of them made efforts to restore the power of the Roman Empire. Only the emperor Probus endeavored to ameliorate the condition of his native country.

Evidence relative to the city in peace time is rather scant. So long as it remained outside of stream of political events in the Empire, Sirmium is not mentioned by the ancient writers. The Roman wars with the Quadi, Marcomanni and Sarmatians at the end of the 2nd century brought the emperor and large military forces again to Pannonia and that restored to Sirmium its great strategic importance that it had held at the end of the 1st century. It was purely military reasons that brought Marcus Aurelius, Diocletian, Galerius and other emperors to this town, which was situated near the frontier, protected against barbarian incursions, and afforded good communications with Italy. From a number of emperors whose shorter or longer stays in Sirmium are recorded, two of them, who had their permanent seat there, should be set apart: Maximinus Thrax, who had spent most of his brief reign in Sirmium, and Licinius who, not being able to make his power prevail in Italy in the period of 308-314, maintained himself only in Illyricum. In addition to that, two usurpers from the time of Gallienus, Regalianus and Ingenuus, strove primarily to establish themselves in Sirmium. An opinion advanced by some to the effect that Galerius, at the time of the foundation of the Tetrarchy, had his permanent seat in Sirmium, is not born out by source data.

The war with the Marcomanni and Quadi brought Marcus Aurelius to Pannonia. Some indications of impending barbarian threats were already discernible in the early 70s of the 2nd century. As a sign of danger and insecurity among the Roman population, the burying of money in the frontier areas already

appeared around the year 160.[221] The central government undertook road repair works in order to facilitate fast troop displacement.[222] In 166 AD the danger revived again. Two years later the situation resembled the emergency of the Domitianic wars on the Danube: troops were concentrated in Sirmium and the emperor had his headquarters there. There is an inscription from this period attesting, Helvius Pertinax, a high officer in this war who was later to become the emperor.[223] The stay of Marcus Aurelius and his court in Sirmium is directly affirmed in Philostratus. This is mentioned in the biography of Herodes Atticus. In the year 171, Atticus was summoned to appear before the emperor to vindicate himself against accusations brought forth by the Athenians. Marcus Aurelius was then in Sirmium which, in the words of Philostratus, served him as a point of departure, ὁρμητήριον, in his campaign against the barbarians. Further on the text contains some interesting details. While the partisans of Demostratus, Atticus' adversaries were accommodated in the proximity of the imperial palace, *περὶ τὰ βασίλεια*, Atticus was assigned to the outskirts, near the city ramparts or in city surroundings.[224] This detail is the oldest reference to the imperial palace in Sirmium. As Philostratus is not far remoted from the time of the events in question, his information about the imperial palace and about Marcus Aurelius can be accepted as trustworthy. It remains an open question as to what sort of building the palace actually was. Since Sirmium was neither an administrative nor military center of the province at that time, the building cannot be compared to a *praetorium* which usually served as a temporary residence of the emperor and his retinue. Except in Philostratus, the imperial palace is not mentioned until the time of Ammianus Marcellinus; archaeological investigations on the territory of Sirmium have not produced a great deal of material relative to the period prior to the 4th century. Consequently, nothing definite can be said about the imperial palace or any other building that served for the accommodation of the emperors in the 2nd and the 3rd centuries. The term *βασίλειον* used by Philostratus in regard to the palace is also used by other writers in referring to it.

At the end of the 2nd century, the Pannonian army brought Septimius Severus to the throne. Sirmium, as a civic center without any military garrison, played no part in this event. Sirmium would acquire its importance later in the struggle for the Roman throne, when the emperors elected by the army would endeavor to buttress their position by turning it into a stronghold as the most important city of the province.

Septimius Severus had passed through Sirmium on several occasions, the first time probably soon after his election as emperor, on his way to Rome. Here we find a monument from the first years of his reign.[225] Later on, while going do the East or returning to Rome, the emperor stopped over at Sirmium on two occasions. His stay in this city is confirmed by an edict, issued in March 202.[226]

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[221] Nagy, 1942: 88.

[222] Sirmium, no. **265**; CIL III 10632 (Adony); CIL III 10638 (Temisoara).

[223] No. **21**.

[224] Philostr. vita Marci, 168-169 (Harvard Mass. 1961). Zonaras XII 2, Dio Cass. LXXI. Marcus Aurelius was before that in Carnuntum (Mócsy RE Suppl. IX 559). According to Tert. Apol. XXV 5, Marcus Aurelius died in Sirmium.

[225] No. **265**.

[226] Cod. Iust. II 32, 1.

In the wars waged by Severus' successors, Pannonia and Sirmium played an important part. Troops from Pannonian garrisons were used on other fronts as well. Under Alexander Severus, road repair works were undertaken between Sirmium and the large military camp in Aquincum in order to facilitate troop transport.[227]

After Marcus Aurelius, Sirmium is again mentioned as an imperial seat during the brief reign of Maximinus Thrax. His stay in Sirmium, however, was of a less temporary character. After his victory over Germanic tribes, Maximinus Thrax went to Pannonia. As recorded by Herodian, the emperor, while fighting the Saristi, spent most of his time in Sirmium, the largest city of this province, making preparations for a large expedition against the Germanic tribes.[228] The road repair works of that time are probably linked with these war preparations.[229] It appears that Sirmium remained the seat of this emperor to the end of his brief rule. He set out from Sirmium on his last campaign, against the forces of the newly elected emperor, in which he lost his life. Thereafter, his monuments in Pannonia were destroyed, and it is probably due to this fact that no monument dedicated to Maximinus Thrax was found in Sirmium.

In the ensuing years, Pannonia was exposed to a double danger: the wave of barbarian migrations was sweeping towards its frontiers; internal disorders, on the other hand, sapped the country's strength and diverted the frontier army from its fundamental tasks of frontiers defense. While Lower Moesia and Thrace suffered the brunt of the attacks by the Goths, the frontiers of Upper Moesia and Pannonia were threatened by Marcomanni, Jazigi, Sarmatians and free Dacian tribes. Armed forces of these provinces, however, participated ever more frequently in the struggle for the Roman throne. Among the emperors and usurpers of the 3rd century, there were former governors of the Danubian provinces or those who originated from Moesia or Pannonia. The first emperor who was from Sirmium by origin was Decius.[230] The village of Budalia on the territory of Sirmium is known to Roman historiography as his birthplace. Aurelius Victor puts down the district of Sirmium as the Emperor's native land. A more detailed record, *Epit. de Caes*.XXIX 4, specifies the name of the village Budalia. It is submitted that both data should be combined into one sentence which would thus read: *(Decius) e Pannonia inferiore Budalia in Sirmiensium vico ortus*. He was brought to power by the armed forces which were garrisoned in the mid-Danubian region. Subsequently, events took him to the lower Danube where he met death in the fighting against the Goths.

Two usurpers in the year 260, Regalianus and Ingenuus, were the first that we know of who had striven to secure a foothold in Sirmium. Ingenuus was elected emperor by the Moesian army at the news that Valerianus had fallen into Persian captivity. One of the reasons for his election was the belief that he would successfully defend the Danubian frontiers that Gallienus had neglected and abandoned to

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[227] No. **260**, **261**, **262**.

[228] Herodian. VII 2, 9: ... *ἐν τε Σιρμίῳ διατρίβων τῇ μεγίστῃ πόλει*. SHA Maxim. 13, 3: *pacata Germania Sirmium venit Sarmatis inferre bellum*.

[229] CIL III 152031 (Siscia-Sirmium); CIL III 3735-3736 (Aquincum-Sirmium). Bersanetti 1965: 25.

[230] Aur. Viet. Caes. 29; Epit. de Caes. 29.

the mercy of the barbarians. Ingenuus has his seat in Sirmium.[231] His reign, probably limited to a part of Pannonia only, was of brief duration. Soon after his election, units of the Germanic and Britannic legions were sent against him and he was defeated at Mursa; he himself was killed in flight. The defeat at Mursa did not put an end to the army's rebellion and it soon elected a new emperor, Regalianus. His usurpation followed directly thereafter, but he was also soon crashed. The fear of the army and of the population of Gallienus' retribution contributed greatly to his overthrow. After the defeat of Ingenuus, Gallienus wreaked a cruel vengence not only on the insurgent soldiers but on the civilians who had sided with the usurper. The punitive measures must have hit primarily the citizens of Sirmium which was the seat of the usurper. Having crushed the second usurper, the units of the Germanic and Britannic legions erected an altar in Sirmium to Iupiter Monitor for the salvation of Gallienus.[232]

Whereas Maximinus Thrax had chosen Sirmium as his seat because of its suitable position with regards to the frontiers and the barbarians, the usurpers of the year 260 AD strove to make it their stronghold because it dominated the road to Italy. This would probably have been the first stage in their drive toward Italy.

The struggle of the emperor against the insurgent legions and the usurpers, as well as the approach of the Gothic peril created in Pannonia an atmosphere of fear and uncertainty. In the next decade the Goths would inundate the Balkan Peninsula. In the struggle against them some of the Roman emperors used Sirmium again as a military base for troop concentration. In the war with the Goths, Claudius II set out from Sirmium and, having gained victory over them at Naissus, returned there and died of the plague.[233] According to some ancient authors Sirmium was the birthplace of Aurelianus.[234] The reign of his successor Probus was significant for Sirmium. By his birth and by his activities he was attached to this region. In the existing evidence it is not directly affirmed that he spent any time in Sirmium, his birthplace, but that could be inferred from the information referring to his measures for land drainage and irrigation works on the territory of today's Srem. Supervising these works, carried out by the soldiers during peaceful intervals when there were no military campaigns, he must have used Sirmium as his place of residence, and it was there that he died. Dissatisfied because of harsh discipline and hard labor,

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[231] Laterc. Polem. Silv. (Chron. min. I 521, 45): *sub quo (sc. Gallieno) Ingenuus Sirmii et Regalianus ibidem... tyrani fuerant*; SHA does not mention Sirmium; Zonaras XII 24 mentions Sirmium as the place of struggle between Gallienus and Ingenuus. He probably confounded his stronghold with the battle spot.

[232] No. **38**. While Brunšmid 1907: 125, n. 224 considered that the arrival of Britannic and Germanic legionary detachments in Sirmium was connected to Gothic incursions on the lower Danube, Ritterling RE XII, 1924, 1340 thinks that these military units were withdrawn from western provinces in order to fight usurpers in 260 AD. Fitz 1966: 22-23 - dates the event in 258 AD.

[233] Zonaras XII 26 (ed. Dindorf): *ἐν τῷ Σιρμίῳ διατρίβων ὁ Κλαύδιος*; SHA vita 12, 2; Eutrop. 9, 11, 2; Zos. I 46, 2; Chron. Pasch. 508 (ed. Dindorf); Cass. Chron. p. 148, 981; Landolfus p. 320 (MGH AA II); Pauli Oros. Adv. pag. VII 23, 1; Chron. a. 354 (MGH AA IX 148); Jord. Goth. 288 wrongly pretending that he was killed here; Hieron. Chron. 222; Malala, 299. Comp. Damerau 1934: 74 and 81, n. 1; A. Stein, Archiv für Papyr. VII, 1924, p. 34; PIR I, 2 p. 331. 1626; Barbieri 1952: 259, n. 1479.

[234] HA vita Aur. 3,1: *Aurelianus ortus, ut plures loquuntur, Sirmii familia obscuriore, ut nonnuli, Dacia ripensi*. Comp. ibid. 24, 3. Eutrop. IX 13: Dacia Ripensi. Epit. de caes. 35, 1: *inter Daciam et Macedoniam*. Comp. PIR$^2$ III p. 41, No. 135. CAH XII 297.

the soldiers rebelled and murdered Probus, according to all accounts, in a tower in Sirmium called the Iron Tower.[235]

Under Diocletian and his co-rulers, Sirmium retained the position that it had attained in the second half of the 3rd century. The changes affected the outward appearance of the city more than its position in the Empire. Under Diocletian and in the 4th century there was a considerable of building activity in Sirmium. Some of the large buildings, unearthed in more archaeological excavations in the 70s of the 20th century, are dated to the first half of the 4th century. Diocletian's co-emperor Galerius had his temporary seat in Sirmium, which would make it one of the most important centers in the Roman Empire. There are several reasons that could lead us to surmise that Licinius was subsequently forced by circumstances to reside in Sirmium for a time. The only emperor who contemplated making Sirmium a new center of the Empire was Constantine, but he never put his idea into effect.

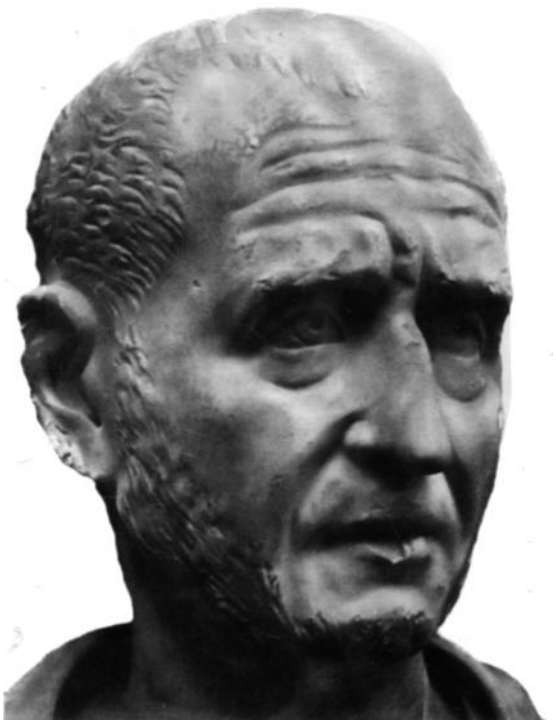

Fig. 18: Roman emperor Decius

[235] SHA vita Probi 20, 21; Eutrop. 9, 17, 3; Hieron. Chron. p. 224; Epit. de Caes, 37, 4; Aur. Victor Caes. 37, 4; Chronogr. a. 354 p. 148; Zos. I 71, 5; Eutrop. 9, 17; Chron. Pasch. 229; Prosp. Tiro Chron. 928; Cass. p. 149; lord. Rom. 293; Paul. Oros. VII 24, 3; Cons. Const. 283; Malala p. 302. According to Aur. Vict. he was also born in Sirmium. Comp. PIR I2 322 n. 1583.



Fig. 19: Golden slates struck in Sirmium

At the end of the 3rd century, the barbarian pressure on the Danubian frontiers grew in intensity. For that reason, Diocletian was compelled to spend the winter of the year 293 in Sirmium.[236] The next year the defence of Illyricum was entrusted to Galerius, his co-regent, a tough and experienced soldier. The same year he was appointed consul together with Diocletian in Sirmium.[237] Information found in Lactantius and Zonaras refers only to the fact that Galerius was entrusted with the task of protecting the frontier of Illyricum.[238] Sirmium, as his permanent seat, is mentioned nowhere. However, a hypothesis to this effect was advanced by O. Seeck. Because some dates of certain imperial edicts issued in Sirmium do not coincide with the dates of Diocletian's stay there, Seeck links them with Galerius and looks for his residence in Sirmium.[239]

[236] Seeck 1897: I3 33, Anh. 456, on the basis of rescript Cod. lust. II 4, 39; V 12, 27; 51, VII 16, 39; VIII 13, 26. Accepted by Stein 1949: 68, n. 17 and Enßlin 1930: 2516, but denied by Seston 1946: 235.

[237] A. Degrassi, Fasti consolari n. 1047.

[238] Aur. Victor Caes. 39, 30; Lact. de mort, pers. 8,3; 16,1; Praxagoras, FHG IV 2 (Jacoby FGH II B 219).

[239] Seeck 1905: 454. Diocletian was in Sirmium February 17-26, 293 and in 294 AD (Cod. lust. IV 9, 1; 34, 8). In 294 he ordered the construction of the fortress of Onagrinum, opposite to Bononia (Mommsen 1910: 265 and 272; Cons. Const, a. 294). Comp. Seston 1946: 235 and Alföldi 1941: 30 ff. Barnes 1982: 47 ff.

Galerius might have his headquarters in Sirmium during the wars on the Danube, as well as some other emprerors before him. It is difficult, however, to accept that he had his court and imperial offices there. It may also be questioned whether junior co-emperors had their separate seats at all. Besides, the defense of Illyricum was not the only and lasting task of Galerius. A few years thereafter, we find him in the East engaged in the war with the Persians. During that war his headquarters were probably in Antiochia.

By later authors Sirmium is linked with the first co-emperor of Diocletian, Maximianus, as his place of birth and activity. According to information found in Landolfus, Maximianus originated from the "wild Pannonia" in the vicinity of Sirmium. According to the same author, he had a palace built when he became emperor at the place where his parents had served as land tenants, not far from Sirmium.[240] No traces of this palace have been discovered near Sirmium. Possibly, tradition linked the name of this emperor, who had originated there, with the construction activities undertaken in Sirmium under Diocletian. Christian historiography contains some data referring to the building of a temple dedicated to the Sun god in Sirmium by Diocletian. The main evidence for this is found in the *Passio IV Corronatorum*. Although the accuracy of some of the information in this text may be questioned, the work should not be rejected without consideration. Some authors today, defending the historical value of this work, maintain that certain places in Fruška Gora, described in the *Passio* as quarries, can be identified, where Christian martyrs worked on porphyry and granite stones for the aforementioned buildings.[241] In support of those who defend the accuracy of the source data in the Passio, is the fact that the beginning of a new construction phase in Sirmium under Diocletian and his co-emperors can be archaeologically established.[242] Epigraphic data which might throw more light on this problem are very scanty for this period. For the present, there is only one altar that originates from Diocletian's time, modest in outward appearances and of poor material, dedicated to *Genio loci,* no. **37**. for the salvation of the two *Jovii* and the two *Herculii*, i.e. Diocletian and Maximianus, and Galerius and Constantius Chlorus.

Under Diocletian's successors, Sirmium must have played an important role in some of the events of the time, although the sources of the first decade of the 4th century do not mention it explicitly. Several indications would point to the fact that Licinius maintained his seat there between the years 308 and 314. He was proclaimed Augustus at Carnuntum in the year 308 and was given as region of his military action Italy along with Spain, Africa, and Illyricum. However, since Italy and the provinces west of it

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[240] Landolfus 172 (MGH AA II).

[241] Our intention here is not to enter into the problems of Christianity in Sirmium. Main works: Zeiller 1918: 79-88; Granić 1933: 325 ff.; idem 1925: 123 ff. (the same in Serbian, Glasnik Skopskog naučnog društva I, 1925); idem 1939: 91 ff.; Jireček 1959b: 463 ff. addendum III: Sirmium i *civitas Sancti Demetri*, 524 ff.; Györffy 1959: 9. On the toponymic identifications of places quoted in the Passio, Bulić 1908: 114 ff. who recognized in it the modern place of Kipovno, named according to ancient statues, Andrevlje and Crveni Čot. His view was accepted by Zeiller 1918: 88. On the other hand, N. Vulić rejects not only the proposed identifications, but denies also the historical value of the whole story, considering that the *Passio* contains many contradictions and repetitions (Vulić 1934: 1 ff. and idem 1939: 78).

[242] Comp. Popović, AP 7, 1965: 111 and 113.

were held by Maxentius, it would appear that Licinius had command, for all practical purposes, only in Illyricum, from the Alps to the Danube.[243] According to Aurelius Victor (XL 8-9), he was entrusted with the defense of Illyricum and Thrace. Zonaras (XII 34) records that Licinius remained in Illyricum to defend Thrace against the barbarians. If tradition had any bearing on the choice of government seat in those days, it might be expected that Licinius established in Sirmium first his military headquarters and subsequently his residence as well, like some rulers before him. There is also more direct information which points to Licinius' longer stay in Sirmium. An inscription from the island of Brač mentions *capitella columnarum ad thermas Licinianas* in Sirmium.[244] It is logical to suppose that the thermae were constructed during Licinius' stay in the city and at his command. However, that could only have been in the period between the years 308 and 314. Subsequent events would force Licinius to surrender Illyricum to Constantine and withdraw to the East. The events preceding the clash with Constantine show that Licinius was at the time in the western part of Illyricum. In the year 311 Galerius died. At this news, Maximinus Daza, who was then in Tarsus and would have to pass across Asia Minor in order to beat Licinius to Nicomedia, arrived there first.[245] Does this mean that Licinius had a longer way to travel? If we accept as correct that his seat was in Sirmium, he would have a longer way to reach Nicomedia than Daza. They met in battle in 313 and, after his victory, Licinius entered Nicomedia. It appears, however, that his seat remained in Sirmium up to October of the year 316, until his clash with Constantine. The immediate cause for their open break was the pulling down of some statues of Constantine near Emona, not far from the Italian border. Ancient authors describe their encounter as follows: having severed their relations, both Constantine and Licinius brought their armies to Cibalae (today's Vinkovci, 80 km west of Sirmium) in Pannonia. The first day of fighting brought some reverses to Licinius who, however, thinking that everything is lost, left the battlefield with a small retinue in great haste for Sirmium. Two historians, author of Excerpta Valesiana and Zosimos, agree that his family and treasures were both in Sirmium[246]. Having taken both with him, Licinius crossed the Sava, destroyed the bridge behind him and fled eastward in the direction of Thrace. Thereafter, Constantine entered the city and took possession of everything that Licinius had left behind.

The fact that Licinius' family was in Sirmium, his wife and son, as well as his treasures points to the conclusion that his seat was Sirmium. It is interesting to note that Lactantius describes the flight of Maximinus Daza before Licinius in 313 in almost identical terms. After his defeat in Thrace, at the end of the calends of May, Maximinus reached Nicomedia. Right after that, he took his wife and children and, with a few of his officers, fled to Syria (Lact. *De mort. pers*. 48).

Perhaps all these events revealed to Constantine the importance of the position of Sirmium and influenced him to consider creating a new imperial center there. He spent the period between the years

[243] On the proclamation of Licinius as Augustus, Stein 1949: 85; Seeck 1926: 222; Seston 1956: 175 ff. Anon. Vales. 3, 7; Cons. Const. MGH IX 231.

[244] On the inscription, comp. Bull, di arch, e stor. daim. VIII, 1885, 201; CIL III 10107= Dessau, ILS 3458.

[245] On Maximinius Daza, comp. Thomas 1968: 172 ff.; Castritius 1969.

[246] Zosim. II 19; Excerp. Vales. 5. 17: *Licinius cum magna parte equitatus noctis auxilio pervolavit ad Sirmium. Sublata inde uxore ac filio et thesauris tetendit ad Daciam*.

316 and 321 AD in Sirmium or Serdica.[247] An imperial mint was opened in Sirmium in 317. On the basis of numismatic data, it is conjectured that Constantine thought of building a new capital there. The coins bear the image of the city goddess, the same as would appear later on the gold coins of Constantinople.[248] This idea was not carried out, however, and the new capital was located in Byzantium.

Emperors after Constantine are also attested in Sirmium either as passing through or waging wars in the Danubian region. In the internal struggles for power, the antagonists strove to either capture Sirmium or win it over to their side as one of the most important centers of Illyricum. Under the successors of Constantine, a battle took place between the legitimate emperor Constantius and the usurper Magnus Magnentius not far from Sirmium. After the death of Constans, Magnentius seized power in Gaul, then made haste to gain possession of Illyricum. Sirmium and its garrison played a decisive role in the ensuing events. Constantius was occupied with the war against the Persians in the east and could not forestall Magnentius from capturing Illyricum. Events in Sirmium frustrated Magnentius' efforts in gaining a swift control of the Danubian provinces. The armed forces from the adjacent areas proclaimed in Sirmium the senior military commander *(magister equitum*) Vetranio as emperor.[249] It is believed that Constantius himself was instrumental in this election through his sister Constantia, hoping that this step would slow down the usurper's advance. Vetranio was recognized as co-emperor of the legal emperor thus placing a barrier to the usurper's plans in the Balkan Peninsula. Vetranio remained a loyal co-ruler to the emperor in so far as the military forces he commanded and other circumstances permitted him. It would appear that command over the Illyrian troops kindled in him hopes of seizing power for himself. He left Sirmium for a meeting with Constantius. They met in Naissus. Constantius succeeded in neutralizing him politicaly and attaching the Illyrian troops to his own army. The election of Vetranio as emperor proved of considerable advantage to Constantius. It slowed down the advance of Magnentius, prevented the Illyrian forces from coming over to his side and contributed to the hostile stand that Sirmium took against the usurper. When Magnentius reached Sirmium, after the occupation of Siscia, he encountered strong resistance from the army and also numerous city inhabitants. Realizing that his forces were insufficient for capturing the city, he turned toward Mursa where he encountered Constantius. Thus, in the year 351, a battle took place at Mursa which took a terrible toll of lives on both sides. From an economic point of view also, the consequences of the war were very damaging. Pannonia was left devastated in the wake of the two armies. According to an account of Zosimos, Magnentius was advancing toward Sirmium with great booty after the fall of Siscia.[250]

After his victory at Mursa, Constantius withdrew into Sirmium where he remained about two months grappling with some problems of the Christian church. Due to his behavior before the battle,

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[247] CAH XII 694 (N.H. Baynes); Mócsy, RE Suppl. IX, 572. Cod. Theod. II 30, 1; VIII 18, 1; IX 30, 7; I 16, 3; XI 35, 1; II 6, 2; VI 35, 3; XV 1, 2. Barnes 1982: 68 ff,

[248] A. Alföldi, 25 Jahren Röm.-Germ.Komm. Berlin 1930, 13; idem 1963: 81-83 and n. 290 – solidus-type PERPETVA FELICITAS.

[249] Zosim. II 43, 1; Aur. Vict. 41, 46; Philostorg. HE III 22; Cons. Constantin., a 350, 2; Eutrop. X 10, 2; Sozom. Hist. eccl. IV 1, 1. Comp. Stein 1949: 139; Seeck 1921: 92.

[250] Zosim. II 49: ... *ἐπελθὼν δὲ πάντα τὰ περὶ τὸν Σάον χωρία καὶ λείαν πλείστην ἀπαγαγὼν ἐπὶ τὸ Σίρμιον ἤλαυνεν*...

the bishop of Mursa had won the emperor's favor. Since he was a follower of Arius, Arianism became predominant in Pannonia and in the frontier provinces for many years.[251]

The destruction of a great part of the Roman army at Mursa had serious consequences and exigencies would again bring Constantius to Sirmium a few years later. The Quadi appeared at the frontiers of Valeria threatening to invade it while the Sarmatians put pressure on Upper Moesia. Constantius began his war preparations in 354. The road linking Atrans with the confluence of the Sava was repaired that year.[252] In the year 357 Constantius appeared again in Sirmium with the army. In the winter of 358, disquieting intelligence reached the emperor's headquarters in Sirmium that the barbarians, pressed by famine and cold, had crossed over into Roman territory. In the spring Constantius moved against them, threw them back and fortified the frontier. The following fall he returned to Sirmium and, having celebrated victory, ordered the troops back to the nearby camps. The fact that Constantius did not go back to Rome after these events, indicates that the threat had not been eliminated nor adequate measures undertaken to prevent the Sarmatians from crossing the Danube again the following winter and overwhelming the Roman provinces. From Sirmium, the emperor watched vigilantly every move of the barbarians. In the winter, reports reached him that the Sarmatians, dissatisfied with the area assigned to them by the emperor, were again crossing the Roman frontier. The danger to the Roman provinces from these incursions of the barbarians, who were themselves squeezed by severe hardships, grew so great that Constantius resolved to move against them that same winter. He probably crossed the Danube at Bononia, north of Sirmium, and in the plains of Bačka met the barbarian host ready for attack, stratagem, and desperate resistance. After some hard fighting, they were subdued. Leaving insured, for the time being, the safety of the Roman frontier against their raids by cruel measures of retaliation, Constantius returned to Sirmium and celebrated a triumph for this victory. Thereafter, he left Pannonia and went to Constantinople to prepare for war with the Persians.[253]

Soon thereafter, Sirmium is again mentioned in events which would bring an end to Constantius' reign. He was compelled to interrupt the war in the East because of an open conflict with Julian who, left in Gaul as caesar, was proclaimed emperor by the army in 360. As Constantius refused to recognize him as co-emperor, Julian set out for Illyricum the following year. The higher stratum of government power and military command remained loyal to the legitimate emperor. Taurus, praetorian prefect of Italy, withdrew to the East together with the Illyrian praetorian prefect, Florentius. Julian was marching east along the Danube and in this way reached the Danubian port Bononia situated 19 miles north of Sirmium.

Constantius was not popular in Sirmium. Opposition to him had existed before Julian was proclaimed emperor. This opposition found expression in the year 355 at a feast given in Sirmium by Apricanus, the governor of the province Pannonia Secunda. The reign of Constantius was criticized as

[251] Seeck 1921: 114 and 138. On synodical meetings held in Sirmium, Zeiller 1918: 144 (Socrates II 29; Sozom. IV 6).
[252] No. **367**.
[253] On Constantius' expeditions against the Sarmatians, Amm. Marc. XVI, 10, 20; XVII 12; XIX 11. Zosim. III 11; Patsch 1925: 185; Vulić 1929: 17 ff.

oppressive. Gaudentius, *agens in rebus*, who was present, reported the incident to the praetorian prefect Rufinus. At his orders, all the guests at this feast were put in chains and sent to Italy via Aquileia.[254] Such harsh measures, taken against those who were dissatisfied with the Emperor, did however not influence the loyalty of governors and military commanders. On approaching Sirmium, Julian met with resistance. At the news of his approach, Lucillianus, commander of the armed forces of Pannonia, *comes rei castrensis*,[255] set about concentrating troops in Sirmium from the adjacent forts. His chances for success were not very great: Constantius was still quite far and Julian was approaching with a large army. Having landed at night in Bononia, Julian sent at once for Lucillianus, instructing his men to bring him forcibly in case he refused. Frightened, Lucillianus submitted. Julian advanced to Sirmium, without encountering resistance. At the approaches to the city, he was solemnly welcomed by the army, and the multitudes followed him through the extensive suburbs to the imperial palace. In Sirmium, Julian received delegations of Greek towns and gave horseraces for the population. Then, impatient to encounter Constantius, he set out for Moesia and Thrace. Two legions that Julian did not trust stayed behind in Sirmium with a cohort of *sagittarii*.[256]

The capitulation of Sirmium to Julian had a great significance for his further success. Since the military command in Sirmium was under his control, the road to the east, leading through Illyricum, was now open to him. He took along with him a part of the armies from Pannonia and Moesia. However, he continued to watch vigilantly the garrison in Sirmium. Unreliable legions and cohorts he sent to Gaul. While passing through Aquileia, these troops rose in open revolt and disrupted communications with Italy for a time. The units of Batavi, which were loyal to Julian, remained in Sirmium.[257]

Further developments took Julian far away from Sirmium. Two years later reports of his death reached Sirmium and brought about new strife. Jovian, who succeeded Julian, sent to the West a mission charged with informing Gaul and Illyricum of the changes on the throne. The mission was made up, as recorded by Ammianus Marcellinus, of Procopius, notary, and Memoridus, military tribune.[258] Zosimos also adds Valentinian, the future emperor, who was of Pannonian origin and who was expected, for that reason, to facilitate the mission's task in Sirmium.[259] Lucillianus, who was living in Sirmium in retirement after his unsuccessful oppositon to Julian, was counted on in winning over the Illyrian army. Jovian sent him a decree of his appointment as military commander *(magister militum et equitum*) and charged him in a confidential letter with a special mission in Mediolanum in case the news of the accession of the new emperor should provoke resistance. However, the mission met with a hostile reception in Sirmium. The appointment of Lucillianus turned out to be an unfortunate move because he was very unpopular. The Batavian units, whom Julian had left in Sirmium when leaving for the East,

[254] Amm. Marc. XV 3, 7.
[255] Amm. Marc. XXI 9, 5f. Comp. Seeck 1921: 298.
[256] Amm. Marc. XXI 11, 1. Comp. Stein 1949: 156; Bidez 1930.
[257] Amm. Marc. XXI 11, 2ff.
[258] Amm. Marc. XXV 8ff.
[259] Zosim. III, 35.

also contributed to the failure of the mission. They attempted to murder the ambassadors of the new emperor. Procopius saved himself pleading kinship to Julian, while Valentinian escaped death by flight.[260]

This incident emphasizes once again the importance of Sirmium in the political events of the 4th century. The town is the pivotal point in Illyricum for whose support both emperors and usurpers were fighting.

Jovian reigned too short a time to react to this incident. Valentinian would return to Sirmium a few years later, but this time as emperor. On assuming power, he set out for the West together with his brother Valens. Sources record their stop-over in Mediana, near Naissus, as well as in Sirmium. At the meeting in Sirmium, the question of the division of power was resolved. Valens received the command in the eastern part of the Empire with Constantinople as its seat, while Valentinian retained for himself the western part including Pannonia, with Mediolanum as capital. The position of the prefect of the central prefecture to which Illyricum was re-attached, was retained by Mamertinus.[261]

In the ensuing decades, the barbarian danger was drawing closer to Sirmium. There were times when the city itself was placed in immediate danger. Nevertheless, the town remained the most important civic center of Illyricum to the end of the 4th century. The barbarian threat compelled Valentinian to set out for Pannonia. He died on the Danubian frontier (November, 375) in a fit of rage brought on by exaggerated demands of the barbarian emissaries. As an ominous augury of the impending catastrophy, Ammianus Marcellinus mentions a fire in Sirmium, caused by a thunderbolt, in which the palace and part of the curia burned down.[262]

Three years later, the passing of Gratianus through Sirmium is mentioned. Ilnness retained him here. His three-day tarrying in Sirmium brought about a fatal delay for his army in the battle against the Goths at Hadrianople 378.[263] The consequences of this defeat and of death of Valens manifested themselves on the northern frontiers of Pannonia. One of the echoes of the Roman defeat was the revival of the Sarmatian threats in Pannonia and Moesia. In those hard times, Gratianus took as his co-ruler Theodosius, the dux of Moesia. His solemn coronation took place in Sirmium 379.[264] The difficult task of defending the eastern part of the Empire, to which were added the Macedonian and Thracian dioceses, fell to the lot of the new co-emperor. Gratianus remained in the West to which the Pannonian diocese belonged.[265]

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[260] Zosim. loc. cit.

[261] Amm. Marc. XXVI 5, 4: *Italiam vero cum Africa et Illyrico Mamertinus.*

[262] Amm. Marc. XXX 5, 16; Zosim. IV 18, 1.

[263] Amm. Marc. XXXI 11, 6. According to the information in Landoflus p. 189 Gratian was born in Sirmium.

[264] Iord. Rom. 315: *Theodosius Spanus Italicae ... a Gratiano Augusto apud Sirmium post Valentis interitum factus est imperator regnavitque an. XVII.* Same information in Aur. Viet. 48; Pauli Oros. hist. VII 34; Pauli Diac. XI 14; cons. Const a. 379; Marcell. com. a. 379. Coronation in Sirmium is mentioned also by the poet C. Sidonius Apollinaris, Carm. V 109 and Sozom. Hist. ecc. VII, 1, 2. The presence of Theodosius in Sirmium in the year 380 (septem.) attests the record in Cod. Theod. VII 22.

[265] Demougeot 1951: 145, note 137, remarks that Theodosius sent a decree to the vicar of Macedonia, even though Illyricum belonged to Gratian (Cod. Theos. IX 35, 4). The year 394 found Sirmium being used as a supply center by Theodosius. (Demougeot 1951: 116).

With Theodosius begins the settling of the barbarians in Pannonia. The territory of the city, it seems, remained Roman up to the times of Attila. Later on, when the barbarian settlements became more permanent, some of their rulers would use Sirmium as their center. In this respect, they would imitate former Roman emperors who had built many large buildings, palaces, thermae, etc., for their needs and accommodation.

At the time when territorial praefectures were introduced, probably in the year 324,[266] Illyricum made up part of the central prefecture Italia-Africa-Illyricum at first. Actually, Illyricum began to set itself apart as a separate entity when Licinius was charged to governe over the Pannonian diocese, after the meeting of Carnuntum. Subsequently, Illyricum was separated formally from the Italic prefecture and entrusted to an independent praetorian prefect. The Illyrian prefecture comprised the Pannonian, Thracian and Macedonian dioceses. The last two were attached briefly to the eastern half of the Empire in the year 380 and their defense was entrusted to Theodosius. Pannonia was at this time as well as at the time of the final division in 395, part of the Western Empire. Only when the western court under Valentinian III formally renounced its claims to the Illyrian prefecture, Pannonia was attached to the Eastern Empire.

In the course of the 4th century, Illyricum existed twice as a separate prefecture. The first time it was separated from the central prefecture and given to the prefect Anatolius in 357. He was replaced by Florentius who left Gaul at the accession of Julian to power. He kept the Illyrian prefecture briefly, before being compelled to retreat again before Julian. The same year, 361, at the news of Julian's approach, Taurus, the prefect of Italy, crossed the Julian Alps and, taking along Florentius, departed for the East to join Constantius. Julian again attached the Illyrian prefecture to Italy and appointed Mamertinus praetorian prefect. The prefecture retained this status under Valentinian and Valens. There are no records of a new detachment of Illyricum into a independent prefecture before the death of Valentinian I. In all probability, it was only in the year 376 or 377 that Sextus Petronius Probus, the former prefect of Italy, was named prefect of an again separate prefecture of Illyricum.[267]

Petronius Probus had spent a certain time in Sirmium as the prefect of the central prefecture. Speaking of a raid of the Jazigi into Pannonia, Ammianus Marcellinus remarked that praetorian prefect Probus was in Sirmium at the time. At the sudden appearance of the barbarians, he prepared to leave the town at night. This incident affords another occasion for Ammianus Marcellinus to point again to the weak character of Probus, of whom he speaks rather unfavorably elsewhere in his work. Probus is linked with Sirmium in yet another literary work, a eulogy by the poet Ausonius. The poet probably had in mind Probus' incombency of the Illyrian prefecture. Probus was replaced in this office by Julius Ausonius, the poet's father.[268]

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[266] Comp. Pallanque 1955: 257 ff.

[267] About the Illyrian préfecture comp. Stein 1925: 347 ff.; idem 1915: 344 ff. and idem 1934: 327 ff.; Pallanque 1933; idem 1934: 712 ff.; idem 1950: 483 ff.; idem 1951: 5ff.; idem 1955: 257 ff.; Enßlin 1954: 2430 ff.; Demougeot 1947: 16 ff. idem 1950: 87 ff.; idem 1950: 27 ff.; idem 1951. See also the summarized results of the investigations in Grumel 1951: 5 ff. especially 45; Lot 1936: 322 ff.; Norman 1957: 233 ff.; cf. in Serbian Granić 1939: 91 ff.

[268] About Petronius Probus see Amm. Marc. XXVIIII 9: ... *praefectus praetorio agens tunc apud Sirmium Probus* ... etc.; Auson. Probo praef. praet. Comp. Mommsen 1910: 285, 1; Seeck 1919: pp. 31, 39, Seeck RE I 2205 (Anicius) ff. n. 45; Stein 1949: 178 passim; Pallanque 1933: 43 and 109; Pallanque 1934: 705; Stein 1925: 336; Enßlin 1954: 2435 and PLRE, s.v.p. 736.

Sirmium was probably the seat of the prefect at the previous detachment of Illyricum into a separate prefecture as well. This can be gatherd from the data referring of Florentius and his flight to the East. Ammianus notes that Florentius, upon his return from Gaul, was sent to the Illyrian prefecture. That he was in Sirmium could be surmised from another piece of information furnished by the same author. Taurus, prefect of Italy, shunning the enemy (Julian), crossed the Julian Alps taking Florentius with him at the same time. The military commander in this district (Pannonia), continues Ammianus, was Lucillianus. At the intelligence of Julian's approach, he began gathering troops in Sirmium. From the cited text, it might be inferred that Florentius joined Taurus in Pannonia after he had crossed the Alps. In that case, his seat must have been in Sirmium where the prefect of the Italic prefecture also resided whenever the need arose, as, for instance, Probus during the war of Valentinianus on the Danube. [269]

Illyricum still existed as a prefecture at the time of Valens' death in 378. Probus was replaced as prefect by Julius Ausonius and possibly Olybrius.[270]

The accession of Theodosius to the throne was the turning point in the history of Illyricum. The barbarians, who already became a threat under the reign of Valentinianus, began to settle on Roman territories. The defense of the East was entrusted to Theodosius. In the year 379, he was also given a part of the Illyrian prefecture together with the Dacian and Thracian dioceses. This time the division of Illyricum did not last long – the next year, 380, Illyricum was united again. The prefect of a united praefecture, Nicomachus Flavianus, visited Sirmium in 383[271]. Similar divisions occurred a few more times during the reign of Theodosius. It is believed, however, that the division of 379-380 was the basis for all the subsequent divisions of Illyricum into western, comprising the Pannonian diocese, and eastern, with the Thracian and Macedonian dioceses.[272] Thus Pannonia would be separated from the East for a rather long time lasting up to the year 426 or 437.

While Theodosius endeavored to tie Illyricum to the eastern half of the Empire during his lifetime, he relinquished this prefecture to Honorius on his deathbed, thus nominally linking it to the Western Empire. However, Honorius and Stilicho retained only the Pannonian dioceses, whereas the Thracian and Dacian dioceses were organized by the court in Constantinople into Eeastern Illyricum.[273] This division is reflected also in the *Notitia Dignitatum*.[274]

Stilicho endeavored to recover eastern Illyricum, probably invoking Theodosius' last will. Only in 426, at the betrothal of Valentinian III to Eudoxia, daughter of Theodosius II, or perhaps in 437 at his wedding, did the Western Empire renounce its claims to Illyricum.[275] Gradually, power of the eastern

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[269] Amm. Marc. XXI 9, 4: *Quo rumore perculsus, praefectus praetorio Taurus, ut hostem vitans externum, mature discessit vectusque mutatione celeri publici cursus, transitis Alpibus Iuliis, eodem ictu Florentium itidem praefectum secum adduxit.* To this is added the sentence about Lucillianus, who at this time was the military commander of Pannonia and started to gather an army at Sirmium.

[270] Enßlin 1954: 2436-2437; Pallanque 1951: 14.

[271] Symm. Ep. II 17-19

[272] Seeck 1921: 487 and Seeck 1919: 254; Stein 1925: 347 ff.; Demougeot 1950: 87; Grumel 1951: 45.

[273] CTh. VII 6, 4. Pallanque 1951: 13; Demougeot 1950: 91 ff.; Enßlin, RE XXII-2, 2439F.

[274] Not. dign. oc. I 40-41; 85; II 28-33.

[275] About this comp. Enßlin, RE XXII-2, 2439; Bury 1923: 225; Granić 1939: 91.

court in Western Illyricum was reduced to the district of Sirmium only. By agreement, Savia and Valeria were ceded to the Huns for settlement. When taking over western Illyricum, Theodosius II drove out the barbarians from some of its territory.[276]

According to the text of the *XI Novellae* of Justinian's Codex, Sirmium was the seat of the Illyrian prefecture up to the time of Attila and his conquest. The last prefect, Apraemius, withdrew from Sirmium before the Huns and went to Thessalonica retaining his position as prefect. Although this is sometimes rejected as incorrect, it seems that there is no sound reason to doubt the historical validity of this information.[277] Sirmium became the seat of the prefecture of Illyricum at the time when it was ceded to the Eastern Empire. Thus a practice, customary in the preceding century, was continued, when setting the Illyrian prefecture apart as a separate administrative unit.

After the collapse of the Hun state, Pannonia formally became part of the Eastern Empire again. It was with the Eastern Empire in 455 that the Ostrogoths concluded a treaty to settle there. At first sight, this would seem to be contradicted by some information found in the poet Sidonius Apollinaris, according to whom Emperor Avitus, elected in Gaul, entered Illyricum before entering Italy, and passed over Pannonia which had not seen a Roman emperor in a long time.[278] Inasmuch as the information of this poet is historically accurate, the entry of Avitus into Pannonia was not necessarily a consequence of any formal rights of the Western Empire to this district. This entry of the army of the Western Empire might have been made against the will of the Eastern emperor. The visit had a propaganda character in any case. Avitus, who lacked support in Italy, wished perhaps to show himself by this entry into Illyricum as the renovator of the might of Rome. Regardless of this enterprise, Pannonia, together with Sirmium, would remain under the control of the emperor in Constantinople, settled by the Goths who had their *foedus* concluded with emperor Marcian.

In the beginning of the 6th century, Sirmium was briefly separated from the Eastern Empire. By a treaty with Theodoric in the year 510, it was stipulated that Sirmium should be joined to the state of the Ostrogoths. This was the price the Romans had to pay for their defeat on the Morava in 505.[279] The organization of this part of the Goths kingdom was entrusted to *comes* Colosseus.[280] But Hierocles records the part of Pannonia with Sirmium as being within the framework of the Eastern Empire.[281] Byzantium would retain formal power over this province up to the Avar conquest.

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[276] Iord. Rom. 329; Cass. Var. XI, 1, 9. Pallanque 1933: 122 maintains that it was the year 437; Zeiller 1918: 6, 1 takes 424 or -137. For the contract of Savia's surrendering to Aetius, see Prisci Pan. fr. 7 (FHG IV p. 82). Seeck 1921: 106.

[277] Nov. XI (from 538): ... *postea autem Attilanis temporibus eisdem locis devastatis Apraemius praefectus praetorio de Sirmiana civitate in Thessalonicam profugus venerat...* etc. As far as the historical value of this information is concerned, Enßlin does not believe it (comp. Enßlin RE XXII-2, 2439) and thinks that the seat of the Illyrian prefecture was in Thessalonica even before the arrival of the Huns on the Balkan Peninsula. About the seat of the prefecture comp. Stein 1925: 357.

[278] Sid. Apoll. c. VII 589-91. About that Enßlin, Byz. Neugr. Jahrb. VI, 1928, 154.

[279] About the battle comp. Marcell. com. Chron. 96 (MGH AA IX) and lord. Get. LVIII 300; Rom. 356. Nagl, Enßlin 1933: 559.

[280] Cass. Var. III 2 (MGH AA XII 90-91).

[281] Hierocl. Synecd. 657 *ἐπαρχία Παννονίας Σέρμιον, Βασιανά*.

## Provincial governors in Sirmium

From the time of Diocletian's reforms of the provincial system, Sirmium became the seat of the governor of the province Pannonia Secunda. The rector of this province had the rank of praeses. Data concerning individual governors are contained only in the work of Ammianus Marcellinus. With his inclination for topographical details, he often mentions places and names of participants of specific events. In connection with the events of the 4th century, he mentions the following provincial governors in Sirmium:

1. Apricanus was condemned in 355 as politically suspect to Constantius. The police service, *agentes in rebus* which were very active in that period, reported to the praetorian prefect the hostile remarks of this governor about emperor Constantius made at a feast in Sirmium. Apricanus was arrested together with the rest of the participants.[282]

2. Messala is mentioned as governor of Pannonia around the year 374, during the difficult times when the province was submerged by the barbarians. The immediate surroundings of Sirmium became unsafe under their attacks. The retinue of Constantius' daughter, who was travelling west, when being conducted to marry Gratianus, was attacked 26 miles from the city and was very nearly captured, while she was taking food in a public villa Pristensis. Messala, having received intelligence of this, swiftly moved from Sirmium and placed her in a state-carriage and took her in the haste back to Sirmium. twenty six miles away. He saved the princess from the danger of wreched slavery, sparing the Roman Empire an infamous crime, as Ammianus reports.[283]

3. Aurelius Victor, a historian, was nominated governor of the province Pannonia Secunda by the emperor Julian. He was seen in town, as recorded by Ammianus, when Julian passed through Sirmium.[284]

The governor's bureau is attested as *officium praesidis* in the inscription no. **56**.

## Military command in Sirmium

In Ammianus Marcellinus Sirmium is mentioned as the seat of the military command of Illyricum. In the city itself no important armed forces were stationed. Data in Ammianus Marcellinus point out that the military units were stationed in the nearby forts which were mainly situated on the Danube, and that they were concentrated in Sirmium only in preparation to a military campaign. For example during Constantius' war in 359 AD. Amminaus reports: "and when the emperor had been escorted to

[282] Amm. Marc. XV 3, 7.
[283] Amm. Marc. XXVIIII 6. 7.
[284] Amm. Marc. XXI 10, 1.

his palace and refresh for two days, he returned in triumphal pomp to Sirmium and the companies of soldiers whent back to the quarters assigned them".[285] A few years later, when Julian was approaching Sirmium, *magister militum* Lucillianus was in the city. He attempted to raise an army from the camps adjacent to Sirmium, and offer resistance to Julian.[286] Between the succeeding campaigns, the army was always returned to the permanent camp, for Sirmium could not accommodate great numbers of armed forces. Ammianus shows unequivocally that no important military forces were stationed in the city itself. Upon his departure for the East, Julian temporarily left two legions in Sirmium, together with a cohort of *sagittarii*. Soon thereafter they were sent to Gaul so that only the Batavi units would remain in Sirmium.[287] In *Notitia dignitatum*,which lists all military forces and command in the Empire, smaller armed forces are mentioned as the military garrison of Sirmium, *milites Calcarienses, ala Sirmiensium* and part of the navy, *classis prima Flavia Augusta*.[288] Two legions, organized under Diocletian, *V Iovia* and *VI Herculia*, were garrisoned on the Danube in the forts on either side of the river, in Bononia and Onagrinum.[289]

The first *magister militum* that is mentioned in Sirmium was Vetranio. As Sirmium and the military command of Illyricum were important factor in the struggle for power, both Magnentius and Constantius endeavored to win Vetranio over to their side.[290] Upon his accession to the throne, Jovian tried to reinstate Lucillianus as *magister peditum et equitum* but, without success because of the revolt in Sirmium.[291] After that, there is no more information about the military commanders in Sirmium. However, most likely Sirmium remained the seat of the military headquarters of Illyricum all the way up to the Hun conquest. In the year 358-359 Barbatio, the *pedestris militiae rector* and a member of Constantius' staff came to Sirmium. On the grounds of a letter of his wife, Assyria, he was accused of longing for the throne. By the order of Constantius he was executed along with his wife.[292] After this many people were persecuted, both innocent and guilty. Among them was Valentinus, the tribune of the emperor's guard (*ex primicerio protectorum tribunus*). But he survived and later, as a gift for this undeserved suffering and torture, he was granted the position of the *dux Illyrici.*[293]

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[285] Trans. by J. C. Rolfe, The Loeb class. Library, 1956, p. 401, Amm. Marc. XVII 13, 33: *Et reductus imperator ad regiam, otioque bidui recreatus, Sirmium cum pompa triumphaii regressus est, et militares numeri destinatas remearunt ad sedes.*

[286] Amm. Marc. XXI 5ff. designated as *comes*; 9,7 as *magister equitum*. Enßlin 1931: 106 believes that he was magister *equitum et peditum.* Comp, also Seeck 1927: 1647, note 52.

[287] Amm. Marc. XXI 11,2.

[288] Not. dign. occ. XXXII 49-50 and 54.

[289] Not. dign. occ. XXXII 48 and 44.

[290] Comp. Aur. Vict. 41, 26; Cons. Const, a 350; Eutrop. X 10; Iulian. I, 26 C; Zosim. II, 43, 1; Zonaras XIII 7; Philostorg. III 22. Enßlin 1931: 104 holds that Vetranio was *magister peditum* in the west and that Illyricum had been given to him as a special task. He puts the creating of separate military zones in Illyricum in the reign of Valentinian I. Comp. Stein 1949: 139.

[291] Amm. Marc. XXV 89; Zosim. III 35, 2.

[292] Amm. Marc. XVIII, 3-4. Seeck 1897: 1-2.

[293] Amm. Marc. loc. cat.

# X ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT

As early as the end of the 2nd century, Dio Cassius spoke of Pannonia as a poor and savage country where people were not acquainted with wine or oil, but drank some sort of beer which they called *sabaia*. He probably knew well this country where he had served for a time as imperial legate.[294] Nevertheless, his judgment of the country was rather subjective. He looked upon Pannonia with the eyes of a Mediterranean brought up in a much more civilized environment. For him, not to be familiar with wine and oil, meant barbarism. Undoubtedly, Pannonia was fertile and quite rich in some products as indicated in the work *Expositio totius mundi et gentium*. The fertility of the land was adversely affected by the swamps around Cibalae and Sirmium. Nevertheless, Sirmium distinguished itself early as a progressive urban centre. Production methods around Sirmium were affected by the veterans' estates that kept growing in number from the 2nd century. Its early integration in commercial traffic contributed greatly to its economic prosperity. Strabo mentions Sirmium as one of the main points on the road to Italy.[295] Emperor Probus contributed a great deal toward land improvements and introduction of new cultivation; he initiated reclamation of swamp-land east of Sirmium and had a drainage canal dug. During his reign, the cultivation of grape vines was introduced on the mountain range Alma mons near Sirmium.[296] The emperors who had stayed in Sirmium also contributed to the prosperity of the city. At the time of Diocletian, a building epoch began which was to extent throughout the 4th century. Construction masters from Sirmium were considered both skilled and experienced. Priscus mentions a mason from Sirmium who, having fallen into Hun captivity, built a palace and thermae for Onegesius, a relative of Attila.[297]

The 4th century was the time of a vigorous economic development in Pannonia and Sirmium. The results of a long economic evolution became visible, and results of development which had begun with the coming of the Romans and was often encouraged by the emperors of the 3rd and 4th centuries, who were either of Sirmium origin or had made a prolonged residence in that city.

While Sirmium was growing into one of the centers of the Empire, on the order of Trier, Aquileia etc., the economic strength of the country as a whole was being undermined. Strife between emperors in Pannonia brought about the devastation of the country. The case of Magnentius who, having captured Siscia, pushed on laden down with booty, could be applied to others who had swept over Pannonia. The end of the evolution which begun with the coming of the Romans, and fundamental

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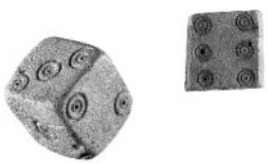
[294] Expositio totius mundi et gentium c. 57 p. 122 (ed. Riese): *deinde Pannonia regio, terra dives in omnibus fructibus atque iumentis et negotiis ... et semper habitatio imperatorum est.*

[295] Strabo C. 314.

[296] SHA Probus 21, 2: *nam cum Sirmium venisset ac solum patrium effecundari et dilatari, ad siccandam quandam paludem... ingentem parans fossam.* Comp. Eutrop. VIIII 17: *Alman montem apud Sirmium ... vineis conseruit.*

[297] Prisc. fr. 8 (FHG p. 85).

changes in the economic structure, would come with the settling of barbarians in Pannonia. Land was neglected, for the barbarians were not willing to cultivate it. Having exhausted the land, they moved on as new groups swarmed into Pannonia. Barbarian conquests and settlement destroyed the urban life. Cattle-breding gained precedence over farming because it corresponded better with the barbarian nomadic mode of life of various tribes. Source material about the Ostrogoths and other tribes settling in Pannonia contain data with regards to animal husbandry. The Avars, who put an end to Roman Sirmium, had come to Pannonia to aid the Lombards in their struggle against the Gepids on the condition that they would receive one tenth of the cattle.[298]



[298] Menandri fr. 35 (FHG IV p. 231).

# XI SIRMIUM AND THE BARBARIANS

Before long Sirmium would be exposed to barbarian assaults.The barbarian peril began drawing closer to Sirmium during the reign of Valentinian I. About the year 373, the frontier gave in under the pressure of the Quadi and Jazigi and they inundated Pannonia. In their assault, they reached Aquileia and imperiled the road to Italy. Road communications in Pannonia became unsafe, and Constantius' daughter, travelling west, was exposed in the immediate vicinity of Sirmium to falling into barbarian captivity together with her retinue.[299]

Valentinian, who had received under his controle the western half of the Empire including Pannonia in accordance with the agreement of Sirmium, strove to check the barbarian crossing over the Danube. For that purpose he built fortifications in the barbarian territory and furnished them with troops. These measures, however, provoked fresh movements of various tribes towards Roman territories. Having crossed the frontier, they soon found themselves at the approaches to Sirmium. The town was totally unprepared for defence. The city ramparts lay in ruins because of a long period of peace. Fear reigned amongst the populace. The praetorian prefect, Petronius Probus, frightened, was preparing to flee the city at night on a swift horse. He was dissuaded from this improvident step, as noted by Ammianus Marcellinus, by the advice of some more coolheaded citizens who realized that his example would be followed by others. They immediately set about rebuilding the ramparts and clearing up the trenches that had been filled up with hewn stones. With the funds, provided for the construction of a theatre, the ramparts were restored.[300] These measures were not in vain; the Sarmatians and the Quadi, unaccustomed to attacking fortified places, withdrew to Valeria carrying with them the huge booty captured around Sirmium and in other parts of Pannonia. Faced with such a danger, Valentinian personally assumed the command of further operations. At the same time, the Sarmatians were thrown back in several engagements by *dux* Moesiae, subsequently emperor, Theodosius.

Soon after the deaths of Valentinian and Valens, the Goths appeared in Pannonia and settled it with the emperor's consent. Thereafter, Roman power in Pannonia was to be restored but infrequently and briefly. Later on, too, the Goths would be often encountered in Pannonia. After their withdrawal, Pannonia was occupied by the Gepids who held it up to the time of Theodoric when Goths reconquested it. In the year 535, the Goths were pushed back and, in their place, the Gepids appear again. They were vanquished by the Avars who retained Pannonia with Sirmium under their occupation.

[299] Amm. Marc. XXVIIII, 6, 7.
[300] Amm. Marc. XXVIII, 9.

The beginning of the government of the emperors Gratianus and Theodosius was marked by a new wave of Gothic raids. While one group under Fritigern remained in Thessaly, Epirus and Achaia after the battle by Hadrianopolis, part of the Goths under the leadership of Alatheus and Saphrax set out towards Pannonia. Gratianus moved toward Pannonia, too. Presumably on the advice of Theodosius, who was prevented by illness from taking any decisive measures against the Goths at that period, he concluded a *foedus* with them ceding parts of Pannonia for their settlement.[301] Similar accommodations were to be made subsequently. Sometimes the barbarians settled on Roman territories without the permission of the central authorities or arbitrarily extended the scope of their power in the mutually agreed areas. Thus a new ethnical element appeared in Pannonia. The Roman population kept withdrawing to the cities.

The barbarians who were settled in Pannonia around the year 380 AD did not consist of Gothic tribes only. It seems that the Hun elements were strongly represented in that group. Migrating from the lower Danube, the Goths carried along with them a great number of Huns and other tribes also. The name of one of the Gothic leaders, Saphrax, does not appear to be of Germanic origin and is conjectured to be perhaps Hunic.[302] Historians, speaking of the subsequent expulsion of the barbarians from Pannonia, which they had held for about 50 years, refer only to the Huns. This information is preserved in Marcellinus Comes in reference to the year 427. Jordanes picks it up from there adding that the Huns were expelled from Pannonia with the aid of the Goths.[303] The Huns from Pannonia or its frontiers served in the Roman army. In 409 Honorius made an alliance with them against Alaric; about 425, Aetius raised 60,000 Hun foederati for the account of emperor John; the same military leader was again with the Huns in 432 in Pannonia proper or on its frontiers.[304]

From the above mentioned data in Ammianus Marcellinus it might be surmised that the Goths, mixed with the Huns and settled in Pannonia in 380, had remained there until western Illyricum was taken over by the Eastern Empire. This measure, however, did not bring peace to the Danubian countries. The treaty was not respected by either side. The Romans did not always have sufficient means to meet the financial obligations arising from the agreement; the Goths, for their part, were taking advantage of the weakness of both Empires and were breaking into Roman provinces. About the year 400 a migration of various Gothic groups across Pannonia took place. Diverse and devious reasons brought them to this region, but a desire of the eastern court to come into possession of Western Illyricum through the aid of the Goths also played its part. At the time of Theodosius' death, the Goths again broke into Roman territory on the lower Danube at a time when almost the entire army of the Western Empire was in Italy ready to set out for the East to engage in war with the Persians. Without encountering any resistance, the Goths reached the walls of Constantinople and soon thereafter Greece. The Eastern Empire was compelled to accept them as allies and cede Epirus to them for setlemcnt.

[301] Iord. Get. 140-141. About residence in the time of Gratianus' reign see Demougeot 1951: 145, note 137; Stein 1949: 193.

[302] Seeck 1921: 98; Thompson 1948: 23; Demougeot 1969: 116-117.

[303] Marcell. Com. a 427: *Pannoniae quae per quinquaginta annos ab Hunnis retinebantur, a Romanis receptae sunt*. lord. Get. XXXII 166: *Nam duodecimo anno Valiae* (= 427 AD) *quando et Hunni post pene quinquaginta annorum invasam Pann oniam a Romanis et Gothis expulsi sunt.* This imformation as being incorrect was rejected by Alföldi 1926: 66; comp. also Thompson 1948: 26, without commentary.

[304] Seeck 1921: 115 and 117; Stein 1949: 283 and 318; Moravcsik 1958: 57.

Unaccustomed to sedentary life, they soon left this country and set out via Moesia and Pannonia for Italy. Their leader Alaric, who took part with his Goths in Theodosius' expedition against Eugenius, had now the tacit consent of the court in Constantinople for this expedition to Italy. About the year 401, he passed through Sirmium.[305] The conduct of the city toward the previously settled Goths in Pannonia and toward the groups subsequently passing through the Pannonian lands is not known.

The movement of the Visigoths under Alaric brought to Pannonia fresh groups of Goths. Around 408 Alaric received new reinforcements from Pannonia under the leadership of Atavulfus, his wife's brother.[306] These were probably the Goths settled in Pannonia nearer to Italy. There were also Goths in eastern Pannonia in the fertile areas at the lower course of the Sava. Sirmium and other towns found themselves in a very difficult situation. Their communication line with Italy was being disrupted because the region between them and Italy was settled by the Goths and other barbarians. However, there is no information that Sirmium was either sacked or destroyed. The city was occupied and desteyed for the first time by the Huns, who appeared in the mid-Danubian basin as conquerors in the middle of the 5th century.

## The Huns in Srem

At the beginning of the 5th century the Huns appears on the lower Danube as organized community of warriors under their leader Attila.[307] Soon thereafter, their attacks against the Roman provinces in the Danubian region began. The first to suffer were Thrace and Lower Moesia. In the 30s of the 5th century, the Huns were already within striking distance of Margum, on the left bank of the Danube.[308] A decade later the destruction of the Danubian limes began under their assaults.

Marcellinus Comes describes the course of the Hun conquest in the mid-Danubian region as follows: in the year 441 a huge multitude of Huns broke into Illyricum and captured Singidunum, Naissus and many other towns; the year 442 brought forth a new assault and devastation of Illyricum and Thrace; five years later, in one of their strongest assaults, the Huns penetrated to Thermopylae, Greece, laying everything waste on their way across the Balkan Peninsula. That same year the Romans suffered a defeat at their hands on the Utus River in the province of Dacia Ripensis.[309]

Sirmium must have been among the towns captured by the Huns either in 441-442 or in 447, although Marcellinus does not record it. Priscus, on the other hand, speaks of the fall of Sirmium 448 AD as a well known event, but does not give any chronological details about it. He mentions the siege of the city in a story about a certain scribe Constantius and some gold utensils, and again in describing his encounter with a mason from Sirmium.

Priscus learned of the first event on meeting an embassy of the Western Empire which, like the one that he was a member of, was being sent to Attila. The embassy of the Western Empire was charged

[305] Iord. Get. 292; comp. Stein 1949: 248.

[306] Zosim. V 37, 1; Stein 1949: 257.

[307] About the Huns comp. Seeck 1921: 94 ff.; Schmindt 1934: 97; Kiessling, RE VIII, 2583 ff; Nagy 1956: 251; Harmatta 1952: 277 ff.; Harmatta 1951: 151 ff.; Thompson 1948; Altheim 1951; Maenchen-Helfen 1973.

[308] In the year 434 AD the Huns and the Bvzantines sent envoys who met at Margum. See Priscus Pan., fr. 1 (FHG IV p. 72). They probably already held the left bank of the Danube.

[309] Marcell. Comes a. 441 (MGIT XI, Chron. min. p. 80); see also a. 447 p. 82.

with placating Attila and persuading him to renounce of his demand for the surrender of the Roman banker Silvanus. This demand of Attila's was brought about by the following incident: during the siege of Sirmium by the Huns, the local bishop entrusted to a certain Constantius some gold vessels, probably the property of the church, to be given as ransom for the him, if he survived the siege; otherwise, the vessels were to be used for ransoming the citizens. When the city fell to the Huns, Constantius did not carry out his trust, but sold the said vessels to the Roman banker Silvanus. Soon thereafter Constantius himself, who was in the service of the Huns, was crucified, though not for this offense, but for some other reasons. Later on, having learned of this incident, Attila laid claim to these vessels and demanded the extradition of Silvanus.[310]

Priscus again mentions the fall of Sirmium to the Huns while describing the fate of a mason taken prisoner when the city was captured. He was building a baths for Qnegesius, one of the leading personages at Attila's court, probably after the fashion of the baths existing in Sirmium.[311]

In neither case does Priscus give any particular details as to when the city was under siege or was taken. For that reason this event is variously dated in 441, 447 or 448 AD.[312] The dating of 441 or of the following year has been made plausible by A. Alföldy who called attention to the fact that Attila executed Constantius while his brother Bleda was still living, which would mean prior to the year 445.[313] In support of this dating would also be the fact that the conquest of 441, when the fall of Singidunum and Margum was also recorded, brought the Huns closer to Sirmium than the conquest of 447 when the Huns were diverted to Greece and the southern Balkan Peninsula. Sirmium is probably lumped in the phrase 'other towns'. The conquest of Sirmium must have preceded that of Singidunum and Naissus. At the time of Attila's conquest of Sirmium, according to a date contained in the XI *Novella* of Justinian, the praetorian prefect who had his seat there, withdrew to Thessalonica.[314] The road led him through the aforementioned Moesian towns which might have still been free.

The dating of 448 is the least plausible, for it is evident from Priscus' account that several events had taken place between the fall of Sirmium and the incidents he described. Indeed some time must have elapsed before Attila learned of the incident with the gold vessels and requested the surrender of Silvanus. Only then ensued the sending of the Roman embassy to Attila. The Hun conquests in Pannonia were probably limited to the district of Sirmium, because the authority of the Eastern Empire in the middle of the 5th century had shrunk to only this part of Pannonia. The provinces Savia and Valeria had already been ceded to the Huns for settlement by an agreement with Aetius in 432. It is probably for this reason that Marcellinus omitted mentioning Pannonia among the provinces conquered by the Huns. The western court did not exert any effort to help the Eastern Empire; it held to the treaty and maintained correct relationship with the Huns initiated by Aetius in the 20s of the 5th century.

The Hun conquest was attended by the destruction of the town and enslavement of the inhabitants. The citizens of Sirmium who had escaped the catastrophy, took refuge in the south or south-west. The

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[310] Prisci f. 8 (FHG IV p. 84).

[311] Ibid. p. 85.

[312] The date of 441 AD as the fall of Sirmium is given by: Šišić 1906: 160; Ostrogorski 1955: 9-10, n. 3; Stein 1949: 330 ff.; Thompson 1948: 81; Demougeot 1951: 208; Jones 1964: 193. The date of 448 AD as the fall of Sirmium is given by: Vulić 1929: 139; Zeiller 1947: 196; Bury 1923: 276 f., n. 1.

[313] Alföldi 1926: 96; comp. Prisci fr. 8, FHG IV, 93-94.

[314] About the flight of the praetorian prefect from Sirmium to Thessalonica, see lust. Nov. XI.

administration, together with the praetorian prefect, escaped to Thessalonica. A large part of the inhabitants were carried off into Hun captivity. Stone for the construction of Attila's capital was hauled from Pannonia and probably from Sirmium.[315]

Assuming that it was conquered in 441, Sirmium remained under the Huns for about twelve years. During that time, nothing is known of its fate. In allprobability, it continued to lie in ruins until the break-down of the Hun power. After the retreat of the Huns, life in this area, as in many others, was restored. However, in the ensuing decades radical changes would occur. Sirmium no longer existed as an autonomous Roman city, although Roman citizens continued to inhabit it. In its environment various barbarian tribes kept superseding one another and, from time to time, the city itself served as the seat for their rulers.

## Ostrogoths in Pannonia after the Huns

After the defeat of the Huns and the destruction of their power on the Nedao River in Pannonia, various tribes have liberated themselves from under their yoke and accupied the Roman provinces on the Danube hitherto held by the Huns. In the large ethnic movements that ensued, the Gepids, having occupied the region on the Tisa River, became neighbors of the Romans. The remaining Huns withdrew to the lower Danube and those who had stayed in the mid- Danubian basin recognized the authority of Constantinople. The Ostrogoths, who had made up part of the Hun army, were not strong enough to participate in the division of territories and appealed to Marcianus, emperor of the Eastern Empire, for permission to settle in Pannonia which was under its nominal authority. Hoping that with the help of the Goths he would be able to protect the northern frontiers against the barbarians, the emperor consented and concluded a *foedus* with them. The Ostrogoths in Pannonia were ruled over by Valamer and his brothers, Thiudimer and Vidimer. They had divided up the territory so that Valamer held the area between Scarniunga and Aqua Nigra, Thiudimer held the region around Lake Pelso, and Vidimer the country that lay between them. Nevertheless, their authority remained unified and the seniority in all decision making was with the eldest brother Valamer.[316]

From the rather vague territorial division by means of rivers which are difficult to identify, it is only the region held by Thiudimer that can be determined. Scarniunga and Aqua Nigra are variously identified with several rivers in Pannonia, from the Leitha and Raab in southern Austria to the Drava and Sava in today's Srem.[317] As a result of the differences in the identification of these rivers, it sometimes appears that Valamer held north Pannonia which is in direct contradiction with the text of Jordanes. The history of the Ostrogoths in Pannonia reveals that Thiudimer ruled in northern Pannonia, Vidimer in mid-Pannonia and Valamer in the district of Sirmium and further on to the west, perhaps all the way to the frontiers of Italy.[318] This is supported by two facts in particular:

1. Soon after their settling in Pannonia, the Ostrogoths were attacked by Attila's sons who still considered them as Huns subjects. Valamer, without the knowledge of his brothers, fought against them

[315] About the dragging off of stone from Pannonia for the building of Attila's capital, see Prisci fr. 8, 85. Comp, also Altheim 1951: 279.
[316] Iord. Get. L 233; XLVIII 252.
[317] Tomaschek 1896: 302; Keune 1921: 358; Alföldi 1926: 101, 1-4; Moor 1926: 440.
[318] About the Ostrogoths in Pannonia comp. Alföldi 1926: 97 ff.; Schmidt 1926: 459; Enßlin 1927-1928: 156.

and secceeded in forcing them to withdraw. Valamer was attacked by them because his district was nearest to the Huns who at the time occupied some parts of Dacia and Moesia.

2. Another assault coming from the east was also directed against Valamer. He fought against the Sciri who lived on the Tisa River and, having fallen off his horse in the battle, lost his life.[319]

Assuming that he held southern Pannonia, Valamer probably had his seat in Sirmium. As a town that was situated in the territory ceded to the Goths, Sirmium is mentioned by Jordanes.[320] Valamer's authority was not limited only to the group of Goths settled between the Drava and Sava. The whole of Pannonia was ceded to the Goths and Valamer exercised supreme authority over all of them. He probably had under his direct authority the lands from the confluence of the Sava up to the Julian Alps. Scarniunga, which was mentioned by Jordanes as the river boundary of his possessions, might be a corrupted form of *Carni iuga* or *iuga Carnium* which are mentioned by other writers as the frontier between Pannonia and Italy.[321]

The central part of Pannonia, *interiorem Pannoniam,* as noted by Jordanes, was held by the Sadagi, probably one of the tribes that had come with the Huns. The Ostrogoths moved against them with the intention of divesting them of their lands. However, Attila's son Dintzic, having united the remnants of the Hun tribes under his authority, laid siege to the town of Bassiana and commenced to devastate its environs. The Ostrogoths turned against him and succeeded in defeating him. They expelled the rest of the Huns across the Danube.[322] Thus, the Ostrogoths, fighting for living space had driven the remnants of the Huns out of Pannonia.

Ostrogoths in Pannonia were exposed to attacks by other tribes as well. Chunimund, leader of the Svevi, passed over their lands on his pillaging expedition to Dalmatia. On that occasion, he seized the herds of Gothic cattle on the plains of Pannonia. Thiudimer, fearing the recurrence of such raids, awaited them on their return at Lake Pelso and defeated them.[323]

Relations of the Ostrogoths with the eastern court were not always friendly. Whenever the Romans failed to pay the tribute agreed upon, the Goths would raid Illyricum and ravage Roman provinces. About 471, Theodoric, who was held as a hostage in Constantinople, was returned to the Goths. He attacted the Sarmatians in Singidunum, defeated them and retained the city without informing his father. Two years later, the Ostrogoths left Pannonia, probably driven away by the Sciri and other tribes. Their movements were made all the easier because they were cattlemen. Vidimer took one group of the Goths westward, toward Italy. Thiudimer and Theodoric crossed into Illyricum at the confluence of the Sava and, by way of Naissus and Ulpiana, penetrated deep into the south ravaging Roman provinces. Leo I was compelled to consent to their settling in Macedonia.[324]

The regions in Pannonia abandoned by the Ostrogoths, were seized by the Gepids who had been occupying the lands of former Dacia after the Hun debacle. The authority of the Gepids in the areas of today's Srem did not last long. A decade or so later, the Goths made their appearance again in Pannonia

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[319] Iord. loc. cit.; comp. also Mirković 1968: 119 ff.

[320] Iord. 264: *accipientesque (sc. Gothi) Pannoniam quae in longo porrecta planitiae habet ab oriente Moesiam supcriorem, a meridie Dalmatiam, ab occasu Noricum, a septentrione Danubium. Ornata patria civitatibus plurimis, quarum prima Syrmis, extrema Vindomina.*

[321] Plin. n.h. Ill 146, 22; Geogr. Rav. 293. 1. Comp. Mirković 1968.

[322] Iord. Get. 268.

[323] Ibid. 273.

[324] About the Goths leaving Pannonia, see lord. Get. 282-286. Bury 1923: 412. About the settling of the Gepids, see Diculescu 1923: 106. Their appearance is noted by Ennod. Paneg. XII 60 (MGH VII p. 210).

having covered great distances to Epirus and Macedonia, and back. Theodoric, the sole leader of the south-bound Ostrogoths after the death of Thiudimer, concluded an agreement in 488 with Zeno, emperor of the Eastern Empire, to break the power of Odoacar in Italy. Under his leadership, the Ostrogoths set out for Italy. The Gepids, who were holding Sirmium and part of Pannonia, did not allow them free passage. In the ensuing battle that took place at the Ulca River,[325] the Gepids were defeated vanquished and their king Thraustila was killed. The Goths continued on their way to Italy. After his final victory and consolidation of power in Italy, Theodoric, as the master of the former Western Empire, turned his attention to the problems of the eastern frontier. Considering Pannonia domain of the Goths, he sent a military leader Pitzia in 504 to drive the Gepids out of Pannonia. Thrasaric, successor of the deceased Thraustila, was defeated and forced to withdraw to Dacia while his mother, who had remained in Sirmium, was made prisoner by Pitzia. The remnants of the Gepids were driven across the Danube, and Pannonia with Sirmium was attached to Italy – for the first time since 426.[326]

This act of Theodoric brought complications into his relationships with the Eastern Empire. After the withdrawal of the Huns, the whole of Pannonia continued to be considered a part of the Eastern Empire and consequently, Theodoric's intention of pushing the frontier of his empire up to the confluence of the Sava, provoked the displeasure of Anastasius I and brought about the deterioration of their relations. It was considered that Pitzia, by capturing Sirmium and expelling the Gepids, had overstepped the territorial rights of Theodoric with regards to the East. The eastern court was powerless to contravene this act because their military forces were engaged in the East in the war with the Persians. This enmity found expression in a conflict between an ally of the Goths, Mundo, and Sabinianus, *magister militum per Illyricum*. Mundo was a Gepid born in Pannonia and a descendent of Attila. He had previously aided the Goths in their struggle against Thraustila on their way to Italy.[327] Now he was raiding and ravaging Roman provinces. When Sabinianus was sent against him, Mundo appealed for help to Pitzia who was still in Sirmium. Thanks to Gothic assistance, the army of Sabinianus was almost annihilated in the battle of the Morava in 505 AD.[328] The hostilities between the Romans and Goths were to extend over the following five years. In 510 AD, an agreement was concluded whereby the whole of Pannonia went to Theodoric except the city of Bassiana with its territory, which was retained by the Romans. Thus Sirmium was separated from the Eastern Empire.[329] In the part of Pannonia that was left to them, the Romans endeavored to make of Bassiana a new center, especially a military and religious one.

Theodoric devoted particular attention to the organization of Sirmium. As early as 507, he entrusted its administration to comes Colosseus. He was charged with its defense (*armis protegere*) and administrative government (*iure compone*).[330]

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[325] Bury 1923: I, 422; Schmidt 1934: 153 takes today's river Jelenica to be in question, east of Sirmium, which is also accepted by Enßlin 1947: 67; Diculescu 1923: 109 believes that it is the river Sava that is in question. Identification with today's river Vuka, which would phonetically fit Ulca, can not be accepted because this river flows west of Sirmium. It is considered that the Goths could have passed through Sirmium only after this battle, but this does not have to be correct.

[326] Iord. Get. 300; Ennod. Pann. 62, 210, 33; Cass. Chron. a. 504; Diculescu 1923: 111; Enßlin 1947: 133, believes that the Gothic territory was between the Sava and Drava rivers. Comp. Schmidt 1934: 350 and 534.

[327] Comp. also Malala, Chron. XVIII (ed. de Boor p. 219).

[328] About the Gotho-Byzantine conflict of 504-505 AD see Ennod. Paneg. Theod. 277-280; Cassiod. Chron. a. 504; Cassiodor, Varia VII; Marcell. Chron. 505; lord. Get. 300-301. See also Bury 1923: I, 460; Stein 1949: 146; Diculescu 1923: 118, note 49.

[329] On the divison of Pannonia in 510 see Honingmann 1939: 2, 7; Stein 1925: 362; idem 1949: 156.

[330] Cass. Var. Ill 23 (MGH AA XII 90-91): *Colosseo V. I. comiti Theodoricus rex... proinde prosperis initiatus auspiciis ad Sirmiensem Pannoniam, quondam sedem Gothorum, proficiscere inlustris cinguli dignitate praecinctus, commissamque tibi provinciam armis protegere, jure compone, ut antiquos defensores recipere laeta possit...* etc. Instructions for the population

During the time of Theodoric and his successors, the Goths vigorously defended their possessions in Pannonia against the barbarians. Their task was rendered considerably more difficult due to the fact that Byzantium kept bringing to their district new groups of barbarians as allies. About the year 512, Anastasius settled the Heruli in south-eastern Srem. Their attempts to expand to the west were determinedly beaten back by the Goths and they were compelled to retreat eastward towards Byzantine territory. Later on they were to renew their attacks against Sirmium. In 528, together with the Gepids and with the tacit consent of Constantinople, they attacked Sirmium in an attempt to wrest it from the Goths. Amalasuntha, regent of Theodoric's minor grandson and heir, dispatched the military leader Vitiges against them. The Gepids were repulsed and Vitiges, while pursuing them, penetrated deep into Illyricum up to Gratiana in Moesia. The crossing of the Gothic troops into the territories of the Eastern Empire might have brought on deterioration of their relations with the emperor in Constantinople and, in order to avoid an overt conflict, Amalasuntha ordered Vitiges to withdraw from Pannonia.[331]

Only in 535 was Byzantium to succeed in driving the Goths out of Sirmium. However, not long after that, it again fell to the Gepids owing to the negligence of its defenders.[332]

## Gepids in Sirmium

The Gepids extended their possessions to include the district of Sirmium for the first time after the withdrawal of the Goths in 474. This was briefly mentioned in Ennodius, Paneg. XII 60: *Haec civitas (sc. of Sirmium) postea per regentium neglectum in Gepidarum iura concessit*. They remained in this district until the return of the Goths to Pannonia. The Gepid rulers had their seat in Sirmium. This is confirmed by some source data with regards to Mundo who, having remained an orphan, spent his youth with his relative Thraustila, king of the Gepids in Sirmium. Gepids struck money in Sirmium.[333]

In the beginning of the 6th century, in 504, the Gepid king Thrasaric was compelled to surrender Sirmium to the Goths and withdraw to Dacia which was held by the Gepids from the time of the disintegration of the Hun state.

In 536 the Gepids took Sirmium again, against the will of Justinian. At the protest of the emperor, they replied that they had taken but wastelands which would have fallen to them by treaty anyway.[334] The Romans renounced their alliance (*foedus*) but this brought no results. The Gepids kept Sirmium. The Romans could not reconcile themselves to this loss despite the renewed treaty, and the sources record several of their vain attempts to recover the city.

The Gepids restored the seat of their rulers in Sirmium. Their attitude toward the Roman population was not distinguished by indulgence. The Romans were in a subordinate position and were paying tribute.[335]

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of Pannonia is included in the second edict, Cass. Var. XXIV from 507 AD. About the use of the title *comes* in the Gothic state see Stein 1949: 121; idem 1925: 363-364.

[331] Stein 1949: 307-308 and n. 1.

[332] Diculescu 1923: 124, n. 62.

[333] Malala, Chron. XVIII (ed. Dindorf, p. 450); Theoph. Chron. a. m. 632 (nd. de Boor p. 219).

[334] Procop. BG III 34-35; Hist. arc. 18, 16. For the relations between the Byzantines and Gepids in 536 AD see and comp. Diculescu 1923: 125. About the coins of Cunimundus comp. Brunšmid 1924: 671 ff.

[335] Procop. BG III 33, 8 and III 37.

At about the year 539, the Lombards began to settle in Noricum. They made a treaty with the Eastern court which visualized in them a countervailing barrier against an excessive growth of Gepid power. In 546 they are already in the territories neighboring the Gepids with whom they immediately open hostilities. Byzantium interfered in these conflicts, striving to wrest Sirmium from the Gepids. The end result of this strife was the appearance of a new people in Pannonia – the Avars, who would put an end to Roman Sirmium.

Conflicts amnog various groups of barbarians were inflicting heavy damages in the Danubian countries. In the wars between the Gepids and Lombards, in the fifth and sixth decades of the 6th century, the whole of Pannonia was ravaged. The Gepids, who had suffered defeat several times, called to their aid the Cotrigurs settled at the mouth of the Danube. They spilled over into neighboring Moesia looting everything in sight. In order to maintain equilibrium on the northern frontier, Byzantium was extending assistance to the Gepids also, asking for the return of Sirmium in compensation. In 546 the Byzantine Empire allied themselves with Lombards and in the battle of Asfeld 552, Cunimund, king of the Gepids, was defeated by Alboin, king of the Lombards. This prompted the Gepids to send their emissaries to Constantinople to ask for help. On that occasion, they promised to return Sirmium and the lands between the Drava and Sava to Constantinople.[336] However, at the end of the war they did not keep their promise and retained Sirmium. Soon thereafter, a new war with the Lombards broke out. These called the Avars to their aid. The coming of the Avars resulted in the fall of the Gepid state and withdrawal of the Lombards toward Italy, while for Byzantium, it meant a permanent loss of Sirmium and of other towns on the Sava and Danube. A series of wars began on the Danube which would terminate with the settlement of the Slavs on the Balkan Peninsula.

## The end: Fall of Sirmium under the Avars

The Avars had made contacts with the Byzantines before they appeared in Pannonia as protectors of the Lombards. The first time they came in contact with the Byzantine world was on the lower Danube in 562, when an embassy sent by their khagan requested the emperor to permit the Avars to settle in Roman province of Scythia. At the advice of the military leader Justin, who realized that this was a pretext disguising their real intentions of breaking into the Roman lands on the right bank of the Danube, the emperor denied their request, but offered them to settle Pannonia, where the Gepids had grown too strong after the disappearance of the Heruli.[337] The Avars rejected this counter-offer and Justin then reinforced vigilance at certain points where they could cross the Danube.

The invitation of the Lombards was all the more attractive to khagan Bayan and Avars accepted the alliance for the war against the Gepids with the proviso that the Lombards cede to them at once one-tenth of their cattle and at the termination of the war one-half of the war booty and all the Gepid lands including Sirmium. Learning of the Lombard-Avar agreement, the Gepid king Cunimund again appealed to Byzantium for help offering in exchange Sirmium and the lands on this side of the Drava River. As Cunimund had not upheld his obligations from their previous agreement, Byzantium turned down his offer this time and decided to remain neutral in this conflict, hoping that the Avars would

[336] Stein 1919; Diculescu 1923: 163.

[337] Menandri fr. 9. About the Heruli in Srem see Procop. BV I, 2; Stein 1949: II, 529 f. note 2.

weaken the Gepids and thus restore the power balance on the northern frontier of the Empire.[338] The Avars soon subdued the Gepids and destroyed their state; Cunimund escaped to Dacia, while Usdibad, who was probably in charge of defending Sirmium, withdrew with the treasures to Constantinople after having surrendered the city at the last moment to the Byzantine forces that had been vigilantly watching the course of events. The Lombards felt threatened as the Avars' neighbors and withdrew toward Italy.[339]

The Byzantine power in Sirmium was obstructing the further expansion of the Avars. Conflicts between Byzantium and the Avars over this city broke out in 567 and were to last, with interruptions, up to 582. The course of events, from the arrival of the Avars in Pannonia to the fall of Sirmium and the negotiations between khagan Bayan and Byzantium, in which Sirmium figured as the key point, can be reconstructed, at times even in great detail, on the basis of data recorded by Menander.

## The battle for Sirmium

The events concerning Sirmium can be divided into two phases: hostilities lasting from 567 to 573; and, after a brief truce, the resumption of hostilities in 579 which lasted until 582 and ended with the fall of Sirmium.

In its first contacts with the Avars, Byzantium endeavored to settle the dispute over Sirmium through negotiation, although they were determined to retain the city. Bayan for his part was preparing to lay siege to the city and put in chains Vitalianus and Comes, the Byzantine emissaries, contrary, as Menander remarks, to all accepted customs among nations at the time. The first clash over Sirmium ensued, but the course of the battle is not known. The Avar assault was not successful and the khagan dispatched his emissaries to negotiate peace. His army withdrew further from the city, probably across the Danube, and having traveled over a great distance, the heralds, according to Menander, lost their way in the plains around Sirmium. Some of the citizens of Sirmium saw them from afar because they had posted their reconnoitering parties atop the city thermae, as it was their practice. The outcome of the battle around the city walls was somewhat marred for them also. Bonos, commander of the Byzantine forces, was wounded and was unable to come to the negotiations.[340] However, as his absence gave rise among the Avars to the idea that he had been killed in action, he was obliged to show himself. The khagan's demands were moderate: he asked for the return of the lands that the Avars had won after a long and hard struggle and the return of Usdibad who had been granted refuge by Constantinople and who was the Avars' prisoner of war by right. These demands did not seem exaggerated to Bonos and his party, but they could not be accepted without the approval of the emperor. The khagan was infuriated by such a reply and menaced the Roman provinces with a huge army. He ordered the Cotrigurs, who were under his authority, to cross the Sava River and scorch the lands of Dalmatia, while he crossed the Danube and remained at the Gepid frontiers.[341]

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[338] About the wars between the Gepids and the Lombards see Stein 1949: II, 528, note 2; Diculescu 1923: 132 and 214; Hauptmann, Backvis: 1927-1928: 143 ff.; Lemerle 1954: 288; Iord. Rom. 387; Menandri fr. 23-25 (FHG IV p. 231). For the history of Avars see Pohl 2002.

[339] Diculescu 1923: 163. About the surrender of the city to Byzantines see Euagri Hist, eccl., V. 12 (ed. Bidez-Parmentier p. 208).

[340] Menandri fr. 26, p. 231; fr. 27 about the negotiations with Bonos. About the order of events see Hauptmann 1927-1928: 159.

[341] Menandri fr. 27 (FHG IV p. 233).

During the first siege of Sirmium, khagan Bayan himself and the majority of the Avar army were not in the immediate proximity of the city. This is indicated by two details in Menander's fragments: the Avar emissaries were entirely unfamiliar with the area around Sirmium and, after long wandering, they got lost; secondly, after the negotiations broke down, Bayan crossed the Danube and stopped at the Gepid borders. The latter circumstance permits one to suppose that the khagan's seat at the time was on the left bank of the Danube, perhaps in present-day Bačka. The military forces that were besieging Sirmium had been dispatched from there.

Despite his threats and maneuvers, Bayan nonetheless sent his emissaries to the emperor. Prior to that he had been paid by the praetorian prefect through an intermediary, a certain Jobulides, the sum of 80,000 gold pieces to refrain from ravaging Roman provinces. To Constantinople were dispatched Targitius, who subsequently as well was to have an important role in the negotiations between the Avars and Byzantium, and Vitalianus, member of the previous Byzantine embassy, who served as interpreter. The khagan's demands were increased. He claimed Sirmium, payment of the tribute that at one time Cotrigurs and Utrigurs used to receive from the emperor Justinian, and the surrender of Usdibad and his retinue. The humble tone in which these demands were expressed did not at all attenuate the emperor's wrath. The demand for the cession of the Gepid lands he called ridiculous because his predecessor, Justinian, had granted the Gepids' request for settlement only out of mercy as they had been wandering aimlessly prior to that time. Later on, when they entered the war against the Lombards, the Byzantines were helping them and they would have won had they not displayed their servile traits by abandoning their allies. Embittered, the emperor at length sent word to the khagan that he would cede Sirmium to him only if the Avars crossed the Danube and if they conquered Thracian towns. To his military commander Bonos he sent written orders to prepare for war and attack the barbarians.[342]

Despite the firm rejection of Bayan's conditions by the Eastern Empire, several embassies were exchanged in the course of 568-569. The khagan repeated his demands and, as a preliminary condition for the conclusion of an alliance (*foedus*) with Byzantium, he asked that Sirmium, which he had conquered from the Gepids, be ceded to his personal possession. Targitius's humble tone of the previous years was absent and he set forth Bayan's conditions vigorously. The emperor Justin, however, stood his ground adamantly. He ordered Tiberius, supreme commander of the army, to solve the problem of Sirmium.[343]

In the clashes that ensued in 570, Bonos retained his command. Here the thread of Menander's account breaks. As could be surmised from his fragment 31, the Romaeans did not have much success, despite Bonos' experience in his fighting with the Avars. The Avars succeeded in throwing confusion in Roman ranks by raising tumultuous uproars with their war drums. Bonos could not count on reinforcements because that same year the war with the Persians was resumed. Tiberius, in his capacity of *strategos autokrator*, being aware of the numerical weakness of his forces in the Danubian region, was prepared for certain concessions on the Sirmian front. In the renewed negotiations, he was willing to yield the former territories of the Gepids to the Avars for settlement, demanding the sons of the Avar leaders as hostages to serve as guaranty for the fulfillment of the agreement. This was the agreement reached with the Avar emissary Apsichos. Justin, however, displayed unusual obstinacy in his efforts to preserve Sirmium and, even though in a difficult situation, refused to ratify the agreement between Tiberius and Apsichos. He requested his military leaders to continue vigorously the prosecution of the

[342] Ibid. fr. 28 (p. 233-235); Stein 1919: 11-12.
[343] Ibid. fr. 29 (p. 235). About Tiberius' title see Grosse 1920: 190.

war and prove to the barbarians the might of Byzantium. Submitting to this order, Tiberius warned Bonos to watch vigilantly the crossings on the Sava where the greatest danger lay. Despite all precautions, there was not much that Bonos could do in the renewed fighting. Tiberius was aware that he could not withstand the Avars host with the small forces he had in Illyricum. For that reason he was inclined to negotiate peace with them. When the Avars dispatched another embassy to Constantinople, he sent with them a confidant, the taxiarchos Damianus, who was supposed to corroborate the statements of the Avars. At last, about the year 570, a *foedus* was concluded. The Byzantines relented to the demands of the Avars, though not on the key question concerning Sirmium. The city remained Byzantine. There is no information in Menander concerning this point, but the fact that hostilities between the Byzantines and the Avars broke out again a decade later over the same city, indicates that Sirmium had not been ceded to the khagan.

The relations between Byzantium and the Avars remained peaceful up to 579. The Avars were made use as soldiers in the struggle against the Slavs on the lower Danube. For that purpose, the praetorian prefect for Illyricum had them ferried from Srem to the lower Danube and back again. This shuttling of the Avars over the Byzantine territories did not remain without consequences. They were victorious over the Slavs, but at the same time they discovered the weaknesses of the Roman defense system on the Danubian frontier line. On his return to Pannonia, Bayan again dispatched Targitius to Constantinople to demand the rest of the unpaid tribute and ask for new gifts. Soon thereafter, and without any plausible reason, he violated the agreement concluded at the beginning of Tiberius' independent reign, and moved with the entire army with the intention of building a bridge across the Sava River somewhere between Sirmium and Singidunum.

Thus, the Avar preparations for the conquest of Sirmium had begun.[344] A part of the army, concentrated in Pannonia, embarked on rafts and moved to the lower Sava, while khagan Bayan himself went with his land forces across the entire Sirmium island and reached the Sava. By building a bridge across the Sava, the khagan's objective was to stop the river traffic, thus isolating Sirmium from Byzantium. This project caused uneasiness in both Sirmium and Singidunum. The commander of Singidunum, Sethus, strove to prevent the building of the bridge by diplomatic means. He warned the khagan that the emperor would not permit construction of a bridge on his territory. Such an act would be considered a violation of the agreement.[345]

The weakness of the Avars lay in their insufficient knowledge of the art of river engineering. Fearing the Romaeans, who had acquired great skill in this by years of experience, Bayan tried to cover up his real intentions before the commander of Singidunum and the emperor. The construction of the bridge he represented as preparations for war against the Slavs in the lower Danube. Sethus, however, not having adequate military forces in Singidunum, was compelled to initiate negotiations although he was well aware of Bayan's true intentions. The khagan tried to assure the Romaeans that he was hatching

[344] Menandri fr. 63.

[345] About the construction of the bridge see Menandri fr. 63 and Joh. Ephes. hist. eccl. VI 23 Latin translation: Johannis Ephesini Historiae ecclesiasticae pars III interpr. E. W. Brooks, Lovanii 1936, Corpus scriptorum Christianorum orientalium, Scriptores Syri, versio, series tertia, tomus III; German translation: Johannes von Ephesus, aus syrischen übersetzt von M. Schönfelder, München 1862, 254-255 and 263; Russian translation relating to the building of the bridge: Djakonov, VDI 1946, 20. From the German G. Manojlovic made a Croation translation, Vjesnik Zem. arhiva u Zagrebu 1899, 115 ff. Mich. Syr. Chron. X (ed. et trad. J. B. Chabot, Paris 1899-1906). For the dating of the beginning of the construction of the bridge in the year 579 see Stein 1919: 109 and 116, note 10; Hauptmann, Backvis: 1927-1928: 158. For Sethus' title in Singidunum comp. Stein 1919: 110, which holds that he was *magister militum vacans*.

no evil against them and, in confirmation of good faith, he swore oath before the bishop of the city in both the Romaean and the Avar fashions. This was respected until the bridge was completed. At the same time the khagan sent a delegation to Constantinople to inform Tiberius of the reasons for building the bridge. The emperor saw clearly the danger that threatened Sirmium, but could not send any help because his army was engaged elsewhere. He also realized that the city was not prepared for a siege owing to lack of adequate food supplies. Faced with such contingencies, he had to step gingerly in handling the Avar delegation. He called their attention to the fact that the time was not propitious for war against the Slavs because the Turks had appeared on the lower Danube. By this sly remark, the emperor hoped to awaken in them their old fears of the Turks with whom the Avars had already had some unpleasant experiences in Asia. The Avar emissaries, presented with gifts, left for Pannonia, but on the way they were murdered by the Slavs. In the meantime, the bridge across the Sava was completed and the khagan dispatched a new embassy to Constantinople headed by Solachos. By means of the bridge, control of the traffic on the Sava was established so, that no food supplies or any other aid could reach Sirmium. The city could be helped only if the Romaeans could send a large army that would destroy the bridges and disperse the Avars. Solachos, speaking in this vein, knew well that no large army could be raised against the Avars because Byzantium was engaged at the time in the war with the Persians. Therefore he proposed in the khagan's name that the emperor surrender Sirmium with the stipulation that all citizens be allowed to leave town with all the possessions they could carry. The Avars wished to show that they were not concerned with pillaging the city, but wanted to possess it as a strategic point. The khagan anticipated that Byzantium, after the termination of the war with Persia, might turn its forces against him, and wished to have a strong frontier against it. As long as the Romaeans held Sirmium and the frontier on the Sava, he felt insecure. It could be inferred from Solachos' words, that the khagan would not rest until he took Sirmium and the entire Sirmium islabd making them his own possession. He was convinced that he was entitled to this district because he had conquered it from the Gepids. The emperor, on the other hand, was just as resolute in refusing to surrender Sirmium because it was the best and the last Byzantine stronghold against the barbarians. Byzantium was separated from it neither by a large river nor by unfavorable terrain. No agreement was reached between the Avars and the emperor, and the hostilities began.[346]

Because of the shortage of military forces, there was not much that could be done to aid Sirmium. Military commanders in Dalmatia and Illyricum were ordered to help.[347]

Among the fragments of Menander, only those pertaining to the negotiations have been preserved, so that this time again we have no information as to the actual fighting. In the course of the war, Bayan had met with Theognis, the commander of the defense of Sirmium, on the isles of Cassia and Carbonaria. He arrived on horseback protected by the shields of his retinue against a possible Roman arrow. He requested Theognis to surrender the city pointing out his hopeless situation: the Avars had succeeded in isolating the city and preventing it from being furnished with food supplies either from Moesia or Dalmatia; having at their command a multitude of fighting men, they could maintain the siege until the city surrendered. Though aware of his difficult position, Theognis could not surrender the city without a fight. In his helpless rage he broke off negotiations flinging a warning in the khagan's face that from now on he had better keep away from Roman might.[348]

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[346] Menandri fr. 64.
[347] Ibid. fr. 64 p. 267.
[348] Ibid. fr. 65 p. 267 ff.

Exposed as it was to incessant Avar raids on the unprotected terrain of the plains, defended by inadequate military forces and badly undersupplied, Sirmium stood its ground for three years. The Avars had established control over the bridge to the Dalmatian side as well; there was little hope that help might arrive either from this or from the Moesian side. Knowing this, the Avars withdrew their troops guarding the bridge toward Dalmatia and reattached them to the main army. In Sirmium set famine in which drained the strength of both the defenders and the city inhabitants. Among the rare comtemporary testimonies from the times of the Avar siege, there is a brick upon which a citizen of Sirmium noted down in those difficult days his prayers invoking God's help for the salvation of the city and its citizens.[349]

At the head of the city was Solomon whose abilities were evidently too modest for such a difficult situation. Nevertheless, Menander is not always fair to him in reproving him not having undertaken anything for the defense of the city. The city could no longer be saved because the military forces that Theognis had at his disposal were insufficient to enable him to resist successfully the Avar host. In the end, the emperor Tiberius was compelled to make the decision to surrender the city in order to save its inhabitants. After an unsuccessful attempt to turn the Lombards against the Avars, he consented to surrender Sirmium to the khagan on the condition that all citizens be permitted to leave the city without any property except a cloak. The desolate town was taken over by Bayan. Haggard and spent by the famine and the long siege, the citizens of Sirmium aroused compassion even in the victors by their miserable appearance. John of Ephesus said that the comportment of the Avars was worthy of Christians. They were offering food to those leaving the city. Many Romaeans, whose fare for the last few months had been cats, died from sudden overeating.[350]

As a condition for the termination of hostilities, Bayan demanded payment of the tribute for the past three years and the surrender of all the khagan's subjects on Byzantine territory. Tiberius managed to evade this last stipulation, pleading that his country was too large to round up all those who had been at one time or another under Bayan's authority.[351]

The same year the war with the Persians was brought to an end.[352] Sirmium was surrendered to the Avars in 582. We arrive at this date through a correction in the first sentence of fragment 66 of Menander. Therein Menander records that the fighting for Sirmium lasted for three days: *ὅτι ἐπὶ τρεῖς ἡμέρας πόλεμος Ῥωμαῖοις καὶ Ἀβάροις συνεκροτήθη*. It is believed, however, that it was not a question of three days, but of three years (*ἐνιαυτούς*) of struggle over Sirmium, calculated from the beginning of hostilities in 579.[353] The year 582 as the date of the fall of Sirmium is corroborated by other sources as well. The following writers speak of the fall of Sirmium: Theophylact Simocatta omits the description of the event itself, because his predecessor Menander had done so extensively; he dates the fall 'a little before the accession of Mauricius to the throne' – *βραχυτάτου καιροῦ τοῦ τὸν αὐτοκράτορα Μαυρικίου τὰς Ῥωμαικὰς μετὰ τῆς πορφύρας*

[349] No. **243**.

[350] About the fall of Sirmium see Menandri fr. 66, 268; Joh. Ephes. hist. eccl. VI 32: *Misericordiam etiam quam hi barbari erga fame qui ibi erant ostenderunt sermonibus ferebant quae admiratione et condemnatione Christianorum digna est, qui conservis suis haud clementes sunt nec carnis suae sociorum miserentur.*

[351] Menandri fr. 66 p. 268. Here they are thinking of Usdibad, who cheated Byzantines and look the treasure with him.

[352] Euagr. Hist. eccl. V 12: *Τούτων κατὰ ἑῷαν πεπραγμένων τὸ Σίρμιον πρὸς τῶν Ἀβάρων ἑάλω, πρώτην μὲν ὑπὸ Γηπαίδων κρατούμενον Ἰουστῖνῳ δὲ πρὸς αὐτῶν παραδοχέν.*

[353] The corrections in FHG IV p. 268, have been in general accepted. About Avar conquering of Sirmium comp. Granić 1939: 98; Stein 1919: 103-113; Lemerle 1954: 289; Hauptmann, Backvis 1927-1928: 158; Ostrogorski 1959: 99; Jones 1964: 307. Pohl 2002: 70 ff.

*ἐνδύτα*.[354] Euagrius mentions the fall of Sirmium after his account of the war in the East: 'when this took place in the East (conclusion of peace with the Persians), Sirmium was captured by the Avars.'[355] John Biclarensis does not mention the capture of Sirmium, but only the conquest of Pannonia. 'Pannonia' says he 'was occupied by the Avars after their penetration into Thrace and Greece.'[356] Theophanes, who depends greatly on Theophylact, mentions an Avar embassy to Constantinople in 6075 (AM), the first year of Mauricius' reign; 'these are the people', continues the chroniker, 'who took Sirmium a short time ago'.[357] In the previous sentence he referred to the month of May 583.

Besides Menander, we find a rather extensive description of the Avars' conquest of Sirmium in a work by John of Ephesus written directly after the event, in 582-584.[358] His sources of information are not the same as those of Menander. The chronology of the beginning of hostilities between the Byzantines and the Avars is not quite clear. On this, he reports as follows: after the restoration of good relations with Byzantium, the khagan asked for skilled workers and architects *(mechanicos et architectos*) to build him a palatium et balneum. When they completed the job, he forced them to build a bridge across the Sava river.[359] John of Ephesus dates the completion of the bridge in the third year of Tiberius' reign, after the death of Justin: *qui (sc. Tiberius) ob hoc facinus cum tota republica molestiam haud parvam cepit, quod anno 3 regni eius post Iustini mortem factus est.* After an account of Persian war, contained in chapter XXXII, John of Ephesus resumes his description of the fate of Sirmium. As the planned measures for the defense of the city were not carried out, the city surrendered to the barbarians. Narses failed in his efforts, and the emperor was compelled to send another praetorian prefect, Callisteros, who arrived and surrendered the city.[360] This was considered preferable to permitting the city to be taken by force as it had been hard pressed for two years – *duo annos pressuram*.[361]

The dating of the bridge building across the Sava to the third year of Tiberius' reign (581) that we find in John of Ephesus could be doubted, because at that time he was in prison. His report about the duration of the siege and the surrender of the city is more trustworthy because the author was in Constantinople at the time and was well informed. Presumably, the capital of the Eastern Empire was well acquainted with the long-lasting siege of Sirmium.

There is another piece of information in Menander which indicates that the hostilities between the Avars and Byzantium lasted for three years. However, the year that passed in building the bridge and preparing for war preceding the eruption of open hostilities over Sirmium is included in this case. Terminating his account of the fall of the city, Menander notes that the khagan demanded the payment due of the three-year tribute that was in arrears.[362] The tribute had last been paid before the khagan

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[354] Theoph. Simoc. Hist. I, 3.

[355] Euagr. V. 12. Stein 191: 116, note 10 believes that this information is eight years older.

[356] Joh. Biclarensis 579, 1. This data was taken by Vasiljev 1898: 410 for the basis of dating the fall of Sirmium in 579 AD.

[357] Theoph. Chron. AM 6075 p. 252.

[358] See Brooks, Prolog. II included in the Latin translation; Jones 1964: 303.

[359] Joh. Ephes. XXIV (ed. E. W. Brooks, p. 248).

[360] Joh. Ephes. XXXII p. 256... *rex alium quendam cui nomen Callisterus praefectum praetorii ad ipsos Avares mittere coactus est, qui itinere facto, urbem illam eis tradidit*. Stein 1919: 113 holds that the Callisteros, is Callistros mentioned by Menander, Excerpta de sent. p. 26.

[361] Joh. Ephes. XXXII p. 256.

[362] Menandri fr. 66 (FHG p. 268): *Ἐπεζήτει δὲ ὁ χαγανὸς καὶ τριῶν ἐτῶν παρωχημένων χρυσίον, ὧν οὐκ εἰληφει τι κατα τὸ σύνηθες*. Baynes in the Cambr. Med. Hist, figured that the tribute had not been paid since the year 580. Stein 1919: 166, note 10, holds that it is unpaid tribute from the year 579 AD.

descended to the lower course of the Sava and started building the bridge. From that moment to the beginning of the war, there must have elapsed a certain period of time in the course of which there were negotiations in Singidunum, and several times in Constantinople with the emperor.

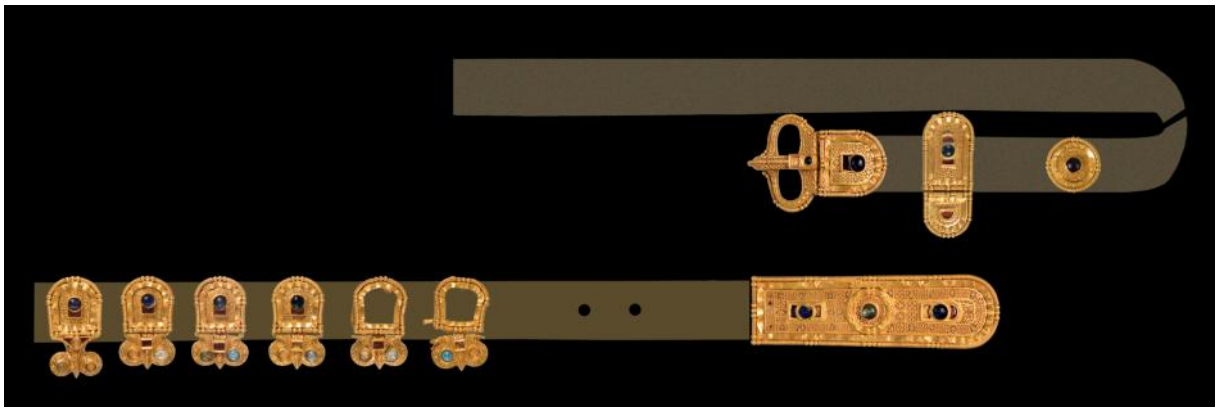

Fig. 20: Avars golden belt (photo by N. Borić)

On the basis of information offered in Menander, Theophylactus Simocatta and Theophanes, the surrender of Sirmium to the Avars could be dated in the year 582. Menander mentions the three-year old tribute which the Byzantines owed the Avars. As the hostilities began in 579 over the building of the bridge, it is a matter of simple calculation to arrive at the year 582. In Simocatta, the fall of Sirmium is an event which is not separated from Mauricius' accession to the throne by any long time interval. Mauricius became emperor on August 14, 582, and the fall of Sirmium had probably occurred a few months before. Theophanes, speaking of the Avar embassy, who arrived in Constantinople in May 583, mentions the fall of Sirmium as a recent event which could be placed, therefore, in the previous year. The last two details indicate that the city was surrendered at the end of spring or the beginning of summer in 582.[363]

The civilian population of Sirmium which, in accordance with the stipulation of the surrender terms, had to leave the city deprived of all property, moved to the south, to Moesia and Dalmatia. On the inscriptions from Salona two persons originally from Sirmium are mentioned: *abtissa* (sic) *Johanna*[364] and the girl Domnica, who was taken from Sirmium.[365] The next year a fire broke out in Sirmium and the city was finally destroyed.[366] Soon thereafter, however, in 593, Sirmium is again

[363] Theoph. Sim. I, 3; Theoph. AM 6075; Monemv. Chron. p. 62-64. About the dating see Stein 1919: 113; Jireček 1922: 23; Pohl 2002.

[364] E. Diehl. ILCV 1653 = CIL III 9551 – f. add. p. 2139, 2328126: *HiC quiescit in pace [...] sanct. abtissa Johanna [civis?] Sermenses, qui bixit annos XL [...] die Veneres exiit de corpore [...] IIII idus Maias indictione qu[ar]ta decimal*, - which in the 6th century could be dated in 506 or 551 AD.

[365] Diehl, ILCV 4455 = CIL III 9576: *[Depo]setio infantis [Do]mnicae VIII Kaled. Octobres quae a Sirmio Salonas adducta est.* - Bulić, Bull. di arch, e stor. dalm. 29, 1906, 297 ff., 299 takes the end of the 6th or beginning of the 7th century as a date for this inscription, when the Avars had captured Sirmium.

[366] Joh. Ephes. XXXIII p. 256.

mentioned as the headquarters of Bayan and his army. In the beginning of the 7th century, Greek prisoners of war were settled in Sirmium.[367] In the year 616, Sirmium is spoken of as a city that used to exist in a bygone era.[368] This, however, refers to the antique part of town. In spite of all the ravaging, life continued in this town even in the Middle Ages. The city changed its name to Ungria,[369] later to St. Demetrius, and today's Mitrovica. The name Sirmium has remained to denote a larger district, that of today's Srem.

The conquest of the Avars brings to a close the process of decay of the Roman city which had set in with the coming of the Huns to Pannonia. Between 445 and 582 Byzantium seldom held Sirmium even for a short period of time. The Goths and the Gepids remained in it the longest. There is not much information about its municipal administration in the 5th and 6th centuries. Civil authority was probably exercised, as in other towns of that time, by a *comes*. One of the Sirmium *comes* is mentioned on an inscription from Salona.[370] This title was carried also by Colosseus who was entrusted by Theodoric with organizing the administration of Sirmium. At the close of the history of ancient Sirmium, at the time of the Avar siege, one person was at the head of the city. Menander mentions a certain Solomon who ruled in Sirmium.[371] He was probably charged with certain military functions as well, because he was expected to undertake some measures for the defense against the Avars.

[367] Sirmium as the residence of the khagan is mentioned in Theoph. Simoc. VI, 3-4 and Theoph. 278. About the later settlement of the Roman population in Pannonia 'whose provincial capital at one time was called Sirmium (Sermeion)', comp. Miracula s. Demetri II, 5 PG 116, 1361. About that see Lemerle, Rev. hist. 211.297. These Greeks kept their own religion and the khagan decided to give them independence. (See also Granić 1939: 101 ff.; Barišić, Čuda Dimitrija Solunskog kao istorijski izvor, Diss. Beograd 1953, 129, with older bibliography).

[368] Miracula s. Demetri II, 5.

[369] Hierocl. Synecd. Append. la (ed. Burckardt).

[370] CIL III 1985 (= Diehl. ILCV 118): *Fl. Fidentius ex comitibus Sirmesis hic est depositas vixit an. XX.* About the title comes comp. Seeck 1900: 646. Diehl believes that this inscription as well as CIL III 1987 and 9534 are concerned with military comites from the Gothic period. Enßlin 1947: 378, claimed that this was impossible because of the young age of the comes from Sirmium (vixit an. XX). He believed that for this position maturity was needed.

[371] Menandri fr. 66.



# XII INTRODUCTION TO THE HISTORY OF EARLY CHRISTENDOM IN SIRMIUM

Sirmium had its martyrs and a series of early bishops. The history of the church in Sirmium, with its martyrs and bishops who played a crucial role at the time of the conflict between Arianism and the Nicene Creed, is important for understanding the history of early Christianity in general. At the time of Emperor Constantius II (337-361), the city was the centre of Arianism and therefore a centre of dogmatic conflicts inside the church, not only in Illyricum, but across the entire empire. Synods were held here, often in the presence of the emperor, and decisions of importance for the empire were proposed. The history of early Christianity in the Danubian provinces can be reconstructed on the basis of abundant evidence in the works of Christian writers, martylogical literature and documents concerning church synods and councils. It is presented in the still up-to-date Jacques Zeiller study on the beginnings of Christianity in the Danube lands, published a hundred years ago.[372] The history of early Christendom in Sirmium can be completed on the basis of the data provided by new archaeological discoveries and inscriptions. The archaeological excavations so far have provided us with new evidence about the churches and necropolises. Newly discovered inscriptions and churches have increased our knowledge about the Christian community in Sirmium. The short survey of early Christendom in Sirmium that follows is based on Jacque Zeiller's research and is complemented by the data provided by new epigraphic and archaeological research.[373] The archaeological research has discovered early Christian churches and cemeteries with chapels dedicated to martyrs; in both cemeteries, a greater number of Christian inscriptions and fragments of inscriptions were unearthed.

## Martyrs and bishops

Several Christian martyrs from Sirmium are known: Irenaeus, Sineros, Demetrius, Secundus and the Monastic Virgins (*virgines monasticae*), whose names are not listed in martyrological literature, the Four Crowned Martyrs (*quattuor coronati*), and the martyrs Anastasia and Basilla. Most of them were prosecuted during Diocletian's reign or under the orders of Gallerius. It is possible that not all of them

[372] Zeiller 1918: On martyrs in Sirmium see 68-128; on bishops see 143 ff.; on arianisme see 259-328.

[373] Selected bibliography: Zeiller 1918; idem 1947: 196 ff.; Jireček 1959b: 524ff.; Granić 1933: 328 ff.; idem 1939: 91 ff.; Vulić 1934: 1ff.; Milošević 1961: 71-79: Popović 1980a: VII; idem 1980b: IX; idem 2003: 259-263; idem 1982: 545 ff.; idem 1998: 43 ff.; Milin 1996: 245 ff.; Mirković 1997: 39-56. On archaeological investigations and Christian monuments see: Bošković, Duval, Gros et Popović 1974: 621 ff.; Popović 1977: 118 ff.; Jeremić 2002: 43 ff.

came from Sirmium. There may have been a centre in this town for collecting the condemned Christians, because the court and the praetorian prefect, who brought death sentences as a representative of the emperor, were here. Among those from neighbouring towns who met their deaths in Sirmium is the martyr Montanus from Singidunum. Fleeing persecution in Singidunum, he was caught, sentenced and executed in Sirmium, together with his wife.

The model of the ideal martyr was created beginning with the oldest martyrlogical literature. The *passio* of Sirmium martyrs mainly followed the familiar pattern of martyrological literature: real martyrs remained faithful to their convictions and did not give them up even when they were tortured or threatened with death. The convicted and executed martyrs were usually thrown off a bridge into the river. However, some passions of the martyrs from Sirmium deviate from this model and contain more detailed information about the place of execution, the martyrs' occupation and the social setting from which they came. These details were preserved in the passion of the Four Crowned Martyrs and those of Sineros and the bishop Irenaeus.

The martyrdom of *Quattuor sanctorum coronatoorum*, the Four Crowned Martyrs, who were stonemasons, is connected with a visit of Diocletian and his escort to Sirmium.[374] Although the *Passio* was written for the *Four Crowned Martyrs*, five names are known: Claudius, Nicostratus, Sempronianus, Castorius and Simplicius. The last one later disappeared from the legend. He probably did not stay faithful to his Christian beliefs and did not die with the others. There is no doubt about the historical validity of the core of the story and the circumstances of their death not far from Sirmium as the *Passio* tells it.[375] It may have been written in the 4th century and has several secondary editions. The original version in Latin comes from a clerk in the cadastre who is named at the end as *Porphyrius censuarius a glebe, actuarius.* The story is long and has many interesting details: at the time when Diocletian stayed in Sirmium in order to oversee the work in a quarry located in the imperial domain, four Christian stonemasons, Sempronian, Claudius, Castorius and Nicostratus, were the only ones who managed to carve the statue of the Sun god, *sigillum solis*, at the emperor's request. The statue was placed in the temple that the emperor had built on one of the hills, on Mons Pinguis. The emperor then ordered them to carve columns and column capitals from porphyry, *ex metallo porphyrico*. They found this stone on Mons Igneus. Simplicius, one of the four who was a pagan, admired the success of his colleagues, who explained that they did this in the name of Jesus Christ. This contributed to Simplicius' decision to become a Christian. He was also influenced by the bishop Cyril from Ancyra who had been sentenced to work in the Pannonian mines. However, the supervisors, called philosophers in the text, reported the stonemasons to Diocletian. The emperor then gave a new order to carve out the statues of Victoria, Cupid, Helios and a statue of Asclepius. They carved the statue of Victoria and Cupid as decorative elements on the emperor's order, but refused to carve the statue of the god Asclepius. Since the stonemasons held fast to their refusal, the statue was carved by others out of marble from Proconesos, and the tribune Lampadius, who oversaw those who worked in the mines, took the four Christians to court. A usual procedure was applied, and they were first asked to show respect for the Roman gods. Their rivals, however, demanded that they be punished by death without a trial. Before the sentence was delivered, Lampadius died because he was possessed by a demon, according to the story. The Christians were also accused of causing his death. His wife complained to Diocletian, who decided to act strictly: he ordered the stonemasons placed in a lead sarcophagus and thrown in the river nearby. This happened

[374] Zeiller 1918: 88-103; Delehaye 1913: 63-71, Guyon 1975: 505-561; Vulić 1954: 1-22.
[375] Zeiller 1918: 88.

on the sixth Ides of November. Bishop Cyril from Ancyra died of sorrow when they were killed. Diocletian returned to Sirmium and the coffin was taken out of the water by a Christian who preserved it in his house. Their bodies were later taken to Rome and buried in Via Labicana under the orders of the bishop Miltiades together with a certain blessed Sebastian. As the names of the *Four Martyrs* in Rome were unknown, the bishop decided to celebrate their memory day under the name of the last one. The cult of the martyrs from Fruška Gora was established in Rome before others, as is shown by their names in the catalogue *Depositio martyrum* by Filocalus from the year 354 AD under the day *Idibus Novemebris, Clementis, Semproniani, Claudii, Nicostrati, in comitatum*. Martyrium Hieronymianum tells us that the grave of IV Martyri is on the Mons Caelius in Rome, where their relics were transported in the sixth century when Sirmium was captured by barbarians.

The quarries in which the *Quattor coronati* worked are searched for today in various places in Fruška Gora, among others in the hill of Crveni Čot, which is believed to have got its name after the red stone porphyry which was dug out there.

Although the core of the story probably reflects a true event, there are elements that cause suspicion, for example the fact that these martyrs were stonemasons. In some texts they are mentioned as *cornicularii*, which connects them with the imperial office or the management of the imperial domain and its mines. It is possible that they arrived to Sirmium together with the emperor and his staff. Filocalus records that they were *in comitatu*, which means in the escort of the emperor. It is also believed that *in comitatu* referred to the imperial residence in Sirmium. However, the emperor was in the quarries overseeing the work. During their torture, the emperor returned from the quarry to Sirmium. It is also possible that the *Quattuor coronati* did not originate in Pannonia, but were convicted to work in these mines, which was a usual punishment for persistent Christians who did not want to renounce their beliefs. The *Quattuor coronati* martyrs may have been condemned to the work in the mines and come to the quarries near Sirmium together with Cyril from Ancyra, who is known to have been deported from Asia Minor to Pannonia. The mines are also connected with the history of the martyrs from Ulpiana in Moesia Superior, the brothers Florus and Laurus, who may also have been sent to work here as punishment.[376]

The history of the martyr Irenaeus also contains details that seem to be based in fact. He was young and he had a family, a father, mother, wife and children. The governor of the province or the praetorian prefect under whom Irenaeus was convicted was Probus. His title, *agens prafecturam praeses*, attested in the text Acta Polionis, would allow him to be identified as a praetorian prefect of Illyricum. During his service as a praefectus, a priest from Singidunum named Montanus and his wife Maxima were also convicted and executed.

Most of the Pannonian martyrs were priests of a lower rank, lectors and deacons. Irenaeus is one of the few who is mentioned in martyrological literature as a bishop. His martyrdom occurred before Christianity was recognized. The story is mentioned in the Syrian martyrologium and Martyrologium Hieronymianum.[377] The bridge from which he was thrown into the river after execution was called *pons Basantis*. This piece of evidence must have come from the original story of his passion, because near Sirmium there was an outpost *Ad Bassante*.

In the same year, three days after Irenaeus' death, Demetrius died, a famous martyr from Sirmium, who was overshadowed by the famous martyr of the same name from Thessaloniki. Saint Demetrius

[376] Zeiller 1918: 107.
[377] Zeiller 1918: 81 ff.

who is celebrated among Greeks, Bulgarians, Serbs and Russians, appears in legends as a personality of consular rank and a military commander from Thessaloniki. He is replaced by the Sirmium Demetrius, who belonged to lower clergy. The martyr from Thessaloniki is connected to the tradition with Sirmium either through birth or through a later cult. According to legend, Liaeus, a praetorian prefect for Illyricum, built a chapel for him in Thessaloniki at the beginning of the 5th century, but took his relics, his hlamis and his orarium sprinkled with his blood to Sirmium, where he built a church for them. The Sirmium martyr Demetrius was a deacon and did not die alone: according to the Martyrologium Hieronymianum, five virgins, "whose names only God knew,"[378] died by his side.

There were also martyrs among ordinary men in Sirmium and elsewhere. However, they are rarely mentioned in martyrlogical literature, either because the torture of ordinary men was not considered worthy of noting down, as it did not leave a strong impression on their contemporaries, or because they easily gave up their faith since they did not have a position in the church hierarchy that would oblige them to hold to their beliefs and serve as an example to others. Yet, some of the most persistent Christians were ordinary men and a few of them are connected to Sirmium through their death. The best known was Sineros, a gardener who died on 23rd February during the persecutions ordered by Maximian (Galerius). He was not a clergyman but, as the passion says, he led the life of a hermit and was in no way prominent as a champion of the faith. He was an accidental victim of general persecutions. When they started, he was first in hiding and then returned to Sirmium, where he was accidentally discovered. What brought him to court was not related to his religious convictions, but to a private affair. He was accused of insulting the wife of an officer of the imperial guard (*domesticus lateri regis adhaerens*) who was walking through a garden at night when her husband was away. Due to the harsh words he told her he was accused and taken before the provincial governor. Then he was convicted and executed. This event is dated after the abdication of Diocletian, which implies the time when the Danube region was controlled by Galerius. Even the *Acta sanctorum* places his death at the time of the rule of Maximianus (Galerius). Sineros was one of those martyrs whose cult was later widespread in Sirmium. A church was built in his honor and burials were conducted around it. A certain Aurelia Aminia erected a monument *ad beatum Sinerotem*, "at the blessed Sineros" for her husband Flavius Sanctus, who was a soldier of the *numerus Iovianorum* and was buried in Aquileia (no. **202**). At the same place, "at lord Sineros", a woman Artemidora set the funerary slab for herself to the right of the entrance, between Fortunatanus and Desiderius, while she was still alive (no. **201**).

In the hagiographic literature, Sirmium is mentioned as a place where sancta Anastasia died. She was neither a nun nor did she belong to the clergy. She was executed in Sirmium at the order of the praetorian prefect of Illyricum.[379] The record of her relics is preserved in a story that may have occurred in the 4th century, after Constantine. The text of *Feriale* cites 25th December as the day of her persecutiom, but no *passion* is preserved. She is connected with Sirmium by a piece of evidence in Theodorus Lector, from whom it is then taken by Theophanes in his Chronicon, who mentions it under the year 458, after the Hun invasion. Patriarch Gennadius ordered the relics of this martyr in Sirmium found and transmited to the famous church of Gregorius Naziazenus in Constantinople, which had already had the name *Anastasis*, or the Church of the Ascension, designating the departure of Christ from the earth. It is clear that the name of that church was erroneously connected with the name of the martyr. The cult was also transported to Rome, where there was a church called *Titulus Anastasiae*, but

[378] On both Demetriuses see, Zeiller 1918: 81 ff.
[379] Zeiller 1918: 84 ff.

that name had also nothing to do with the martyr from Sirmium, nor with the ascension of Christ, but came from the name of a religious woman who lived in Rome in the 4th century. Anastasia was also the name of one of the Constantine's sister. She was married to Bassianus whom Constantine wanted to proclame his co-emperor, but later had executed because of intrigues and a possible connection with Licinius. The fate of this Anastasia is not known, nor is the fate of Constantine's other sister, Constantia, who was married to his political rival Licinius. It is possible that this Anastasia became a martyr because of her tragic life as a woman who was manipulated in politics. Her possible cult might be connected with Sirmium, which was at the centre of events during the struggle for power between Constantine and Licinius. Finally, an Anastasia is mentioned among the Roman martyrs in an obviously legendary story called *Martyrium SS Anastasiae et Chrisogoni*, where Chrysogonus is a martyr from Aquileia, and Anastasia is a martyr from Rome. What connects the Anastasia from Sirmium and the Anastasia from Rome is that both of their holidays are on 25th December. On the basis of a recently published inscription found in a Christian necropolis bound with the name of Sanctus Sineros in Sirmium, it is assumed that the basilica of Anastasia existed in this town. This undoubtedly Christian inscription, however, represents no convincing evidence of the basilica of St. Anastasia in Sirmium, because it is damaged in crucial places. Only part of the name ANAST is preserved in the inscription so the case of the noun is uncertain, as is the connection with BEAT in the previous line because the length of the lines is not known. Since the end of the word is not preserved, we can assume other complements, as well as a male name. The rest of the word RE in front of ANAST could be completed into *imperato]re* or *marty]re*, thus getting *imperato]re Anast[sio]* or *beati[ssimo marty]re*, the latter being more likely.[380]

There is no detailed record of the death of Secundus and his wife Bassila in Sirmium.

* * *

*Series episcoporum* is known in Sirmium in an almost uninterrupted line in a period of 110 years, from 304 to 414 AD. The list established by Zeiller, *Les origines,* 598 includes the following names:

Saint Irenaeus around 304,
Domnus or Domnius 325-335,
Eutherius around 335-343,
Photinus 343-351,
Germinius 351-376,
Anemius 376-392,
Cornelius 392-404,
Laurentius 401-417,

A bishop of an unknown name from 448, who at the time of the Hun invasion gave the church dishes to a certain Constantius to his ransom, if he were captured by Huns,

Sebastianus around 591.

[380] See the comment ad no. **203**. The reconstruction of the lost parts by Popović 2013: 107, *in domo (?)] beat[issimae dominae] Anast[asiae]*, could not be supported by the stone.

The series begins with Irenaeus, who died during Diocletian's persecutions. Later, probably at the end of the 4th century, a basilica devoted to him was built in Sirmium. It was discovered during the archaeological excavation of the north-east necropolis in Sirmium in 1976. An inscription found in the church, no. **223**, reveals that the basilica was dedicated to Saint Irrenaeus.[381] Another church named after Saint Irenaeus was built in Mačvanska Mitrovica in the Middle Ages.

Bishop Domnius, was one of the bishops who signed the Nicene Creed of 325. He is also mentioned as a victim of the anti-nicaean movement. His heir Eutherius participated in the council in Serdica in 343 AD. Among those who signed the conclusions of the council was an unnamed Pannonian bishop whose seat was not defined. Photinus, Germinius and Anemius are mentioned in the events and the theological conflict during Constantius' reign and after Valentinian's death. Except for Photinus, none of them had was a prominent personality who could have had a role in the events of their time or in the theological disputes. Laurentius and Cornelius are mentioned in the events connected with the later fight against Bonosus, a new heretic in Illyricum and Photinus' ideological heir. The Pope warned Laurentius to be cautious; Cornelius, his heir to the bishop's seat in Sirmium, is mentioned together with Nicetas from Remesiana as a witness in a trial of the priests who were ordained by Bonosus.

The church in Sirmium in the 4th century was organised like other bishoprics. The inscriptions mention persons who had a certain position in the church, for instance the exorcist in no. **224** and the diaconus in no. **225.** The text named *Altercatio Heracliani laici cum Germinio episcopo Sirmiensi* includes some details, e.g. that bishop Germinius was surrounded by priests, among whom was a certain Theodorus. In addition, other names are mentioned that probably belonged to the Sirmium church. Among them are the deacon Jovianus and the lector Marinus, who were tortured.

Besides the churches in the cemeteries dedicated to the martyrs Sineros and Irenaues, a church was discovered in Sirmium which was, as V. Popović assumed, the main city basilica. It was discovered during archaeological excavations in 1978 in the centre of present-day Sremska Mitrovica, at the place where a Roman forum was supposed to have existed. V. Popović describes it as follows: "the basilica had three naves and a transept and its interior width was 11.25 meters. The exact length could not be established. Like in Thessaloniki, the walls and the stylobates of the colonnades of the naves rest on carefully leveled walls of an older building. Some parts of the church repose on the older walls. The altar screen, the sintronos, the floor of the chancel, the pedestal of the ciborium and part of the liturgy annex are newly built, independent of the older building. The preserved architectural elements allow an ideal reconstruction of the upper parts of the basilica."[382] In and around the church, 25 graves made of bricks with sarcophagi were discovered. An interesting detail is the fact that in some cases adults were buried in miniature sarcophagi. This indicates, as V. Popović believed, the exhumation and transfer of the remains from a necropolis outside of town into the town, which was well protected by bulwarks. The money found in the graves was minted in the period 382-423. V. Popović thinks that the dedication of the church should be dated to 426 or 427 AD and it could probably be identified as the church of St. Demetrius.

The Church in Sirmium played a prominent role in the middle of the 4th century in the Christological disputes between the supporters of the Nicene doctrine and those who supported the Arian creed, which was declared heretical in the Council of Nicaea in 325 AD. In his book on the beginning of Christendom in the Danube lands, *Les origines de chrétiennes dans les provinces*

[381] Popović 2003a: 259-263.
[382] Popović 2003: 217 and fig. 4.

*danubiennes de l'Empire romain,* Paris 1918, Zeiller offers a detailed history of events in the Church in Illyricum, among others, the history of what happened in Sirmium at the time of the struggle between the two opposing parties in their dispute about the nature of Christ. The results of his study, based on the research of all available evidence, are still the most reliable and have remained unchanged until now.[383]



Fig. 21: Church of St. Demetrius (?)

[383] See a summary of events by Bratož 1990: 508-580.

Arius denied the dogma of homoousia, of an identical being comprising all three appearances of the Holy Trinity, the theory which was declared orthodox in the ecumenical council in Nicaea. He promoted the idea that in the divine trinity God the Son and the Holy Spirit are not equal in their essence to God the Father. Theoretically, this idea was based on the teachings of Origen, who was the first theoretician of early Christianity. In addition to the insubstantial God the Father, he also established the Other-God, subjugated to God the Father. His opponents called his theory tri-teistic, i.e. a theory of three gods: the Father, the Son and the Holy Spirit. Convicted by the ecumenical Council of Nicaea, Arius was stripped of his rank and banished to Illyricum together with his supporters. The Illyrian bishops, Valens from Mursa and Ursacius from Singidunum sided with Arius, while the other bishops, Domnius from Sirmium and Protogenes from Sardica, Dacus from Skupi and Pistus from Marcianopolis, all voted in Nicaea against his theory. At the Synod in Tire, which should have convicted Athanasius, the bishop of Alexandria and the main ideological opponent of Arius, were Valens from Mursa and Ursacius from Singidunum, who would be, in the years to come, the main protagonists of Arius' dogma in Illyricum. They were even appointed to a committee whose report against the supporters of Athanasius contributed to his conviction. Athanasius had to be exiled. In the events to come, Valens and Ursacius had a prominent role. In the meantime, Domnius from Sirmium also had changed sides and started supporting Arius. Valens and Ursacius also attended the synod in Constantinople, this time together with Ciriacus from Naissus and Protogenes from Serdica. That synod convicted Marcellus from Ancyra for denying the concept of divine unity.

Constantine's death in 337 brought about significant changes in the power relations in the church conflict regarding the dogma about the nature of the Son of God and whether he is equal to his Father (*homoousios*) or just similar (*homoioousios*). Constantine II, the son of Constantine, was meant to abide by his father's last will and return Athanasius from exile. He left for Alexandria and Viminacium and met Constantine's other son Constantius. Finally, there was a meeting between the three sons of Constantine: Constantine II, Constantius and Constans, somewhere in Pannonia, and it was decided to allow all the exiled bishops to return. Despite this arrangement, the conflict between the orthodox and the other churches continued and became even more complicated. In 347 AD, a council in Serdica (Sofia) was held, where the Illyrian bishops played a significant part. However, there were no real changes or adjustments in ideological views.

In the events following the synod in Serdica, the bishop of Sirmium Photinus emerged as a significant figure. His theological education and eloquence as well as his knowledge of Greek and Latin were extraordinary, and he was author of several books. His Trinitarian theory and, even more, his Christology, brought him closer to Sabellianism of Paul from Samosata. In fact, he followed the ideas of Marcellus from Ancyra, whose deacon he was. He went even further than his teacher in denying the divine nature of Christ: he had one higher virtue because of his closeness with God. Synods held in 345 and 347 excommunicated Photinus, but he remained in office, due to popular support. A synod at Sirmium was held and Hilarius of Poitiers quotes some of its Arian propositions. At another synod in Sirmium in 351, Photinus argued with the semi-Arian Basil of Ancyra and was deposed on charges of Sabellianism and Adoptionism. Photinus was anathematized and sent into exile, where he wrote several theological works.

When the emperor Constantius came to power, Arianism entered a new phase. After his victory in the battle near Mursa in 351 AD, the emperor stayed in Sirmium. In the years to come this town would remain the centre of church politics in which the emperor was the dominant figure. The conflict between the followers of Arius' dogma and the Nicene Creed culminated in the 350s when Constantius spent many months in Sirmium. He was frequently summoned from Rome to the Danube to take action against Sarmatians and other tribes. Here, in the presence of the emperor, there were four synods and Arianism won, supported by the emperor himself, even though for a short period of time.

When Constantius spent the winter of 351-352 AD in Sirmium, the situation in Pannonia was as follows: Photinus created his own heretic doctrine in Sirmium, which led Valens and Ursacius, the supporters of Arius, to return to their earlier convictions after the reconciliation with the Roman church in 347 AD. A synod was called with the purpose of convicting Photinus. Both eastern bishops and those from Illyricum were called. The synod was presided over by the emperor himself; he appointed an areopagus of eight people, with a record keeper who wrote shorthand, to make the final decision. The emperor also appointed a committee which would decide between Photinus and those who criticized him. Photinus, an exceptional speaker, was opposed by Basil, the bishop of Ancyra, a man of moderate views and a talented speaker himself. In the discussion that followed, Photinus' misconceptions were discovered and the emperor ordered his exile. He suffered the same fate as his predecessor Domnius. He was replaced by Germinius, who had been a bishop of Cyzicus. The synod also edited a symbol of faith called "The First Formula of Sirmium", in which there was no word of homoousia. To the formula, 27 anathemas were finally added, directed mainly at Marcellus of Ancyra and Photinus. The latter was again banished by Valentian in 364 and died in exile in 379. However, his dogma had supporters not only in Sirmium, but also in other cities of Illyricum and survived for decades to come. Pope Innocent would warn the town bishop Laurentius in 409 to be careful when it came to Photinus' propaganda and reminded him to be most careful in defending his flock.

The situation changed when the bishops from Singidunum and Mursa decided to return to the Nicene Creed. While western bishops met in Milan, eastern bishops held their synod in Sirmium to overthrow Photinus in his own town. Convicted for the fourth time as a heretic, he still remained in his diocese. The convened bishops published a text on the relationship between God the Father and God the Son and its essence. The conclusions of that convention were not far from Arianism.

Germinius, the new bishop of Sirmium, started his office by attacking the Nicene doctrine together with Ursacius from Singidunum and Valens from Mursa. Valens from Mursa enjoyed the special favour of the emperor Constantius because he had brought him the news of the victory over Magnentius in 351. Since that time, he had joined the emperor's escort. These three bishops arranged for the emperor to set aside the supporters of Arianism. During the next church council, which was convened in Arles in 353 in the presence of the emperor, the participants had to sign at the request of the new pope Liberius a decree which condemned Athanasius as a heretic. Behind that resolution were the northern Illyrian bishops. They were also victorious in the synod of Milan in 355, when Photinus was condemned again.

After Arles and Milan, a new synod was held in Sirmium in 357. Alongside Valens, Ursacius and Germinius, the bishop of Lisabon Potamius was also against the Nicene Creed. In the "Second Sirmium formula" they returned to strict Arianism, rejecting both terms for God the Son, *homoousios* (of the same essence) and *homoiousios* (of similar essence), and claimed that the son was subjugated to the father. The formula was also signed by Osius from Cordoba, a man 100 years old, who signed it not out of his convictions but because old age had weakened his mind and his sight. Pope Liberius, exiled to

Beroia in Thrace, was finally forced to sign the Second Sirmium Formula and was then allowed to leave Beroia and come to Sirmium.

The next synod followed in Sirmium in 358, and with it came the Third Sirmium Formula. The synod was presided by Basil from Ancyra, the same man who had contributed to the fall of Photinus. From his bishop's seat, he directed anathemas on Arianism and initiated a new council in Sirmium. Although the new Sirmium formula did not contain the word *homoousia*, it is believed that this document represents a return towards the Nicene Creed and orthodox faith. The emperor allowed Liberius to return to Rome. The priests gathered in Sirmium wrote at that time to the new pope Felix and the Roman clergy, urging them to refuse to accept Liberius. This led to the papal seat being occupied by two popes at the same time.

Arianism was suppressed, but only for a short while. Basil from Ancyra demanded the convening of the ecumenical council which would again initiate the dispute about the Nicene doctrine. He went therefore to Sirmium to meet the emperor. However, Germinius, the bishop of Sirmium, Ursacius and Valens, as well as other supporters of the Arian controversy were also present. Under their influence, the emperor decided to convoke two councils, one in the east in Seleucia in Isaura and the other in Rimini in Italy. A document was prepared in advance which would be accepted at both synods. A group of bishops at court, Germinius, Ursacius and Valens on the one hand and those holding opposing beliefs with Basil of Ancyra on the other, made an unusual theological compromise known as the *Fourth Sirmium Formula* from 559 AD. Marcus from Aretuse recorded that document. It is interesting among others things because it speaks of Christ's descent to Hades – the old belief which was now for the first time documented in a synodal document. Christ was declared "similar to the Father according to the Holy Scripture". Valens signed the version of the text in which the last two words of the formulation "the son is similar to the father in everything" were deleted. During the synod in Rimini, the pro-Arian bishops from Pannonia represented the minority. The council at first did not develop according to Constantius' will. The Sirmium formula was rejected, and the four Pannonian bishops were excommunicated. From that moment onward, the two currents had separate meetings and both sent a delegation to the emperor, who remained the highest judge in the matter. The decisions of the council could be executed only if the emperor agreed. He sided with the minority and, while he met the Pannonian bishops with the highest honor in Constantinople, he refused to meet the orthodox bishops, who represented the majority. The emperor's will altered the decision of the majority. The participants in the council in the East in Seleucia met the Illyrian bishops and annulled the decisions from Rimini. A formula was brought forward in Sirmium, which was a repetition of the *Fourth Sirmium Formula.* Together with the representatives of the majority, the four Illyrian bishops returned to Rimini, where the decision of the Eastern Synod was accepted with the resistance of some bishops from the west. The dispute was resolved at the synod in Constantinople in 360 AD. The formula that should have been the future basis of the faith had been formulated by Valens from Mursa and Ursacius from Singidunum.

Emperor Constantius directed church politics in the years 351-360 and organised some of the synods. The centre in that period was Sirmium, where he spent most of his time in the 350s AD because of the wars on the Danube border. This is where he celebrated his triumphs, instead of in the capital. The most powerful men were court bishops Valens from Mursa and Ursacius from Singidunum. Their influence on the emperor was crucial until his death in 361. The change in church politics did not happen immediately after his death. His successor Julian returned to the traditional Roman religion, but his short reign could not influence the state religion; the emperor Valentinian, one of the two brothers who succeeded to the throne after the short reign of Jovian, took it upon himself to defend and

govern the Western part of the Empire and did not get involved in church affairs. His brother and co-ruler Valens, who governed in the East, leaned towards Arianism. The bishop Photinus was again exiled from Sirmium, but the emperor Valentinian chose neither side. Still, after Constantius died, Arianism in Illyricum was doomed. Ursacius and Valens together with Paladius from Ratiaria managed to maintain it for a while, but their influence was diminished after Constantius' death. They would soon be anathemized, but even then, they did not leave their seats. The return to the Nicene doctrine in Sirmium was facilitated by two circumstances: firstly, it had its followers even at the time when the city bishop Germinius was a leading figure, together with Valens and Ursacius, in the defense of Arianism, and secondly, Germinius himself changed his attitude and again accepted Christianity in the form which had been accepted at the Council of Nicaea in 325. An interesting testimony of the conflict between the supporters of the Nicene Creed and the bishop Germinius is a text preserved under the title *Altercatio Heracliani laici cum Germinio episcopo Sirmiensi* ("The discussion of Heraclianus the layman with the Sirmium bishop Germinius"). Together with Firmianus and Aurelianus, Heraclianus was just one of the believers who had remained loyal to the Nicene doctrine, and in the discussion with the bishop did not waver. The dialogue is dated back to 366. Heraclianus and the other two, Firmianus and Aurelianus, who stayed faithful to the Nicene doctrine even at the time of the victory of Arianism in Sirmium, were simple men. Heraclianus was Photinus' opponent. He was arrested, taken before Germinius and with the other two accused of accepting the ideas of Eusebius from Vercela and Hilarius from Poitiers, bishops who came from the circle of those who supported Ambrosius. The story of Heraclianus follows the pattern of the passion of a martyr: he remained true to his beliefs, he was arrested and tortured. However, although Heraclianus demonstrated an obvious disagreement with the city bishop, in his defense, he was not convicted.

A crucial influence for the change of Germinius' attitude was Pope Damasus' letter to the Illyrian bishops in 374, in which he informed them of the discharge of the Milan bishop Auxentius, a defender of Arianism, and invited them to return to the Nicene doctrine. He warned them that anyone who refused to return to the orthodoxy would be excommunicated from the Christian community.

After Ursacius insisted, a conciliabule was held in Sirmium in December, 366. Even earlier, Germinius had demonstrated a certain restraint, and even when meeting those who preached homoiousia he allowed that Christ was similar to the father in everything, *per omnia similem*. When Ursacius, Valens, Paulus and Gaius demanded he retract his statement, Germinius answered by sending a letter to other bishops of Illyricum, including Nicetas from Remesiana, in which he explained his attitude claiming that the son was like the father in everything (*Filium similem Patri per omnia*). This marked his definitive break with Arianism.

A change concerning the imperial court came after Valentianus' death in 375. His son and heir Gracianus sided with those who followed the Nicene doctrine. His other son, Valentinian II, was a minor and under the tutorship of his mother empress Justina, who fervently held onto Arianism as it was formulated in Rimini.

A decisive role in the return of Illyricum to the Symbolum Nicaenum was played by Ambrosius, who was elected the bishop of Milan in 374. Consistent with his orthodox attitude, he was resolute and determined, even when the emperor himself was involved. There was a change in Sirmium in the bishop's seat. Instead of Germinius, who had vacilated between the Nicaeanum and Arian controversy, Ambrosius appointed as bishop of Sirmium Anemius, a man without great abilities, but loyal to the Creed as it had been proclaimed at the synod of Nicaea. Contrary to that, Empress Justina, who was in Sirmium at that time, tried to interfere with the election and to bring a new bishop who would share

her religious beliefs. Therefore, Ambrosius himself appeared personally in Sirmium. His arrival provoked unrest in the city. Supporters of Arianism, probably instigated by Empress Justina, tried to banish Ambrosius from the town. Paulinus, the author of Ambrosius' biography, mentions a girl's attack on him and her attempt to knock him from the bishop's seat. This event and its consequences – the girl died the next day, which was interpreted as God's punishment for her attack on the bishop of Milan – restrained Ambrosius' opponents and his candidate Anemius was elected to the bishop's seat in Sirmium. Anemius' task was to fight the supporters of Arianism in Illyricum. Immediately after his election, he called for a new council in Sirmium in 378. It had been preceded by another in 375, at which the bishops present decided to move as an act of faith in accordance with the Nicene theory of the holy trinity. The six bishops who remained true to the Arian doctrine were deposed. The Synod of 378 was presided over by Anemius. Two important bishops were present here: Ambrosius, who probably had a decisive role in convening the synod, and Paladius from Ratiaria, Ambrosius' opponent. Together with Secundianus from Sirmium, Paladius proposed to convoke an ecumenical synod. The council in Sirmium invited them to accept the Nicene dogma. This was issued through a document called the Fifth Sirmium Formula, which again proclaimed the Nicene theory on homoousia, the same essence of the Father, the Son and the Holy Spirit. The church of the city, which had been a centre of Arianism, had to accept it. The council also brought certain disciplinary measures to prevent the return of heresy. Six bishops were deposed, although the bishops of Raciaria and Singidunum were not among them.

The final conflict of the Arian heresy happened at the Council of Aquileia in 380 AD, when Ambrosius together with Anemius succeeded in suppressing the followers of Arianism in the Danubian lands. After the death of Constantius, the church in Sirmium lost its importance. But the events which happened there left vestiges in the later history of Christendom. The teachings of the Sirmium bishop Photinus evolved into the new heresy of Bonosos, the bishop of Naissus in the 380s. His doctrine still had its followers in the central Balkans in the 6$^{th}$ century in Justinian's time, and the main aim of Justinian's Novella XI was the organisation of churches in the eastern part of Illyricum in order to fight against *Bonosiacorum scelu*.

## Christendom and the people of Sirmium

A Christian community in Sirmium existed probably very early, at the time of Diocletian's persecutions, as the evidence about the martyrs proves. It could be said that at first, before the official recognition of the Christian church, members of the community were people of lower ranks. The Sirmium martyr Sineros was a gardener; the martyrs from Fruška Gora traditionally appear in Christian literature as stonemasons. In the 4$^{th}$ century, Christians in Sirmium must have been numerous, given the existence of large 4$^{th}$ century cemeteries. Christians were buried in two spacious cemeteries north of the town. One arose next the small church consecrated to Saint Sineros (locality 26), and the other at the basilica of Saint Irenaeus (locality 55). Inscriptions found in these two cemeteries reflect not only the religious, but also the social status of the people buried here. They allow certain conclusions about the Christians in Sirmium in the fourth century, after Constantine.

The necropolis is located in the north-east around the church of Sineros, both discovered by A. Hytrek in 1882, on the east periphery of a pagan necropolis which was around 600 meters west of the Majur farm. The Christian community probably began to inhume their deceased members at this

location earlier in the 4th century. A significant number of inscriptions were found in place, but most of them in fragments whose formulations *requescit in pace*, *in pace* etc. indicate that they were Christians. These tombstones cannot be precisely dated, but it can be assumed that they date from the time after the recognition of Christianity as a state religion in the Roman empire. However, the dated monuments are not earlier than the fourth century. The only directly dated inscription is no. **238** from 352 AD. Tombstones of the officials of the court and members of their staff discovered in the necropolis at Saint Sineros imply that other Christians were buried there in the time of Emperor Constantius' rule. The inscription that could be approximately dated at the same time, to the period between 337 and 361, is the one which mentions the cup bearer of Emperor Constantius no. **204**, discovered in the necropolis of St. Sineros. Being close to the emperor, he probably followed his religious beliefs regarding the Arian interpretation of Christ's nature. It indicates that the supporters of Ariansm were buried in this necropolis.The high rank in the civilian and military hierarchy of those buried in this necropolis is also indicated by the name *Flavius* which was borne by high ranking people in the civilian administration and military command during the late Roman period.[384] Flavius Sanctus was the protector, who died in Aquileia; his wife Aurelia Aminia placed a funerary slab dedicated to him next to the church of St. Sineros (no. **202**). Distinguished by their names were Flavius Martinianus, who was buried by his wife *Aurelia Urbici (filia)* (no. **205**), and *Flavius Aurelius*, in an inscription preserved in the correspondence of I. Jung (no. **237**). Non-Christians were buried alongside Christians at the chapel of St. Sineros, as for example no. **144**.

The Christian cemetery on locality 55, near the basilica of St. Irenaues, probably belongs to the same period as this around the Sineros' chapel. This assumption rests on indirect conclusions, on the comparison of the letters' shape and other paleographic features of the inscription, such as the shape and position of the Christogram on the monument. These elements are the same on the tombstones in both cemeteries.

Similar to the inscription of the pincerna from Constantius' time are nos. **201**, **202**, **203** and others from the necropolis of Saint Sineros, but also some of those from the necropolis of St. Irenaeus. If we retain the paleographic criterion, which can be as reliable as a chronological indication when a greater number of tombstones originate from the same place, then we would have to date the tombstones from the necropolis of Saint Irenaues to the same period as those from the necropolis of Saint Sineros, including the inscription which confirms the existence of the basilica dedicated to St. Irenaues, no. **223**. The similarity exists not only in the form of individual letters and their ductus, but also in the composition of the text and the general pattern of the inscription and the tombstone. There is no difference in the presentation of the Christograms on the tombstones at either necropolis. Rather, the Christograms differ in shape even on the tombstones from the same necropolis and do not provide any characteristics that could provide a basis for dating. The inscription dated to 352, no. **238**, cannot be used as a parallel for paleography because it is in Greek. There is no paleographic similarity between Greek inscriptions with a Christogram in the middle of the text in the frame of the same necropolis. Archaeological material from both necropolises, chronologically less sensitive, and dated to a wider period of time, 300-340 or 310-350 AD,[385] does not allow the identification of chronological difference between these two necropolises. It seems that both belong to the 4th century.

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[384] On the significance of the name *Flavius* see Mócsy 1964: 257-263; Keenan ZPE 11, 1973, 33-63; 13, 1974, 283-304; 53, 1983, 245-256.

[385] Popović, Ferjančić 2013: 107 ff.

All the elements used in the comparison, the paleography of inscriptions, the shape of the Christogram and archaeological evidence from the two necropolises indicate that Christians in Sirmium were simultaneously buried in two places distant from each other, in the north-west of the town and in the south-east. The reason for burial in two spatially separated places at the same time may relate to the controversy in the Christian church in Pannonia, with the supporters of Arianism separated from the orthodox followers of the Nicene doctrine. The theological dispute in the Church was reflected in the church of Sirmium. What both cemeteries here have in common is a large number of fragments of both pagan and Christian tombstones. They were preserved mostly in small pieces with just one or a few letters, which doesn't allow the reconstruction of even a single word. It can be assumed that the fragmentation of the monuments was the result of deliberate destruction, which happened in both necropolises. This could be the result of an anti-pagan reaction or of the confrontation of the two parties of Christians. If anti-pagan, this would likely have happened relatively late. Emperors until Theodosius were tolerant towards the supporters of the traditional Roman religion and there were pagans in court, especially among the aristocracy. Tombstone no. **144**, belonging to a pagan married couple, was found in the Christian necropolis and suggests that there was tolerance in Sirmium between Christians and pagans. This tombstone, although dedicated to *Dis Manibus*, was neither smashed nor damaged. The anti-pagan reaction may have happened during Theodosius' rule and later. Older than the anti-pagan reaction was probably the conflict between the orthodox believers and the supporters of the Arian doctrine on the essence of the holy trinity, or between the supporters of Photinus, who stayed in Sirmium even after his official verdict, and his opponents. The conflict in the Church could explain the large number of fragments of indubitably Christian tombstones. There is, however, a difference between the two cemeteries: in St. Sineros' necropolis there was a large number of fragments from Christian slabs characteristic for their material (marble) and alphabet. It is possible that in this necropolis a reaction occurred that might be expected in Sirmium because of the events regarding Arius' heresy in Emperor Constantius' time or later, when Ambrosius, a resolute opponent of Arius' heresy, appeared in Sirmium. There is reason to assume that the necropolis at Saint Sineros was a burial place for those who followed Arianism. Without a doubt, those who were buried were of a certain rank in the court and military command from whom it was expected to follow the emperor's religious politics. The reaction that followed the events after Ambrosius' visit in Sirmium may have resulted in the destruction of the tombstones of Arius' supporters. A huge number of fragments discovered during Hytrek's excavations were mainly parts of Christian tombstones.

Among the fragments in the necropolis of Saint Irenaeus, only a few are parts of the Christian monuments. It is possible that this necropolis is somewhat younger, and that there were no deliberate demolitions of older Christian tombstones.

In addition to the two spacious cemeteries in the north of the town, Christians in Sirmium were buried in other places as well. Christian tombstones were found in locality 4, not far from the church that is recognized as consecrated to St. Demetrius.

# XIII INSTEAD OF A CONCLUSION: BROKEN CONTINUITY

The Roman city of Sirmium has an almost uninterrupted history from the foundation of the Roman colonia, i.e. from the 1st century until its devastation and destruction when it fell into the hands of the Avars in the 80s of the 6th century. This seemingly unbroken line of development is twisted, and its course was slowed several times during the last centuries of the empire. Internal conflicts in the Roman state between those who fought for power brought Sirmium to the position of a strategic centre in the battle of emperors and usurpers. Barbaric invasions in the Danube region, two of which, the Huns and Avars with catastrophic consequences, led to the destruction of the town in the physical as well as in the structural and administrative sense. The politics of the Eastern court led to further changes. Unable to defend the border in the north, the emperor in Constantinople allowed various barbaric groups, primarily those that arrived with the Huns, Goths, Gepids and Heruls, to settle in the Danube provinces, Pannonia, Thrace and Moesia. Some stayed there after the collapse of Hun power in 453 AD, primarily the Goths and the remains of the Hun tribes ruled by Attila's sons. This politics led to huge ethnic migrations and economic changes in the clash of two cultures: urban Roman and nomadic barbarian. The town structure was destroyed and urban life started dying. A new society emerged with its own social structure, undeveloped political and economic system and a primitive way of life. Finally, the conflicts in the early Christian church caused disturbances in the Roman cities in Pannonia and Moesia, primarily Sirmium, Mursa and Singidunum, whose bishops sided with the heretic Arius. The dogmatic conflicts in the Christian church, which became part of state politics, often caused conflicts in local churches with dramatic outcomes.

Sirmium was in the middle of all these events. The city had an important place in the struggle for power between Constantine and Licinius and between Constantius and Magnentius. It was conquered twice by enemies, completely ruined, devastated and robbed by Huns and Avars, while the population that did not flee was taken into slavery. Despite all that, the life of the city continued, but under new circumstances. Under the Huns, life changed as it did in all other cities in the lower Danube area. The process that started with the arrival of the Huns and grew deeper because of the migrations of barbaric groups to the fields around the town led to ruralization and the extinguishing of urban culture. In the 5th century the process began of the transformation of the once flourishing Roman city centre into a frontier stronghold.

The interruptions in the continuity of development and of urban life were caused by various circumstances: interior unrest, fight for power and conflicts in the church between orthodox bishops and supporters of Arius' doctrine, foreign invasions, including those of the Huns and Goths and the

devastation of the land, migrations of nomadic peoples whose economy rested on cattle farming, and the process of ruralization of town settlements in the Balkans.

Those who fought for the throne in the Roman State in the 3rd and 4th centuries and reached Illyricum with an army endeavored to establish their domination in Sirmium. The progress toward Sirmium could be the decisive step in the rise to power, because it was a centre of provincial administration and military command and the seat of the praetorian prefect for Illyricum. Two decisive battles for supremacy in the State happened in the vicinity of Sirmium in the 4th century, near Cibalae (Vinkovci) between Constantine and Licinius in 316 AD, and near Mursa (Osijek) between Magnentius and Constantius II in 351 AD. Sirmium closed its gates upon the appearance of the army from Gaul led by Magnentius, but the whole area was devastated, the army of the usurper looting as they retreated. Ten years later, Julian, on his way to assume power, prevented a planned military resistance in Sirmium by bringing the military commander Lucillian before him and forcing him to relinquish the defense of the town. This action had no impact on the behaviour of the city inhabitants. The people greeted Julian when he passed the spacious suburbs of the town; he won many of them over by organising horse races. However, the military and administrative leaders were not on Julian's side and when he went further to meet his political opponent Constantius II, he did not dare to leave military units in the city, and sent two legions and auxiliary troupes to Gaul. Reaching Aquileia these troops revolted. The resistance against the new emperor in Sirmium seethed and finally erupted in an attack on emissaries who brought the news of the death of Julian and that Jovian had become emperor. The emissaries barely escaped with their lives. Sirmium was no longer a safe place; it was a town that chose sides in the fight for power.

Christianity also brought unrest to Sirmium, but the clash was not between the pagans and Christians, but between various groups of Christians. There were no open conflicts between Christians and pagans, not even when the laws stipulated strict punishments for those who brought sacrifices to traditional Roman gods. Greater and deeper clashes were caused by the dogmatic conflicts in the Church between the orthodox followers of the Nicene Creed and those who were adherents of the Arian doctrine in the discussion on the essence of the divine trinity. Christianity became the only religion gradually, and through the laws brought by different emperors from Constantine to Theodosius, paganism disappeared gradually and was reduced to a religion of the Roman aristocracy in the 4th century. The ideological conflict was reflected in the local Christian communities. The society in Sirmium was divided into the followers of the officially accepted Nicene Creed and those who accepted the Arian doctrine.

It is likely that during these conflicts the tombstones of both groups were demolished within the spacious Christian necropolis north of the town. The material evidence of the conflict between Christians are the numerous fragments of tombstones in the necropolis around the chapel of the martyr Sineros on site 26 and the basilica dedicated to martyr Irenaeus on site 55 in Sremska Mitrovica. The conflicts in Sirmium could also have been caused by Photinus' heresy. The bishop Photinus had been officially deposed, but he remained in the town because of his gifts of oratory and the support of his followers.

Sirmium was conquered by an enemy outside the Roman empire for the first time in its history in the mid 5th century. The Roman city was captured by the Huns in 441 or 447 AD, together with other towns on the Danube and the Sava River. The barbarians did not conquer towns with the intention to inhabit them or for their rulers to have a seat in them, but for the sake of plunder. Towns and countries were only considered the spoils of war. The Huns subjugated Sirmium and turned its inhabitants into slaves in order to ransom them. The Hun occupation lasted no longer than a decade, but the devastation

and demolition of the town and the enslaving of the population, primarily qualified craftsmen, caused serious economic and social consequences. The Huns also took construction stone from Sirmium in order to build their seat, which was most likely located somewhere on the Tisa river and took with them craftsmen from Sirmium to build baths for their leaders. Further deep and far-reaching changes in the economy of the country came with the collapse of Hun power and the settlement of the other barbarian groups within Roman territory. The peoples that the Huns brought with them, the Goths, Gepids, Heruls and other unnamed tribes, remained on Roman territory after the collapse of the Huns. The new tribes not only brought changes to the ethnic structure in the Danube region but also to the structure of the economy. These tribes brought their own way of life and nomadic economy. Urban life slowly vanished and the town shrank.

The aim of the Hun conquest of Sirmium is illustrated by an affair with the golden dishes that the town bishop left as ransom in the event that he became a Hun slave. The golden dishes came into the possession of a Roman banker, but Attila demanded they be given to him because he thought that everything in the town belonged to him as war booty.

Deep changes in the life of Sirmium were caused by the settlement of barbarians in the Pannonian provinces and in the vicinity of the city after the contract they made with the emperor in Constantinople. In Pannonia, two cultures confronted one another: the urban Roman and the nomadic which was brought by barbarians. The agrarian region of Pannonia, once covered with fields of crops, was now ceded to the cattle-farming tribes. There had been migrations to Pannonia before the Huns. The Goths ruled by Alateus and Saphrax were settled in this region by Theodosius after the Roman defeat at Hadrianopolis. After Attila's death and the defeat of the Huns at the Nedao River in 454 AD, the emperor in Constantinople allowed the Goths to settle in Pannonia. They were given land under the condition that they would defend it from other tribes, receiving also an annual *subsidia* for this. They were given a yearly sum, in some cases even wheat until the new harvest, and gifts for tribal chieftains. The territory in Pannonia was divided among three brothers from the family of Amal: Valamer, Tiudimer and Vidimer. The Goths considered Pannonia to be their land, although they did not farm this or any other land where they settled. The information on their wars with other tribes indicates that they in fact defended their cattle. The tribe of Svevi attacked them, not to rob their fields or to conquer them, but to plunder their herds.[386] The Ostrogoths left Pannonia in 477 AD, twelve years after settling there, and moved further across the entire Balkan peninsula. This is not the type of mobility of a people involved in farming. Other barbarian groups in Pannonia, the Avars and Langobards, were also cattle farming people. Cattle was also a means of barter. Avars promised the Lombards that they would give them a tenth of the Gepids' land and cattle in return for help in fighting against them.[387]

The land in Pannonia that was abandoned by Ostrogoths was not returned to Byzantium. After the Goth departure, it was occupied by Gepids, who dwelled near the Tisa river after the collapse of the Hun domination. Later, after a short Byzantine rule, Pannonia was captured by the Avars.

The short restoration of the city after the Huns did not imply continuity. Sirmium lost the character of an urban centre. The old city population slowly disappeared. Many inhabitants were killed when the town was conquered, many became slaves of the conquerors, and only a few fled to Dalmatia or other countries. The population living in the surrounding country had started retreating inside the town walls before the Goths and other tribes were settled in Pannonia by the Roman emperors. Finally, in the 6th

[386] Jord. Get. LIIII 273.
[387] Menandri fr. 23-25, FHG IV S. 231. Comp. Stein 1919: 8 f.; Diculescu 1922: 109.

century, the Gepids inhabited Sirmium, as is confirmed by information in Ennodius, Pan. XII 60: *Haec civitas (sc. Sirmium) postea per regentium neglectam in Gepidarum iura concessit.* The town of Sirmium would become the seat of these rulers. During the short Byzantine rule in the first half of the 6th century, the civil administration in Sirmium was replaced by a military command. During the Avar siege, there was mention of a *strategos*. It seems that the city magistrates stopped working when the town was conquered by the Huns.

The ruralization of the town structure was a process that had started some time before that. The interior changes in Sirmium were already visible in the second half of the 4th century, and they can be archaeologically traced.[388] The size of the town decreased and people mainly inhabited the southern part. At the end of the 4th and the beginning of the 5th century, the buildings in the town centre lost their original purpose and some of them lay in ruins. What had once been luxurious edifices gradually turned into a place where primitive huts prevailed. V. Popović dates the appearance of huts in the centre of the former Roman city from the time when the Ostrogoths settled in Pannonia, as well as at the time of the Gepid rule of Pannonia, i.e. from the second half of the 5th century until the return to Byzantium of Srem in 567 AD. Poor people began living in and around luxurious buildings. Huts were built from broken bricks bound with clay in a town villa, which was archaeologically well investigated, on locality 4, at the north of the hippodrome and on locality 1a near the southern city wall, in the palace that had served as an imperial residence in the 3rd and 4th centuries, and in an open area with a porticus. Not far from these small settlements graves were discovered, among others German ones containing seven skeletons[389]. One of the graves was discovered on the north side of the luxurious villa, and another under the mosaic floor of a room in the palace. The huts made of broken bricks bound with clay, the wooden huts and a furnace were discovered not far from the church and all belong to the same period. Small settlements of huts with hearths paved with cut bricks in the area of the hippodrome. The cryptoporticus was used for waste disposal. The construction of this isolated group of huts is dated from the end of the 5th century until the end of Byzantine rule in the town.

In the centre of the town, older buildings were leveled and in that area a church was built. Its construction is dated on the basis of coins to the years 394/402 AD. It is possible that it was younger than that date, because it was built on a layer of ruins of constructions from an older period. A necropolis with 26 graves was discovered here. V. Popović states that it was an unusual thing to bury adults in small sarcophagi.[390] He believes that this indicates a second burial of Romanized people from an earlier necropolis outside of the city walls during great external danger. Another explanation is also possible. These could have been sarcophagi containing the relics of Sirmium martyrs who died in persecutions and were buried outside of town. When the barbarian tribes occupied the countryside, their remains were collected in the small sarcophagi and buried again in the city. Seven adults were discovered in small graves made of bricks in a previously luxurious villa on locality 5 inside the city and three similar graves not far from there. The burial in this part of the town must date to the period after the end of the 4th century.

When Byzantium returned to Sirmium, the old buildings were not restored. The city institutions, with city council and curiales were no longer in function, and Sirmium became a Roman frontier fortress, the last that the Byzantine Empire kept in possession north of the Sava River.

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[388] Popović 1982: 545 ff.

[389] About Germanic graves see Miladinović-Radmilović 2011: 389 ff.

[390] Popović 1982: 246 f.

The barbarians that conquered Roman land in the Danube area, the Huns and Avars, did not include the conquered towns into their territory because they did not have an organised state with fixed frontiers, political and administrative institutions and frontier control. Hun power did not extent to territories but to peoples. They not have a tax system and privately-owned land. In an encounter with Byzantine emissaries, a citizen of Viminacium who had voluntarily stayed in Attila's court praised the simplicity of the life of the Huns and their system that did not know of taxes.[391]

All adult males in Hun society were warriors and one, called *rex*, was in command. All peoples that they conquered had to participate in their wars[392]. The Huns treated those tribes who joined them in their raids as subjugated to them. They viewed the Goths, settled in Pannonia after 454 AD with the permission of the emperor in Constantinople, as their run-away slaves. In the negotiations with the emissaries sent to Attila from Constantinople, the Huns requested the return of all fugitives who ran to the Romans.

Changes gradually happened in contact with the Romans. The meeting of the emperor's emissary Priscus, with a mason from Sirmium in Attila's court reveals the influence of urban culture on the conqueror and the attempts of Attila and the Huns to replace tents with buildings, following the model of those in Sirmium. During his first visit, Priscus found tents in Attila's headquarters, which was surrounded by a wooden fence. The image later changed: Onegesius, the most influential Hun after Attila, had a bathroom built after the Roman model by craftsmen who were brought from Sirmium.

Ostrogoths that inhabited Pannonia after the liberation from Hun power in 454 AD, according to a contract with the emperor in Constantinople, were already on the path of state development. They inhabited Pannonia with certain boundaries, probably the Alps and the border with Italy on one side and Lake Balaton on the other. Jordanis mentions rivers and other geographical marks as borders of the areas which was given for settlement to the three Amal brothers who ruled over the Goths in Pannonia. Each of them defended the area from other tribes and only one had supreme power.[393] Pannonia was the country which they would later still consider their home land, even after they left it and went south. They waged wars against the Gepids when they tried to prevent their free passage through Sirmium in their move toward Italy. Theodoric returned to Pannonia afte founding a kingdom in Italy, considering it to be a former seat of the Goths, *quondam sedes Gothorum*. Cassiodorus, in Varia III 23, quotes king Theodoric's order to *comes* Colloseus from 509/510 to defend this area with arms and to organise it legally after the Roman model. In *Varia* III 13 there are details of the king's order to revive the administration and tax system: the old economic system and tax obligations are regulated by the law in order to avoid abuse.[394]

In 535 AD, the Gepids again conquered Sirmium and it became the seat of their ruler. Their state was also organised with the permission of the East Roman Empire whose sovereignty they formally recognized. They struck silver coins with the monogram of their king Cunimund and a portrait of the Byzantine emperor Justinian II,[395] like the early barbaric states in western Europe which minted in the name of the western Roman emperors.

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[391] Prisci fr. 8.
[392] Maenchen-Helfen 1973: 169 ff.
[393] Jord. Get. L 233, LII 268.
[394] Varia III, XIIII, from the year 523/526 AD.
[395] Brunšmid 1924: 672-675; Stefan 1925: 12 ff.; Schmidt 1934: 543.

Byzantium regained Sirmium and turned it into a fortress on its northern frontier which was defended by a *strategos*. The position was under the command of Singidunum in Moesia.

The Avars conquered Sirmium and demolished it while the population was scattered. But the urban character of the Sirmium structure had disappeared long before that, during the rule of the Huns.



# Inscriptions



# INSCRIPTIONS FROM SIRMIUM AND THE CITY TERRITORY

Inscriptions contained in this Corpus have been discovered in Sirmium and in adjacent areas which may be supposed to have entered into the greater city territory. They are set forth in the following order:

Inscriptions devoted to deities (1-35)
Emperors and their staff (36-43)
Military inscriptions (44-136)
Inscriptions of the city magistrates (137-138)
Funerary monuments (139-191)
Greek inscriptions (192-200)
Christian inscriptions (201-243)
Inscriptions from the Greater city territory (244-261)
Aliena (262)
Milestones (263-274)

The customary system of symbols and parentheses have been used:

( ) supplemented letters which did not exist on the stone
[ ] supplemented letters which appear to have been engraved
[ ... ] determined number of missing letters
[ - - - ] undetermined number of missing letters
[[---]] erased letters
< > letters incorrectly hewn by the cutter
a b c letters effaced at present and partially visible on the stone.
<u>abc</u> letters visible in the previous editions

In the catalog are included all until now published inscriptions, fragments which are noted in the letters of I. Jung and fragments which are preserved as photographs in the documentation of the Institute of Archeology (Arheološki institut) Beograd.



## INSCRIPTIONS DEVOTED TO DEITIES

**1**

Altar of hard sandstone, h. 95, w. 48, th. 39 cm; letters, h. 7-2 cm. A part in the top is missed. Discovered in 1992 during the excavation of a channel in the yard of Petar Milovančev house in Kralja Petra st. 59, in Srem. Mitrovica, together with the stone ritual objects wich have been built by the house owner in the concret base on which the altar was placed after discovery. Now in the yard of the house.

Mirković 1998: 94-97. (AE 1998, 1051).

[? *Templum Bo*]*no* | *Evento* | *renovavi* | *ex voto pro* |[5] *salute ord*(*inis*) | *Sirm*(*iensium*). *Patro*(*no*) *viro* | *emenentissimo* (!) | *p*(*osuit*) *v*(*otum*) *m*(*erito*) ? *Flav*|*ius Constantius cultor* (!) *Matris deae libertus.*

*Bonus eventus* was primarily an agricultural deity, later the god of the fortune, as for instance in CIL IX 1560: *Bono evento profectionis orientalis et reditus Augustorum [per Adiam e]t Coeles[yriam]* or CIL III 6233: *Bono evento legionis I Italicae*. The temple consecrated to *Bono evento* was built in Campus Martis in Rome. *Renovavit* in the line 3 relates to a sanctuary of *Bonus eventus* or of *Mater Dea* in Sirmium in which Flavius Constantius might have served as *custos* or even to some other temple in which the altar was posed.Second possibility is that *renovavit* concerns the temple of *Mater deum*.
*Custor* instead of *custos* in l. 9 served to the cult of *Mater deum* or Kybele, see Corpus cultus Cybelae Attidisque, EPRO I. The connection of the *custor* Matris deae with the *Bonus eventus* is not clear. His name Flavius Constantius is significant. He was freedman. His patron's name is not preserved but must have been also Flavius Constantius. He was *eminentissimus*, that means the man in a highest position, as for instance *praefectus praetorio*. A Flavius Constantius is well known as *praefectus praetorio* from many rescripts which have been addressed to him by Constantine the Great between AD 315 and 327: CTh, VIII 5,1, VIII 4,1, XV 14,1, I,5,1, XII 1,11, IV 4,1, II 24,2. On him see PLRE I 1971, 225; Barnes 1982: 138 f. Seeck 1919: 54. O. Seek suggested that he held his office in Orient. The fact that one of the rescript VIII 5, 1 which is dated in 315 AD was addressed to him to Sardinia, doesn's speack necessarily against Seeck's thesis. It could be assumed that he was in office before the territorial praefecturae have been established and *preafecti* attached to the specific regions. As *praefectus praetorio* Flavius Constantius spent some time in the East in 325 and 326, probably together with Constantine after his victory over Licinius, but there is no evidence confirming his praefecture in Orient; March 326 he accompanied Constantine on his journey to the West. There is no evidence that he was present in Rome or in Italy during the Constantine's visit in ad 326. He might have been in Rome for the first time when he was elected consul in 327. Before that, in 326, he could spent some time in Sirmium. It may be assumed that he stayed in Sirmium with Constrantine's son Constantius in order to control the Danube frontier when Constantine was in Italy. Edicts CTh VIII 4, 1, III 32, 2 and X 1, 5 have been addressed to him from Italy. If so, Flavius Constantius, attested on the altar from Sirmium may be his *libertus* who served in his staff as clark in that time.

**2**

Altar of crumbly sandstone, h. 83 cm, w. 35 cm, thk. 23 cm. The upper and the lower sides damaged. On the base and the upper part traces of profiling still visible. Inscription largely erased. Height of the preserved letters 4.5 cm. Unearthed during the systematic excavations in Sremska Mitrovica in 1964. Now in the Museum of Srem.

Mirković 1971.

*Dis deab|[u]s(que) sac(rum) | [T]itia[nus? ... | . . . pos]uit ? |[5] [v. s.] 1. m.*

Dii Deae: Ruggiero, Diz. Ep. II-2, 1724. The reading of the name Titianus in the third line uncertain. It belonged possibly to the Illyrian onomasticon, Mayer 1957: 339.

**3**

Altar, unearthed in Sremska Mitrovica. Preserved only in the transcription of Marsigli. Lost.

Marsigli 1726: tab. 40, 4; CII. Ill 3236; Mirković 1971: 2.

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/// A B I V S
5 HLARVS
V . S . L . M

*D[omnae] | et Domno | [s]acr(um) | [. . .] abius | [5]H(i)larus | v. s. 1. m.*

Line 1-2: Iovi Depulsori pro salute DOMini NOstri - Marsigli; Deo invicto et domino sacrum - CIL III.
For deities Domnus and Domna compare Ihm. RE V, 1903, 1301; Ruggiero, Diz. Ep. s. v. Dominus, p. 1957. Hilarius is the Greek name (Pape-Bensels. Eigennamen, s.v.).

**4**

Fragment of a marble slab, h. 13 cm, w. 26 cm, thk. 6 cm. Discovered in Srem. Mitrovica in the course of excavations. Preserved in the depot of the Museum of Srem.

Mirković 1971: 3 with phot.

*[- - -] v M. Aurelius? |[- - -] si? deae Fo[rtunae- - -] | us. [- - -].*
Dea Fortuna: s. Roscher Lex. I-2, 1890, 1053 ff. Pliny speaks of the extent of the cult in the early imperial period, in n. h. 22. Comp. Ruggiero Diz. Ep. Ill 178 (Dea Fortuna). About the extent of the cult in Pannonia see Mócsy 1962: 734.

**5**

Fragment of a monument of white marble, h. 14 cm, w. 18 cm, thk. 38 cm. Handsome and regular letters, with ligatures IN in the first and IR in the second line. Text-lines are underlined. Unearthed in Srem. Mitrovica before 1879. Transferred to Zagreb, to the Archaeological Museum in 1883. The right upper corner of the monument preserved. The inscribed field was in profiled frame.

Brunšmid-Kubitschek 1880: 117; Ljubić 1885: 15, Frankfurter, AEM 9, 1885: 137; CIL III 10226; Brunšmid 1909: 332, no. 738 with phot.; Mirković 1971: no. 4.

[- - - -*Geni]o ordini(s)* | *[- - -]us T. f(ilius) Quir(ina)* | *[- - - -] vius* | *[- - - -] ar [- - - -*]

Line 1: O ORDN – Brunšmid-Kubitschek, AEM; O ORDNI - Frankfurter, CIL III, Brunšmid, line 2: FQV IR - Brunšmid-Kubitschek, line 3: VIV - Brunšmid-Kubitschek; VIVS - Frankfurter, CIL III, Brunšmid.

**6**

Middle part of an altar of limestone, h. 7 cm, w. 12 cm, thk. 9.5 cm. Unearthed in Srem. Mitrovica and transferred to the Archaeological Museum of Zagreb 1894. Presently at the same place, inv. no. 199, no. phot. 767-IV-13

Brunšmid 1895: 165 (with phot.); CIL III 15139; Brunšmid 1907: 109, no. 199 with phot.; Mirković 1971: no. 5.

[- - - -] | [*Her]culi (?)* | *Fl(avius) Dioge*|*nes*.

Letter E written like I, without the middle horizontal lines. The horizontal line is missing on the letter F, also.
line 3: NS - CIL III.
Hercules was frequent in inscriptions in West-Pannonia (See Mócsy 1962: 731).

**7**

Bust of Zeus of limestone, h. 0.60 cm. On the square socle, there is an inscription in three lines, today difficult to read. Face of Zeus considerably damaged; curly hair falls on the forehead; beard in curls. Unearthed in Srem. Mitrovica. Now in the Archaeological Museum in Zagreb, inv. no. 56, no. phot. 731-II-8.

Brunšmid, AEM 4, 1880: 116; CIL III 10218; Brunšmid 1904: 32, no. 56; Mirković 1971: 6.

*Ti. Iuli[o Cand(ido)]* | *C. Iulio Quad(rato)* | *II c[o(n)s(ulibus)]*.

Date: 105 AD

CIL III : TITVL
C. IVLae QVA iS.

**8**

Part of slab of hard limestone, h. 25 cm, w. 20 cm, thk. 9 cm. Letters written by rather deep incisions in stone, tapering off in the lower lines. In line 2, letter V appreciably smaller than the rest, and in line 3, letter R connected with letter L. Unearthed in Srem. Mitrovica. Now in the Museum of Srem.

Brunšmid, AEM 4, 1880, 116; CIL III 10218; Brunšmid 1904: 32, no. 56; Mirković 1971: 7, with phot. pl. I, 2.

*I(ovi) o(ptimo) m(aximo)* | *sacru[m]* | *Aur(elius) Lic[inius]?* | *signi[f(er)*].

**9**

Altar of limestone, brocken in two, A: h. 32 cm, w. 42 cm, thk. 3.6 cm; B: h. 28 cm, w. 27 cm. On the front side, two nicks were cut in during its secondary use. On the left lateral side, a thunderbolt was represented, and on the right side an eagle. Upper part beaten by hammer on all sides.Unearthed in 1883 in Srem. Mitrovica in the courtyard of tavern Baljen, Pukovnijska st., then transferred to Palanka st. It had been used as part of gate and thus broken into two pieces. In 1905 it was transferred to the Archaeological Museum in Zagreb where it still is. Inv. no. 218, no. phot.t. 747 - II - 24.

Ljubić 1884: 75 no. 2; Frankfurter, AEM IX, 1885: 137, no. 319; CIL III 10217; Brunšmid 1907: no. 218 (with phot.); Mirković 1971: 8.

*I(ovi) o(ptimo) m(aximo)* | *L. Didius* | *[H]ercu*|*[lanu]s v.[s.] l. m.*

Line 4 is known only in Ljubić's edition based on Jung's transcription.

**10**

Altar of limestone, h. 64, w. 31, thk. 23.5 cm. Profiled base slightly damaged at the front side, and the upper part at the back side. On the front side, in the upper corners, there are two rectangular niches wherein, perhaps, a statue was fastened. Unearthed in Srem. Mitrovica in the middle of the last century; transferred to the Archaeological Museum in Zagreb in 1904, where it still is, inv. no. 219, no. phot.t. 726-II-3.

Rómer, Arch. Közlem. 6, 1866: 173 No. 891; CIL III 3229 + p. 1040 + p. 1671; Brunšmid 1907: no. 219 (with phot.); Mirković 1971: no. 9 with phot. PI. I, 3.

*I(ovi) o(ptimo) m(aximo) sac(rum)* | *T. Fl(avius) Can*|*didian]us pro s*|*e et suis* | *v.s.l.m*

line 2: TT - Rómer; T. fL. - CIL III; T. FI. – Brunšmid, lines 2-3: name Candidiamis affirmed on another monument from Mitrovica, No. 1.3.

**11**

Altar of limestone, unearthed during the systematic excavations in Srem. Mitrovica in 1964, on the locality 29-30, used as building material. Lost.

Mirković 1971: no. 10.

*I(ovi) o(ptimo) m(aximo)* | *T. Fl(avius) Poti*|*ume*|*nus v. s.*

The gentile name of Flavius appeared several times on the monuments from Sirmium.
Potiumenus: Schulze, Lat. Eigennamen 215-216: Potius and Potinianus

**12**

Altar of hard limestone, h. 105 cm, w. 49 cm, thk. 22 cm. The base and upper part profiled. Towards the top, above the profiled capital, the monument tapers off. The front side of the tapered part is ornamented by palmettes. The letters are regular and deep-cut, somewhat reduced in the lower lines, h. 2-4 cm. AN in line 3 and TAE in line 8 are in ligature. Punctuation marks in the form of triangular notches. Unearthed in 1960 on site no. 4 in Srem. Mitrovica in the course of systematic excavations. Now in the Museum of Srem.

Mirković, ŽA XI-2, 1962: 319 and Mirković 1971: no. 11, with phot. pI. I, 4.

*I(ovi) o(ptimo) m(aximo)* | *T. Gramon(ius)* | *Lucilianus* | *signifer* |[5]*leg(ionis) II Adi(iutricis)* | *v.s.l.m.* | *Maximo* | *et Aeliano* | *co(n)s(ulibus).*

Date: 223 AD

Gramonius may be a name of Illyrian origin (Grabon/Gramon), with the interchanging of b/m observed in names of Illyrian origin (Krahe 1929: 55).
*Legio II Adiutrix* see Ritterling 1924: 1438 sqq.and above p. Monuments of the soldiers of this legion in Sirmium are numerous, see Index.

**13**

Altar, h. 73 cm, w. 36 cm, thk. 33 cm. Discovered in 1914, at the Orthodox cemetery in Srem. Mitrovica. Lost. On one lateral side a shallow vessel, and on the other a vessel for liquid are represented.

I. Jung, letter no. 106, 1915.

*I(ovi) O(ptimo) M(aximo)* | *Lusius* | *v(otum) s(olvit) l(ibens) m(erito).*

**14**

Altar (?), discovered in Palanka st. 11. Lost.

I. Jung, letter no. 3, March 12, 1885.

*I(ovi) o(ptimo) m(aximo) deo A[eterno - - - ]*

**15**

Altar of limestone, with upper part profiled, h. 29 cm, w. 17 cm, thk. 16 cm. At the lower end, the altar is evenly cut. On the upper surface, there traces of iron ore, probably from the statue (VHAD 11, 103). Letters unskillfully cut and illegible. Unearthed in 1904, in Srem. Mitrovica, in Ratarska st. 19, at the depth of 0.50 m. Transferred to the Archaeological Museum in Zagreb; still there, inv. no. 220, phot. no. 735-11-12.

I. Jung, letter no. 307, Dec. 14th, 1904 (Arch. Museum, Zagreb); Brunšmid 1907: 103, no. 220. Comp. Klemenc 1928: 272; Alfoldy 1959: 122; Mirković 1971: no. 12 with phot. pI. II, 1.

*I(ovi) O(ptimo) M(aximo)* | *Q. Sabini(us)* | *Maximus* | *mil(es) leg(ionis) I Ad(iutricis)* |[5] *(centuriae) Egna(tii) Paet(i) (?)* | *s.l.m.*

Line 3: MAXIMV p Jung, letter; Maximus – Brunšmid, line 4: II AD - Jung; I AD – Brunšmid, line 5: NS AN - Jung; EGNA PAET – Brunšmid, line 6: LZM - Jung; SLM – Brunšmid.
Egnatius Paetus is known from an inscription from Mursa as a centurio of the *X Gemina* Legion, probably in the years 102-107 AD. He was a centurio of the *II Adiutrix* Legion probably before that time, because after the year 107 this legion was in Dacia (Klemenc, op. cit.). The monument from Mitrovica is dated to the period between the years 86, when the legion left Germania, and 98, when it bears the attribute *pia fidelis*, missing on the inscription from Sirmium. The attempt to date it more precisely to the period between the years 86-89 (Alföldy 1959) is based on an incorrect interpretation of the inscription from Mursa.

**16**

Altar of limestone with profiled base and upper part hight 0.74 cm, width 0.37 cm, thk. 0.42 cm. On the front side the upper part chipped off and the damage runs down to the first line of inscription. Unearthed in 1867, in Srem. Mitrovica. Now in the Museum of Srem, inv. no. 16.

CIL III 3230 + p. 1040; Mirković 1971: 13, with phot. pl. II, 2.

*I(ovi) [o(ptimo) m(aximo)]* | *Ulp(ius) Priscus* | *Candidianus dec(urio) col(oniae) Sir(mii)* |[5] *v.s.l.m.*

*Colonia Sirmium* also on the inscriptions nos. 41, 53, 77, 89. line 3: DT in ligature.

**17**

Fragment of an altar of limestone, h. 36 cm, w. 0.36 cm, thk. 28 cm. More than half of the monument is missing. The upper, profiled part has crumbled away. On the back side damaged. Preserved traces of the dedication on the upper part and the first two lines of the inscription, substantially damaged. Unearthed in 1892, in Srem. Mitrovica, Srijemska st. 17. Now in the Archaeological Museum in Zagreb, inv. no. 221.

Brunšmid 1907: 123-124, no. 221.

*I(ovi)] o(ptimo) m(aximo)* | *Valerius Fl[o]ren*|*[tin]us vet(eranus)* [- - - - -]

Line 2: E in the word Valerius subsequently inserted; O in the word Florentinus seems to have been smaller than the other letters. Marks of punctuation between lines 2 and 3 and after the letter S.

**18**

Altar of limestone, h. 89 cm, w. 37 cm, thk. 36 cm. Edges intermittently chipped off. On the upper part, above the profiled upper part, there are Ionic volutes in relief. On the upper surface, grooves for draining away the offering are discernible The inscription is on the upper part, at the narrower, middle part, and on the base.Unearthed in 1957, in sector II in Srem. Mitrovica, built into a later antique building. Now in the Museum of Srem, inv. no. 1087.

Miloševic, Milutinović 1958: 30 (with phot. no. 31); A. et J. Šašel, ILJug, no. 269. Mirković 1971: no. 15, with phot. pI. II, 3.

*I(ovi) o(ptimo) m(aximo)* | *dis deabus*|*que pro se et* | *suis C. Antonius* |[5] *Vitalis (miles or centurio) leg(ionis) II Ad(iutricis)* | *v(otum) s(olvit) l(ibens) m(erito)* | *Torquato* | *et Iuliano co(n)s(ulibus)*

Date: 148 AD

Letters in some lines of uneven sizes, 3.5, 5.5 and 7.5 cm. In ligature are VE in the 3rd line, NT and ONI in line 4, and AD at the end of line 5. Line 5: LEG IIII - erroneous Milošević-Milutinović, line 7: Ti. Torquato - Milošević-Milutinović. It is a question of an accidental, horizontal line over the T and a larger spacing between the T and 0 due to a blemish on the surface of the stone at the time when the inscription was cut.

**19**

Altar of porous limestone, h. 127.5 cm, w. 60 cm, thk. 40 cm; letters, h. 5 cm. Acroteraia on the top. Discovered in 2014 in Kralja Petra I st. in Srem. Mitrovica. Now in the Museum of Srem, inv. no. A/5636.

Ferjančić et alii, ZPE 198, 2016: 300-302.

*I(ovi) O(ptimo) M(axiom)* | *dis deabus(que)* | *Aur(elius) Dubitatus* |[5] *vet(eranus) leg(ionis) II Adiut[i]c[i]s vot(um) posuit* | *pro salute su[a] et suorum* | *VI C(alenda) Mai(as).*

Date: 6 April, unknown year.

**20**

Altar of porous stone, h. 91 cm, w. 35 cm, thk. 34 cm. Most of the text erased. Preserved letters, h. 6 cm, hardly discernible. Discovered in Srem. Mitrovic. Now in the Museum of Srem.

Mirković 1971: no. 16.

*I(ovi) o(ptimo) m(aximo) D[oli]ch(eno?* | *[. . . . . .] e? a?* | *[-1- - 5]* |*5 [+ - 5]* | *d(onum) d(edit).*

Dedications to Dolichenus are rare on the inscriptions in Sirmium. In addition to this one, it appears on no. **36** dedicated to Septimius Severus.

**21**

Altar, unearthed in Srem. Mitrovica while building a street Rómer reports that it was built into a house; according to a report in Wien. Jahrb. it was on "Paradeplatz", whereas according to Okrugić, it was in "Regimentsgarten". Lost. On the lateral side of the monument, an ax was represented.

Wien. Jahrb. A. B. 55, 1831: 34 (hence Henzen 5490); Okrugić 1852: 409 II; Rómer, Arch. Közlem. 6, 1866; CIL III 3232 + p. 1040 (Dessau ILS 407); Pflaum, Les carrières 179, n. 9; H. G. Kolbe, Inter. Kongr. fur griech. und latein. Epigr. Wien 1962, 185; Mirković 1971: no. 20.

*I(ovi) o(ptimo) m(aximo)* | *et Marti* | *custodi* | *P. Helvius* | [5]*Pertinax* | *praef(ectus).*

Line 1 : L : C : E : R - Okrugić (Rómer omits); I O M - CIL III, line 2: E E M A P : TI - Okrugić; E E MARTI - Rómer; E T MARTI - CIL III, line 3: CVSNDE - Okrugić; C V S ///// ND B - Rómer; according to Kanitz's transcription, used for CIL III - CVS.NOB.; C V S T O DI - CIL III, line 5: P E R T I N Y - Okrugić; PER- T I N /// X - Rómer; PERTINAX- CIL III.
*Marti custodi*: Custos was not a frequent epithet of Mars (comp. Ruggiero, Diz. Ep.. s. c. custos and Roscher, Lex. II 2396 and 2424 cite only this example from Mitrovica).
Helvius Pertinax, subsequently Roman emperor, was prefect of the IIII or the *VII Gallorum* Cohort in Syria, tribune of the VI or the XX Victrix Legion in Britain, prefect of the I or the II Tungrorum Cohort in Britain, then prefect of an ala in Moesia (comp. SHA vita Pert. 1-3. PIR$^2$ IV, 1958, n. 73; Birley 1957: 18; Colbe 1962: 185). The making of the monument in Srem. Mitrovica is linked with the prefecture of the ala in Moesia. Possibly, it took part in the war of Marcus Aurelius on the Danube.

**22**

Altar of limestone, h. 62 cm, w. 32 cm, thk. 29 cm. Unearthed in Srem. Mitrovica in the first half of the 19$^{th}$ century while building a road. In 1904 transferred to the Archaeological Museum in Zagreb where it still is, inv. no 231, phot. no. 736-11-13. Base and upper part profiled. Larger part of the upper part missing. Profile on the upper left-hand side and the lower left corner are beaten away.

Wien. Jahrb. A.B. 55, 1831: 35; Okrugić 1851: 409; Rómer, Arch. Közlem. 6, 1866: 174; CIL III 3234 + 1040 + p. 1671; Brunšmid 1907: 131, no. 231 (with phot.); Mirković 1971: no. 21, with phot. pI. III, 3.

*Libero* | *et Liber(ae)* | *Aug(ustis) Fl(avius) Pa*|*ternus* |[5] *v(otum) s(olvit) l(ibens) m(erito).*

Punctuation marks in line 2 after ET, in line 3 after the first two words, in line 5 after the S and L. Line 2 LIBERA - CIL III; LIBER - Okrugić, Rómer, Brunšmid, line 3 FI - Okrugić: EP Wien. Jahrb.; TC Rómer; FL-CIL III, line 5: V S E M - Okrugić.
The cult of Liber and Libera in Pannonia comp. Mócsy 1962: 732. For epithet *Augustus/a* by Liber and Libera comp. Ruggiero, Diz. Ep. I 925.

**23**

Two stones, discovered on the bank of the Sava, in Srem. Mitrovica. According to Marsigli's report, both bear the same inscription.

Marsigli 1726: Tab. 42, 2-4; CIL III 3235; Mirković 1971: no. 22.

MARTI

Marsigli thinks it is the name of the fortress, Castra Martis. It could also rather have been a dedication to Mars.

**24**

Altar of brown sandstone, h. 31,5 cm, w. 17 cm, thk. 11,5 cm. The altar is worn away at the upper left side and at both lower corners. On the righthand side, there are visible traces of mortar which indicates that the altar had been built in somewhere. On the upper side, there is a hole for a metal nail whereby, as Brunšmid maintains, a statue was fastened. Discovered in the courtyard of a house at the square Sv. Dimitrija, Srem. Mitrovica. Transferred in 1901 to the Archaeological Museum in Zagreb where it still is, inv. no. 240.

I. Jung, letter no. 124, May 11th 1901 (Arch. Museum, Zagreb); Brunšmid 1901: 149; CIL III 151361; Brunšmid 1907: 137, no. 240 (with phot.); Mirković 1971: no 23.

*Nemesi* | *Aug(ustae)* | *Sep(timius) Pinnis (?) v(otum) s(olvit) l(ibens) m(eriito).*

Text hardly discernible in the damaged and porous stone,line 3: SPIRININ - Jung; C. Larinin(us) - Brunšmid, CIL III.
The cult of Nemesis was spread in Pannonia (Herter 1935: 2361; Mócsy 1962: 732).
Name Pinnis may be Illyrian (Krahe 1929: 89; Mayer 1957: 269).

**25**

Fragment of monument (middle part of an altar?) of coarse granular marble, h. 70 cm, w. 45 cm, thk. 48 cm; letters regular, h. 8 cm. On the lower side, the monument is evenly cut; on the upper side, it is unevenly broken off and substantially damaged on the lateral left side. Above the text of the inscription, there are two rectangular identations, probably made during the second use of the stone. On the lateral left side palmettes in relief. Discovered on the left bank of the Sava River, in Mačvanska Mitrovica, around 1884. Now in the Museum of Srem, inv. no. 443.

Jung VHAD 6, 1884: 123; CIL III 10219; Mirković 1971: no. 24.

*Neptuno* | *Aug(usto) sac(rum)* | *d(onum d(edit).*

For Neptunus cult in Pannonia see Mócsy 1962: 730. Epithet *Augustus* in Neptunus, see Ruggiero, Diz. Ep. I 926.

A. v. Domaszewski believes that the monument was in the chapel near the bridge which was under the protection of Neptunus (Korrespondenzblatt d. Westd. Zeitschr. XV, 1896, 235).
The name of the dedicator is not on the monument.

**26**

Altar, discovered in front of the house no. 563 in Srem. Mitrovica (Kanitz's description, see Mommsen's shede). Lost.

CIL III 10220 ( = 6438) as per F. Kanitz's transcription; Mirković 1971: no. 25

*[S]ilvano | [be]llatori (?) | sacr(um) | [Ae]l(ius) Marcell(us) | [5][d]ec(urio) col(oniae) II vir| [q(uin)] q(uennalis) | v(otum) s(olvit) l(ibens) m(erito).*

line 4: L I – Kanitz's manuscript; line 5: II V R - in Kanitz's manuscript.

Epithet *Bellator* for Silvanus is otherwise unknown (Rugg. Diz. Ep. I 987). Mommsen explains its appearance as follows: *bellatori in mentem venit poteritque fortasse Silvano tam hoc tribuí quam invicti.*

**27**

Altar of crumbly limestone, h. 80 cm, w. 30 cm, thk. unknown. Discovered by the Old Brewery in Srem. Mitrovica. When I. Jung saw it, it was built into the building. Its present location is not known.

Jung. VHAD 8, 1886: 24; Ljubić 1887: 35; CIL III 10221; Mirković 1971: no. 26.

*Deo [Si]lva|[no dome]sti|[co . . . . Ma]xi|[mianus?] | s[trat]or | v(otum) l(ibens) s(olvit).*

line 1: DEC - Jung, Brunšmid, CIL III.
*Silvanus domesticus* was a protector of cultivated fields and home (Toutain 1907: 260; Mócsy 1962: 741).

**28**

Altar of sandstone, h. 44 cm, w. 31,5 cm, thk. 27 cm. Only the lower part preserved. The preserved piece is unevenly broken off on both the upper and the lower part. The lower part, slightly widened, is profiled. Letters on the preserved part are of uneven sizes in some lines, unskillfully cut in the last line. In line 4, hardly legible; in ligature AV and, it seems, C and L. Discovered, according to Grujić, at the Roman cemetery; for a rather long time, it had lain in front of house no. 636; in 1875 donated to the Archaeological Museum in Zagreb where it still is, inv. no 258, phot. no. 748-25.

Rómer, Arch. Közlem. 6, 1866: 174 (lower part only); CIL III 3249 (lower part) + 6439 (entire inscription as per Kanitz's transcription); Brunšmid 1907: 128, No. 258 (with phot.); Mirković 1971: no 27 with phot. pI. IV, 1.

*Deo Silb|ano* (!) *do|[mesti]co Flavi[us] |[5] Hatena | pro(tector) duc(enarius).*

Line 1: SILP - Kanitz, in manuscript, line 4: VCIVV - Rómer, CIL III 3249; CORAVS - CIL III 6439; Flavi(us?) – Brunšmid, line 6: PR - Rómer, CIL III 3249; PRO DVC - CIL III 6439, Brunšmid.
Line 4 It seems that remnants of the letters could rather be identified as the name Flavius.
The name *Hatena* unknown in Pannonia and Dalmatia, Mócsy, Die Bevölkerung, Index; Alföldy 1969).
For protector ducenarius see Domaszewski 1908: 188; Grosse 1920: 15.

**29**

Altar of sandstone, h. 87 cm, w. 47 cm, thk. 39 cm; letters, h. 6,5 cm. Discovered in Srem. Mitrovica. Now in Museum of Srem, unpublished.

*Silvano* | *domestic(o)* | *sacrum* | *P. Octavius* | *Ianuarius* | *v(otum) s(olvit) l(ibes) m(erito)*.

**30**

Altar of crumly limestone, h. 144 cm, w. 58 cm, thk. 51 cm; letters h. 4 cm. Discovered during the excavation of a channel in Srem. Mitrovica. Preserved in the Museum of Srem.

Mirković 1998: 94, note 2.

*Deo Soli In*|*victo Mi*|*thrae G. Iul*(*ius*) | *Italicus dec*(*urio*) | *col*(*oniae*) *Sirmie*[*ensium*] *templum* |[5] *vetustate* | *conlabentem* | *r*[*estituit*?]

**31**

Altar of crumly limestone, h. 110 cm, w. 49 cm, thk. 42 cm; letters, h. 3,5 cm. Discovered during the excavation of a channel in Srem. Mitrovica. Preserved in the Museum of Srem.

Mirković 1998: 94, note 1.

Identical inscriptions to the no. **30**.

*Deo Soli In*|*victo Mi*|*thrae G. Iul*(*ius*) | *Italicus* |[5] *dec*(*urio*) | *col*(*oniae*) *Sir*|*miorum* | *templum* | *vetustate* | *conlabente*[*m*] | *r*[*estituit*?]

The same name on both altars, no. **30** and **31**. G. Iulius Italicus is decurio Sirmiorum in line 6, in dufference to dec. col. Sirmiensium, in no. **30**.

**32**

Altar of sandstone, h. ? cm, w. ? cm, thk. ? cm; letter, h. ? cm. Discovered in Srem Mitrovica. Now in the Museum of Srem, unpublished.

D(eo) I(nvicto) M(ithrae)
……..TI
……AI
[V(otum) s(olvit) ]l(ibens) m(erito)

**33**

Fragment of a limestone altar with profiled base, h. 73 cm, w. 44 cm, thk. 27 cm. Unearthed during the systematic excavations in Srem. Mitrovica on site no. 21 in 1960. Now in the Museum of Srem, inv. no. 1839. Missing: upper, and lower left- hand parts.

Popović, AP 5, 1963: 70.

*[- - -] | [+ - 4]tius [et] | [ . . . ]ontius Da[l]matius fil(ius) | vot(um) lib(entes) mer(ito) |5 posuer(unt).*

Line: 3: *lib(ertus)* – Popović.

**34**

Lower part of an altar of sandstone, h. 45, w. 31, thk. 26 cm; letters, h. 5.5 cm. Discovered in Srem. Mitrovica. Now in the Museum of Srem, unpublished.

[---] | NVS | N[ …] LNI

**35**

Fragment of the altar of sandstone. Discovered in Srem. Mitrovica. Lost.

*[---] | [---]GIN | [---] ATTAL | [v(otum) s(olvit)] l(ibes) m(erito).*

## EMPERORS AND THEIR STAFF

**36**

Altar or statue base, unearthed in Srem. Mitrovica. Lost. Text known only through a transcription by Marsigli.

Marsigli 1726: Tab. 40, 2; CIL III 3233; Heltner ORL XIV, 1901, no. 73; Demircioglu 1939: No. 41; Rau 1943, p. 44; Mérlat, Répertoire No. 350;

*I(ovi) o(ptimo) m(aximo) Do[l(icheno?) ] | pr[o sa]lud[e] (sic) | [Imp(eratori) Caes(ari) L(ucio) Se]p[t]im[i]o Sev(e)ro |[5] Pertenace (sic) A|ug (usto) et exerc[i]t(u) vex(illationum) CL (?) et . . . | [+ - 10] | [ + - 10] |10 et [ordine] | Sirme(nsium).*

Lines 6-7: *exerc[i]tu et cl(asse?)* - Mérlat.
Fitz, Acta arch. hung. 11, 1959: 258 assumes that this monument represents an early evidence of the Dolichenus cult in Pannonia. Omission of some imperial epithets such as *Parthicus, Britannicus e*tc., if not accidental, may be an indication that the monument had been made before Severus acquired them. Comp. PIR III p. 215, n. 346; CAH XII 17. In that case *exercitus* would be the Pannonian army that brought him to power. It is possible, however, that the monument originates from the years 193/4. We would arrive at this by reading line 7 as follows:

L. 7: *Cl(audius) [Claudianus]?* In 193/4, he was leading some détachements of the Dacian legions against Pescenius Niger, and in 196/7, against Clodius Albinus; later the governor of the Pannonia Inferior province (Reidinger, Die Statthalter 102; Thomasson, Laterculi I, 115).

**37**

Altar of limestone, damaged on the upper side, h. 98 cm, w. 41 cm, thk. 3.6 cm. On the lateral right side there is a representation of a human head, and on the left, a hammer. Unearthed in Sirmium while building a road. It was subsequently at the "Paradeplatz" (Wien. Jahrb.), in "Regimentsgarten" (Arneth). Now at the Museum of Srem, inv. no. 2.

Wiener Jahrb. A. B. 55, 1831, 34 (hence Henzen 5560a); Okrugić 1852: 409; Arneth, Wiener Sitz.-Ber. 40, 1862: 355; Rómer, Arch. Közlem. 6, 1866: 174; CIL III 3231 (monument erroneously marked as column, columna) + p. 1040 (hence Dessau ILS 623); Mirković 1971: 18 with phot. pI. III, 1.

*I(ovi) o(ptimo) m(aximo) e<t>t | g(enio) h(uius) l(oci) pro | salute d(ominorum) | n(ostro rum) Iovio |[5] et Herculio | Aug(ustorum) n(ostrorum).*

Lines twice underlined. In ligature ET in line 1 and line 5, line 1: FOM Okr. EI Arn. Rom., FI Okr., F in Wien Jahrb., line 2: C.HI Okr., CHI Wien. Jahrb. - P. PO. Okr., line 3: DE pro DD Okr.,
line 5: E Rom. F Arn., I Okr. Et Wien. Jahrb.,line 6: AVCC Arn., Okr.
*Genio loci*: often in the inscriptions from Pannonia. Comp. No. 4: Genio ordinis).
Mommsen completed lines 4 and 5 as *Iovio(rum) et Herculio(rum)*. Dessau, however, it seems correctly, supposes that it may be a usage of the dative rather than of the genitive, as in ILS 502, 509, 657. It appears that the monument was made in the year 293, between January and March, during Diocletian's sojourn in Sirmium (Mommsen 1861). For *Iovius* and *Herculius* comp. Ruggiero, Diz. Ep. II, 1922: 1864; PIR2 I, 1933, n. 1627; Seston 1950: 259.

**38**

Altar of limestone, h. 98 cm, w. 38 cm, thk. 42 cm. Unearthed in 1781 in Srem. Mitrovica while digging the foundations for the Orthodox church. In 1810 transferred to Đakovo, then to Zagreb, where it still is in the Archaeological Museum, inv. no. 222, phot. no. 728-II-5. Upper and lower profiled parts have crumbled away; at the lower left side part of the monument missing. The inscribed field has no borderline. The first line of the inscription cut in on the profiled part.

Jakosics Advers. lib. VIII (Wiener Zeit. 11. Jan. 1783); Katancisich, Geographia 1 378 n. LXXXI; CIL III 3228 + p 2382, 182 (Dessau ILS 546); Brunšmid 1900b: 274; Brundšmid 1907: No. 222 (with phot.); Fiebiger – Schmidt 1917: nr. 142; Šašel 1961: 13-14 (with phot.); Mirković 1971: no 19, with phot. pI. Ill, 2; II 919; Saxer 1967: n. 101.

*[I(ovi) o(ptimo)] I m(aximo) | Monitori <p>ro I salute adque incolumitate | d(omini) n(ostri) Gallieni Aug(usti) |[5]et militum | vexill(ationum) leg(ionum) | [g]ermaniciana(rum) | [e]t brittanicin(arum) [cu]m auxili(i)s |[10] [e]arum | [. . . . .V]italianus [. . . . .pro]tect(or) Aug(usti) n(ostri) [praepo]situs | [v(otum)] p(osuit).*

In ligature AE in line 8; in line 5, I is smaller and cut in above the horizontal dash of the following letter L.
Line 1: omitted by Jakos. Wien. Zeit.; ioVi - CIL III, line 2: BRO - Jakos., Katan,; PRO Jakos. Wien. Zeit.; pRO - CIL III; S erroneously cut in over which is P - Brunšmid, WHAD, line 8:
g ERMANICIANA - Jakos., CIL III; GERMANICIANA - Jakos. Wien. Zeit.; G. ERMANICIANAE - Katan.; [g]ermaniciar. – Brunšmid, Dessau; Germanicianar. - Šašel; Britannicin – Dessau, line 12: ... IATLIANVS - Jakos., CIL III, Brunšmid; ... ETALIANVS - Jakos. Wien. Zeit.; Vitalianus – Sasel, line 13: ECT - praeFECT - CIL III; [Pro]tect(or) - Brunšmid; [Projtector - Šašel; [vir per]fect(issimus) - Grosse, Militärgesch. 8 and note 4, line 14: Somno mon ITVS - CIL III.
*Monitor* was not frequent epithet of Iupiter (CIL III 1032 - Dacia. Comp. Roscher, Lex. 1890-1897, 751; Rugg. Diz. Ep. IV fase. 145, 1941, 244 - with the only this example).
On the title of Vitalianus protector Augusti, see Grosse, Militärgeschichte, 8 and n. 4. Britannic legions were II Augusta, XX Valeria and VI Victrix; Germanic legions were VIII Augusta, XXII Primigeni, I Minervia and XXX Ulpina.
The monument is to be dated after the year 260. Brunšmid, VHAD 125 maintains that the coming of the units of the Germanic and Britannic legions was in connection with the raids of the Goths; Ritterling 1924: 1340 links this inscription with the usurpation of Ingenuus in 260, what is accepted also by Šašel 1961: 14. Comp. Reidinger 1956: 114.

**39**

Altar of hard sandstone, without the upper part, h. 71 cm, w. 28 cm, thk. 29 cm. Discovered in Srem. Mitrovica about 1852; it was in Regiments' Garden, now in the Museum of Srem. The lower part of the altar is profiled. The inscribed field covers a surface 29 cm high and 28 cm wide.

Okrugić 1852: 409; Arneth, Wien. Sitz.-Ber. 40, 1862: 354; Rómer, Arch. Közlem. 6, 1866: 174; CIL III 3237; Kubitschek, AEM 4, 1880: 124; Mirković 1971: no. 28 with phot. pI. IV, 2.

*[Imp(eratori) Caes(ari) M. Aur(elio) Antonino | Aug(usto) coh(ors) I | Camp(estris) vol(untariorum) c(ivium) R(omanorum) | Antoniniana | [5]cura agente | P. Ael(io) Valerio | trib(uno) ex vet(erano) | Asppris co(n)s(ulibus)*.

Date: 212 AD

Regular and handsome letters hight 2.7 to 4.5 cm. high. In ligature MP in line 3, NT, NI and NI in line 4, AE in line 6. Last line of the inscription on the base of the altar.
line 1: an TONIno - Kubitschek
line 3: GAMP - Rómer
line 4: Antonnana - Arneth
line 5: VRA - Okrugić
line 8: ACPPRT - Okrugić, ASPPRTS - Rómer, Arneth omits, ASPPRiS - CIL III
The inscription originates from the year 212 when C. Iulius Asper II and C. Iulius Galerius Asper were consuls. Because both consuls bear the same name, it is written in the inscription with two P's.
The *Cohors I Campestris voluntariorum civium Romanorum* appears also on other monuments in south-eastern Lower Pannonia: in Banoštor, no **253**, in Zemun-polje, Bricks with its stamp have been

found in Slankamen (OH I CANT solved in *[C]oh(ors) I Cam(panorum)* - Radnoti and Barkóczi, Acta arch. hung. 1, 1951: 215, or as *C]oh.(ors) I C(ampestris) An(toniniana)* - Fitz, Acta arch. hung. 14, 70. The brick from the Zemun Museum shows that it was *Cohors I Campanorum.* Earlier solution of the stamps on the bricks from Slankamen as *[C]oh(ors) I Cant(abrorum)* - Szilágyi, Diss. pann. II-l (1933) PI. XXIV n. 46, accepted also by Wagner, op. cit. proved erroneous. The camp of the unit is looked for east of the mouth of the Drava River or between Banoštor and Slankamen (Mócsy, op. cit.). The inscription from Zemun-polje points out that the camp should be looked for nearer to Slankamen. For the history of the cohort comp. Wagner 1938: 117; Nagy, Acta arch. hung. 7, 1956: 66; Fitz, Acta ant. hung. 7, 1959: 439; Fitz, Acta arch. hung. 14, 1962: 66, 69; Mócsy 1962: 622.

**40**

Fragment of a monument with part of the text preserved only in Marsigli's transcription. Lost

Marsigli 1726: Tab. 42, 3; CIL III 3238.

D I V I CON
A M I A N I F

The text could be completed as follows:
*[Imp. Caes. Fla. Iul. Constantius . . .] divi Con[stantini optimi maximique principis fil., divorum M]a[xi]miani e[t Constanti nepos] [- - - - - ]*

**41**

Fragment of monument, preserved only in Marsigli's transcription.

Marsigli 1726: Tab. 42. 8; CIL III 3239.

MAX COII
F I I PP RR

Perhaps it is a monument dedicated to Constantine. The inscription can be read as *Constantino ---] max(imo) Constanti fil(io) p(atri) p(atriae) RR[---]*.

**42**

Marble plate, h. 50 cm, w. 42 cm, thk. 2.5 cm. Left down broken. Discoverd in Srem. Mitrovica, on the Kalvaria hill reused as substraction of the Roman road, not far from the modern road Srem. Mitrovica - Beograd. Preserved in the Museum of Srem.

Mirković 1998: 97, no. 2 with phot. (AE 1998, 1052).

*D*(*is*) *M*(*anibus*) *Postu*|*mio Leoni* (ili *Teoni*) *v*(*iro*) *e*(*gregio*) *pro*|*ximo lib*(*erto*) *sacro* | *Postumius Achi*|[5]*leus fratri benig*|*nissimo curan*[*te*] | *Crescentino a*[*mico?...*| *suo et Dysco*[*lio*? .....] | *amico et co*[.....]|[10]*q*(*ue*) *libert*[*o* ----].

Line 3: *lib(ellorum) sacro(um)* M. Ricl, ZPE 134, 2001 p. 287.
Line 9 can be read as *con[sorte conheredique,* or *con[sorte conlibertoque, con[servo* or similar. If correct, it suggestss two words in the missing part of the line and two coniunctions. The supposed term *consors* has the same meaning as *amicus*, who shares the common destiny or as one who had the same position in the emperor's staff.
Postumius Leo or Theo was *v(ir) e(gregius)* and *libertus*. He probably served in the emperor's staff.
The position of the *libertus* Postumius who was promoted to be *eques Romanus* is clearly defined by his title *proximus*. Thast meand that Posumius occupied the senior post in the central bureau. *Proximi* were the late 2nd and 3rd century equivalent of the *tabularii a rationibus*. By the early third century *proximus* designet the highest clerical grade to which imperial freedman could aspire in the Palatine central bureau. The grade gave regular access to the freedman procuratorship, icluding the *procurator provinciae* as the highest post. In post-Constantinian time freedmen were excluded from this office and the *proximi* came up with the *clarissimi*. Postumius is qulified as *vir egregius* what means that he had advanced to teh post of procurator (Weaver 1972: 253).
The inscription of Postumius Leo could be dated in the 4th century on the base of some chronological indications. Paleography (letters A, M, E, R, S) and the form of the monument (marbre slab) point to the time after Diocletian. Two further chronological indications bring Postumius Leo's inscription close to the early 4th century: As *libertus* he could have been on the position of *proximus* under Constantine, but not afterwords (Enßlin 1957: 1035). Constantin's reign could be taken as terminus ante quem. By that time *proximi* were palatine offices of the *sacra scrinia*. That could exlain the term *sacer libertus*. *Sacer* fall into the chronological frame of the later Roman Empire.
Significant is that Postumius Leo as *libertus* doesn's bear the emperors' name. Known personalities could have been patrons of clerks in the palatine service after the Severan dynastie. Patron of Postumius Leo could be identified as one of the *Postumii*, known as office holders in the time of Later empire, for instace T. Fl. Postumius Titianus, (PLRE 946 3). Among other high position, he was *cognoscens vice sacra*, what connect him to the imperial administration. As *cognoscens vice sacra* he was charged with judical duties and the execution of the personal will of the emperor. As *libertus* Leo could be at first in his service and later promoted to the high position in the palatine service. He died in Sirmium serving as imperial *proximus.*
To imperial staff belonged *libertus* in no.1; in emperor's personal service was *pincerna* cup bearer, in no. **204**.

**43**

Fragment of the marble slab, h. 18.8 cm, w. 34.6 cm, thk. 12 cm. Discovered during the archaeological investigation on the hill Kalvaria in Srem. Mitrovica, today Kamenjar. Preserved in Museum of Srem.

Mirković 1998: 100, no. 3 with phot. (AE 1998,1053).

---]*SACTOS* | [---]*NOS* | [---] *et ilustris*[*simis* or *simos*--] *ACTIS* | *notarii splendid*[*issimi*---.

The first preserved word could be read also *sa(n)ctos* or IS *actos*, as in the line 4; in line 2 probably *tribu]nos; notarii splendidissimi* were employed in the diplomatic missions as the member of the imperial secret service. *Illustrissimi* in the line 3 could not be connected with *notarii* because they were not *illustrissimi* but *clarissimi*. The title *Ilustrissimi* bear to C. Th., C. Iust. and in *Notitia dignitatum*

the highest state official as were *praefectus praetorio, praefectus urbi, magister militum praesentalis, magister militum per Orientem, magister militum per Thraciam, magister militum per Illyricum, praepositus sacri cubiculi and comites, comes sacri etc.*

**44**

Sarcophagus, discovered in Srem. Mitrovica. According to the description of S. Gerlach, Das Alteren Tagebuch der Daniel Unguad'schen Gesandschaft, Frankfurt a.M. 1674, p. 532, it is decorated on the front side with relief of a man on both sides of the inscription field; on the other side, two naked tied up men lead a person; in front of them, there is an altar and a man preparing the offering. On the third side there are two vessels for a vine and two human figures emerging. On the cover, there is a representation of a human head with two serpents springing forth from its mouth. Lost.

Pigafetta, Itinerario, 1585, p. 133; (taken from him by Bongarsius Cod. Bern. hist. n. 468. n. 52, and from him by Gruterus 517 12); CIL III 3240, + 13354 , with excerpts from Gerlach according to Kubitschek; Mirković 1971: no. 31.

*P. Ael(io) Respecto eq(uiti) R(omano)* | *a milit(iis) filio piissimo* | *et studiis omni praedito* | *P. Ael(ius) Trophimianus pater* |[5] *v(ir) e(gregius) posuit.*

line 1: EO - CIL III 13354 line 3: ET and S omitted in CIL III 13354; Predito - CIL III 3240; PRAEDITO - CIL III 13354.
line 5: F - CIL III 13354.

The title *a militiis* was borne by members of the equestrian class, from the time of Septimius Severus, and who had gone through three stages of their equestrian career: prefect of cohort, tribune of legion and prefect of ala (Hirschfeld, Verwaltungsbeamte 250, note 2; Mommsen, Straatsrecht III 543 3). This title disappeared under Gallienus with some changes in the army (Domaszewski 1908: 131). Consequently, our inscription dates from the time before Gallienus, and after Severus.

## MILITARY INSCRIPTIONS

**45**

Fragment of funerary slab of limestone, h. 40 cm, w. 35 cm, thk. 6 cm; letters, h. 7.5 cm. Discovered in Sremska Mitrovica in 1990 and transported to the Museum of Srem. Non vidi.

Mirković 1998: 101, no. 4 with phot.

OSIT IOMA
BVNI VIRI
LVPI

It could be read: *memoriam p*]*osit* (!) *Ioma* or *Toma* [---| *---tri*]*buni viri* [*clarissimi*---] |[---] *Lupi*[*cinus*?---].

**46**

Tombstone of limestone, h. 150 cm, w. 72 cm, thk. 22 cm. Discovered in Srem. Mitrovica, in 1953 together with three other monuments (nos. **51**, **52** and **56**) in Novi Šor st. 19. Transferred the same year to the Museum of Srem where it still is, inv. nos. 761, 765, 766. The monument is broken into three parts. On the upper surface, which, together with the inscription field was framed by a vine, is represented in full length figure of the centurion with a centurion's stick in his right hand and a scroll in his left. The figure is clad in a short chiton and a cloak. Part of the monument is missing.

Vasilić 1953: 147 no. 3; A. et J. Šašel, ILJug no. 273; Mirković 1971: no. 31, with phot. pI. IV, 3.

*D(is) m(anibus)* | *Restitutius* | *Silvanus* | *(centurio) leg(ionis) I Men(erviae) (sic)* |[5] *Aur(elius) Martius* | *heres et* | *Aurelia Bona* | *sec(unda) heres* | *coniugi bene* |[10] *meren(ti) f(aciendum) c(uraverunt).*

The *I Minervia* legion belonged to the garrison of Germania (Ritterling 1924: 1420). It probably came to Sirmium with the vexillations of other Germanic legions during Gallienus' reign (comp. no. **38**).

**47**

Tombstone in the form of altar of marble, h. 106 cm, w. 86 cm, thk. 44 cm. Inscription field profiled and framed with a band upon which are represented rosettes in a garland. In the upper left-hand corner a bird and a lizard are represented, and in the right, a bird and a tortoise; in the middle, there is a bearded head. In the lower left-hand corner, a pine cone, and in the right, a bird are represented. On the lateral sides is Attis in his customary pose. Letters carefully cut and regular, somewhat reduced towards the lower lines, h. 3-6 cm. In ligature NI lines 1 and 11, LI line 8, MA line 11, HE line 12; NN in line 3 and DO in line 5 almost overlapping or cut one over another; O at the end of lines 7 and 11 and S at the end of line 8 are somewhat smaller in size than the rest of the letters. Punctuation marks in the form of notches. Discovered in the Orthodox cemetery in Srem. Mitrovica in 1889. Now in the Museum of Srem, inv. no. 8.
Ljubić 1890: 1-3 (with drawing); I. Jung VHAD 12, 25 (without text); CIL III 10224 (Dessau ILS 9193); Mirković 1971: no. 33 with phot. pI. V, 1. Comp. Schober 1923: no. 323 (with phot.); Pflaum, Carrières n. 67, inscr. 1.

*T. Cominius* | *T. f(ilius) Volt(inia) Severus Vienna (centurio)* | *leg(ionis) II Adiutric(is)* |[5]*donis donat(us)* | *ab imp(eratore) Caesare* | *Aug(usto) bello Dacico* | *torquibus armillis* | *phaleris corona val*|[10]*lari vixit ann(is) XXXXV* | *T. Caesernius Macedo* | *proc(urator) Aug(usti) her(es) ex test(amento) p(osuit).*

line 6: *Impe* Schober, probably by oversight.
line 8: AEMILIs Ljubić; ARMILIS CIL III; *armilis* Schober, *armill [i] s* Dessau.

It is considered that the mentioned Imperator Caesar Augustus is Domitian, consequently the inscription is assigned to the 1st century, after Domitian's death, whose name is omitted because of *abolitio memoriae* which ensued (comp. Ljubić. op. cit.; Gündel, de legione II Adiutrice, Lipsiae 1902, 40; Ritterling 1924: 1444 who dates it to the years 100/101). Schober assigns the monument to the end

of the 1st century AD on the base of stylistic characteristics of the monument. Comp. Pfitzner 1881: 158 and Alföldy 1959: 119, also Mócsy 1962.
*Bellum dacicum* – probably Domitian's Dacian war.
For T. Caesernius Statius Quinctius Macedo comp. PIR II$^2$ 35, r. 181; Pflaum, Les Carrières I 158, p. 67 inscr. 1. *The Caesernii family*, comp. Šašel 1960: 214-215 and note 65.

**48**

Tombstone of marble, h. 247 cm, w. 118 cm, thk. 31 cm. The monument is cracked across the middle. Below the inscription field, there is a socle divided into three fields: in the middle busts of a married couple; on either side, an Attis leaning on a stick. The inscription field above it is framed by Corinthian columns with spiral cannelures. On the narrow band of the frieze, above the inscription field, is represented a human figure fighting a lion; on the left-hand side, a part of the monument is missing. Above this band is an aedicula bordered by Corinthian columns with a frieze decorated with plant ornaments. In the aedicula are represented two human busts in a medallion of laurel leaves. Above the medallion, there is a receptacle for liquid, and below, a bowl. In the triangular gable above it, there is represented a coach, and in the triangular fields over the gable - figures of Erotes on hippocampi and on dolphins. Discovered in Srem. Mitrovica in 1894. Now in Vienna, in the Kunsthistorisches Museum: Antikensammlung, inv. no. 409.

Slavica zvijezda, Aug. 27, 1863; Kenner, Archiv osterr. Geschichtsquell. 33, 1864; Sacken - Kenner, Lat. Vindob. mus. 1866, 86; CIL III 3241 + p. 1040; Buecheler, CLE II, 1897, no. 1208; Arch. ert. 1907, 316, fig. 31; Schober 1923: no. 280, Abb. 147; Noll 1962: p. 122, nr. 409; Mirković 1971: no. 34, with phot. pI. VI, 1.

*D(is)m(anibus) | [+ - 30] XXXVII Salvio ann(orum) XXXIII frum(entario) leg(ionis) II Adi(utricis) | Iul(ius) Asclepiades caris suis hunc titul(um) | posui miserabile munus non satis | ut meruistis. Quattuor amissis te quin |*[5]*tum, Salvi, flere necesse est adsiduae, | dum mea fata resistent. Te nunc amis[so] domus inclinata recumbit. Depon(am) | luctus cum te sequar, care, per umbr(as). | Dulce(m) meum Salvium liceat mihi dicer(e) |* [10]*semper. Optaver(am) tumul(um) tu mihi ut facer(es) | Tot bona tum carui: merit(o) te, care requiro*

*inclinato* - CIL III p. 1040; inclinata - all the rest.
On the base of its appearance and style, the monument is dated to the 2nd century.
Buechler recognized dactyli elegiaci.
The influence of Vergilius is to be seen in the v. 2 and 3 (Verg. Aen. V 699 and XII 59. Comp. Buecheler CLE p. 566 and Hoogma 1959: 275 and 337).

**49**

Front side of the sarcophagus of porous limestone broken in many fragment, h. 131 cm, w. 70 cm, thk. 12 cm. Left down damaged; missing upper part and part down on the right side. Letters, h. 4 and 4.3 cm. Discovered in the surrounding of Srem. Mitrovica in 1982. Now in the Museum of Srem.

Mirković 1990: 631-642 with phot.; AE 1990, no. 854.

*D*(*is*) *M*(*anibus*) | *C.Antonio Victor*[*i*] *q*(*uondam*?) *op*[*ti*(*oni*)] | *spei leg*(*ionis*) *III Gallic*(*ae*) *qui vixit* | *ann*(*is*) *XLVII Trahenti origine* |[5] *DEISTA ? civitat*[....]*SS curam* | [.] *Ant*(*onio*) *Prot*[*o*.....] *col*(*lega*?) *amico* | [*p*(*osuit*)].

Line 5: the reading is difficult. The first four letters partly erased and the reading DE is not sure; after CIVITAT four or five letters missing; SS which follow could be a part of two words, probably --]S *s(ub) curam (sic!)*. COL in line. 6 could be also *col(oniae)*. For instance [*dec(urio)* or *II vir*] col(oniae). *Trahens* ili *Trachentis* must be connected with Trachonitis in Cilicia. The *III Gallica* legion which was garrisoned in Syria at the time of Flavian dynasty, is not recorded in Pannonia.

**50**

Rectangle block of sandstone, h. 46 cm, w. 56 cm, thk. 28 cm. Short inscription in the frame of *tabula ansata*; letters, h. 10 cm. Discovered during the archaeological investigation of the northern city wall of Sirmium. Preserved in the Museum of Srem.

Mirković 1990: 631 (with phot. p. 632).

*Leg*(*io*) *XIII* | *Gem*(*ina*) | *PVC*

The block was probably immured in the rampart. The *XIII Gemina* legion was garrisoned in Pannonia up the year 45 AD, at first in Poetovio, thereafter, from the 90s to the 101 AD in Vindobona. The emperor Trajan transferred it to Dacia where it stayed permanently (Ritterling 1924: s.v.). It might take part in the construction of the city wall in Sirmium during the Domitian's wars on the Danube, in the 90s of the 1st century. P V C could be read *p*(*edes*) *v*(*alli*) *C*, what designed the length of the wall build by the XIII Gemina legion. Cf. similar meaning in CIL III 1919 in Dalmatia, *muri p(edes) DCCC*.

**51**

Tombstone of sandstone, h. 80 cm, w. 52 cm, thk. 22 cm; letters, h. 3-5 cm, hardly legible. In the upper part of the monument full length figure of a soldier with a shield in his right hand; the part going into the ground is somewhat narrower. The inscription is in a simple frame. Discovered in 1953, in Novi Šor st. 19, Srem. Mitrovica, together with nos. **46**, **52** and **56**. Now in the Museum of Srem, inv. no. 760.

Vasilić 1953: 146, 1; A. et. J. Šašel, ILJug. no. 274 (comp, also Šašel 1961: 4 note 3b); Mirković 1971: no. 35 with phot. pl. V, 2.

*[ - - - -] mus [ . . . ]nius Sam]minus (?)* | *im(a)g(inifer) leg(ionis)* | [5]*VIII Aug(ustae)* | *fecit Veri*|*na coiux.*

line 1: AM - Vasilić; - am - šašel, Situla 4; -] [ ]ama [...] - A. et J. Šašel ILJR.
line 2: NIVS.S - Vasilić; .. nius sm (?) - šašel, Situla 4; nius [ . ]m [ . ] - A. et. J. Šašel ILJR.
Legio *VIII Augusta,* see Ritterling 1924: 1647.

**52**

Tombstone of porous limestone, h. 130 cm, w. 83 cm, thk. 32 cm. The upper part of the monument is missing. Of the relief that had been on it, only feet up to the ankles have been preserved. Below the inscription field was the narrow part of the monument that went into the ground. Shallow letters negligently out in, h. 5cm. Discovered in Srem. Mitrovica, in Novi Šor st. 19 (subsequently, Žarka Zrenjanina), on the property of Nikola and Stevan Mihailović, together with nos. **46**, **51** and **56.** Now in the Museum of Srem, inv. no. 767.

Vasilić 1953: 147 No. 4; Šašel 1961: 3-4; A. et J. Šašel, ILJug. no. 272; Mirković 1971: no. 36, witg phot. pl. VII 1.

*D(is) m(anibus) | Gratius Artillius ] et Cludius Clamo|sus (centuriones) leg(ionis) VIII Aug- (ustae) |*[5] *bello Serdicensi | desideratis. Scho|[la] (centurionum) leg(ionis) s(upra) s(criptae) colle|- gis bene meren|tibus d(e) s(ua) p(ecunia).*

Line 2: GRAT. I VS ARLLVS - Vasilić; Artilleus - Šašel, Situla 4; A. et J. Šašel ILJR give alternative reading of Artillius, line 3: CIV. DIV. LAMO - Vasilić; Clodius – Šašels, line 4: SVS AVG – Vasilić, lines 5-9: BELLO. SERDIC.NSI / DESIDERAT / LEG / BENE MEREN / TIRVS – Vasilić, Line 9: d(e) s(e) - Šašel.
The name Cludius, camp. Schulze, Lat, Eigennamen 150.
Šasel, Situla 4, l.c. dates the origin of the monument to around 261.
*Bellum Serdicense* otherwise unknown in the sources, would be a war, waged by Macrianus and Quietus on the one hand, and Aureolas on the other. Aureolus was sent by Gallienus to put an end to the usurpation in the Danubiian region, Šašel, l.c.).
*schola centurionum* s. Diz. epigr. II 367; Domaszewski 1908: 71 (s. Šašel 1961: loc. cit.).
For legio *VIII Augusta* s. Ritterling 1924: 1456. S. no. 35.

**53**

Three fragments of the marble plate, together h. 82 cm, w. 44,5 cm, thk. 3 cm. Nice letters, h. 3-4,5 cm. The right part is missing. In the bottom the small hole on the frame for fixing the table on the wall. The inscription in the profiled frame. Discovered during the excavation not far from the northern city wall. Now in the National museum in Belgrade (the big fragment) and in the Museum of Srem (other two fragments).

Mirković 2012b: 25-28, with phot.

C. ACELL
M. ARRON
I CRET. IIVI
DIAL . OB HO
DUAS PORTI FEC
SUMMAM RAR. XX

Point after C and ACELL in line 1. after M in line 2, after I and CRET in line 3, after DIAL in line 4.

The inscription could be read:
*C.Acili(us) [* tribus, the city, cognomen *---] | M. Arron(ius or –ontius) praef(ectus) coh(ortis) | I Cret(um) II vir [august(alis) Clau]|dial(is) ob ho[nor(em) flamonii] |*[5] *duas port[cus suo sumptu?] fecit [et] | summam [hono]rar(iam) XX[--*

Probably two persons. The name *Acelius* is attested in Gallia Narbonensis and in Italia (Acellius). M. Arron[ius or M. Arron[tius in line 2 possible the gentile made from Arro, cognomen known in Hispania (Lörincz, Onomasticon). The carrier in the line 3 concern the latter. He was *praefectus*, *miles* or *veteranus coh(ortis) ] I Cretum* and the *II vir in Sirmium*. *Cohors I Cretum* was garrisoned in the province of Moesia Superior in AD 93 and 100 (CIL XVI 39 and 46) possible even before (cf. IMS IV 34). Bricks with stamps COHICRE have been found also on the left Danube bank in Drobeta and Vršac and in Vidin on the right. It probably took part in Trajan's Dacian war and was left thereafter in the new province (CIL XVI 163). In 150/160 it was again in Moesia Superior (CIL XVI 111) in Egeta (AE 1966, no. 336). IIvir in Sirmium probably after military service.
DIAL in the line could not be completed in *[flamen]| Dial(is)* or *[flamen* or *sodalis Clau]dial(is)*, both senatorial positions in Rome, does not correspond to the equestrian carrier which could follow one who was the *praefectus cohortis*. More probably is the reading *[augustalis Clau]dialis* who could be even a freedman, as for instance CIL V 3433, Verona: *D. M. Q.Tuticani Q.f.Erotis grammatici [L]atini VI viri Cl(audiali)ornament(tis) decu[r(ionalibus) honorato* ..etc.
*Summa honoraria* in the line 6 must have been higher than 20.000 HS. For amount given to the city comp. Marquart 1873: 183 from 10 to 35000 HS and Duncan-Jones 1962: 66 ff.

**54**

Limestone slab, broken to pieces, total h. 140 cm, w. 86.5 cm, thk. 53 cm. Discovered in 1880, in Srem. Mitrovica by the "Vermögensgemeinde" building (CIL III), later disappeared. The inscription field was decorated with a garland frame of carefully wrought pointed leaves. Lateral sides were ornamented the same way. Letters were regular, h. 9.5 cm. in the first three lines, then 6 cm.

Brunšmid-Kuhitschek 1880: 124; CIL III 10222; Mirković 1971: no. 37.

*[D(is)j m(anibus) | [ . . . . ]hae | [ . . . .]nce | v[ixit a]nn(is) XXVI |*[5] *Iovius Tus|culanus prae|fect(us) equit(um) | alae Ityr(aeorum) | uxori optim(ae) |* [10]*castissim(ae) | [obs]equentissi[ma]e piissim(ae).*

line 1: the first word, *d(is),* mentioned in K. Šamšalović's report.
line 2: LIAE - Brunšmid.
line 12: *maF* - Kubitschek, CIL III.

*Ala I Augusta Ituraeorum sagittariorum* is attested in Pannonia in the middle of the 1st century AD. Its camp was located at Arabona at the time (Wagner, l.c.). Around the year 110, it was temporarily stationed in Dacia. Immediately before that, it must have had its camp in Aquincum (Radnóti - Barkóczi, l.c.). It was again attested as Pannonian unit on diplomas from the 2nd century. At this time, the camp must have been in the southern part of the province. Surduk has been suggested as the place of the camp (Radnóti-Barkóczi, l.c., and accepted by Nagy, l.c. and Mócsy, l.c.). Ritium is also

suggested (Fitz, Acta arch, hung. 14, l.c.) and the mining district of the Kosmaj where an inscription of a veteran of this unit has been discovered (JÖAI 6, Bbl. 59. No. 97). Final answer to this question will depend on further material. Comp. Cichorius 1894: 1250; Wagner 1938: 54; Radnóti-Barkóczi 1951: 209; Kraft 1951: 153; Szilágyi, Acta arch. hung. 2, 1952: 198; Nagy, Acta arch. hung. 7, 1956: 62; Baradez, Carnuntina I, 1956, 9; Fitz, Acta ant. hung. 7, 1959 and Acta arch. hung. 14, 1962: 37; Mócsy 1962: 619.

**55**

Fragment of a tombstone of limestone, h. 41 cm, w. 60 cm, thk. 21cm. Only a triangular part of the monument is preserved with remnants of the frame that was around the inscription field. Discovered in Srem. Mitrovica in 1888 and preserved in the parish office, then transferred to the Archaeological Museum in Zagreb, where it still is, inv. no. 429.

Brunšmid 1889: 34: CIL 10223; Brunšmid 1909.

[- - -] s | [- - -]*uli f(ilius) Derini* | *[equiti? ala]e II Pannon(iorum)* | *[- - -vixit ann(is)] XXXII* | *[- - -]s.*

Line 2: *Derini,* probably populus Dalmatiae? Comp. Plin. n.h. III 143 or perhaps identical with Deretini. See Krahe 1929: 136.
Line 3: completion by Mommsen; Brunšmid believes that traces of the letter F are discernible here, and he completes it as signifer.

For *Ala II Pannoniorum*, comp. Wagner 1938: 60; Kraft 1951: n. 501. In the year 88, this ala is affirmed in Syria, and in 93-107 in Upper Moesia; in the 2nd and 3rd centuries, it made up the garrison of the Dacia Province. The appearance of its monument in Sirmium is taken erroneously as a confirmation that this part of Srem belonged to Upper Moesia in the beginning of the 1st century (Ritterling 1924: 1444).
Wagner dates the monument to the 1st century, after him Kraft. Brunšmid dates it to the 3rd century. The style of the lettering is close to the monuments of Pannonia from the 1st century (comp. Schober 1923: n. 11 - Virunum; n. 21, Graz; n. 62, Deutsch-Altenburg).

**56**

Tombstone, broken into three pieces; first piece, h. 93 cm, second, h. 85 cm and third, h. 68 cm; all three pieces are 63 cm wide and 28 cm thick. On the upper part of the monument are represented two human figures in cloaks. The figure on the right is somewhat bigger. Faces hardly discernible. Both figures hold their cloaks over their left arms. Above this is a gable ornamented with two ivy leaves. The triangular space between the slope of the gable and the edge of the monument is filled up with two branches of grapes. The inscription field in a single-lined frame is bordered by a vine of ivy. Lines 12-13 of the inscription are damaged because of the breaking of the monument. On the lower side, the tapered part of the monument was driven into the ground.
The monument was discovered in 1953 in Srem. Mitrovica, in Novi Šor st. together with three other monuments (nos. **46**, **51** and **52**). Now in the Museum of Srem, inv. nos. 762, 763 and 764.

Vasilić 1953: 147, 2; Šasel, Das Altertum 6, 1960: 270 (with phot.); idem 1961: 3, note 3; A. et J. Šasel, ILJug no. 271; Mirković 1971: no. 39,
with phot. pI. VIII, 1.

*D(is) m(anibus) | Ael(io) Ingennuo claviculario ex officio | pr(a)esides deci(dit) in bel(lo) |[5] Aelia Procella conjiugi karissimo me|moria(m) posuit. | Septi(mio) Decorato | claviculario ex offici(o) |[10] pr(a)esid[e]s deci(dit) in bilo (sic) | Aelia Basilissa con[iu]gi | karissimo memoria(m) | posuit.*

Line 2: *claviculario* Vasilić, idem, in line 9: CLAVICIARIO), line 10: PR - Vasilić; *Pr(a)esides* - A. et J. Šasel, ILJR, line 11: BASILIS - Vasilić; *Con[iu]gi* Vasilić omits, *coniugi* - A. et. J. Šasel, ILJR.
*Officium praesidis*, see RE XII, 1937, 2048 and 2052. In Sirmium it is mentioned only on this inscription. Clavicularii must have been *agentes curam carceris* (comp. Ruggiero, Diz. Ep. II 305; Domaszewski 1908: 46. XV). *Deci(dit) in bello*: in the time of Septimivs Severas – Šasel 1961: p. 4.

## BENEFICIARII CONSULARIS

More than 80 altars have been discovered in the station of the beneficiarii close to the western city gate; majority of the monuments is preserved in the Museum of Srem in Sremska Mitrovica, three are exponed in the local hotel.

**57**

Altar of hard limestone, h. 85 cm, w. 49 cm, thk. 40 cm; letters, h. 4-2.5 cm. Upper part decorated with pulvini and rosettes, in the middle palm-tree bough with oak apple.

Mirković 1994: no.1 with phot.

*I(ovi) O(ptimo) M(aximo) | M. Ulpius | Valens b(ene)f(iciarius) con(n)s(ularis) | miss(us) honest(a) |[5] mission(e) Barb(aro) | et Regulo co(n)s(ulibus) | v(otum) s(olvit) l(ibens) m(erito)*

Date: 157 AD

**58**

Altar of limestone, h. 112 cm, w. 52 (40) cm, thk. 40 cm; letters h. 5-2.7 cm. Decorated with a rosette on the top. Damaged on the top and between lines 4 and 7 of the inscription.

Mirković 1994: no. 2, with phot.
*I(ovi) O(ptimo) M(aximo) | Iun(oni) et Min(ervae) | ceter(is) dis de|abusq(u)e Aces|[5]tius Victor | b(ene)f(iciarius) co(n)s(ularis) leg(ionis) | II Adiu[tric(is)?] | X K(alendas) Sept(embres) Mate[r]|no et Bradua co(n)s(ulibus)*

Date: August 23rd 185 AD

line 7: possible a(nte) d(iem) after Adiutricis.

**59**

Alatar of limestone, h. 90 cm, w. 44 cm, thk. 40 (34) cm; letters, h. 5-2 cm. Upper part decorated with pulvini with rosette on the corners, in the middle gable with a rosette.

Mirković 1994: no. 3, with phot.

*I(ovi) O(ptimo) M(aximo)* | *C. Aemilius* | *Titianus* | *b(ene)f(iciarius) co(n)s(ularis) ex leg(ione)* [5]| *II Adi(iutrice)* | *v(otum) s(olvt) l(ibens) m(erito) Crispino et* | *Aeliano co(n)s(ulibus).*

Date: 187 AD

**60**

Altar of limestone, h. 89 cm, w. 46 cm, thk. 36 cm; letters, h. 5-3.5 cm. Acroteria on the top with the a circle engraved between them.

Mirković 1994: no. 4.with phot.

*I(ovi) O(ptimo) M(aximo)* | *ceterisq(ue)* | *dis immort(alibus)* | *Ti. Cl(audius) Apollina*|[5]*ris b(ene)f(iciaius) co(n)s(ularis) ex* | *leg(ione) II Adi(iutrice) v(otum) s(olvit) l(ibens) m(erito)* | *duobus Si*|*lanis co(n)s(ulibus).*

Date: 189 AD

**61**

Small column of white marble, damaged on the top, h. 138 cm, diam. 24 cm on the top, 26 cm in the middle; letters, h. 8 and 4 cm.

Mirković 1994: no. 5 with phot.

[---]| *M.Ulp(iu)* | *Freque*|*ntinus* | *b(ene)f(iciarius) co(n)s(ularis)* [5]| *ex voto* | *posuit* | *Pedone* | *et Bradua* | *co(n)s(ulibus).*

Date: 191 AD

M. Ulpius Frequentinus is known in another altar from Sirmium, no. **62** from the AD 195.

**62**

Altar of limestone, h. 113 cm, w. 55 cm, thk. 45 cm; letters h. 5-2 cm. Acroteria on the top with an aegle engraved between them. On the laterale sides represented patera and urceus.

Mirković 1994: no. 6 with phot.

*I(ovi) O(ptimo) M(aximo)* | *et Genio Imp(eratoris)* | *M. Ulp(ius) Frequen*|*tinus b(ene)f(iiciarius) co(n)s(ularis)* [5]| *leg(ionis) II Adiutr(icis)* | *iterata station(e)* | *ex voto posuit* | *Tertullo et Clement(e)* | *co(n)s(ulibus).*

Date: 195 AD

**63**

Altar of limestone, h. 103 cm, w. 53 cm, thk. 36 cm; letters, h. 4.2-2 cm, with the rest of the red color. Acroteria with a rosette between them on the top. Discovered in 1988 in the beneficiary station. Now in the Museum of Srem.

M. Mirković 1994: No. 7, with phot.

*I(ovi) O(ptimo) M(aximo)* | *et Deo Silvano* | *pro salute et re*|*ditu domm(inorum) nn(ostrorum)* |[5]*Impp(eratorum) L. Sept(imii) Seve*|*ri et M. Aureli* | *Antonini Augg(ustorum)* | *[[et L. Sept(imii) Getae Caes(aris)]] \ T. Ael(ius) Secundus b(ene)f(iciarius) co(n)s(ularis)*[10]*\ iterata statione \sub Cl(audio) Claudiano co(n)s(ulare)* |*v(otum) s(olvit) l(ibens) m(erito) Anullino II* |*co(n)s(ule).*

Date: 199 AD

On Ti. Claudius Claudianus comp. PIR² C 834; Reidinger, Statthalter, 100 Nr. XVII; G. Alföldy, BJ 168, 1968, 139; Piso 1977: 167ff.; Thomasson Laterculi 19, 26; Leunissen, Konsuln 258 f., 278f.; Piso 1993: 270ff. His carrier is presented in three Inscriptions from Numidia, CIL VIII 7977 (ILS 1146;), CIL VIII 7978 (ILS 1146; ILAlg.II 29) and CIL VIII 5349 (ILAlg.I 279). In the first he appears as *consularis duarum Pannoniarum*; two othrs bring his detailed carrier in which the most important are: *leg(atus) Auggg(ustorum) pr(o) pr(aetore) c. v. consul(aris) provinc(iarum) et exerc(itum) Pann(oniae) Inferior(is) et Superior(is)*. Third inscription is damaged and in it is to read ILAlg. II 30: *leg(ato) Auggg(ustorum) [p]ro pr(aetore) [prov(inciarum)] Pan[n(oniarum)] in[fe]ri[oris et superioris], prae[p]os(ito) vexi[l]la[tion(ibus)] Dacis[c(is)* etc., or (Mommsen CIL III 3387: … *leg.] Auggg. [p]ro pr. [duarum] Pan. in[fe]r. [e]t [sup., leg. leg I?] adiutr[ic.]* etc. Reidinger 1956: 100 f., reads ... *leg.] Auggg. [p]ro pr. [prov(inciae)] Pan(noniae) In[fe]r(ioris) [e]t* or *it(em)q(ue) l[eg. II] Adiutr(icis).* His governorship in the Pannonian province is differently dated: 196-197 (Reidinger), in 197 - 199 (Piso), 197-198 (Thomasson) his service in Pannonia Superior 202-206 (Reidinger), 205-207 (Piso), 201 (Thomasson). The new inscription from Sirmium proves that he was in Pannonia Inferior still in 199, probably waiting his successor on this post. His consulhip is dated in 199 (Piso, l. c., after him Leunissen, l. c.). His governorship in both Pannonian provinces in 199 is not possible, because Pannonia Superior was governed by L. Fabius Clio in the time from 197 to 201 AD (PIR² F 27; Thomasson 2009: 18, 45; Leunissen, Konsuln 258; Rémy 1989: 104 ff.). On Claudius Claudianus' governoship in Pannonia Inferior 197 to the beginning of 199 comp. Mirković 1994: 24, S. 352 f.
The Geta's name is erased as on other monuments in Sirmium and its surroundings, as in no. **65**).
The post of T. Aelius Secudus is dated in unusual way, *sub Cl. Claudiano cos.* and again at the end of the inscription *Anullino II cos.*, who was *consul ordinarius* 199 AD.

**64**

Altar of limestone, h. 91 cm, w. 42 cm, thk. 20 cm; letters, h. 4.5-3.5 cm. Acroteria on the top. Hedera after *s(alute)* in the line 2.

Mirković 1994: no. 8 with phot.

*I(ovi) O(ptimo) M(aximo)* | *pro s(alute) Augg(ustorum)* | *agens in stat(ione)* | *sub Baeb(io) Caecili*|[5]*ano leg(ato) Augg(ustorum) pr(o) pr(aetore)* | *Tib. Cl(audius) Aeterna*|*lis b(ene)f(iciarius) co(n)s(ularis) in pa*|*tria sua v(otum) s(olvit) l(ibens) m(erito)* | *duob(us) Aug(ustis) co(n)s(ulibus)*
Date: 202 AD

L. Baebius Caecilianus succedet Ti. Claudius Claudianus as governor of Pannonia Inferior 199 to 202 AD. On him PIR$^2$ II B 14, Thomasson, Laterculi 19, 27; Leunissen, Konsuln, 278 f. He appears in many inscriptions as *leg(atus) Augg(ustorum) pr(o) pr(aetore)*, among others in the mile stone from 199 AD (CIL III 3733). Dated in 202 AD is partly damaged AE 1976, 544, which is completed in *[Victoriae Aug. pro salute Impp. L. Sept. Severi et] An[tonini] Augg. L. Baeb(ius) Caecilianus [le]g. Augg. pr. pr.*. The reading *[ob re]duc(tam) leg(ionem) II Adi(utricem)* (Pflaum) bring this inscription in connection with the returning of the *II Adiutrix* Legion from the Severus' Parthian war 202 (AE 1976, ad 544, with comment. Németh 1976: 194. Comp. Ritterling 1924: 1450). That means that Baebius Caecilianus had under his command in Pannonia inferior only one legion until the return the second from the East 202. There are no beneficiarii of the *II Adiutrix* in Sirmium until 203.
Ti. Claudius Aeternalis was in service as beneficiaries *in patria sua*, that is in Sirmium. Two *augusti* are Septimius Severus und Caracalla. They were consuls in 202 AD.

**65**

Altar of hard limestone, h. 106 cm, w. 50 cm, thk. 42 cm; letters, h. 5.5-2 cm. The base and upper part profiled. Upper part damaged on the rught side. The last line of the inscription on the basement of altar.

Mirković 1994: no. 9, with phot.

*I(ovi) O(ptimo) M(aximo) et G(enio)* | *dom(inorum) nn(ostrorum)* | *Augg(ustorum)* ⟦*et Get(ae)*⟧ | ⟦*Caes(aris)*⟧ *C. Mar*|[5]*c(ius) Lupianus* | *b(ene)f(iciarius) co(n)s(ularis) l(egionis) II Ad(iutricis)* | *v(otum) s(olvit) l(ibens) m(erito) P{l}au(tiano) et G<e>te* | *co(n)s(ulibus).*

Date: 203 AD

Line 7: I instead L.
Geta's name in the lines 4-5 erased, but not as the consul's name.The name *Marcii*s appears often in Pannonoa, in Savaria und Emona, as in the legion camps in Carnuntum und Aquincum (Mócsy 1959: 156, 220); the cognomen Lupianus is not frequent (Kajanto, Cognomina, 327).

**66**

Altar of limestone, h. 103 cm, w. 49 cm, thk. 35 cm; letters, h. 5-1.8 cm.

Mirković 1994: no. 10, with phot.

*I(ovi) O(ptimo) M(aximo)* | *et Geniis* | *Augustor(um)* | *P. Ael(ius) Augu*|[5]*rinianus* |*b(ene)f(iciarius) co(n)s(ularis) leg(ionis)* | *II Ad(iutricis)* | *C[i]lone et Li*|*bone co(n)s(ulibus).*

Line 7: between II and AD vacat.
Date: 204 AD

**67**

Altar of hard limestone, h. 97 cm, w. 57 cm, thk. 35 cm; letters, h. 5.8-2.5 cm, with the rest of the red color. m. The base and upper part profiled.

Mirković 1994: no. 11, with phot.

*I(ovi) O(ptimo) M(aximo)* | *et G(enio) h(uius) l(oci) patr(iae)* | *suae A. Cassius* | *Clemens b(ene)f(iciarius)* |[5] *co(n)s(ularis) leg(ionis) II Ad(iutricis)* | *v(otum) s(olvit) Imp(eratore) Antonin(o)* | *II et Geta Caes(are) co(n)s(ulibus)*

Date: 205 AD

**68**

Altar of hard limestone, h. 89 cm, w. 42 cm, thk. 27 cm; letters, h. 5.2-1.5 cm, the last line on the basement.

Mirković 1994: no. 12, with phot.

*I(ovi) O(ptimo) M(aximo)* | *et Geniis* | *dd(ominorum) nn(ostrorum) Augg(ustorum)* |*M. Valer(ius)* |[5] *Reburrus* | *b(ene)f(iciarius) co(n)s(ularis) leg(ionis) II Ad(iutricis)* | *Albino et Aemiliano* | *co(n)s(ulibus) v(otum) s(olvit) l(ibens) m(erito).*

M. Valerius Reburrus was also in the next year *beneficiarius* in Sirmium, *iterata statione*, in the next altar.

Date: 206 AD

**69**

Altar of hard limestone, h. 111 cm, w. 55 cm, thk. 40 cm; letters, h. 5-2 cm, the last line on the basement. Damaged on the top.

Mirković 1994: no. 13.

*I(ovi) O(ptimo) M(aximo) pro | salute Imppp(eratorum) S|everi et Antoni|ni Augg(ustorum) e ⟦t Ge⟧ |[5] ⟦tae Caes(aris)⟧ M. Va|l(erius) Reburrus | b(ene)f(iciarius) co(n)s(ularis) itera|ta statione in | patria sua v(otum) s(olvit) l(ibens) m(erito) |[10] Apro et Maximo co(n)s(ulibus).*

M. Valerius Reburrus, known from the no. **68**, is recorded in this altar as originated from Sirmium (*in patria sua*). Geta's name is erased. Septimius) Aper is on the first place as consul, in other monuments on the second (Leunissen, Konsuln 109, 135).

Date: 207 AD

**70**

Altar of hard limestone, h. 67 cm, w. 32 cm, thk. 27 cm; letters, h. 5-25 cm. On the top akroteria.

Mirković 1994: no. 14, with phot.

*I(ovi) O(ptimo) M(aximo) | et G(enio) h(uius) l(oci) patri|ae suae T. Au|rel(ius) Valen|[5]tinus b(ene)f(iciarius) l|eg(ionis) II Adi(utricis) v(otum) s(olvit) | Imp(eratore) Antoni|no Aug(usto) III et | ⟦Geta Caesare⟧ |[10] II co(n)s(ulibus).*

Geta's name is erased also as the consul.

Date: 208 AD

**71**

Altar of hard limestone, h. 86 cm, w. 41.5 cm, thk. 36 cm; letters, h. 3.5-2.2 cm.

Mirković 1994: no. 15, with phot.

*I(ovi) O(ptimo) M(aximo) | pro salute | ddd(ominorum) nn[[n]](ostrorum) | Augg [[g]](ustorum) |[5] P. Ael(ius) Fre|quentia|nus b(ene)f(iciarius) co(n)s(ularis) leg(ionis) II Aidiut(ricis) | Pompeiano et | [10] Avito co(n)s(ulibus) v(otum) s(olvit) l(ibens) m(erito).*

Third n in *nn[[n]]* and g in *Augg[[g]]* refer to Geta.

Date: 209 AD

**72**

Altar of sandstone, h. 79 cm, w. 38 cm, thk. 28 cm; letters, h. 3-2 cm. Acroteria on the top.

Mirković 1994: no.16, with phot.

*I(ovi) O(ptimo) M(aximo) et G(enio) ⟦- - - - - - - - - - -⟧ | Ulp(ius) Vitalis et | Iul(ius) Secundi|[5]anus bb(ene)ff(iciarii) co(n)s(ularis) | Grato et Seleuco | co(n)s(ulibus) | v(otum) s(olverunt) l(ibentes) m(erito).*

It must be Elagabalus' name what is erased in line 2. Iulius Secundianus is recorded again in the next two altars during *iterata* and *tertia statione* in Sirmium in years 223 and 224 AD, in the former together with Vitalis, in the latter with Octavius Avitus. In CIL III 3524 he is attested as one of *speculators* in the legions I and *II Adiutrix* who took part in the rebuilding their *schola* in Aquincum in 228.

Date: 221 AD

**73**

Fragment of an altar of hard limestone, h. 67 cm, w. 65 cm, thk. 40 cm; letters h. 4-2 cm. Broken diagonal. Left side is missing.

Mirković 1994: no. 17, with phot.

*- - -]I* or *M* |*[et Geni]o ? Imp(eratoris)* |*[[[d. n. Severi Ale-*|*xandri A]ug(usti) ca. 3]]* |[5]*[c… 3] lv(ius) Vitalis*|*[et I]ul(ius) Secundi*|*[a]nus bb(ene)ff(iciarii) co(n)s(ularis)* | *leg(ionis) II Aidiut(ricis) Maximo* | *II et Aeliano co(n)s(ulibus)* |[10] *v(otum) s(olverunt) l(ibentes) m(erito).*

Vitalis' name could be *Ca*]*lv*(*ius*), *Sa*]*lv*(*ius*) and similar. Alexander Severus also in the altars nos.**74**, **76**, **77** and **79**. His name is erased in nos. **77** and **79**.

Date: 223 AD

**74**

Altar of limestone, h. 96 cm, w. 42 cm, thk. 33 cm; letters h. 3 cm. On the top decorated with akroteria, with the man's heads on the front side, with palmetts on the lateral sides. On the laterals sides patera and urceus.

Mirković 1994: no. 18, with phot.

*I(ovi) O(ptimo) M(aximo)* | *et G(enio)* | *Imp(eratoris) Severi Ale*|*xandri* vac. |[5] *Aug(usti) Octavi*|*us Avitus et Iu*|*l(ius) Secundianus* | *bb(ene)ff(iciarii) co(n)s(ularis) leg(ionis)* | *I et* | *II Adiut(ricis) Crispino* |[10] *et Iuliano co(n)s(ulibus) m(erito ?)*| *v(otum) l(ibentes) s(olverunt)*

(C. Bruttius) Crispinus consul is on the first place, although his colleague (Ap. Claudius) Iulianus *cos. II* was of the higher rank. His iterationnumber is missing in this inscription.

Date: 224 AD

**75**

Altar of hard limestone, h. 82 cm, w. 41 cm, thk. 32 cm; letters, h. 3.5-1.5 cm. The last line on the base.

Mirković 1994: 19, with phot.

*I(ovi) O(ptimo) M(aximo) | et G(enio) huius | loci pro salute | d(omini) n(ostri) Severi Ale|*[5]*xandri Aug(usti) to|taeque domus | eius Cl(audius) Aureli|us et Val(erius) Caesian|us bb(ene)ff(iciarii) co(n)s(ularis) v(otum) s(olverunt) l(ibentes) m(erito) |*[10] *Modesto et Probo co(n)s(ulibus)/*

Date: 228 AD

**76**

Altar of limestone, h. 60 cm, w. 32 cm, thk. 23 cm; letters, h. 3-1 cm. The last three lines on the altar base. Akroteria on the top.

Mirković 1994: no 20, with phot.

*I(ovi) O(ptimo) M(aximo)| et G(enio) huius | loci pro salu|te d(omini) n(ostri) Imp(eratoris) M. Aure|*[5]*li Severi Ale|xandri P(ii) F(elicis) Aug(usti) | Aur(elius) Domitianus | et Iul(ius) Potentinus | bb(ene)ff(iciarii) co(n)s(ularis) |* [10] *Imp(eratore) Severo Alexand(ro) Aug(usto)| et Dione co(n)s(ulibus) | v(otum) s(olverunt) l(ibentes) m(erito.*

Aur(elius) Domitianus is probable the same as Domitianus without gentilic name in no. **77**, dated in 230. Iterarions numbering of the consuls (Severus Alexander III, Cassius Dio II) is missing.

Date: 229 AD

**77**

Altar of hard limestone, h. 119 cm, w. 53 cm, thk. 47 cm; letters, h. 4.5-2 cm. Pulvini on the top, gable between them.

Mirković 1994: no. 21, with phot.

*I(ovi) O(ptimo) M(aximo) | et Genio d(omini) n(ostri) | ⟦[Imp(eratoris) Severi]⟧ | ⟦[Alexandri]⟧ |* [5] *⟦[Aug(usti)]⟧ | Domitianus | et Florentinus | bb(ene)ff(iciarii) co(n)s(ularis) ex | voto |*[10] *posuerunt | Agricola Clementino | co(n)s(ulibus.*

Domitianus and Florentinus are the only beneficiarii in Sirmium which name is quoted without the *gentile*. Probably they were Aurelii. Domitianus could be the same as Aur. Domitianus in no. **76**. A M. Aurel(ius) Florentinus is as 33 years old *beneficiarius consularis* in Aquincum buried, CIL III 3535.

Date: 230 AD

**78**

Altar of limestone, h. 87.5 cm, w. 35 cm, thk. 34 cm; letters, h. 4.3-1.2 cm. The last two lines on the base. Akkroteria on the top, with a rosette between them.

Mirković 1994: no. 22, with phot.

*I(ovi) O(ptimo) M(aximo)* | *Ael(ius) Dignia*|*nus et Titi(us) Fa*|*ustinus* |[5] *bb(ene)ff(iciarii) co(n)s(ularis) ex v(oto) p(osuerunt)* | *Agrico(la) et Clem(entino)* | *co(n)s(ulibus).*

Titius Faustinus is the same who appears together whit Avitius Emeritus on the altar from 231 AD (no. **79**), probably also in the altar consecrated to Silvanus in Aquincum, CIL III 10456. *Titii* are numerous in Pannonian cities Emona, Carnuntum and Brigetio, comp. A. MÓCSY, Bevölkerung, 160, mit CIL III 14354[9]; 11237.

Date: 230 AD

**79**

Altar of limestone, h. 107 cm, w. 47 cm, thk. 30 cm; letters, h. 4-1.5 cm. On the lateral sides patera, bukranion? and urceus. Damaged on the top.

Mirković 1994: no. 23, with phot.

*I(ovi) O(ptimo) M(aximo)* | *pro salutem d(omini) n(ostri)* | *Imp(eratoris) [[Caesa[ri*|
*M. Aureli*|[5]*Severi*|*[Alexandri]*| *[Aug(usti)]] Titius*| *Faustinus et* | *Lautius Emeritus* |[10] *bb(ene)ff(iciarii) co(n)s(ularis) ex vot(o) p(osuerunt)* | *Pompeiano et* | *Peligniano co(n)s(ulibus),*

The name of the emperor Alexander Severus is erased.The name *Lautius* is not known in Pannonia. It is seldom recorded, Lörincz, Onomasticon s.v. only one sample from Gallia Lugdunensis.

Date: 231 AD

**80**

Altar of limestone, h. 91.5 cm, w. 47.5 cm, thk. 44.5 cm; letters, h. 4.3-3.2 cm. Pulvini on the top, decorate whit rosettes, between them a plant.

Mirković 1994: no. 24, with phot.

*I(ovi) O(ptimo) M(aximo)* | *T. Aconius* | *Karus* | *b(ene)f(iciarius) co(n)s(ularis)* | [5] *v(otum) s(olvit) l(ibens) m(erito).*

*Aconii* are known among the soldiers in Carnuntum, CIL III 14479 and other, see Mócsy, Bevölkerung 150.

**81**

Altar of hard sandstone, h. 55 cm, w. 40 cm, thk. 29 cm; letters, h. 4-2, cm. Pulvins on the top decorated by rosettes, in the middle partly damaged triangle gable.

Mirković 1994: 25 with phot.

*I(ovi) O(ptimo) M(aximo)* | *G. Annius* | *Quietus agri(mensor)* | *mil[e]s leg(ionis) X Ge*(minae) *p(iae) f(idelis)* |[5] *b(ene)f(iciarius) co(n)s(ularis) v(otum) s(olvit) l(ibens) m(erito).*

*Annii* are attested as soldiesr in Vindobona (CIL III 15196) and Carnuntum (CIL III 11218), comp. Mócsy 1959: 151.
A*gri*(*mensor*) as *beneficiarius* only on this inscription. On this post in Roman army see G. Webster, The Roman Imperial Army, 1969, 121: F. T. Hinrichs, Die Geschichte der gromatischen Institutionen, 1974, 158ff.
*X Gemina* legion was transferred to the garrison in Vindobona after short stay in Aquincum 105-118 (Lőrincz, Ata arch. hung 30, 1978: 310). After Trajan's Dacian war it was garrisoned in Dacia (Ritterling 1924: 1678).

**82**

Altar of hard sandstone, h. 83 cm, w. 40 cm, thk 35 cm; letters, h. 7-3.2 cm. Akroteria on the top, between them in the middle triangle gable.

Mirković 1994: no. 26, with phot.

*I(ovi) O(ptimo) M(aximo)* | *P. Ael(ius) Por*|*cius b(ene)f(iciarius) co(n)s(ularis)* | *v(otum) s(olvit) l(ibens) m(erito).*

**83**

Altar of hard limestone, h. 86 cm, w. 43 cm, thk. 40 cm; letters h. 6-3.8 cm. Akroteria on the top, between them triangle gable with a small disc in the middle.

Mirković 1994: no. 27, with phot.

*I(ovi) O(ptimo) M(aximo)* | *P. Ael(ius) Sextili*|*anus b(ene)f(iciarius) co(n)s(ularis)* |*leg(ionis) II Adiu*|[5]*tricis* | *v(otum) s(olvit) l(ibens) m(erito.*

The altar is not dated.

**84**

Fragment of an altar of hard sandstone, h. 50 cm, w. 33 cm, thk. 22 cm; letters h. 4.2-4.5 cm. Akroteria on the top preserved on the right side.

Mirković 1994: no. 28, with phot.

*I(ovi) O(ptimo) M(aximo)* | *et G[enio huius loci ?]* | *P. Ael(ius) Valen[s]* | *b(ene)f(iciarius) co(n)s(ularis)* |[5] *[leg(ionis)] II Adi(utricis)* |*[- - -].*

**85**

Altar of limestone, h. 94 cm, w. 43 cm, thk. 44 cm; letters, h. 6-4.2 cm. Akroteria on the top, triangle gable between them.

Mirković 1994: no. 29, with phot.

*I(ovi) O(ptimo) M(aximo)* | *P. Ael(ius)* | *Vegetus* | *b(ene)f(iciarius) co(n)s(ularis)* |[5] *v(otum) s(olvit) l(ibens) m(erito).*

**86**

Altar of sandstone, h. 77 cm, w. 33 cm, thk. 30 cm; letters 6-3.8 cm. Akroteria on the top, triangle gable between them. Damaged on the left side on the top.

Mirković 1994: no. 30

*[I(ovi)] O(ptimo) M(aximo)* | *et Geni(o)* | *Imp(eratoris) et ge*|*nio coll(egii)* |[5] *S(e)x(tus) Aemil(ius)* | *Victor b(ene)f(iciarius)* | *co(n)s(ularis) v(otum) s(olvit) l(ibens) m(erito).*

*Imp*(*erator*) in line 3 could be Severus Alexander or Septimius Severus; *collegium* in line 4 is the *collegium beneficiariorum*, comp. CIL VIII 2751 (Lambaesis) from 208-211; J. P. Waltzing, Diz. epigr. s.v. Collegium; F. M. Ausbüttel, Hermes 113, 1985, 500ff. In the line 4 probably an L after COL.

**87**

Altar of limestone, h. 76.5 cm, w. 40 cm, thk. 31 cm; letters, h. 4.5-3 cm.

Mirković 1994: no. 31, with phot.

*I(ovi) O(ptimo) M(aximo)* | *Silvano et* | *Libero patr(i)* | *et Gen(io) Sirm(ii)* |[5] *M. Auf(idius ?) Victor* | *b(ene)f(iciarius) co(n)s(ularis) leg(ionis) II* | *Adi(utricis) v(otum) s(olvit) l(ibens) m(erito).*

Aufidius could be identified as Aufidinus Victor, the primipilus of the *VII Claudia legion* who on the monument from Viminacium (IMS II no. 11: *centuria Aufidini Victoris*). About the way up from beneficiarius to centurio, see Domaszewski, Rangordnung 33. *Aufidii* are attested as soldiers also in Carnuntum (CIL III 11210; Mócsy 1959: 151).

**88**

Altar of limestone, h. 98 cm, w. 52.5 cm, thk. 32 cm; letters, h. 6-4.2 cm. Damaged on the top on right side. The top decorated with stylized leaves.

Mirković 1994: no. 32, with phot.

*I(ovi) O(ptimo) M(aximo) et Ge*|*nio Imp(eratoris) Caes(aris)* |*[[*ca. 12*]]*|*[[*ca. 6*]] Aur(elius) [Sep?]*|[5]*timus et Se[p(timius)]* | *Quintilianus* | *bb(ene)ff(iciarii) co(n)s(ularis)*
The emperor's name – probably Heliogabalus or Alexander Severus – in lines 3-4 is erased. Similar decorated is the altar from 224 AD, nos. **72, 77** consecrated to Alexander Severus.

**89**

Altar of marble, h. 120 cm, w. 57 cm, thk. 37.5 cm; letters, h. 6.5-5.8 cm. Damaged by two parallel furrow crossing diagonal the front side.

Mirković 1994: no. 33, with phot.

*I(ovi) O(ptimo) M(aximo)* | *et ceteri[s]* | *dis deab(us)* | *M. Aur(elius) Ti*|[5]*tullus [b(ene)f(iciarius)] co(n)s(ularis) leg(ionis) [II ?]* | *Adi(utricis) D. C.* | *v(otum) s(olvit) l(ibens) m(erito).*

Lines 4/5: *Te*[*r*]|*tullus* also possible;
Line 6: *legio I Adiutrix* is also possible.
Line 7: the meaning of DC, possible followe by one letter more, *d(ecurio) c*(*ollegii*).

**90**

Altar of sandstone, h. 81 cm, w. 37 cm, thk. 29 cm; height of the preserved letters 5-4.5 cm. Akroteria on the front side.

Mirković 1994: no, 34, with phot.

*I(ovi) O(ptimo) M(aximo)* | *A. Barb(ius)* | *Sa[b]inus* | *b(ene)f(iciarius) co(n)s(ularis)* |[5] *v(otum) s(olvit) l(ibens) m(erito).*

*Barbii* were the known family from Aquileia. Manz of them known Balkan cities in the 2nd and 3rd century; comp. Šašel 1966: 117 ff. Certain Barbius Valentinus was *beneficiarius consularis* in Scarbantia.

**91**

Altar of limestone, h. 96 cm, w. 49.5 cm, thk. 45 cm; letters, h. 7.2-4 cm. Pulvini in the top, decorated by rosettes, between them gabble decorated by duble volutes. The inscribed field in the frame.

Mirković 1994: no. 35, with phot.

*I(ovi) O(ptimo) M(aximo)* | *P. Bassius* | *Pietas b(eneficiarius) co(n)s(ularis)* | *leg(ionis) II Ad(iutricis)* |[5] *p(iae) f(idelis)* | *v(otum) s(olvit) l(ibens) m(erito).*

The name *Bassius* frequnet in Norditalien, Gallien und Britannien, see Lörincz, Onomasticon, s.v.; for the cognomen Pietas comp Alföldy 1969: 264.

**92**

Altar of limestone, h. 97 cm, w. 54 cm, thk. 37 cm; letters, h. 7.5-2 cm. Pulvini with the rosettes on their end, between them gable with palm leaves decorated; on the lateral sides patera (left) and urceus (right).

Mirković 1994: no. 36, with phot.

*I(ovi) O(ptimo) M(aximo)* | *Sex(tus) Calavi*|*us Maximus b(eneficiarius) co(n)s(ularis)* | *leg(ionis) II Ad(iutricis)* |[5] *v(otum) s(olvit) l(ibens) m(erito)*

Certain L. Calavius Vitalis from Nikopolis is attested as the soldier of the *legio I* (probably legio I Adiutrix) in Scarbantia in Pannonien (AE 1914, 101 [RIU 182]; Mócsy 1959: 224).

**93**

Altar of crumbly sandstone, h. 60 cm, w. 35 cm, thk. 25 cm. The lower side damaged. Inscription largely erased, letters irregular. Height of the preserved letters 3.5-2.5 cm.

Mirković 1994: no. 37, with phot.

*L. Cassius* | *Praesens* | *bene(ficiarius) Caecili Faus*|*tini leg(ati) Aug(usti) pr(o) pr(aetore)* | [5] *I(ovi) O(ptimo) M(aximo)* |*v(otum) s(olvit) l(ibens) m(erito).*

Unusual consecration on Iuppiter in the middle of the inscription.
Caecilius Faustinus could be the *consul suffectus* in 99 and governor of Moesia Inferior in 105 AD, Thomasson, Laterculi I. 131, no. 68; comp. Mirković 1994: 351. If so, this altar could be the eldest in the outpost in Sirmium.

**94**

Altar of limestone, h. 88 cm, w. 42 cm, thk. 27.5 cm; letters, h. 6-4.2 cm. Acroteria on the top and small triangle between.

Mirković 1994: no. 38, with phot.

*I(ovi) O(ptimo) M(aximo)* | *Ti. Cl(audius) Dius* | *b(ene)f(iciarius) co(n)s(ularis)* | *v(otum) s(olvit) l(ibens) m(erito).*

The name Dius is known in Italia, Dalmatia, Noricum and Dacia; comp. Lörincz, Onomasticon, s.v.

**95**

Altar of limestone, h. 100 cm, w. 52 cm, thk. 48 cm; letters, h. 5-4 cm. On the top pulvini with rosettes, between them gable decorated by two volutes and the ivy leaves.

Mirković 1994: no. 39, with phot.

*I(ovi) O(ptimo) M(aximo)* | *Ti. Claud(ius)* | *Fortis b(eneficiarius)* | *co(n)s(ularis)* |[5] *v(otum) s(olvit) l(ibens) m(erito).*

Ti. Claudius Fortis also in the next altar, consecrated to Mars.

**96**

Altar of limestone, h. 85.5 cm, w. 39.5 cm, thk. 38 cm; letters, h. 5.1-4 cm. Pulvini on the top and gable with volutes between them.

Mirković 1994: no. 40, with phot.

*Marti* | *Aug(usto) sacr(um)* | *Ti. Claud(ius)* | *Fortis b(eneficiarius)* |[5] *co(n)s(ularis)* |
*v(otum) s(olvit) l(ibens) m(erito.*
Mars also nos. **23**, **99**, **112**. Mars Campestris no. **103**.

**97**

Altar of limestone, h. 111 cm, w. 54 cm, thk. 36 cm; letters, h. 5 cm. Damaged on the top left. Many fissures in the stone.Decorated by pulvini and gable with volutes on the top.

Mirković 1994: no. 41.

*I(ovi) O(ptimo) M(aximo)* | *Tib. Cl(audius) Maxi*|*minus b(ene)f(iciarius)* | *co(n)s(ularis)* |[5] *leg(ionis) II Ad(iutricis)* | *v(otum) s(olvit) l(ibens) m(erito)*

**98**

Altar of limestone, h. 95 cm, w. 44 cm, thk. 44 cm; letters, h. 6.8-4 cm. Decorated with akroteria and gable on the top.

Mirković 1994: no. 42, with phot.

*I(ovi) O(ptimo) M(aximo)* | *Ti. Cl(audius)* | *Postuminus* | *b(ene)f(iciarius) co(n)s(ularis)* |[5] *v(otum) s(olvit) l(ibens) m(erito).*

Ti. Claudius Postuminus also on the next altar consecrated to Mars.

**99**

Altar of limestone, h. 88 cm, w. 45 cm, thk. 39 cm; letters, h. 6.8-4 cm. Pulvini on the top and gable with rosette and leaves between.

Mirković 1994: no. 43, with phot.

*Marti* | *Ti. Cl(audius)* | *Postuminus* | *b(ene)f(iciarius) co(n)s(ularis)* |[5] *v(otum) s(olvit) l(ibens) m(erito).*

**100**

Altar of limestone, h. 120 cm, w. 66 cm, thk. 51 cm; letters, h. 7-3.5 cm. Palmetts on the top and acanthus leaves in the middle.

Mirković 1994: no. 44.

*I(ovi) O(ptimo) M(aximo) | Iunoni Reg(inae) | Miner(vae) ceteris | deis deabusque |*[5] *et G(enio) Fl(aviae) S(irmi) | T[i]b. Cl(audius) Valentinus | b(ene)f(iciarius) co(n)s(ularis) ex leg(ione) IIII Fl(aviae) f(elicis) | factus ex n(umero) frum(entariorum) | v(otum) s(olvit) l(ibens) m(erito).*

On promotion from *frumentarius* to *beneficiarius* comp. v. Domaszewski 1908: 33; *Beneficiarii legionis IIII Flaviae* also in nos. **114**, **117**.

Date: probably 164-166 AD, when the *IV Flavia* legion was temporarily transferred to Pannonia Inferior.

**101**

Altar of limestone, h. 75 cm, w. 40 cm, thk. 35 cm; letters, h. 4.8-4 cm.

Mirković 1994: no. 45, with phot.

*I(ovi) O(ptimo) M(aximo) | P. Dindi|us Lati|nus b(ene)f(iciarius) co(n)s(ularis) |*[5] *v(otum) s(olvit) l(ibens) m(erito.*

*Dindii* in Pannonien: comp. Mócsy 1959: 154.

**102**

Altar of sandstone, h. 59 cm, w. 32 cm, thk. 28.5 cm; letters, h. 3.5-2.5 cm. Pulvini on the top and leaves between them. Slightly damaged on this side.

Mirković 1994: no, 46, with phot.

*I(ovi) O(ptimo) M(aximo) | M. Egna(tius) | Magnus | b(eneficiarius) co(n)s(ularis) |*[5] *v(otum) s(olvit) l(ibens) m(erito)*

**103**

Altar of sandstone, h. 85 cm, w. 40 cm, thk. 36 cm; letters, h. 5-1.5 cm. Akroteria in the top and acanthus leaves in the middle.

Mirković 1994: no. 47, with phot.

*I(ovi) O(ptimo) M(aximo) | Iunoni Reg(inae) | Min(ervae) Fort(unae) Mart(i) | Cam(pestri) dis dea<bus>|*[5] *que sacr(um) T. | Fl(avius) Aulus b(ene)f(iciarius) co(n)s(ularis) | ex n(umero) frum(entariorum) | v(otum) s(olvit) l(ibens) m(erito).*

Mars Campester is not frequent in the inacriptions, cf. CIL II 4083 (ILS 2416) aus Tarraco and Spomenik Srpske Kraljevske Akademije Nauka 98, 1941-1948, Nr. 171 from Ravna (Timacum Minus) in Upper Moesia, see v. Domaszewski, am Anm. 45 a. O. 36, und Birley 1978: 1513 (= The Roman Army, Papers 1929-1986, 1988, 404). On promotion from *frumentarius* to *beneficiarius* see v.

Domaszewski 1908: 33. Both altars have the same decoration. T. Flavius Aulus might be also beneficiariius in the *IV Flavia* legion.

**104**

Altar of limestone, h. 77 cm, w. 30 cm, thk. 28 cm; letters, h. 4.5-3 cm. Akroteria on the top, triangle between them.

Mirković 1994: no. 48, with phot.

*I(ovi) O(ptimo) M(aximo)* | *T. Flavius* | *Claudian(us)* | *b(ene)f(iciarius) co(n)s(ularis)* |[5] *v(otum) s(olvit) l(ibens) m(erito.*

**105**

Altar of limestone, h. 57 cm, w. 35.5 cm, thk. 22.5 cm; letters, h. 5-4.5 cm. Pulvini and rosette in the middle on the top.

Mirković 1994: no. 49, with phot.

*I(ovi) O(ptimo) M(aximo)* | *Flavius* | *Romanus* | *b(eneficiarius) co(n)s(ularis).*

He could be identical with T. Fl(avius) Romanus Fabia Roma *beneficiarius proc(uratoris) Aug(usti)* in Aquincum (CIL III 10417 = Tit. Aq. I 99).

**106**

Altar of limestone, h. 99 cm, w. 55 cm, thk. 37 cm; letters, h. 6.5-5 cm, on the lateral side h. 8 cm. Akkroteria and triangle on the top.

Mirković 1994: no. 50, with phot.

*I(ovi) O(ptimo) M(aximo)* | *T. Fl(avius) Tran*|*quillus* | *b(ene)f(iciarius) co(n)s(ularis)* |[5] *v(otum) s(olvit) l(ibens) m(erito)*

On the lateral side: *I(ovi) O(ptimo) M(aximo)*

**107**

Altar of limestone, h. 91 cm, w. 42.5 cm, thk. 33 cm; letters, h. 4.5-3 cm. On the top akroteria and triangle gable with with rosette between them.

Mirković 1994: no. 51, with phot.

*I(ovi) O(ptimo) M(aximo)* | *C. Galloni(us)* | *Iustus* | *b(ene)f(iciarius) co(n)s(ularis)* |[5] *v(otum) s(olvit) l(ibens) m(erito).*

**108**

Altar of limestone, h. 97 cm, w. 44.5 cm, thk. 42 cm; letters h. 4.5-3.2 cm. On the top akroteria, triangle between them. Leaves between the lines 3 and 4.

Mirković 1994: no. 52, with phot.

*I(ovi) O(ptimo) M(aximo)* | *C. Iul(ius) Aqui*|*la b(ene)f(iciarius) co(n)s(ularis) v(otum) s(olvit)* | *l(ibens) m(erito).*

**109**

Altar of limestone, h. 86 cm, w. 35.5 cm, thk. 24 cm; letters, h. 3.2-28 cm. Acroteria on the top and leaves between.

Mirković 1994: no. 53, with phot.

*I(ovi) O(ptimo) M(aximo)* | *et Genio lo*|*ci Iul(ius) Iulia*|*nus et Aeli*|[5]*us* |
*Viator* | *bb(ene)f{f}(iciarii)* | *co(n)s(ularis).*

Hedera in the line 6; at the end if the line 7 E instead of F.
Iul. Iulianus could be the same as the veteranus of the II legion bearing the same name, who is attested in the funeral monument in Aquincum CIL III 13373.

**110**

Altar of limestone, h. 63 cm, w. 25 cm, thk. 25 cm; letters, h. 4.1-3 cm. Acroteria in the form of palm bough on the top.

Mirković 1994: no. 54, with phot.

*I(ovi) O(ptimo) M(aximo)* | *Ti. Iulius* | *Paulin(us)* | *b(ene)f(iciarius) co(n)s(ularis)* |[5] *v(otum) s(olvit) l(ibens) m(erito)*

**111**

Altar of limestone, h. 88 cm, w. 44 cm, thk. 40 cm; letters, h. 4-3.8 cm. Acroteria on the top.

Mirković 1994: no. 55, with phot.

*I(ovi) O(ptimo) M(aximo)* | *sacr(um)* | *C. Iul(ius) Valens* | *b(ene)f(iciarius) co(n)s(ularis)* |[5] *v(otum) s(olvit) l(ibens) m(erito).*

C. Iul(ius) Valens appears also in the next inscription, devoted to Mars.

**112**

Altar of limestone, h. 99 cm, w. 43 cm, thk. 39 cm; letters, h. 5.2-4.5 cm. Acroteria on the top.

Mirković 1994: no. 56, with phot.

*Marti | Aug(usto) sacr(um) | C. Iul(ius) Valens | b(ene)f(iciarius) co(n)s(ularis) |*[5] *v(otum) s(olvit) l(ibens) m(erito).*

**113**

Altar of limestone, h. 86 cm, w. 38 cm, thk. 27.9 cm; letters, h. 4.8-4.5 cm. On the top pulvini decorated with rosettes and small triangle between.

Mirković 1994: no. 57, with phot.

*I(ovi) O(ptimo) M(aximo) | G. Licinius | Sparsus b(eneficiarius) | co(n)s(ularis) |*[5] *v(otum) s(olvit) l(ibens) m(erito).*

The name *Licinius*, frequent in Pannonia, bear two other beneficiarii in Sirmium: L. Licinius Urbicus, who consecrated an altar in the surroundings of Sirmium (no. **243**) and Licinius Valens in the next inscription.

**114**

Marble altar, h. 120 cm, w. 57 cm, thk. 47 cm; letters, h. 4.8-2.8 cm. Decorated on the top with pulvini and the triangle gable with an aigle and snake; inscribed field in the frame.

Mirković 1994: no. 58, with phot.

*I(ovi) O(ptimo) M(aximo) | et Gen(io) col(oniae) | Sirm(ii) | L. Licinius Va|*[5]*lens b(eneficiarius) co(n)s(ularis) leg(ionis) IIII Fl(aviae) | v(otum) s(olvit) l(ibens) m(erito).*

Beneficiarii from the IV Flavia legion also nos. **100, 117**.

**115**

Altar of sandstone, h. 81 cm, w. 43 cm, thk. 39 cm; letters, h. 5-2.5 cm. Upper part is missing.

Mirković 1994: no. 59, with phot.

*I(ovi) O(ptimo) M(aximo) | dis deabusq(ue) | L. Magius | Proculus|*[5] *vet(eranus) ex b(ene)f(iciario) co(n)s(ularis) | missus honesta | missione Id(ibus) dec(embribus) | v(otum) s(olvit) h(oc) d(ie) (?) l(ibens) m(erito).*

*Magii* are numerous among soldiers in Aquincum and Carnuntum (Mócsy, Bevölkerung 156).
*H(oc) d(ie)*: the December 13, probably the day of discharging, comp. AE 1973, 447: *acc(epta) missione v. s. l. m.*

**116**

Altar of limestone, h. 79 cm, w. 40 cm, thk. 31 cm; letters, h. 4.8-4.5 cm height. On the top pulvini decorated with rosettes and akantus leave in the middle.

Mirković 1994: no. 60, with phot.

*I(ovi) O(ptimo) M(aximo)* | *M. Popilius* | *Bassus b(eneficiarius) co(n)s(ularis)* |
*v(otum) s(olvit) l(ibens) m(erito).*

**117**

Lower part of marble altar, h. 82 cm, w. 66 cm, thk. 50 cm; letters, h. 6.4-4 cm. The inscription in the frame, similar to no. **106**.

Mirković 1994: no. 61, with phot.

[- - -] | *T. Publ[i]cius* | *Fl(avia) Martinus Sir(mio)* | *b(eneficiarius) co(n)s(ularis) ex leg(ione) IIII* |[5]*Fl(avia) v(otum) s(olvit) l(ibens) m(erito).*

Pseudotribus *Flavia* for Quirina, comp. Forni 1985: 82 f.
*Publicii* are attested in Bassiana and in Aquincum (Mócsy 1959: 158); a Publicius is known as the soldier of the *IV Flavia* legion in Viminacium, IMS II 88: P. Publicius Fabia Constans Brixxia. Bf. legionis IV FLvia in Sirmium: **100**, **114**.

**118**

Altar of limestone, h. 90 cm, w. 44 cm, thk. 29 cm; letters, h. 5.2-4 cm. Akroteria in the top and small triangle between.

Mirković 1994: no. 62, with phot.

*I(ovi) O(ptimo) M(aximo)* | *T. Quintius Augus*|*talis b(ene)f(iciarius) co(n)s(ularis)* |
*v(otum) s(olvit) l(ibens) m(erito)*

**119**

Altar of limestone, h. 77 cm, w. 38.5 cm, thk. 37 cm; letters 5.5-3 cm. Akroteria on the top and small leave between, partly erased.

Mirković 1994: no. 63, with phot.

*I(ovi) O(ptimo) M(aximo)* | *L. Rubri*|*us Macedo* | *b(eneficiarius) co(n)s(ularis)* |[5] *v(otum) s(olvit) l(ibens) m(erito).*

**120**

Altar of limestone, h. 100 cm, w. 46 cm, thk. 36 cm; letters, h. 4.2-4 cm. Pulvini on the top, and palm boughs ? in the middle.

Mirković 1994: no. 64, with phot.

*I(ovi) O(ptimo) M(aximo)* | *M. Ulpius* | *Claudianus* | *b(ene)f(iciarius) co(n)s(ularis)* |[5] *v(otum) s(olvit) l(ibens) m(erito).*

**121**

Marble altar, h. 119 cm, w. 59 cm, thk. 59 cm; letters, h. 7.2-2.8 cm. Akroteria on the top and eagle in the middle.

Mirković 1994: no. 65, with phot.

*I(ovi) O(ptimo) M(aximo)* | *et Genio Imp(eratoris)* | *item genio* | *coll(egii)* |[5] *M. Ulp(ius) Frequenti*|*nus b(ene)f(iciarius) co(n)s(ularis) leg(ionis)* | *II Adi(utricis) p(iae) f(idelis)*

M. Ulp(ius) Frequentinus is the same as in the altars nos. **61** and **62** dated from in 191 and 195 AD. The emperor must be Septimius Severus and the altar must be dated not later than 197 AD.

**122**

Altar of limestone, h. 97 cm, w. 55.5 cm, thk. 50 cm; letters, h. 5.2-5 cm height. Pulvini in the top and aegle in the middle.

Mirković 1994: no. 66, with phot.

*I(ovi) O(ptimo) M(aximo)* | *M. Ulp(ius) Iulianus* | *b(eneficiarius) co(n)s(ularis)* |
*v(otum) s(olvit) l(ibens) m(erito).*

**123**

Altar of limestone, h. 116 cm, w. 50 cm, thk. 47 cm; letters, h. 7-4.5 cm. On the top akroteria and small triangle gable in the middle. On the lateral sides *patera* and *urceus*.

Mirković 1994: no. 67, with phot.

*I(ovi) O(ptimo) M(aximo)* | *M. Ulpius* | *Ulp(ia) Lucius* | *Ratiaris b(eneficiarius)* |[5] *co(n)s(ularis)* |
*v(otum) s(olvit) l(ibens) m(erito).*

*Ulpia* is pseudotribus of Ratiaria in Upper Moesia, comp.. Forni, am S. 392 a. O. 96 Nr. 326. The city name *Ratiaris* in the ablative plural, as on the tineraries. It is recorded also ž in the literary sources, comp. Vulić 1914: 261.

**124**

Altar of limestone, h. 88 cm, w. 37 cm, thk. 27 cm; letters h. 4.5-4 cm. The top of the altar damaged. It was probably decorated by acroteria.

Mirković 1994: no. 68, with phot.

*I(ovi) O(ptimo) M(aximo)* | *G. Vaberi*|*us* | *Urbanu[s]* |[5] *b(eneficiarius) co(n)s(ularis) leg(ionis)* | *II Adi(utricis)* | *v(otum) s(olvit) l(ibens) m(erito).*

*Vaberius* is not attested in the inscriptions autside Italy (Lörincz, Onomasticon, s.v.). Cognomen Urbanus in Pannonien often as name of slaves and friemen (Mócsy, Bevölkerung 194).

**125**

Altar of limestone, h. 128 cm, w. 35 cm, thk. 32 cm; letters, h. 7-3.5 cm. Right side damaged. Preserved akroterion on the left side on the top.

Mirković 1994: no. 69, with phot.

*I(ovi) O(ptimo) M(aximo)* | *C. Valerius* | *Iulianus* | *b(eneficiarius) co(n)s(ularis) leg(ionis) II Adi(utricis)* |[5] *v(otum) s(olvit) l(ibens) m(erito)*

**126**

Altar of limestone, h. 120cm, w. 39.5 cm, thk. 36 cm; letters, h. 6-4.5 cm. On the top pulvini, triangle gable in the middle. On the front side natural fissure in the stone.

Mirković 1994: no. 70, with phot.

*I(ovi) O(ptimo) M(aximo)* | *L. Veturius* | *Maximus* | *b(ene)f(iciarius) co(n)s(ularis)* |[5] *v(otum) s(olvit) l(ibens) m(erito).*

**127**

Altar of limestone, h. 90 cm, w. 47 cm, thk. 34.5 cm; letters h. 5-4 cm. Damaged on the top.

Mirković 1994: no. 71, with phot.

*I(ovi) O(ptimo) M(aximo)* | *Vibidius* | *Priscu[s]* | *b(eneficiarius) co(n)s(ularis)* |[5] *leg(ionis) II Adi(utricis)* | *v(otum) s(olvit) l(ibens) m(erito)*

**128**

Altar of sandstone, h. 107 cm, w. 56 cm, thk. 41 cm; letters, h. 5-6 cm. Damaged on the top and upper part of the front side.

Mirković 1994: no. 72, with phot.

*[- - -]* | *Ae?]l(ius) Mar*|*tinus b(ene)f(iciarius)* | *co(n)s(ularis) leg(ionis) II Ad(iutricis)* |[5] *v(otum) s(olvit) l(ibens) m(erito).*

**129**

Upper part of the sandstone altar, h. 31 cm, w. 28 cm, thk. 18 cm; letters, h. 6.5 cm. "Pannonian volutes" on the top. The inscription is damaged.

Mirković 1994: no. 73, with phot.

*I(ovi) O(ptimo) M(aximo)* | *M. Aurel(ius ?) Ius[tu]s (?)* | *b(eneficiarius) co(n)s(ularis)* | [---].

**130**

Altar of limestone, h. 99 cm, w. 46 cm, thk. 33 cm; letters, h. 5.5-4.5 cm. Damaged on the top and upper part of the front side.

Mirković 1994: no. 74, with phot.

*I(ovi) O(ptimo) M(aximo)* | *[et] Genio lo*|*[ci A]el(ius ?) Attici*|*[lian]us M . . . CE* | 5 *[*ca. 5*] S bb(ene)ff(iciarii)* | [- - - -

**131**

Altar of sandstone, h. 80 cm, w. 45 cm, thk. 45 cm; letters, h. 5.5-2.4 cm. The upper part and the base are missing.

Mirković 1994: no. 75, with phot.

*[I(ovi) O(ptimo)] M(aximo)* | *T. Calvinius* | *Frontoni*|*a*nus |[5] *b(eneficiarius) co(n)s(ularis)* | *v(otum) s(olvit) l(ibens) m(erito).*

Hedera in the end of the line 4.

**132**

Altar of sandstone, h. 76 cm, w. 33 cm, thk. 35 cm; letters, h. 4.25-3.1 cm. Damaged on the front side; the top of the altar is missing.

Mirković 1994: no. 76, with phot.

*[I(ovi)] O(ptimo) M(aximo)* | *[e]t Ge[n]io* | *[l]oci* | *[. . .] V[al]erian(us)* |[5] *et I[ul(ius ?)] Valen*|*tinus bb(ene)ff(iciarii) co(n)s(ularis.)*

**133**

Altar of sandstone, h. 84 cm, w. 57 cm, thk. 48 cm; letters, h. 5.5-2 cm. Damaged on the top and on the right side.

Mirković 1994: no. 77, with phot.

*[- - -]* | *REL [. .]* | *b(ene)f(iciarius) co(n)[s(ularis)]* | *ex leg(ione) II* |[5] *Ad(iutricis) p(iae) f(ideli)* | *v(otum) s(olvit) l(ibens) m(erito).*

**134**

Uper part of altar of sandstone, h. 65 cm, w. 43 cm, thk. 40 cm; letters h. 8-4 cm. Damaged on the top and upper part of the front side.

Mirković 1994: no. 78, with phot.

*I(ovi) O(ptimo) M(aximo)* | *Deo [---*

Line 2: *Deo [Silvano or [Libero*

**135**

Fragment of an altar of sandstone, h. 48 cm, w. 36 cm, thk. 9 cm; letters, h. 5 cm.

Mirković 1994: no. 79, with phot.

[- - -] | *b(ene)f(iciarius) [co(n)s(ularis)]* | *v(otum) s(olvit) l(ibens) [m(erito)]*

**136**

Fragment of a monument from Srem. Mitrovica. Discovered near house no. 684. Known only through the transcription of Kanitz. Lost.

CIL III 6440, as per F. Kanitz's transcription.

*[- - -]* | *[ . . . caris]simis* | *[- - -]s [b(ene)]f(iciarius) co(n)s(ularis)* | *[- - -] posuit.*

## MAGISTRATUS COLONIAE

**137**

Fragment of an altar discovered in Sremska Mitrovica. A part of inscription is preserved on the base, as is it described by Marsigli.

Marsigli 1726: Tab. 40, 5; CIL III 3243; Mirković 1971: no. 41.

DEC. COL.
SIRMIENS
*---]* | *dec(urio) col(oniae)* | *Sirmiens(ium).*

*Colonia Sirmium* is mentioned also in the inscriptions from Oescus, CIL III 7429, and in Tegara in Bosnien, CIL III 12739 + 12740 = Patsch, Strena Buliciana 229 ff.
*Decuriones* in Sirmium also the inscription from Singidunum. IMS I, no. 16, Aurelius Atticus, *veteranus legionis IV Flaviae*.

**138**

Fragment of the slab of white marble with bluish stripes, broken into two pieces, h. 47 cm, w. 52 cm, thk. 9.5 cm. Letters regular and handsome, considerably larger in the last two lines. Discovered in Srem. Mitrovica and transferred to Archaeological museum in Zagreb 1883, where it still is, inv. no. 296, phot.t. no. 727.11-4.

Ljubić 1885: 16, no. 44; Brunšmid 1907: 176, no. 296; Mirković 1971: no. 43, with phot. pl. VIII 2.

[---] L.M.V. | [---*omnibus*?] *honori*[*bus functus*?] | *d*(*edit*) *d*(*edicavit*) *d*(*ecreto*) *d*(*ecurionum*).

## FUNERARY MONUMENTS

**139**

Part of architrave of white marble, upper and lower sides profiled, broken in two. Total len. 310 cm, w. 57 cm, thk. 31 cm. Lower side of the stone ornamented with a garland of leaves ending in cones. Large and handsome letters cut with care, h. 2-4.5 cm. Accidentally discovered in Brace Radića st. in 1956. Now in the Museum of Srem, inv. no. 996-997.

Vasilić 1958/9: 376; A. et J. Šasel, ILJug. no. 275; Mirković 1971: no. 43 with phot. pl. IX 1.

*[- - G?]ratilla Papia Sera[- - -]*

A. et J. Šašel suggest the name *[G]ratilla* or *[Spe]ratilla*.

**140**

Sarcophagus of limestone, len. 210 cm, h. 124 cm (with the cover), thk. 89.5 cm. The sarcophagus has a profiled socle. The front side is divided into three fields, the inscription is in the middle; on the left side there is a bust of a woman, on the right a bust of a man. The busts are bordered with a frame of Pannonian volute. The man is in a military uniform. Lateral sides are ornamented with medallions with rosettes. The cover is made in the form of a roof, with tiles. At the coners acroteria. The inscription field is separated by two bands, one of which is ornamented with decorations shaped like rhombi, the other with stylized buds. The inscription is within a round medallion of leaves. Letters, h, 9-10 cm.
Discovered in 1923 near the railway station in Srem. Mitrovica. Now in Belgrade, in the lapidary in the caves ("Barutni magazine") of the Kalemegdan.

Letter of I. Jung no. 54, 1923; Saria 1925: 160; same, Bericht der RGK 16, 1927: 112 (fig. 20, a, b); Schober, JÖAI 26, 1930: 29 (fig. 20); Ferri 1933: fig. 303-305; Mirković 1971: no. 44, with phot. pl. IX 2. Cf. Cermanović 1964: 99-100 (fig. 1).

*D(is) m(anibus)* | *Aur(elia) Asc<l>e*|*piodota vixi(t)* | *(a)n(nis) XIIII Aur(elius) Alex*|[5]*sander s(orori) c(arissimae) p(osuit)* | *c.p.f.*

Line 2: ASCIE,
line 4: the A in the beginning is missing because of the roundness of the medallion.
On the base of the ornaments and workmanship of the portrait, the sarcophagus is dated somewhere between 280-290 AD (Cermanović).

**141**

Funerary slab of marble, h. 58 cm, w. 30 cm, thk. 2 cm; letters, h. 5-3 cm. Discovered on the place „Jezero" in the eastern part pf Sremska Mitrovica, in the Roman villa. Unpublished. Preserved in the Museum of Srem.

*D(is) M(anibus) | Aur(eliae) Frontin|ae quae vixit | ann(is) XXXX Au[5]|rel(ius) Frontin|us fil(ius) piissim(us) | matri caris|sime (!) posuit.*

**142**

Front side of the sarcophagus of limestone, h. 221 cm, w. 56 cm, thk. 15 cm. Original edge preserved only on the top. The inscription in the profiled frame. The last line is missing. Discovered in the Đoka Avramović house in the Stari Sor st. Transported to the Archaeological museum in Zagreb; preserved there.

CIL III 3245 + p. 1040, no. 10215; Brunšmid 1909b: with phot. p. 232.

*In hanc arcam posita est Aurelia Macrina quae vixit annos XXXV et Aurelius Iustinianus filius eius qui vixit annum unum et menses quinque.*

**143**

Fragment of the slab, discovered in Srem. Mitrovica, on the bank of the Sava, in 1870, at Pavle Radanović's. Today lost, except for a slight fragment kept at the Archaeological Museum in Zagreb, inv. no. 431.

Gruić 1872: p. XCIII: CIL III 6443 (as per Gruić's transcription); Bueheler, CLE I, 1895: 258. No. 540; Brunšmid 1909c: 254, no. 431 (with phot. of the preserved fragment); Mirković 1971: no. 52.

*[- - -q]ue fuii iuvenis . . .*
*[terr]a Syria genitu[s . . . ]*
*[fel]ix vita et omn[i . . . ]*
*[si quan]do est aliq[u]a[ . . . ]*
*. . . . . et Iovis Stygius I [ . . . ]*
*. . . . m ossua praecor . . .*
*[vita e]st extinct[a . . . ]*
*. . . meque Hel[via condidit uxor?]*

line 1: F V I I - CIL III, Buecheler; *fuit* – Brunšmid, line 5: A at the end of the line - Buecheler; I – Brunšmid. In ligature VE in line 1, VA in line 6, ME HE in line 8.

**144**

Tombstone of white marble, h. 45 cm, w. 50 cm, thk. 6 cm. Above the inscription field, there are represented busts of two persons, one male, the other female, round-faced and short-necked. The two are separated by a half -column.
Discovered in Srem. Mitrovica in 1871, in Srijemska st. 89, in the place of the Christian necropolis. Transferred to the Archaeological Museum in Zagreb in 1883 where it still is, inv. no. 387.

Grujić 1870: 165; same, Mitt, der k.k. Central-comm. 16, 1871, p CVIII; Ljubić 1885: 17, No. 56; CIL III 6441; Brunšmid 1909b: 238, no. 387 (with phot.); Mirković 1971: no. 53 with phot. pl. IX 3. cf. Schober 1923: 96, No. 206, Abb. 107 (finding place erroneously marked).

*D(is) m(anibus) Maximina annos vixit | XXVII Gorgonius memori|am posuit compari sue | carissime de provincia | [5]Dalmatia defuncta penus | colonia(m) Sirmi(um). Manibus | posita memoria*.

Line 1: Maximimia – Schober, line 5: *penus* instead of *penes, vixit annos* – Schober,
Name Gorgonius often on Christian inscriptions (comp. Diehl, ILCV, index).
Brunšmid 1909b: 238 dates the monument to the 4th century on the base of the fibula on the man's clothes; Schober 1923 dates the monument between the 3rd and 4th centuries.

**145**

Fragment of a slab of white marble, h. 19 cm, w. 335 cm, thk. 55 cm. Traces of mortar have been preserved. Lines of shallow and regular letters are underlined. Discovered in Srem. Mitrovica. In 1882 transferred to the Achaeological Museum in Zagreb where it still is, inv. no. 373, phot.t. no. 777-11-37.

Ljubić 1883: 70, No. 2; Frankfurter AEM 9, 1885: 139; GIL III 10231; Brunšmid 1909b: 230, no. 373 (with phot.); Mirković 1971: no.45.

*[- - -] | et Aure[lia . . .] | Dorot[hea]*

**146**

Fragment of funerary slab of marble, broken in two, total h. 14 cm, w. 22 cm, thk. 2 cm. Unearthed in 1961 during systematic excavations. Now in the Museum of Srem.

Mirković 1971: no.46.
*[- - -] | [. . . . .]li | qui vix(it) an[n(is) . . . .] | et Aur(elia) Rus[tica] |[5]que vix(it) ann(is) [ . . . ] | Aur(elius) Mu[. . . . .] | et Aur(elius) [. . . . .]*

**147**

Marble slab, discovered in Srem. Mitrovica while digging a ditch, h. 82 cm, w. 60 cm, thk. 2.9 cm. On the upper part two different sized images were represented. In the field below it, there is a three-legged table with a person sitting at it, flanked by a female figure on the right, and a male on the left. Below that, there is an .inscription of which only a part is preserved. Lost.

CIL III 10225; Juraj 1882: 59; Mirković 1971: no. 47.

*D(is) m(anibus)* | *Aur(elius) Simplicius* | *[vixit] ann(is) VIII [- - -]*

**148**

Fragment of a limestone slab, h. 20 cm, w. 25 cm, thk. 3 cm. Unearthed on site 21 during the systematic excavations in 1963. Now in the Museum of Srem.

Mirković 1971: no. 48.

*[ - - -A]ureliae Ursae o* |*[- - -q]ue vixit cum s* | *[- - -]sus ? [- - -]*

**149**

Slab fragment of yellowish sandstone, h. 45 cm, w. 29 cm, thk. 8 cm. Unearthed in Srem. Mitrovica before 1879. That year it was in the Realka School; in 1883 transferred to the Archaeological Museum in Zagreb, where it still is, inv. no. 377.

Brunšmid AEM 4, 1880: 117, No. 3; Ljubić 1885: 16, no. 42; CIL III 10229; Brunšmid 1909, 179, no. 377 with phot.; Mirković 1971: no. 49.

*D(is) [m(anibus)]* | *Aurelia U[ . . . . fe]* |*cit mem[oriam mar]*|*ito Aur[elio]* |*5 vet(e)ra[no. . . . . an]nis [- - -]*

line 2: U[rbica fe] - Brunšmid VHAD; v[iva fe] - Ljubić, line 3: GET - Brunšmid, AEM, line 4: ET Q - CIL III, line 6: MAR - CIL III.

**150**

Fragment of tombstone of limestone, h. 30 cm, w. 25 cm, thk. 6 cm. Discovered in Srem. Mitrovica in 1959 at site 1. Now in the Museum of Srem.

Mirković 1971: no. 73.

*[- - -]us Castini* | *[- - -]nondum* | *[- - -]clis* | *[- - -]lis rapu[it]* | *[ - - -] ortis* | *[- - -]quod sis.*

Probably vers.

**151**

Limestone fragment of a statue basis. Old frame preserved on the right side, h. 108 cm, w. 48.5 cm, thk. 40 cm; letters, h. 5-5.5 cm. Discovered in 2014 in Kralja Petra I st. Now in the Museum of Srem, inv. no. A/5636.

Ferjančić et alii, ZPE 198, 2016: 299-300.

*T. Cominio* | *T. f(ilio) Quir(ina)* | *Secundo* | *[i[n honorem*
*[e]t solacium* | *[T.] Comini […] patris.*

The same gentile is attested in Sirmium bear the centurion of the II Adiutrix legion, decorated in the Dacia war T.Cominius Severus, who originated from Vienna in Gallia Narbonensis, no. 47. His tribus was Voltinia, that of Vienna. They are probably not connected.

**152**

Fragment of a funeral monument, discovered in Srem. Mitrovica. Only transcription of Marsigli is preserved.

Marsigli 1726: Tab. 42, 1; CIL III 3246; Mirković 1971: no.51.

*Titulum quem* | *T. Fl(avius)* | *faciendum cur(avit).*

**153**

Upper part of the funerary monument of limestone, h. 8 cm, w. 59 cm, thk. 25 cm; letters, h. 4 cm. Akroteria on the top; in the niche decorated on the both sides with columns, two portraits are represented, a man with a volume in his hand, and the small figure of a wife. Now in the Museum of Srem, unpublished.

The beginning of the inscription is preserved:

*D(is) M(anibus)* | *[---]*

**154**

Upper part of the big funeral slab of limestone, h. 190 cm, w. 116 cm, thk. 22 cm. letters, h. 7 cm. On the top the gable with the female portrait in the niche and birds on both sides of it; beneath it in the rectangular field between two columns the masculine portrait under the arch. Discovered in Srem. Mitrovica. Now in the Museum of Srem, unpublished.

Preserved only the first letter,
*D(is) [M(anibus)* | *[---*

**155**

Upper part of the funerary monument of limestone, h. 60 cm, w. 70 cm, thk. 20 cm; letters, h. 6-5.5 cm. Demi-circular gable on the top decorated with the head of Gorgona in the wreath. Bird on the right side of the wreath. Discovered in Srem. Mitrovica.

Dautova-Ruševljan 1990: 623 f. with phot.

*D(is) M(anibus)* | *[Fla?]via Mathi*|*[a]* | *[vixit] ann(is) XXII. H(ic) s(ita) e(st)* |[--

**156**

Fragment of the funerary slab, h. 45 cm, w. 35 cm, thk. 16 cm. Preserved only the right lower corner, decorated with the vase with plant on which bought are two birds.

Dautova-Ruševljan 1990: 624 with phot.

*---]* | *---Fe?]lix* | *[---facien]dum* | *[cu]ravit*

**157**

Fragment of the funerary monument of limestone, h. 50 cm, w. 40 cm, thk. 16 cm; letters, h. 5 cm. Letters in the profilled frame?

Dautova-Ruševljan 1990: 624 f. with phot.

*---]* | *---[RIE po[s(uit)* | *Veturius* | *Martianus* | *et Iul(ia* or *–ius--*

**158**

Limestone? slab, unregular forme, h. 52 cm, w. 50, thk. 8 cm; more cursive forme letters, h. 5-3.5 cm. Discovered in Sremska Mitrovica. Now in the Museum of Srem.

*Memoria* | *Marcelli vixit* | *annos quarn*|*ta (!) p<o>suit* | *Prim<u>us.*

Mistakes in writing: C instead of O in line 4, M in ligature wit V on line 5, and again V.

**159**

Lower part of a limestone tombstone, h. 88 cm, w. 71 cm, thk. 21 cm. Inscription field was without frame; below the inscription, a rather large space not written on. Discovered in J. Jovanović-Zmaj st. in Srem. Mitrovica in 1957, during the construction of a school (loc. no. 4). Now in the Museum of Srem, inv. no. 1023.

Vasilić, Lesek, Milošević 1958: 45 with phot.; A. et J. Šašel, ILJug. no. 276; Mirković 1971: no. 54, with phot. pl. X, 1.

*[- - -] avi? i? ... parentes* | *T. Petronius* | *[S]eptumianus.*

Line 1 : *[ . . . ]ivci [ . . ]* - Šašel.

**160**

Fragment of tomb slab of hard limestone, h. 76 cm, w. 56 cm, thk. 23 cm. The inscription mostly erased. Discovered in Srem. Mitrovica, in 1871, at the "Roman cemetery of St. Demetrius". Used for a number of years as a door-stop in Niška st. 856. In 1895 transferred to the Archaeological Musem in Zagreb, where it still is, inv. no. 389.

CIL III 6444; Brunšmid 1909b: 239, no. 389 with phot.; Mirković 1971: no. 55.

*[- - - p]osuer[un]t* | *[mat]ron(a)[e]* | *[bene] mere[nti]* | *[ . . . ] Rutil[lae* | *[5]q(uae) vix(it)] anni[s] LXX*

Line 1: VE and NT in ligature - CIL III; Brunšmid - without ligature,

Line 3: NT in ligature - CIL III; I at the end of the line - CIL III,
Line 4: AE in ligature - CIL III; IV FILIAE - CIL III.
The name could be *Rufilla, Rufilia* etc. CIL III 9711, 12116.

**161**

Lower right-hand corner of a tombstone of limestone, h. 55 cm, w. 49 cm, thk. 24 cm. The inscription field is bordered with columns ornamented by broken lines. Letters, h. 6-11 cm. T in the last line quite larger than the rest of the letters. Discovered on Braće Radića square in Srem. Mitrovica in 1954. Now in the Museum of Srem.

Mirković 1971: no. 56, with phot. pl.X 2.

*[ - - - ] | et L [ . . . . Vic] |torin[ae con]iug(i) [. . . . .] | T. Fl(avius) e[- - -]*

**162**

Fragment of a slab, discovered in front of the vestry of the church in Mitrovica in 1853. Next to it, another fragment of the same width was found on which the letter S had been cut in. Lost.

Okrugić 1854: 314-315; CIL III 3244; Mirković 1971: no. 57.

I S S I A
V L E S C E N T I E X P R O
I N F A E L V I C T O R I A
M . A V G G . N N . F R A T R

The inscription may have read:
*[- - -]issia | [- - - ad]|ulescenti ex pro[vincia | Pann(onia)] Inf(eriore) Ael(ia) Victoria [ . . . posuit | memoria]m Augg(ustis) nn(ostris) fratr(ibus) [co(n)s(ulibus)].*

*Augusti fratres* in the last lines could have been Marcus Aurelius and Lucius Verus, consuls in the year 161 (PIR 2 I p. 122; M. Aurelius III et L. Aurelius Comodus II; Degrassi, Fasti 45) or Caracalla and Geta in 208 (Degrassi, 58). Geta was first consul, then Augustus, although he had carried that title in the provinces even prior to that year (PIR III 217, n. 325). In so far as the completion [*Pann(onia)] Inf(erior)* is correct, it would also indicate that the monument originates from the time before Diocletian.

**163**

Fragment of slab of granular marble, h. 36 cm, w. 27 cm, thk. 4.5 cm. Discovered in Srem. Mitrovica after 1879, and transported to the gymnasium collection of antiquities. Now in the Archaeological Museum in Zagreb, inv. no. 378.

Brunšmid, AEM 4, 1880: 117 and idem 1909: no. 378 with phot.; Mirković 1971: no. 59.

*[---] A[---] |[- - -? Bo]nonia [- - -]*

**164**

Fragment of tomb slab of white marble, h. 16, thk. 6.5 cm. Discovered in 1893, in Sv. Roka st. 4 in Srem. Mitrovica. Now in the Archaeological Museum in Zagreb, inv. no. 380.

Brunšmid 1895: 164, 5, with phot. no. 116, on p. 165 and idem 1909: no. 380; Mirković 1971: no. 60.

*Conc[ordiae] | parent[es ... posue]|runt [- - -] qu [- - -]*

**165**

Fragment of slab of white marble, h. 24 cm, w. 16 cm, thk. 63 cm. Discovered in Srem. Mitrovica. Donated to the Archaeological Museum in Zagreb in 1894; still there, inv. no. 382.

Brunšmid 1895: 64, no. 5 with phot. 115, on p. 165 and idem 1909: no. 382; Mirković 1971: no. 61.

*[- - -] creat(a)e [q(ue) vix(it) ann(is)] | tribus m[ensibus quijnque d[iebus . . .] | [I]otap[ianus ?]*

**166**

Fragment of slab, probably the front side of a sarcophagus, h. 22 cm, w. 235 cm, thk. 15 cm. Discovered in Srem. Mitrovica, before 1879. Now in the Archaeological Museum in Zagreb, inv. no. 379.

Brunšmid, AEM 4, 1880: 117, 6; idem 1909: no. 379; Mirković 1971: no. 62.

*[- - -] def[unctus - - - quae] | vixit [annis . . . ] | Q. Bo[vius?]*

**167**

Fragment of the funeral slab of marble. Lost.

*D(is) M(anibus) | [---]dinilum*

**168**

Two fragments of a tombstone slab of white marble, which do not join: a) h. 27 cm, w. 14 cm, thk. 4,5cm; b) h. 165 cm, w. 26 cm. Discovered in Srem. Mitrovica in 1893, in Srijemska st. 93. Now in the Archaeological Museum in Zagreb, inv. no. 381.

Jung , letter no. 42 of April 17, 1893 (Arhiv of the Arch. Museum, Zagreb); Brunšmid 1895: 104, fig. 113; CIL III 143405; Brunšmid 1909b: 234, no. 341 (with phot.); Mirković 1971: no. 63.

*Do[ . . . ]ne compa|ri be[ne merenti? . .] tes quern? | suae [ . . . ]que bi|xit a[nnis . . .] | 5 et m[- - -]*

Line 2: FS CVEM - CIL III;
Line 3: bixit - comp. Mihaescu, Limba latina 89.

**169**

Fragment of a slab of marble. On the right side a leave is engraved. Lost.

*---]s et | [---Se?]ver an|[norum---]rum SPI|[---|]mo et C eor|[um --]*[5]*posita est | [---] D* or *B*

**170**

Fragment of a tombstone of white marble, h. 20 cm, w. 135 cm, thk. 3.3 cm. Discovered in Srem. Mitrovica after 1879. Now in the Archaeological Museum in Zagreb, inv. no 408.

Ljubić 1885: 15, no. 30; Brunšmid 1909: no. 408; Mirković 1971: no. 64.

*[- - -] es [ . . . ] | avos [- - -] | m sola[- - -] | merito [ . . . ]rus ubi m? pr [- - -]*

**171**

Fragment of a tombstone of limestone, yellowish in color, h. 47 cm, w. 50 cm, thk. 8.5 cm. Discovered in Srem. Mitrovica before 1879. Now in the Archaeological Museum in Zagreb, inv. no. 430.

Brunšmid, AEM 4, 1880: 122, 1; Ljubić 1885: 16, 43; Brunšmid 1909: no. 430; Ljubić 1885: 15, no. 30; Brunšmid 1909: no. 408; Mirković 1971: no. 65.

*[- - -] fili[is] | [- - -p]ater | [viv]us | [s]uis [- - -]*

**172**

Fragment of a tomb slab of marble, h. 30 cm, w. 15 cm, thk. 60 cm. The slab shows traces of mortar. Text mostly erased. Discovered in 1961, on locality 31, during systematic excavations in Srem. Mitrovica. The preserved letters are shallow, dense and of uneven sizes.

Mirković 1971: no. 66.

*[D(is)] m(anibus) [. . . . . .]i qui vixit [. . . . . .] et H [. . . . . .]nta [. . . . .]nem ami[ci bene mere]nti fac(iendum) c(uravit) T V[--.*

**173**

Fragment of a tombstone slab of coarse-granular white marble, h. 89, w. 12, thk. 25 cm. Discovered in Srem. Mitrovica, at the cemetery St. Sineros, perhaps by A. Hytrek 1882/3. Now in the Archaeological Museum in Zagreb, inv. no. 425.

Ljubić 1885: Tab. IV 42; Brunšmid 1909: no. 425; Mirković 1971: no. 67.

*[- - -]ni Pann*

**174**

Fragment of a funerary slab of white marble, h. 21 cm, w. 14 cm, thk. 2 cm. Probably discoverd by A. Hytrek 1882/3 at the cemetery St. Sineros in Srem. Mitrovica. Transferred to the Archaeological Museum in Zagreb, where it still is, inv. no. 404.

Ljubić 1885: Tab. IV 22; Brunšmid 1909: no. 404; Mirković 1971: no. 68.

*[- - -]ntu [- - -] | [- - -pra]efect-[o |- - -m]arit[ o- -].*

**175**

Fragment of a slab of limestone, h. 20 cm, w. 20 cm. Discovered in Srem. Mitrovica in 1957, at the corner of the streets Dr. Hadžija and B. Radičević. Now in the Museum of Srem, inv. no. 12.

Milošević, Milutinović 1958: 27 (with phot.); A. et. J. Šašel, ILJR no. 277; Mirković 1971: no. 69 with phot. pI. X, 3.

*[- - -]onio et [ - | - -c ]onss(ulibu)s A[nt]|onini ? [- - | - ] mem [riam?- - -]*

line 2: *[c]onss(ules)*: Milošević - Milutinović.

**176**

Fragment of a slab, discovered in Srem. Mitrovica in 1888, in Palanka st. Subsequently built into a house in Cigan-Mala where I. Jung saw it. Lost.

Jung, VHAD 11, 1890: 26; CIL III 13353; Mirković 1971: no. 70.

O E
A R T N
V A C I

**177**

Fragment of a rather large base (?) of white marble, h. 62 cm, w. 84 cm, thk. 40 cm. Discovered in 1875. Until 1893, it was at the home of M. Nikolić, Srijemska st. 16 (formerly Brdo no. 1061), used as a doorstep. Now in the Archaeological Museum in Zagreb, inv. no. 271. The stone is broken into two pieces. According to Brunšmid's description, there were wide frames on three sides of the stone. The front sideis rubbed out and the inscription is hardly discernible. The inscription surface is uneven, because the stone had been reused for a rather long time.

Brunšmid 1889: 38; CIL III 10228; Brunšmid 1909: 165 no. 281 (with a drawing); Mirković 1971: no. 72.

*[- - -]um | [ - - -]lic | [- - -]a ih | [- - -]faunt |*[5] *[- - -]ip signis egit | [ . . . ]d cie exercitus | r(es) p(ublica) Carthag(iensium) fa[- - -]*

Line 2: . .LIC - CIL III; line 3: ... AIH - CIL III; 10 - Brunšmid VHAD 10; Brunšmid remarks that these letters were cut in subsequently, after the stone had been dug out (VHAD 10; line 4: FAVNT - CIL III; IVNT - Brunšmid, VHAD 10; line 5: IPSIGMS EGIT -CIL III; E./.EGIT - Brunšmid, VHAD 10; line 6: D CIE ERSIVS GR - CIL III; L GIEXERCITVS GR - Brunšmid, VHAD 10; line 7: RP CARTH - CIL III; RP CARTAG, Brunšmid, VHAD 10.

**178**

Fragment, discovered in Srem. Mitrovica.

Marsigli 1726: 40, 3; CIL III 3248; Mirković 1971: no. 73a.

D I
C
V S E
L
V
I S

**179**

Fragment, discovered in Srem. Mitrovica.

CIL III 10230; Mirković 1971: 73b.

I
N . L V
I //// C A E
N VM
T I I

**180**

Fragment of a slab of white marble, built into house in Zanatska st. 18 (Adamović). One part was on the ground.

Jung, letter, no. 144, Jan. 76, 1902.

HIC EST
ITA FVI
M V I
M E I V S T
V S

**181**

Fragment, discovered in Srem. Mitrovica.

Marsigli 1726: Tab. 42, 5,6; CIL III 3250 and 3251; Mirković 1971: no. 73c.

R O
IIII F F

line 2: [- - -*leg(ions)] III F(laviae) f(elicis)*.

**182**
Inscription on the column, broken, discovered in the house no. 276 in Srem. Mitrovica.

CIL III 6445; Mirković 1971: no. 73d

A R I

**183**
Fragment.

CIL III 1027; Mirković 1971: no. 73e.

R I E S P R V

**184**
Fragment of a funerary monument.

*--]A?O | [---] XXXV |[---] II ex |[---]ARI | [---] ONI [--*

Fragments discovered on the place of the later the cemetery of St. Sineros which are not Chistian:

**185**
A small fragment of the marble slab, h. 10 cm, w. 20 cm, thk. 4.4 cm. Unurted probably by A. Hytreck 1882/3.

Brunšmid 1909: no. 416.

Brunšmid:
a)….*Vale]riae He[lenae P]*| ….*sio…*
b) ….*ie….*
….*da per an…..*| ….*[h]onore*

In the line 2 probably *ob h]onore[m flamonii* i sl.

**186**
Funerary slab of white marble, h. 93 cm, w. 15 cm, thk. 2.9 cm. Discovered in the cemetery of St. Sineros. Transported to Zagreb 1883.

Brunšmid 1909: no. 404; CIL III 143402.

*---[cuneus [---| ---]E Sirmi[--|--]us o*

C*unei equitum* were garrisoned in the surroundings of Sirmium in the forts Teutoburgijum, Burgenae, Cuccium and Accumincum (Not. Dign. oc. XXXII, 23-26).

**187**

The funerary slab, h. 38.5 cm, w. 48.5 cm, thk. 16.5 cm. Discovered in the Srijemska st.

CIL III 6442; Brunšmid 1909: no. 374.

[+- 8] | *[+- 7] re [..]ia paren|tes posueru|nt filie Aurelie Florentine qu|e (!) vixit an(os)* | *V dies LXVII*.

**188**

Two fragments of the funerary slab of marble, h. 16 + 30 cm, w. 41 + 16 cm, thk. 30 + 26 cm. Discovered in the garden of Pera Marusić in the Srijemska st. 117 in 1904.

Brunšmid 1909: no. 391.

a)
RINA VXOR EIV
PATIONUS TIT

b) I
LX
IVS
VS
TO
MOR
VER

Connecting both fragments J. Brunšmid reads:.....*i* |……..*Ix*|…….*us*|……*ius* | *Varus et Here[nnia Vic]torina uxor eiu[s hunc m]emor|ationis tit[ulum pos]uer(unt)*.

**189**

Fragment of slab, which was in the magistracy.

Jung, letter, no. 3, March 12, 1885.

O C
P V S

**190**

Fragment of altar, unearthed by the blacksmith Salaj.

Jung, letter, no. 50, Jan. 21, 1894.

B I L L
O D O

**191**

In an old building (sic), the bottom part of a statue of white marble was found with a scarcely legible inscription:

Jung, letter no. 50, Jan. 21, 1894.

C P M T Z U X

## GREEK INSCRIPTIONS FROM SIRMIUM

**192**

Funerary monument, found in Sremska Mitrovica. Preserved only as copy of Marsigli.

Marsigli 1726: tab. 41.

| | |
|---|---|
| *Μνημιον ΑΚΥΛΙΝΟΥ* | *Μνημίον Ἀκυλίνου* |
| *ΠΑΤΡΟΚΛΟΥ ΩΕΤΡΑΙ* | *Πάτροκλου ΩΕΤΡΑΙ-* |
| *κου ΕΛΙΙΜΟΥ ΝΟΕΡΑ* | *κου* |
| *ΛΙΣ ΛΟΑΝΑΤΟΣΕΤΩ …* | *ΛΙΣΑ θάνατος ἐτῶ[ν..* |
| *Σ. ΕΙΤΑΡ ΕΖηΣΕ ΝΓεΦΩ* | *σει ἔζησσε νγ’* ( 54) *ἐτῶν* |
| *ΤΗΣ ΦΘΟΝΟΣ ΟΥΚ ΗΣΟΣΕΗ* | *τῆς φθόνος οὐκ ἔσοσεν* |
| *Ν ΤΟΥ ΤΑΤΟ ΜΝΗΜΙ ΟΝΕ* | *αὐτοῦ τὰ τὸ μνημίον ἐ-* |
| *ΠΟΙΗΣΑΝ ΣΟ ΦΟΙΑ .. ..ΤΗΣ* | *ποίησαν τῆς σ-* |
| *ΗΣ ΚΩΜΗΗΣ ΣΑΒΑΛΛΗΣ Ο* | *ῆς κώμης Σαβαμης ὁ-* |
| *ΡΩΝ ΔΟΛΥΧΕΩΝ ΦΕΚΙΝΗΣ Ρ* | *ρῶν Δολυχέων* |
| *ΛΙΤΒ ΑΝΩΝΗΗΣ ΑΥΓΟΥΣΤΟ* | *… ἀννώνης Αὐγούστο..* |
| *ΕΓΟ ΡΑΤΗΣ Αο ΤΗΣ ΣΥΡΙ* | *Εὐφράτης ἀπὸ τῆ[ς] Συρί-* |
| *ΑΣ ΑΙΩΝΙΟΝ ΜΗΝΗΜΟΣΙ* | *ας αἰονιον μνημόσι-* |
| *ΟΝ* | *ον* |

**193**

Funerary slab of white marble, h. 30 cm, w. 22 cm, thk. 10 cm. Part of the slab on the upper right side is missing. Discovered in 1893, in Srem. Mitrovica, Krajiška st. 88. Now in the Archaeological Museum in Zagreb, inv. no. 185.

Brunšmid 1895: 163, 1 (fig. Ill, p. 163) and idem 1905: 101 no. 185 (with phot.); Mirković 1971: no. 105.

*[σῆμ]α Ἡρακλεί[ας] | [τέ]κνων <δ>ίχα [Κ]αλλιπόνη | φῶς | ἐννέα σὺν φιλίῳ τε|λέσασα χρόνου λυκαβάντων*

In line 2 *λίχα* instead of *δίχα*; *λυκαβάντων* often in the later Roman epitaphs for the year.
Two hexameters:
*...α Ἡρακλεί[ας τέ]κνων [δ]ίχα [Κ]αλλιπόνη φῶς ἐννέα*
*σὺν φιλίῳ τελέσασα χρόνου λυκαβάντων*. (Brunšmid 1895: 164).

**194**

Statue of Muse Erato of white marble, h. 37 cm. Preserved a fragment of the base with a leg up to the knee, and part of the garment. Brunšmid thinks that the fragment belonged to a group of Muses created by Philistos of Rhodes (2nd century). Discovered in Srem. Mitrovica. Now in the Archaeological Museum in Zagreb, inv. no. 38.

Brunšmid 1904: 24, 38; Mirković 1971: no. 106.

*Ἐρατὼ Μ[οῦσα]*

**195**

Fragment of a slab of yellowish marble, h. 22 cm, w. 23 cm, thk. 2.3 cm. Discovered in 1902, in Srem. Mitrovica, in Srijemska st. 89. Now in the Archaeological Museum in Zagreb, inv. no. 190.

Brunšmid 1907: 103, No. 109 (w. drawing); Mirković 1971: no.108.

[- - - ]*νεπ*[- - -]
[- - - ]*μων δομ*[- - -]
[- - - ]*ιμα τοῦτο* [- - -]
[- - - *μή*]*τηρ ἡμῶν* [- - -].

**196**

Fragment of a slab of white marble, h. 27 cm, w. 125 cm, thk. 5.2 cm. Discovered in Srem. Mitrovica. Now in the Archaeological Museum in Zagreb, inv. no. 186.

Ljubić 1883: 70, No. 3; Brunšmid 1905: 101, no. 186 (w. phot.); Mirković 1971: no. 109.

[- - - ]*πατ*[- - -] | [- - - ]*ουν*[- - -] | [- - - ]*κοντ*[- - -] | [- - - ]*μα*[- - -] | [- - - ]*τον*[- - -] | [- - - ]*ωδε*[- - -] | [- - - ]*ζαν*[- - -].

**197**

Fragment of a slab of white marble, h. 122 cm, w. 14 cm, thk. 2.6 cm. Discovered in Srem. Mitrovica, in Srijemska st. 95. Now in the Archaeological Museum in Zagreb, inv. no. 188.

Brunšmid 1905: 102, no. 188 (with drawing); Mirković 1971: no.110

[- - - ]*τλ*[- - -]
[- - - ]*οντε*[- - -]
[- - - ]*ωαννα*[- - -]

**198**

Fragment of a slab of white marble, h. 14 cm, w. 15 cm, thk. 3 cm. Discovered 1893 in Srem. Mitrovica in Srijemska st. 95 (Palanka st. 4). Now in the Archaeological Museum in Zagreb, inv. no. 187.

Brunšmid 1895: 164, no. 42; idem 1905: 102, no. 187 (w. drawing); Mirković 1971: no. 111.

*A*
*ΣTO*
*ΥMA*
*AN*

**199**

Fragment of a slab of white marble, h. 204 cm, w. 125 cm, thk. 36 cm. Discovered in 1903 in the garden in Srijemska st. 72, in Srem. Mitrovica, Now in the Archaeological Museum in Zagreb, inv. no. 189.

Brunšmid 1905: 102, no. 189 with drawing; Mirković 1971: no. 112.

*NΔI*
*OΥKA*
*ΥΠ*
*K*

**200**

Fragmemt of the marble slab, discovered in the vicinity of the southern city wall.

---]*AB*
---]*KƐITA ενθάδε* ] *κέιται*
---]ΦΕΒΡ *ιδους* ? ] *φεβρ*[*ουάριας*
---]HN Ṛ

## EARLY CHRISTIAN INSCRIPTIONS AND CHRISTIAN CEMETERIES IN SIRMIUM

The majority of Christian inscriptions from Sirmium were found in two Christian necropolises, one in the north-west of the city center that was formed around the church of St. Sineros, and the other on the eastern side of the town around the basilica of St. Irenaeus. Both were burial grounds even earlier, in the pre-Christian period. In both necropolises, a large number of inscriptions were discovered, pagan as well as Christian. The north-western necropolis, the one near the chuch dedicated to St. Sinners the martyr, was marked as locality **26** during the excavations. The location on which Irenaeus' basilica was discovered and the inscriptions around it is marked as locality **55** in the documentation preserved in the Archaeological Institute in Belgrade. They were marked in the same way in the useful survey of the topography of Sirmium by Petar Milošević, in his paper Tografija Sirmijuma.[396]

A number of Christian funeral inscriptions were accidentally discovered in Sremska Mitrovica in the 19th century in and around the church of St. Sineros and in nearby streets. Together with Christian

[396]Arheološka gradja Srbije, serija 1, knj. 3, Novi Sad 1994, 12 ff.

monuments, many fragments that were discovered by A. Hytrek during his archaeological research at the end of the same century found their way to the Archaeological Museum in Zagreb, either through purchase or as gifts from the local priests and J. J. Štrosmajer. They are preserved there today. All the tombstones that are preserved in the Archaeological Museum in Zagreb have been published by J. Brunšmid on several occasions, most completely in the journal Vjesnik Hrvatskog arheološkog društva (HAD) X, 1909, pp. 151-266, under the title Kameni spomenici hrvatskog narodnog muzeja u Zagrebu (Stone tombstones of the Croatian National Museum in Zagreb). In this publication, useful in many ways, the inscriptions were presented with photographs and descriptions, with dimensions and find spots. The data on the find spots are missing for the tombstones that were bought or were given to the Museum as a gift. The Christian inscriptions from Sirmium were also published in (CIL) III after the copies sent to CIL by Š. Ljubić or J. Brunšmid, or after the letters of J. Jung.

Some important Christian inscriptions were discovered during the French-Yugoslav excavations in Sirmium in the 1960s and 1970s, at the church that was dedicated to Sineros. Many Christian funerary monuments have also been found in the necropolis which was located on the eastern edge of the town territory, around the basilica dedicated to Saint Irenaeus. They are preserved in the Museum of Srem in Sremska Mitrovica. The project of the French archaeological team in Sirmium and the Archaeological Institute in Belgrade in the 1970s to publish all Christian inscriptions in the Central Balkans, including those discovered in Sremska Mitrovica, was not accomplished due to the death of V. Popović, who had designed the project and planned to carry it out.[397] The most important inscriptions discovered during the excavations of the necropolis around the church of St. Irenaeus were published before his death in a catalogue that accompanied the exhibition Roman imperial towns and palaces in Serbia, ed. D. Srejović Beograd, 1993 (nos. **156**, **157**) with good phot.graphs, but without detailed information on the tombstones and their find spots. Three Christian inscriptions from Sirmium were published recently by S. Ferjančić and I. Popović in Starinar 63, 2013 (no. **3**) and Starinar 66, 2016 (no. **4** and **15**) more than 30 years after they were discovered. Funerary slabs in the form of mensae which were found next to Ireanaeus' basilica were published by N. Duval, in the article Mensae funéraires de Sirmium et de Salone, VAHD 77, Disertationes Salonitanae II, 1984, 187-226.

A large number of fragments of tombstones with parts of inscriptions or some letters that cannot be reconstructed into a meaningful text, sometimes not even a single word, were found in both Christian necropolises. Many fragments which were discovered in the Christian cemeteries have no Christian markings and could belong to those buried in this necropolis before the 3rd century. A huge number of fragments are preserved in small pieces containing a single letter, and the word it belongs to cannot be recognized.

In the following pages, Christian inscriptions from Sirmium whose exact find spots are known are grouped into those that are connected with the necropolis of St. Sineros and those connected with the basilica of St. Irenaeus. The catalogue that follows also includes the preserved inscriptions of fragments that can be recognized as Christian and on which the names are preserved. There are also Christian inscriptions, mainly preserved in fragments, which were discovered in the centre of the Roman town near the palace. They are presented at the end of the catalogue. One tombstone, dated by consuls to 352 AD, is now in the Kunst-historischen Museum in Vienna. Its find spot in Sremska Mitrovica is not known.

[397] On the unrealised plan concerning the Christian inscriptions from Sirmium, see Popović, I. Ferjančić, S. 'A new inscription from Sirmium and the basilic of St. Anastasia', Starinar, n. s. LXIII, 2013, 101.

In the excavations conducted by A. Hytrek in 1882 and 1883, a small basilica surrounded by graves was discovered in the north of Sremska Mitrovica, in Srijemska ulica, "Vrbica" and "Majurska Bara" west of the Roman city wall.[398] New excavations were performed there again in 1960, 1962 and 1970. It is estimated that the burials in this necropolis could be dated to the period from the 1st until the 5th century AD. The church discovered by A. Hytrek is dated relatively early, to the end of the 4th century. Around it emerged the Christian necropolis at the same place as the early necropolis from the 1st to the 3rd centuries AD.

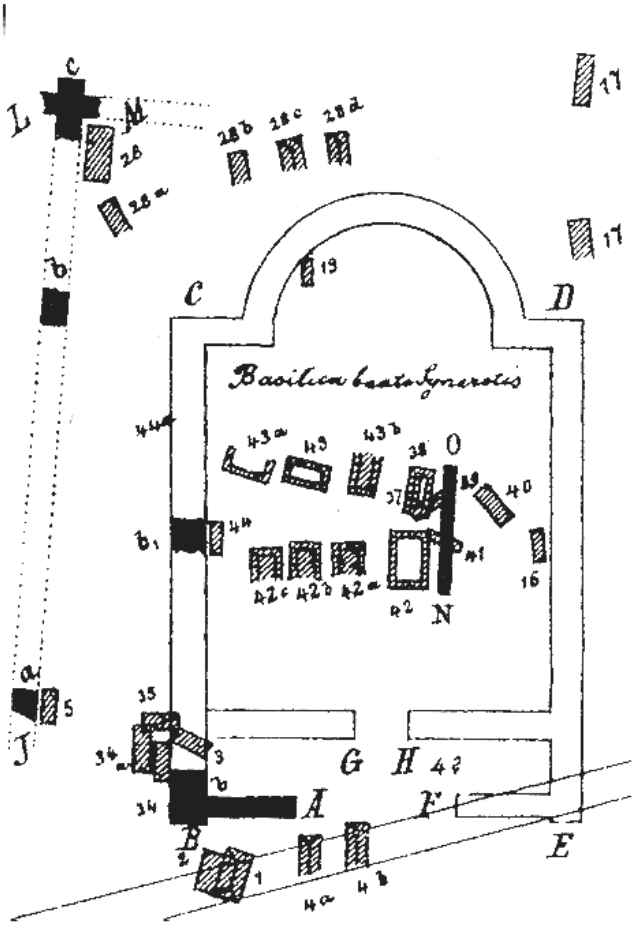


Fig. 22. Sineros church and necropolis (A. Hytrek, Pl. 1)

[398] Hytrek 1894: 1-6. Cf. Milošević 1961: 71-76 with the plan of A. Hytrek's excavations, Tab. XII. On the reconstruction plan of St. Sineros's chapel see Jeremić 2006: 115-129.

Graves constructed of bricks and sarcophagi in the necropolis at the church of St. Sineros were dug out at different depths, in layers one above the other, which would imply that the necropolis was in use during a longer period of time. The simplest type of burial are graves made of bricks bound by white mortar with a two-pitched roof; the second type are graves made of bricks with slanting sides. The third type is architecturally developed and has side walls that end in a semi-circle, while the two-pitched roof is made of two rows of bricks. In this necropolis, they also discovered graves for two people and sarcophagi in which two people might have been buried as is indicated by the inscriptions. The graves found at the first layer were made of bricks covered by red mortar.[399]

Around the church of St. Sineros a large number of inscription fragments were discovered, which were established to be Christian, and there were others for which it can be guessed that they were not Christian. In the archaeological research in this location in the 1960s and 1970s more significant Christian inscriptions were discovered,[400] as well as a large number of fragments of marble tombstones, which may be Christian inscriptions.

**201**

Funerary monument of marble, h. 55 cm, w. 58 cm, thk. 6 cm. Discovered in Sava Simatović's garden, on the place called Vrbica 1875, transported to Zagreb 1883.

CIL III 10233; Brunšmid 1909: no. 394; Diehl, ILChv 2181.

A (christogram) Ω . *Ego Artemidora | feci viva me memori|am ad dominum \ Synerotem inte|rantem ad dexte|ram inter Fortuna|tanem et Desiderium|* A (christogram) Ω .

*Interantem*: that means from the entrance in the church. The place in the church for fixing the funerary slab had to be purchased, comp. the inscriptions in St. Lorenzo in Rome, in one *ad mesa beati Laurenti descidentibus in cripta parte dextera*, in the second *in basilica maiore ad domnu Laurentium in mesa e situ presbiteriu*.[401]

**202**

Tombstone of white marble, h. 74 cm, w. 77 cm, thk. 7.5 cm. The left top corner is missing. Discovered 1875 in the garden of Sava Simatković on the place "Vrbica" in the cemetery of St. Sineros and transported to the Archaeological museum in Zagreb 1883. Preserved there.

CIL III 10232 = Dessau, ILS 9205; Brunšmid 1909: no. 393; Diehl, ILChv 2182.

*[A (hristogram?] Ω [Ego Aur]elia Aminia po|[sui] titulum viro meo| [F]l(avio) Sancto ex n(umero) Iov(ianorum) pr(o)tec(tori | benemeritus qui vixit | ann(is) pl(us) m(inus) L qui est defunc|tus civit(ate) Aquileia. Titulum | posuit ad beatu Syneroti ma|rture et infane (!) filiam suam nomine Ursicina | qui vixit annis n(umero) III.*

[399] On these tombes see Milošević 1961: 71-79.

[400] Excavations have been conducted by Pokrajinski zavod za zaštitu spomenika kulture iz Novog Sada in 1960-1961 and by Jugoslav-american team in 1969-1970.

[401] Krautheimer 1960, 15-40.

There are many errors in writing and in grammar in the inscription: *ad beatu* instead *ad beatum*, *Syneroti* for *Sinerotem, Marture* instead *martyrem*, *infane* without m in the end. *Martur* was probably spoken form, as prove other inscriptions with the same word, for instance *Marturius* in the inscription no. **4**, instead Martyrius.
Flavius Sanctus could be a soldier who served in the legion *V Iovia*, one of two legion which were sent by the emperor Iulian from Sirmium to the Gaul 361 AD.[402] He might lost his life during the revolt of this army in Aquilea, Amm. Marc. XXI 11-12. His cenotaph was set in the church devoted to the St. Sineros, *ad beatum Sinerotem*, as those of other officers of high rank.

**203**

Fragment of a marble slab, brocken on all sides, h. 39 cm, w. 24 cm, thk. 2.5 cm; letters, h. 3-6 cm. Discovered during the excavation on the site 26, on the place of the chapel of St. Sineros; preserved in the Museum of Srem.

Popović, Ferjančić 2013: 101-114.
Ferjančić reads:

*[In dom]o beati[ssimae dominae nost]re Anast[asiae …---|----in] hoc loco d[epositus|---]x qui conv[ixit mecum annis---|---]qui vixit a[nnos---|---fili]o eius d(ie) pridie [---|T Fl(avius)* or *Fl(avia) Decent[--]|*

I. Popović and S. Ferjančić connect this inscription with the supposed basilica of St. Anastasia in Sirmium. The inspection of the phot. of the monument enables corrections of this reading: the rest of the letter in the beginning of the line 1 is rather D, in the end of the line after *beati* could not be S, because the rest of the letter is not curve but horizontal line, probably of an T, that means that *beati* is the masculinum followed by an T.; RE in the line 2 could be a part of *marty]re* . The line 1 could be completed in expected *In memoriam ad dominus, In basilica domini nostri, ad beatu Syneroti martyre.* If so, the inscription could hardly be a proof for the existence of the basilica consecrated to of St. Anastasia in Sirmium.
*Fl. Decen*…in the end of the inscription could be identified as Flavius Decentius known as officer whom the emperor Constantius sent to Iulian in Gaule to bring to him military detachments for his war in the East, Julian, Ep. Ad Ath., 283C-284. He was also later in the escort of Constantius, Amm. Marc. XX, 8, 4. In Libanius, Ep. 839 he appears as pagan. In Sirmium ad St. Sineros was pprobbaly buried his wife. About him comp. PLRE I, s.v. Flavius Decentius.
In this cemetery were buried other personalities from the imperial court, as *pincerna* attested in the next inscription.

**204**

Marble slab damaged on all sides and broken in five pieces, h. 47 cm, w. 28 cm, thk. 2.5 cm; letters 7-8 and 9 cm. The right and lower parts of the slab are missing.The original edge preserved on the top and on the right side. In the end of the inscription a leave. Discovered in the site 26, in the cemetery at the chapel of St. Sineros. Preserved in the Museum of Srem.

[402] Amm. Marc. XXI 11 ff; Mirković 1971: 39 ff.

Popović, Frejančić 2016: 132-133.

*[A] + Ω | [Fl.M]arturiu|[s p]incerna Fl(avii)? C]onstanti|[i i]nperatori|[s (!) qui] vixsit (!) an|[nis] nonag|inta una cu|m matron|a sua Man[*

The preserved half of the line 1 makes possible to define the length of other lines. In the first six lines two to three letters are missing. It could be assume that Marturius in the line 2 was *Flavius* because of his high rank as *pincerna* (cup-bearer) of the emperor in the line 2.
As the former two, this inscription proves that the personalities of high rank, close to the emperor Constantius were buried in the cemetery around the chapel of St. Sineros. As Constantius was on the side of Arius, it could be assumed that it was a necropolis of those who accepted this doctrine.

**205**

Funerary slab, h. 71 cm, w. 89 cm, thk. 5 cm. Discovered in Srem. Mitrovica, in Sremska (Srijemska) street.

CIL III 10 237; Brunšmid 1909: no. 376; Diehl. ILCv 3611. Comp. Mihaescu, Limba latina, 252, no. 265.

Christogram with *hi* and *ro* | *Aurelia Urbici* | *Fla(vio) Martiniano* | *cumpare (!) suo* |[5] *in (p)acae (!)* | *carissimo e<t> dulciss|ime (!) filiae mater pississima* | *dolies (!) <f>ratri e(t) et filiae* | *m<a>emoriam posuit.*

Line 5: *Inacae* Brunšmid, *in (p)acae* Diehl, line 8 probably *patri et filiae.*
Errors in writing: ACAE for *pace*, TRATRI instead of *fratri*, *ae* instead of *e* in *pacae*, *cumpari* for *compari, dolies* for *dolens*, point to somebody who was not familiar with Latin. Similar errors in the inscription no. 206 from the same cenmetery, *eiliss* for *filiis, eilia* instead of *filia*.

**206**

Slab of a dark limestone, with inscription in a simple frame, h. 45 cm, w. 51 cm, thk. 18 cm; letters, h. 3 cm. Damaged on the top and on the right side; a part on the top left is missing. Original edge preserved in the lower part and on the left side. Discovered not far from the cemetery around the St. Sineros' churche on the site 26, on the place "Žitna pijaca". Preserved in the Museum of Srem.

Mirković 2016a: no. 6.

*Dulcissimis eiliis (!) I ili E[+-3] | Surus eilius (!)Salam[.....]| tabulam memoriae p[os(uit)?]| Tic[i]ae eiliae [q]ui vixi[t ann(is)...]*|[5] *menses X dies XXIII[.....| ...f]rater (!) eius qui vixit ann(is)[....] |menses VII dies VIII hic posi[ti| [sunt] in pace quiescent.*

Line 1: eiliis, eilia, for *filii, filia*
The name Surus could be someone originating from Syria. SALAM in the end of the line 2 is not known neither as the personal nor as geographic name.

* * *

On the place of the necropolis called St. Sineros have been discovered numerous slabs whose Christian character is signalized by terms used, as *in pace, decessi, innocens* and similar or by Christogram. To this group belong the following fragments:

**207**

Fragment of a marble slab, h. 34 cm, w. 29.5 cm, thk. 8 cm. Discovered in front of the house of Mate Bijondić, in the Srijemska st. 113 in Srem. Mitrovica.

CIL III 15136[2]; Brunšmid 1909: no. 392.

*[---]Venan(tius) ?*| *in p[ace---*|*[---]et in me[moriam---]*|*[---]nos ab* [---

**208**

Fragment of a marble slab, broken in two pieces, h. 46 cm, w. 47 cm, thk. 2 cm. Discovered by A. Hytrek during the archaeological investigation of the necropolis of St. Sineros in Sirmium. The inscription on both sides of the stone.

CIL III 10236; Brunšmid 1909: no. 396; Diehl, ILChv 3611.

a) Front side, Brunšmid reads:
*In pace A[---]*| *[---]llae virg(ini) q(ue) v[ixit ---]* | *XII et Aul(iae) Ma[ximae* q(uae) *vixit an(nis) V et [---] et A[ul(ia) Quin]*|*tina soroq(uae) [---]*| *hanc memo[riam---*
Line 2: VIRQ?
b) Back side:
*AGER[---]*\ *STIG'*|*AIL* B
Brunšmid: *Acer[bum? …]* | *est ign.…*.| *…n*|*…*
Line 1-2: could be read *in p]ace R[---* | *sita e]st*

**209**

Fragment of a funerary slab of white marble with redish streaks, h. 10 cm, w. 20 cm, thk. 4.4 cm. Probably discoverd by A. Hytrek in 1882/3 at the St. Sineros cemetery. Transferred to the Archaeological Museum in Zagreb in 1883, where it still is, inv. no. 416. There are inscriptions on both sides of the slab. The slab was probly reused on another grave.

Ljubić 1885: tab. IV (only the inscription on the front side); Brunšmid 1909: no. 416; Mirković 1971: no. 71.

*a)*
*[- - -] Valeriae* | *He[lenae?- - -].*

*b)*
*[- - -] ie [ - - -]* |*da per an [nos?- -*| *- ] honore [- - -]*

**210**

Fragment of the white marble slab, h. 28 cm, w. 37 cm, thk. 4 cm. Discovered in the cemetery of St. Sineros and transported to the Archaeological museum in Zagreb in 1883.

Brunšmid 1909: no. 401.

*[A in pa]ce Ω |[Innoc]enti Timo[+-5 Ti]motheus et [+-2|[+-5 pa]rentes filio.*

**211**

Fragment of the marble slab, h. 23.5 cm, w. 37 cm, thk. 3.6 cm. Discovered in the cemetery of St. Sineros by A. Hytrek and transported the Archaeological museum in Zagreb in 1883.

Brunšmid 1909: no. 397.

*X.[---]mus pat[er | et –Lu?]picina mate[r fi]liae Ma]ximane (!)virgin[i memoria]|m*

A part of Christogram is preserved in the line 1.

**212**

Fragment of the funeral slab of white marble, h. 30 cm, w. 30 cm, thk. 3 cm. Discovered by A. Hytrek during the archaeological investigation of the St. Sineros' necropolis.

Brunšmid 1909: no. 402.

Probably metrical inscription:

*---]are ipso | [---] nutrivit supe[ris?| [---pa]rva non d[--]|[---]in item de[positus/a |[---]ma si Ursicinus | [--pa]ce ann[--*

* * *

Numerous fragments with the inscriotions with the formulation *in pace*, *quiescit in pace*, *depositus, excessit* and similar have been discovered during the excavation in the necropolis 26 in the 70s of the 19th century. Only photographic documentation is preserved in the Archaeological Institute in Beograd. Unpublished.

**213**

Fragment of the funeral slab of marble. Discovered in the site 26. Unpublished.

*--- vim ? ---]| excess[it---]*| SET *Chr|[isti?---| deposit(a)* or *(us)---| hoc t(itulum?----]*

**214**
Fragment of the funeral slab of marble. Discovered in the site 26. Unpublished.

*---]quies[cit in pace |[----]M dei II* | B

**215**
Fragment of the funeral slab of marble. Discovered in the site 26. Unpublished.

*---v]ixi[t---] | [---]iti lib(ertus? |[---quiescit] in pac[e*

On some of the fragment a Christogram or part of it is preserved in the middle or in the beginning of the inscription.

**216**
Fragment of the funeral slab of marble, h. 17 cm, w. 25 cm, thk. 4 cm. The original edge is preserved only on the right side, in the middle christpgram is engraved. Discovered in the house of Sava Simatović, in the place where the rest of the St. Sineros' church have been discovered, now the site 26.

CIL III 6448; Brunšmid 1909: no. 406.

*Depos]ita | [---]oria.*

**217**
Fragment of the marble funenary slab, discovered in Srem. Mitrovica during the excavations on the site 21. Unpublished.

*---]dierum | [---deposit]us VII Ka[lendas [---*

**218**
Fragment of the funeral slab of marble, h. 15 cm, w. 21 cm, thk. 2 cm. In the middle is engraved christogram in the circle. Discovered by A. Hytrek in the cemetery of St. Sineros.

Brunšmid 1909: no. 407. CIL III 15340[7].

*[In h]oc loco p[ositus est i|nnocens i[uvenis*

Brunšmid reads: *hic iacet.*

**219**
Fragment of the funeral slab of marble, h. 9 cm, w. 11.2 cm, thk. 2.4 cm. In the middle is engraved christogram in the circle. Discovered by A. Hytrek in the cemetery of St. Sineros 1879.

Brunšmid 1909: no. 412.

Preserved only letter --]ABVS

Christogram is in the beginning of the inscription is on the following fragments:

**220**

Fragment of the slab of white marble, h. 22.5 cm, w. 21.5 cm, thk. 2.7 cm.

CIL III 14340[4]; Brunšmid 1909: no. 400.

*A] (christogram) W |-----] [---] Hic locus | [Petro]nille est*

**221**

Fragment of the funerary slab of white marble with bluish stripes, h. 23.5 cm, w. 42.5 cm, thk. 8 cm.

CIL III 14340[6]; Brunšmid 1909: no. 433.

*---]| .lla [……..ca]rissim[ae filiae…in]|fanti in[ocentissimae quam] | a se demise[runt ….vixit annos …]|mens(ibus) IV d[ie(bus)…*

**222**

Two fragments of the funeral slab of white marble, height together 27 cm, w. 16.5 cm, thk. 4.5 cm. Discovered in Srijemska st. 93.

Brunšmid 1909: no. 381.

DO ME CONPA
RIBE GUELA ?
SVAE IERI
XIT
ET

Brunšmid reconstructed the following text:
*Do[mitiae ??Maximim]in(a)e compa|ri be[ne merenti..es]Guela (!?sua g[....q]u(a)e bi|xit a[nnis...*
Line. 1: *Do[mi]ne compa[re] be[ne merenti*;
Line 2: SC [p]uela ?

## NEKROPOLIS AROUND THE BASILICA OF ST. IRENAEUS

On the eastern border of the town, marked as locality no. **55**, was discovered a church during the excavations in 1976, with the inscription no. **223** in which its name is confirmed as *basilica sancti Erenei.*[403] The basilica was a single-nave construction with an apse on the eastern side, without a

[403] Popović 2003a: 259-263.

pronaos and liturgical annexes, approximately 25 meters long and 14 meters wide.[404] In the church and outside of it a large number of graves were discovered. The deceased were buried in various ways: in plain graves, in brick graves, one of which was painted, and in sarcophagi. In the church itself as well as around it several inscriptions and many fragments were discovered.

**223**

Marble slab, h. 57 cm, w. 37 cm, thk. 4 cm. Discovered in Sirmium during the excavation of the basilica of St. Irenaeus, near the altar of the church. Below the inscription Christogram and the palm bought.

P(etar) M(ilošević), (Srejović) 1993: 353, no. 158, with phot.; Popović 2003a: 259-263, with phot.

*In basilica domini* | *nostri Erenei (!) ac mem*|*oriam posuit Maced*|*onius una cum m*|*atronam (!) suam (!) {A}*| *Ammete Evenati.*

On the martyr Irenaeus see Zeiller 1918: 68-128. Ammete Evenati could be a Greek name.

**224**

Fragment of the marble slab brocken im three parts, h. 42 cm, w. 41 cm of white marble with redish streaks. Two fragment in the end missing, but known on photography. Discovered on the same place as no. **223**, on the site 55 during the excavations. Preserved in the Museum of Srem.

P(etar) M(ilošević), (Srejović) 1993: 350, no. 157 only phot. of two fragments, Milin 1996: 245 f., without two fragments.

*In hoc l[oco---]* (christogram) *[requiescat in]* | *pace Urs[ici]*|*nus exorcis[ta]*| *conmemorati(onem)* |[5] *fecit Laurentia* | *[sa]nctimonialis* | [----]*sus* | *dep(o)s(itus) Kal(endas) Sep(tembres)* [---]

r. 2 *iacet* Milin
Sanctimonialis in the meaning of innocens.

**225**

Funerary slab of marble, brocken in two fragments, h. 46.5 cm, w. 67.5 cm, thk. 6.6 cm. On the low side a part of the inscription is missing. Discovered in Srem. Mitrovica and transported to the Archaeological Museum in Zagreb 1882.

Brunšmid 1909: no. 385; CIL III 10235: Diehl, ILChv 1225 adn.
*A Ω* and christogram in the middle in which are ingraved *hi* i *ro*|
*In pace quiescet* | *Macarius diaconus curante [Ge]*|*rontia c[oniuge eius].*

*Mensae* or *piscinae* are found in this basilica. Some of them are published by N. Duval.

[404] Jeremić 2005 : 127 ff.

**226**

Fragment of rectangle slab, probably piscina. Preserved only the right low corner, h. 26.7 cm, w. 14.1 cm, thk. 5.2 cm, with part of the inscription.

Duval 1984: 183 with drawing; Milošević 1994: only phot. on 171.

A
P
M

On the right edge:: ---]*percepi* | *[ ---]menserum VII*
On the lower edge preserved HANC could be supplemente d in
*hanc [piscinam comparavit---*.

In the basilica of St. Irenaeus have been discovered another fragment what N. Duval recognized as *mensa*.
There are others fragments of this kind of monument from Sirmium. Find spot is not known.

**227**

A fragment of the round mensa, broken in two, h. 25 cm, w. 20 cm, thk. 1.9 cm. A part of the profiled frame is preserved. Brunšmid mentions the frame on the back side. Part of the inscription on the front side.

CIL III 10240; Brunšmid 1909: no. 390; Duval 1984: 183 with drawing.

*---depositu]s est Kal(endis) O[ctobribus |----a et dimisi | ---pu]ellam Sae|[cundina (!) patri _? pienti]ssimo---*

**228**

A fragment of the round mensa with the Greek inscription.

Duval 1984: 184, with drawing. Preserved in the documentation in the Museum of Srem.

*---EI αὐ[του* or *-τηϛ---*
*---ανιλα*

N. Duval quotes it together with three other mensa fragments without inscription.

**229**

Marble slab, h. 70 cm, w. 55 cm, thk. 5.5 cm.

P(etar) M(ilošević) (Srejović) 1993: 349, no. 156 with phot.

*Hic duo innocentes | quiescunt Petrus et | Victorinianus fide|les vixit Petrus an(o) uno | mense dies VIII Victori|nianus vixit an(nos) IIII m(enses VII dies XV.*

Many fragment were discovered in this cemetery. Some of them bear text which could be recognized as Christian.

**230**

Fragment of the marble funerary slab brocken in two. Phot. preserved in the documentation of the Institute of Archeology, Belgrade.

*...In pace | --- Iu?]stino f(i)lio | PIADEST SN |---IV.*

Many fragments contain one or more letters which could not be identified as a part of the words. Some of them are to be dated before the third century and before the Christians were buried on this site.

## CHRISTAIN MONUMENTS DISCOVERED OUTSIDE OF THE TWO CEMETERIES

**231**

Fragment of the funerary slab of marble, h. 52 cm, w. 38 cm, thk. 5 cm. On the upper part Christogram and the bird. Below the inscription a branch with flowers. Discovered in Srem. Mitrovica. Preserved in the Archaeological museum in Zagreb.

Brunšmid 1909: no. 384, with phot.

*M. Iuvenian[us? ….| Co]nstantuan[o?.....| qui] vixit ann(is) …..|….sit in pac[e].*

**232**

Fragment of the funerary slab of marble, h. 33 cm, w. 54.5 cm, thk. 7 cm. Discovered in Srem. Mitrovica and transported to the Archaeological museum in Zagreb.

Brunšmid 1909: no. 386, with phot.

*..]ae in pace | [quae v]ixit annosVIIII | [me]nses quattuor | [dies se]x Iovinus |[...*

**233**

Fragment of the funerary slab of marble, h. 23 cm, w. 40 cm, thk. 34 cm. Discovered in the "Roman cemetery" in Srem. Mitrovica, transported to the Archaeological museum in Zagreb.

CIL III 6449; Ljubić 1885: 16, no. 40; Brunšmid 1909: no. 388, with phot.

---] *requiescit | in pace] OT GARIUS.*

*Otgarius*, Brunšmid.

**234**

Rectangular slab of marble.

A] HRI Ω

**235**

Slab of limestone, h. 70 cm, w. 34 cm. Immured in the floor in the house on square of St. Demetrius (Trg Sv. Demetrija) no. 10 in Srem. Mitrovica.

I. Jung, letter no. 200, Mai 16th 1902.

*Flavio (christogram) Aur|elio fili(o) ARE|SCI et Cresce|ntiae qui vix|it annos | XX <d(ies?> III et [--*

**236**

Round slab of sandstone, upper side incomplete and broken in three pieces, diam. 27, thk. 2,6 cm. Discovered in Srem. Mitrovica. At the end of the 19th century, it was in Đakovo. Lost.

Brunšmid, Kubitschek, AEM 4, 1880: 101; CIL III 10234.

D P O XII k
M A R T
A G F N S I N R

Probably: *d(e)p(ositus) (ante) d(iem) XII K(alendas) | Mart(ias) agens in r(ebus),* according to AEM.

**237**

Slab, built into the cellar of R. Petrović in Srem. Mitrovica, Kuzminska st. 695.

I. Jung, letter no. 50, Jan. 21st, 1894.

L I O M I O
D F O S T T A
I N P T E Q V I C
C C O N I V

Line 1: *Somnio* ? line 2: *deposita,* line 4: *---o] coniu[gi |[---*

**238**

Slab of marble, h. 56.5 cm, w. 74 cm. Discovered in Srem. Mitrovica, preserved in Vienna in the Kunsthistorisches Museum: Antikensammlung, inv. no. III, 87.

Mommsen, Bull. del'Inst. Di correspondenza arch. 1868: 143; Kenner, Mitt. d. Zentralkomm. 14, 1869: XLII; A. Wilchelm, Bull. Inst. arch. 16, 1950: 45; Bagnall, Consuls, s.v.; Noll, Von Altertum zum Mittelalter, Kat. B.5, fig 19 without text.

*Ὑπατείᾳ τῶν δεσπότων*
*ἐμῶν Φλαου(ίου)Ἰουλ(ίου) Κωνσταντίο-*
*υ ἀνικητοῦ σεβαστοῦ τὸ ε καὶ Φλαυίου*
*Κωνσταντίου ἐπιφανεστάτου*
*Κέσαιρος μηνὸς ξανδικοῦ δκε' έ[δ]όθη*
*εἰς A☩Ω τὴν*
*μνημί A☩Ω ἀν τα*
*ΑΣ τὴν Βασιλιανὸς πρα[γμα]-*
*τεύτης ὑιός[……..*
Line 2: *Φαλυίου Ἰουλίου* Kenner, *Φλαυίου* Worp et al. Possible *Φλαυίου Ἀ*(*ουγυστου*). A or Λ is clear on the phot. (Noll)
Line 4 e (?) (*ωρ*)*θωθη* Kenner, *ε*[*δ*]*όθη* Worp et al.
*Πραγματευτῆς* is known from inscriptions and papyri in different position; he could have been engaged in private or state busnisses, in the service of the city and could be a slave; The meaning coud be the same as *agens in rebus*.

Date: April 24th 352 AD

**239**

Fragment of marble slab, h. 19.5 cm, w. 30 cm, thk. 4.5 cm. Discovered in 1961, in Srem. Mitrovica. The old edge is preserved on the upper and the right sides.

Mirković 1971: no. 107, with phot. pI. XIII, 2.

[- - -*π*]*όλιν Θεσσαλονέικεν* [- - -]*ξας ἐμαυτῶν* | [- - -]*θον ἀνέλθον καὶ φα* |[- - -] *ἐνθάδε κέιμε ἐις τὸ* | [ - - -]*σας μοχθούσε* | [ - - -]

**240**

Fragment of the marble slab, h. 17.5 cm, w. 9.5 cm, thk. 2.5 cm. In the middle of the inscription chistogram; letters, h. 2.8-3 cm.

Popović, Ferjančić 2016 (forthcoming).

Ferjančić:
] | [---| ---*ἔζησεν* | [--- | ---] *ἀποθνήσκ*[*ει* ---| ---]*αντων A*[---|[5]*ΛΛΟ* [---[---|---[*υστου* [---|---]*ΛΕΥ* ---|---

Probably:
*Ἔζησεν* ----] *ἀποθνήσκ*[*ει*--- ] [----]*αν τῶν*[---] (christogram) *ϕ Φλαου*[*ίου*---*Ἰο*]*ύστου τ*[---]

**241**
Slab with inscription, discovered 1870 in Srem. Mitrovica.

Kenner, Funde von Römersteinen, MZK 17, 1872: XCIII, II/ Nr.1; Kovacs, Prohaszka, ZPE 164, 1008, 139-140.

A (christogramm) Ω | [---]*OTOI Χριστοῦ* +| [---]*ΠΡΑΕΟΣ* or *πραεος ἁγνῶς βιοτὸν* | [*ἔζησε* (?) *περιπλόμε*[*νων ἐνιαυτῶν*.

**242**
Marble slab as described by Kenner, "von 13 Zoll höhe und 16 Z. breite, drei Buchstaben 1 1/3 bis 1 ½ Zoll hoch, mager und sehr verwischt" (h. 34,5 cm, w. 42,5 cm; letters, h. 3,5-4 cm). Discovered in the cemetery in Srem. Mitrovica and used as plastering in the house no. 456.

Kenner, Funde von Römersteinen, MZK 17, 1872: XCIII, II Nr. 2; Kovacs, Prohaszka, ZPE 164, 1008, 140-141.

[ ---] A[---} | *ΕΙΣΗΕ* [--] | *LITOA* + [---] | *ΝΟΛΗΤΑΙΣ* [--- *Ἐρ*(?)] |*μόστερου τῆς* [---] | *τῆς Κόιλης Συρίας* [--- *ἔζησε ἔτη τεο*]|*σαράκοντα μ*(*ῆνας*) *ι' κε*[*ι*---] |*θήσας τὸν Τίτου* [*τίτλον*] | *ὁ ἀδελφὸς αὐτ*(*ο*)*ῦ* [---] | (christogrmm)

**243**
Brick, h. 35 cm, w. 35 cm, thk. 5 cm. Discovered in Srem. Mitrovica. Now in Vienna, in the Kunsthistorisches Museum, Antikensammlung.

Brunšmid, Eranos Windobonensis 1893: 331-333; Kovács 2001: no. 138 Cf. Noll 1989: 139-154. For bibliography see Moravcsik 1958: 303.

*Χρ*(*ίστε*) *Κ*(*ύρι*)*ε Β*(*ο*)*ήτι τῆς πόλεος κὲ ῥύξον τὸν Ἄβα*|*ριν κὲ πύλαξον τὴν Ῥω*|*μανίαν*|[5] *κὲ τὸν γρ*|*άψαν*(*τα*). *Ἀμή*(*ν*).

The brick is dated in the time of Avar's siege of Sirmium in 580s AD.

**244**

Bottom part of a tombstone, h. 98 cm, w. 75 cm, thk 2.3 cm. The letters are regular and inscribed with interspaces, h. 4-5 cm. Discovered at the place called Kaluđerske Vodenice, midway between Srem. Mitrovica and Manđelos, in 1961. Now at the place where it was found. At the top side, the monument is unevenly broken off; the inscription field was ornamented with pilasters on both sides. On the socle, there was represented a vessel from which a vine with heart-shaped leaves comes forth.

Mirković 1971: no. 74, with drawing pl. XI 1.

*[- - - ] | [b]us obitis [et] | Gresae Dasm[eni] | vivae patron[is] bene merentib[us] | Masti liberta | posuit.*

Gresa Dasmeni is an Illyrian name (*Gresa* - Spomenik. 88, 1938, no. 11, Zenica; *Gresa Dasantis* CIL III 14538, Sopot; Dasenti Dasmeni f. Cornac(ati) – CIL XVI 2 – Bela Crkva and others). Comp. Krahe 1929: 36, 55; Mayer 1957: 152 and 114.
*Masti(us*) is probably a Thracian name (comp. Detschew, Die thrakischen Sprachreste 290 and 296: *Μαστος*, *Μαστους*, Mastus, s. *Μαστας*).

**245**

Bottom part of an altar of hard limestone, h. 47 cm, w. 52 cm, thk. 2.8 cm. Profiled base. Letters regular, h. 2.5-4 cm; in the preserved line 1, O and V are smaller than the rest of the letters; line 2: there is room at the end for ET, though, there are no traces of the letters; line 3: the O is smaller than the rest of the letters. Discovered in 1961 in Šuljam, on the property of Vasa Janković. Now in the Museum of Srem, inv. no. 1823.

Mirković 1971: no. 75, with phot. pl. XI, 2.

*[- - -] | votum quod | voverat et | solvit.*

**246**

Altar of limestone, h. 102 cm, w. 50 cm, thk. 29 cm. On the upper part, there are at the corners volutes with rosettes; between them, there are leaves of acanthus and palmette. Letters are shallow, but regular, h. 2-5.5 cm. Unearthed during systematic excavations in 1955 on Gomolava Hill, near Hrtkovci. Now at the Museum of Vojvodina in Novi Sad.

Mirković 1971: no. 76, with phot. p1. XI, 3.

*I(ovi) o(ptimo) m(aximo) | L. Licinius | Urbicus | b(ene)f(iciarius) co(n)s(ularis) |[5] v(otum) s(olvit) l(ibens) m(erito).*

**247**

Bottom part of a tomb slab of porous limestone, h. 111 cm, w. 89 cm, thk. 31 cm. The upper part of the monument is missing. Surface below the inscription, intermittently damaged; the inscription field also damaged. The inscription field framed, both left and right, by pilasters with slanted cannelures. Discovered in 1866 or 1869, in the village of Jarak, west of Srem. Mitrovica, in front of House no. 36, where, according to the local inhabitants, it had been for 80 years. Transferred to Srem. Mitrovica in 1870, and in 1895 it was acquired by the Archaeological Museum in Zagreb where it still is, inv. no. 383, phot.t. no. 647-1V-l85.

Rómer, Arch. Kozl. 6, 1866: 171, n. 877; Grujić 1870: 161-163; CIL III 3242 + p. 1040 + 1671; Brunšmid 1909b: 235-236, no. 383 with phot.; Mirković 1971: no. 77.

*[D(is) m(anibus) | C.Iul(ius) C. fil(ius) C]ivilis | dec(urio) col(oniae) ann(orum) L |*[5]*et lul(ius) C. fil(ius) | Florus dec(urio) col(oniae) | ann(orum) XX et luliae | Festae ann(orum) XII Anicia A [. .]ina | marito et fi[liis]*

Line 3: I IIIS - Rómer, CIL III; CIVILIS - Gruić, transcribed for CIL III, line 9: ///A ///// INA - Rómer, CIL III; MACRINA - Gruić in the Vjesnik; AINA - Brunšmid. Between the A and the following letters INA, there is an empty space where the stone is damaged, but which might have existed even at the time when the inscription was made. In that case, Brunšmid's reading could be accepted.
Colonia, probably Sirmium. See nos. 13, 41, 89.

**248**

A limestone slab of rather small dimensions, h. 64 cm, w. 62 cm. Inscription in a profiled frame which is beaten away at the lower side. Letters, h. 4-8 cm. Last line partially effaced. Built into the Novo Hopovo Monastery, at the eastern, outer side, at roof-level. During the restoration of the monastery in 1957, the slab was cleaned of mortar.

Jakosics, Adv. lib. VIII; Katancsich, Geographia I 405; CIL III 3259; Nonin 1957: 141 (with drawing of the monument); A. et J. Šašel, ILJug, 281; Mirković 1971: no. 78.

*D(is) m(anibus) | M. Ulp(io) Tito | Sirmi | (centurioni) leg(ionis) II Adi(iutricis) p(iae) f(ide- lis) leg(ionis) I Ad(iutricis) |*[5] *leg(ionis) XIII G(eminae) leg(ionis) V Mac(edonicae) | leg(ionis) XIIII G(eminae) leg(ionis) II Adi(iutricis) [. .]*

In ligature AD at the end of line 4, MA at the end of line 5.
Line 4 and on: LEGI ADI PF LEGIA VG MVG LEG V M L M X... - Katancsich; LEG I ADI P F LEG XIV G M V LEG V M ... - Mommsen CIL III; L EG II ADI PFLECIA LEG XIIII G G LEG V M C LEG XIIII CIFG II ADI - Nonin.
Legion II Adiutrix, see nos. 11, 15, 33, 34 and others, see Index.

**249**

Slab of sandstone which served as a boundary stone marking a veteran's estate, h. 129 cm, w. 38 cm, thk. 10 cm. Lateral and upper sides have rough edges; lower side is somewhat narrower. The letters

are irregular and shallow cut; the letter A has no horizontal line, P and R are not closed on top, 0 is smaller than the rest of the letters. Individual words are separated by period marks, but not everywhere. Discovered in 1909, in the village of Beočin, by the cement factory while building a cabin for the locomotive. It was transferred the same year to the Archaeological Museum in Zagreb where it still is, inv. no. 750, phot.t. no. 42-11-63.

Brunšmid 1911: 128, no. 750 (w. phot.); Domaszewski, Röm.-germ, Korresp.-Blatt 1911: 75; AE 1911, 237; Mirković 1971: no. 79 with phot. pl. XII 1.

Front side:
*Age(r) | vici Iosi|sta ads|ig(natus) Ti.Cl(audio) Pr|*[5]*isco pr(a)ef(ecto) | alae I c(ivium) R(omanorum).*

Back side:
*C(aput) a(gri) e(xcepti).*

*Ager adsignatus* – see Kornemann 1940: 68-69; Štaerman, VDI 1952: 2, 107 (with the incorrectly transcribed text); Mócsy 1959: 77.
The village of Iosista was probably situated near today's Beočin, where the slab was found. The name is considered an Illyrian word (Mayer 1957: 173-174). A similar name of a settlement has also been confirmed in the vicinity of Daruvar, CIL VI 3297 (Iovista).
*Ala I c(ivium) R(omanorum)* was in Pannonia in the 80s of the 1st century (W. Wagner, Dislokation 26-27; Kraft 1951: 144, n. 220), and then, after a brief stay in Dacia (CIL XVI 57), returned to the same province where it spent the larger part of the 2nd century (Nagy, Acta arch. hung. 7, 1956: 58-59, contrary to an earlier opinion, by Radnóti, Barkóczy 1951: 202, maintaining that it was absent from Pannonia during the greater part of the 2nd century. Comp. also Mócsy 1962: 618). Wagner, basing on Domaszewski's supposition that the praefectus of the ala was at the same time *praefectus civitatis*, dates the monument to Domitian's period or later, because prior to that the term *praepositus civitatis* had been in use. The same supposition served Nagy to date the inscription to the reign of Titus or somewhat earlier. However, there is no proof that it is a *praefectus civitatis.* The inscription could be dated to the 1st century AD for two reasons: first, after the end of the 1st century, deductio of soldiers and land granting are more and more infrequent; secondly, monument shows writing characteristics of the second half of the 1st century (comp, similar monuments from Pannonia, Schober, Die Grabsteine No. 96 Abb. 40 - Budapest – c. year 100; 95 Abb. 39 - Budapest – 1st century; 111, Abb. 49 - Budapest – second half of the 1st century).

**250**
Part of a monument, discovered in Novi Futog. Lost.

Téglas, Arch. Ért. 20, 1900: 76; CIL III p. 2328; Mirković 1971: no. 80.

M.C A E C
H Y M E N
L I . P O S V I T

Probably:
*M. Caec[ilius ] | Hymen[ei nuptia]|li posuit.*

Hymeneus may be a personal name, although it appears relatively rarely. Hymeneus, god of wedding, see Roscher, Lexicon, I - 2 s.v. RE IX, 1914, 130 f.

**251**

Monument of sandstone, h. 36 cm, w. 75 cm, built into the vestry wall of the Catholic church in Čerević.

Katancsich, Geographia I 407; Rómer, Arch. Közlem. 6, 1866: 169; CIL III 3261; Brunšmid, Kubitschek 1880: 108; Mirković 1971: no. 81.

*[- - -] Dalmata | mil(es) coh(ortis) II | Alpinor(um) vex(illarius) | ann(orum) XXX st pen|*[5]*diorum XVI.*

Line 1: DAL - Brunšmid - Kubitschek; D - Rómer, CIL III, line 4: X - Katancsich.
*Cohors II Alpinerum* probably also in no. **252.**
Cohors II is probably *cohors II Alpinorum equitata,* which was confirmed in 82 and 102 as Pannonian, then in 133, 148, 149 and 154 as Upper Pannonian. Recruiting was done in the environs of Mursa (VHAD 12, 2; Rev. Arch. 1913, n. 35). In the year 110, according to the testimony of the Tokod-Diploma, the cohort was still on the territory of Lower Pannonia (Radnóti - Barkóczy, Acta arch. hung. 1, 1951, 201). Its permanent camp is looked for in Adony (same, pl. p. 224 - with a question mark). It should rather be searched for on the banks of the Danube between Mursa, in the vicinity of which several monuments of this cohort have been discovered, and the region of Banoštor - Čerević (see no. 81).

**252**

Altar of sandstone, h. 49 cm, w. 27 cm, thk. 20 cm. The profiled part of the altar is ornamented on three sides with a garland of leaves. Discovered in 1879 in Banoštor, not far from Čerević, in front of house no. 38. Later transferred to the Archaeological Museum in Zagreb, where it still is inv. no. 217, phot.t. no. 32-11-60.

Brunšmid, Kubitschek 1880: 107; CIL III 10247; Brunšmid 1907: 101 no. 217, with phot.; Mirković 1971: no. 82, with phot. pI. XII, 2.
*I(ovi) o(ptimo) m(aximo) | Sep(timius) Valen(s) | c(ustos) a(rmorum) coh(ortis) II | v(otum) s(olvit) l(ibens) m(erito).*

In ligature VA in line 2.
Probably the *cohors II Alpinorum,* as in no. **250**.
The monument is to be dated from the end of the 1st or the beginning of the 2nd century.

**253**

Upper part of a monument of sandstone, h. 62 cm, w. 43 cm, thk. 21 cm. Only the right side of the monument has been preserved. It appears to be an altar. On the upper side, traces of a profiled edge are visible. Discovered in 1878, in Banoštor in front of the house of Stevan Nešković. Now at the Archaeological Museum in Zagreb, inv. no. 241, phot.t. no. 33-IV-30.

Brunšmid, Kubitschek 1880: 107; CIL III 10248 + p. 2277; Brunšmid 1907: 117, no. 241 (w. phot.); Mirković 1971: no. 83 with phot. pI. XIII, 1.

*[Ne]ptuno* | *[L. Fl]avius Sae[cul]aris* | *trib(unus)* | *[v(otum) s(olvit)] l(ibens m(erito).*

Line 2: PAVLVS - Brunšmid - Kubitschek; PAVIVS - CIL III 10248; [Fl]avius - CIL III p. 2277 - at the suggestion of Ritterling (letter to edit. CIL), Brunšmid.
*L. Flavius Secularis* appears on an inscription from Rome (CIL VI 3520 = Dessau ILS 2731) as praefect of the Pannonian *cohors I voluntariorun civium Romanorum (praef. coh. primae voluptariae Campanorum*). Flavius Secularis may have been its praefect in 103/4.
For the *cohors I Campestris voluntariorum civium Romanorum,* see no. **39.**

**254**

Part of a marble monument, h. 225 cm, w. 60 cm, thk. 165 cm; letters, h. 10,2 cm. Discovered in Banoštor, in house no. 40, of Vasa Petrović, where it served as a doorstep. Present location unknown.

Rómer, Arch. Közlem. 6, 1866: 164; Brunšmid, Kubitschek 1880: 107; CIL III 3262 = 10246; Patsch 1937: 133; Mirković 1971: no. 84.

*[- - -Tr]aianus d[ivi Nervae fil(ius) - - -]*

The last letter in the last line - I - Rómer; D - AEM, CIL III 10246.

**255**

Limestone block, h. 56 cm, w. 90 cm, thk. 84 cm. Discovered in Banoštor, in the well of house no. 102, in 1860. According to information in CIL III p. 421, it was lying on the road. Lost today.

Rómer, Arch. Közlem. 6, 1866: 165; CIL III 3263 + p. 1674; Brunšmid, Kubitschek 1880: 107-108; Mirković 1971: no. 85.

S O M N O
C A R M I N I V S
P R A E F

*Somno* | *Carminius* | *praef(ectus).*

*Somnus* is identical with Greek Hypnos. Monuments dedicated to him are rather rare (comp. Otto, Roscher Lex. III, 1902-1909: 1154-55).

Carminius is probably praefect of some auxiliary unit, for example, *cohors I Campanorum*. Praefect of this unit, Flavius Secularis, had erected a monument to Neptune on the same spot no. **253**).

**256**

Altar, h. 52 cm, w. 42 cm, thk. 22 cm. Damaged on the upper side. The inscription covered the front side of the altar. At the time when Brunšmid saw it (1901) it had already been largely destroyed by moss. Only two lines were partially preserved. It appears that there were once three more lines. In the middle, outlines of a large asymmetric cross were cut during its incidental use. Discovered at the Orthodox cemetery at Ilok where it served as a tombstone.

Brunšmid 1901: 146 (w. phot.); CIL III p. 2328138 No. 15 1 386; Vermaseren, Corpus inscr. Mithr. n. 1843; Mirković 1971: no. 86.

DEO / / / II
I N V I C T O
/ / / / / / /
/ / / / / / /
/ / / / / / /

Deo [So]li | invicto | [- - -]?

**257**

Sarcophagus of limestone, h. 87 cm, len. 2.24 cm, w. 12 cm. Front side considerably damaged. The smaller part of the preserved lateral side shows that it had no decoration. The inscription field is within a profiled frame, ornamented on its sides with Pannonian volutes. In the left relief field, there is represented a female figure in a long himation; in the right, a male figure with a spear in his hand. Discovered, according to Marsiglis' report, outside of the city ramparts of Ilok. Katancsich saw it in Osijek where it must have been transferred later. Up until 1951, the front side of the sarcophagus was built into the fence of palace of Pejačević in Osijek, from where it was transferred to the museum, where it still is, inv. no. 6804.

Marsigli 1726: Tab. 46 (with drawing); Katancsich, Geographia I p. 429, n. CCCCXVII; CIL III 3265; Pinterović, Osiječki zbormik 6, 1958: 29-31, fig. 4; Cermanović 1965: 100, n. 21 (ph. 18); Mirković 1971: no. 87.

*M. Q. Val(erii) Severiani equ(iti)* | *coh(ortis) III pretorae (sic)* | *qui vix(it) ann(is) XVIIII* | *me(n)s(ibus) VIIII d(iebus) VIII* |[5] *Flavin Ianuaria mater* | *viva sibi et eidem* | *Severiano oprimo* | *carissimoq(ue) posuit.*

Line 1: M D VAL - Marsigli; SEVERINN - Marsigli, Pinterović; SEVERIANI - Katancsich; EQV - Marsigli omits, line 2: PRETORI – Marsigli, line 3: XVIII – Marsigli, line 5: FLAVI ANNA - Marsigli; FL VIA. IAN RA MAT R – Pinterović, line 6: VI BI ET EM – Pinterović, line 7: SEVERIANO FILIO - Marsigli; SEVERIANOQ FILI – Pinterović,line 8: CARISSI POSVIT - Pinterović.

In line 1, letters VE in ligature; AN are joined so that they rather look like NN. Pinterović had marked down the text which, in the meantime, got quite damaged.
Assignment to *equites praetoriani* was only possible after 4 to 5 years of service (Durry 1938: 11). That would mean that Valerius Severianus joined the army when he was only 14 or 15 years of age. This did not happen often, but is not unconfirmed. Comp. Forni, II reclutamento delle legioni da Augusto a Diocletiano, Milano-Roma 1953, appendice A 135. The person mentioned in the inscription was probably buried in his birthplace. In that case he would be a praetorian of provincial origin. The sarcophagus can be dated on that base to the period after Severas.

**258**
Fragment of a monument. Discovered between Ilok and Susek, about 5 km west of Ilok.

Taube, Beschreibung Slavoniens 3, 70; CIL III 3264 + p. 421; Mirković 1971: no. 88.

D I A N A E  S A C R V M

*Dianae sacrum*

**259**
Tombstone, discovered in Susek. In CIL III 3685, the place where it was found is marked "unknown", and as a place where it is kept Budapest; later on, Rómer notes the place of find.

Susek (CIL III 10249); CIL III 10249 (= 3685); Mirković 1971: no. 89.

*D(is) m(anibus) | T. Fl(avio) T. fil(io) Quir(i)n(a) Se|vero Gogaeno annorum | LVIII dec(urioni) colon(iae) Sir |*[5]*m(ensium) quaesto(ri) II viro | praefecto fabrum |h(ic) s(itus) e(st) Fl(avia) Severina filia patri | pientissimo posuit.*
*Quirina* was the tribe of Sirmium.
Cognomen *Cogaenus* is considered Celtic (Holder I 2031; Mócsy 1959: 176). Susek was probably situated in the region of a Celtic tribe, Cornacates (Plin. n.h. Ill 147). The tribe was part of the city territory of Sirmium (Mócsy 1959: 76).

**260**
Altar of sandstone, h. 60 cm, w. 34 cm, thk. 20 cm. The upper profiled part is beaten away at the corners. On the upper surface, there is an indentation, 2 cm in diameter, for the drainage of the offerings. The bottom profiled part is likewise beaten away. Letters negligently cut. Ligatures I and V in line 3, then N V in line 5, are unusual; at the end of line 4 COS is cut in two lines, CO/S. Discovered in 1906, in the school yard in Sotin. Subsequently transferred to the Archaeological Museum in Zagreb, where it still is, inv. no. 232.

Brunšmid 1907: 131, no. 232 (w. phot.); Mirković 1971: no. 90.

*Libero pa|tri sacr(um) | G. Antonius | Sabinus b(ene)f(iciarius) c[o(n)]|s(ularis) | v(otum) s(olvit) l(ibens) m(erito).*

**261**

Tombstone of limestone, h. 111 cm, w. 75 cm, thk. 60 cm. The stone is massive and damaged on the upper and back sides. On the front side, there is an identation in a profiled frame. Today, there is a badly damaged figure of a lion in that frame. Above the indentation, is the inscription in a field which has a profiled frame on the right and the left side. Across the middle of the inscription runs an indentation, made in an attempt to cut ithe stone in two. On the lateral sides, there had been relief representations in profiled frames (Brunšmid) of which no traces have remained. Discovered in Sotin. From 1879, it had been in the garden of the Catholic priest, later donated to the Archaeological Museum in Zagreb, inv. no. 372.

Brunšmid, Kubitschek 1880: 104; CIL III 10250; Brunšmid 1909: 229, no. 372 (w. phot.); Mirković 1971: no. 91.

*M. Domitio* | *M. f(ilio) Viminaci[o . . . . .(centurioni) leg(ionis) IIII]* | *F(laviae) f(elicis)*
*sti[p(endiorum)] XVII qui* | [5]*vixit annis* | *[XXXV Do]mitius* | *[ - - -]*

Line 1: TI in ligature; o at the end of the line smaller than the rest, line 2: VIMINACI - Brunšmid-Kubitschek; Vljinaci- CIL III, Brunšmid, line 4: E F SI - Brunšmid-Kubitschek; F F SII - CIL III; STI - Brunšmid, leaving open the possibility that the last I was in ligature with the letter P, line 6: ... C : DIO - Brunšmid-Kubitschek; NDIO - CIL III; remainders of the numerals XXXVII and the letters DO seen already by Brunšmid, VIIAD.
The legion *IV Flavia* belonged t.o the garrison of Upper Moesia. The presence of one of its members in Sotin is explained by the participation of this legion in Domitian's Pannonian war (Ritterling 1924: 1545; Mócsy 1959: 82, maintains that the legion at that time was not outside of Upper Moesia, because the region between the Sava and Drava was within its constituency. Comp, also Alföldy 1959: 119 who maintains that the legion IV Flavia had at that time its permanent camp in Aquincum). – By origin the soldier was from the Upper Moesian town of Viminacium.
The inscription is dated to the end of the 1st century on the base of the abbreviation F F in the legion's name instead of the subsequent FI. fel. This, however, is not an entirely reliable chronological criterion. The fact that the inscription mentions Viminacium as origo would point to a later period, after Hadrian, who granted Viminacium city status and consequently the rights of domicile to persons hailing therefrom.

## ALIENA

**262**

Tombstone of gleaming slate. Cut off at the lower side. According to Arneth's report, the monument was discovered in Srem. Mitrovica (Regiments Kommandantcn Quartiers), whereas according to Ackner, it was discovered in Karansebes, on the territory of ancient Dacia under the arched gate Obristenqartiers. Gruiic informed the CIL editors that the monument was not on the territory of Mitrovica. Torma, on the other hand, states that the monument was in Timișoara (Museum des sudung. hist. arch. Vereines). Most likely, Arneth inadvertantly reported that the monument originated in Mitrovica.

Arneth, Sitz.-Ber. d. philos.-hist. Klasse Akad. d. Wiess. 40, 1862: 355; Ackner et Muller, Inschr. Dac. n. 46; CIL III 3247 p. 1017 -f + p. 1040 + n. 8003; Torma, AEM 6, 1882: 118 n. 67; Buecheler, CLE p. 565 n. 1207; Mirković 1971: no. 113.

*D(is) m(anibus) | Terra te|net corpus no|men lapis atque |*[5] *animan aer qu|am melius fuer [at … ]*
Line 6: AMMERVS SER - Arneth, CIL III 3247; AM MELIVS RvER - Torma, CIL III 8003.

## ROADS AND MILESTONES IN SREM

Earlist informarion about Sirmium in Roman literary evidence concerns its position on the road that led from Italy along the valley of the Sava river. Strabo, who first mentions Sirmium, says while describing the road from Tergesta (Trst, Trieste) to the Danube, Geog. VII 5, 2: "Immediately below the Nauportus, Noarus is further increased in volume by the tributary river Colapis, which flows from the Albian mountains through the country of the Japodes, and meets the Danube near the country of the Scordisci. […] The road from Tergesta to the Danube is about one thousand two hundred stadia. Near Segestica on the road to Italy are situated both Siscia fort and Sirmium." In the system of roads in the Roman empire, Sirmium was one of the most important intersections. In the itineraries, it was a station on the road from which the distance to Aquileia in northern Italy was measured. The main road from Italy connected that region with the mouth of the Sava River via Sirmium. The distance between Aquileia and Sirmium was 401 miles according to Antonin's Itinerary, 124.1, and 412 miles according to the Hieroslolimitanum Itinerary, 563.8. The road followed the Sava valley at a certain distance getting closer to the Danube near Mursa (Osijek). From this point one road went southeast towards Cibalae and Sirmium and another followed the Danube with the outposts *Teutoburgio XVI – Cornaco XIII – Cuccio XVI – Malata XVI – Cusum*. On the road from Mursa to Sirmium Itin. Ant. 131.1 – 132 lists the following outposts: *Mursa m.p. XXVI – Cibalis civitas m.p. XXIII – Ulmos vicus m.p. XXII – Sirmi civitas m. p. XXVI*, and on the road east from Sirmium towards Singidunum it notes these outposts: *Bassianis civitas m.p. XVIII – Tauruno classis m.p.XXX – Singiduno castra IIII.* On the road from Cibalae to Sirmium Itinerarium Hierosolimitanum, 563.2 notes the following outposts: *Civitas Cibalis mil XII – mutatio Caelena mil. XI – mansio Ulmo mil. XI – mutatio Spaneta mil. X – mutatio Vedulia mil. VIII – civitas Sirmio mil. VIII. Sit ab Aquileia Sirmio usque milia CCCCXII* and from Sirmium to Singidunum: *Mutatio Fossis mil. VIIII – civitas Bassianis mil. X – mutatio Noviciani mil. XII – Mutatio Altina mil. XI – Civitas Singiduno mil. VIII. Finis Pannoniae et Misiae*. The road from Mursa that went along the Danube and another that went via Cibalae to Sirmium have almost a parallel course; the road that connected them, between Sirmium on the Sava and Bononia on the Danube, was not listed in the itineraries.

The road Sirmium – Lauriacum, Itin. Ant. 231.11, went via Ulmus, Cibala, Mursa, Antiana and Sopiana as well as the road towards Carnuntum near present-day Vienna, Itin. Ant. 266,14 – 267. Another road went via Cibala towards Salona in Dalmatia with the outposts *Budalia m.p. VIII – Hispaneta m.p.VIII – Ulmo m.p. X – Cibalis m.p. XXII.* The main road towards the Roman province of Dalmatia did not diverge near Sirmium but probably much further west near the Drina River, which was XVIII miles (around 27 km) from Sirmium, *Tabula seg.* VI: Sirmium – Drinum f. – Saldae XVIII, Ad Bassante XX.

The picture of roads leading to Sirmium in the Tabula, segment V, is complicated and concerning Sirmium confusing. From this point, the roads bifurcate in two directions to the West and two to the East: one to the East led to Singidunum, passing through Bassiana Idimum and Taurunum, another closer the Sava River; Ad Drinum also identifies one road on the west of Sirmium and another to Ulmospaneta. It could be that the road on the east leads not to Drinum, but to the Sava River.

The directions of the roads with sketches of certain sections were reconstructed on the basis of the data in Roman itineraries by K. Miller, Itineraria Romana. Römische Reisewege an der Hand Tabula Peutingeriana, Stuttgart 1916. A reliable way to determine the direction of the roads is field research, which was conducted on part of the road between the present-day settlement of Tovarnik in Croatia all the way to Zemun in Serbia, a total length of 115 km. The latest results of this research were first summarized by D. Popović in the article Glavna antička komunikacija u Sremu u svetlu arheoloških istraživanja, Putevi i komunikacije u Antici, Materijali XVII, Peć 1978, Beograd 1980, 101-107, and then by P. Milošević, O trasi puta Sirmium – Fossis and Sirmium – Bononia, Starinar 39, 1988, 121-123. The direction of the road was reconstructed on the basis of surface discoveries, traces of fortifications and cemeteries, broken stone and gravel as a substructure of the road, the earth route and traces of edges of the road that were around 15 meters wide.[405]

In the archaeological prospection in Srem, D. Popović discovered the traces of the road on the west of Sirmium leading to Bassiana to the Danube in Burgene; another road is indicated by the discovery of a milestone in Sremski Mihaljevci leading from Fossis to the south. The likely direction is to Singidunum, parallel to the Sava river.

West of Sirmium: Orašje on the Šid – Vukovar route around 37.2 km from Sirmium: bricks, stone, lime mortar, glass and ceramic fragments, etc. On a hill, there was a fortification of a fairly rectangular base with a defensive moat. It is presumed that the outpost *Ulmus* was located here.

At the locality "Korovi" near Šid, a milestone was discovered from Severus' time with an inscription Caesar Sever, but it is lost today.

In Šid, around 700 meters north of the town, there was a visible route of a road as an earth dam half a meter high.

In the settlement of Gibarce, in a Catholic cemetery, 600 meters north of the modern road, traces of Roman graves were discovered, while near Bačinac, around 100 meters north of the modern road, the remains of Roman constructions and ceramics were found.

Near Kukujevci, north of Bačinci, ca. 18 km from Sremska Mitrovica, traces of Roman ruins and carved stones found southeast of the village at the locality "Crkvine" indicate a Roman settlement. At that distance from Cibalae, this may have been the outpost *Spaneta* or *Hispaneta*.

Near the present-day village of Martinci, about one kilometer north of the modern highway, 11 km from Sremska Mitrovica, at the locality "Kamarište", stone and lead sarcophagi and the remains of a structure were discovered. The assumption is that this was either the Roman village *Budalia* or *Bubalia*.

In the village of Laćarak in the 19th century a milestone, **261**, was discovered.

The discoveries in Sremska Mitrovica that could be connected with the roads are not numerous: at one town exit, near the house called "Mlekara" a substructure of a Roman road was discovered, as well as a large quantity of stones. Within the territory of the city, two milestones were found, nos. **265** and **267**.

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[405] Popović, D. Vasiljević, M. 'Rekognosciranje i sondiranje rimskog puta Sirmium – Bassianae', *Arheološki pregled*, 11, 1969, 261-262.

East of Sirmium, on the road to Singidunum, towards the village of Šašinci, on the Crepovac farm, two milestones were discovered (nos. **266** and **268**) and in the field of Bare a fragment of a milestone was found, lost today.

At the localities Draijšpic and Kudoške Livade in the village of Šašinci, 13.5 km east of Sremska Mitrovica, bricks, stones and ceramics were found. About 1.5 km northeast of the village, remains of Roman constructions spread over a surface area 15 meters wide and half a meter high. Roman material was also discovered near Kraljevci, southwest of Šašinci, in the settlements of Mala Umka and Velika Umka.

Between Kraljevci and Dobrinci, near the concrete bridge, there were stones with traces of wheel marks, as well as mortar, bricks and gravel, so it is assumed that there was a settlement here next to the road. The milestone no. **269** comes from the village of Dobrinci.

Northeast of Dobrinci, at the locality "Vagan", a milestone from the period of Alexander Severus (no. **270**) is noted. There is a plateau 120 x 80 m surrounded by vallum, about 500 meters north of that location, near today's Dobrinačka Gradina, at the locality "Solnok". It is suggested that this place was *Caput Bassianae* located *ca*. 800 meters to the north, at the location "Gradina" where the milestone was found, and the archaeological material discovered indicates the existence of a Roman settlement. This could have been the city of *Bassianae*.

Between the villages of Donji Petrovci and Golubinci remains of a Roman road one km long are noted. If the road continued the same direction, it would reach the locality Brestova Međa, where a large construction complex was discovered on two hills and the plateau between them. Furthermore, part of a road was found between Brestova Međa and Batajnica, which was about eight km long and was covered in stone tiles.

A Roman road intersects the Belgrade – Novi Sad route near the settlement of Crkvište and runs along the Danube all the way to Zemun.

This short survey of the remains indicating the Roman roads in Srem should also be supplemented with a new discovery of a milestone in the village of Sremski Mihaljevci (no. **268a** and **b**) half way between Sirmium and Singidunum. Discoveries of Roman ceramics and construction material were also noted here.[406]

Sirmium was connected with the main road which followed the Danube towards the west via the fortifications on the Danube, from Cornacum towards present-day Petrovaradin. Bononia on the Danube, which was located on this road, was at a distance of 19 miles from Sirmium according to information from Ammianus Marcellinus, XXI 9.6. The itineraries do not note this road.

The road Sirmium – Bononia was investigated by P. Milošević in 1969 together with an aqueduct that led from Fruška Gora to Sirmium and supplied the town with water.[407] Part of the road was discovered near the village of Manđelos and at the locality "Kaluđerska Vodenica". Traces of the aqueduct wall made of stone, gravel mortar and bricks went in the same direction as the road. The side walls were 0.49 meters thick and the canal between them was 0.81 meters wide. The canal was covered with fine mortar and bricks, whose remains were visible on the edges of the canal. The total width of the aqueduct was 2.15 meters. The investigated part of the road near Kaluđerska Vodenica, which was 4.50 meters wide, only preserved the substratum made of unprocessed stone, lime mortar and sand. Until

[406] Prica, R. *Naselja u Sremu. Nastanak, razvoj, značajni događaji*, Sremska Mitrovica, 1991. 215.

[407] Milošević, P. 'Sremska Mitrovica (Sirmium) – Banoštor (Bononia) – rimske komunikacije i vodovodi', *Arheološki pregled*, 11, 1969, 199-201.

1908, there were remains of the aqueduct wall construction that were 4 km long. This was demolished and used for the construction of a road towards Fruška Gora. During the land survey, traces of the road about 3.20 meters wide were found. The substratum was made of broken bricks and tiles as well as pieces of stone. Fragments of gray Roman ceramics were found. The road was also used in medieval times.

The road from Teutoburgium (Dalj in Croatia) went along the Danube to the legion camp of Aquincum with the outposts *Teutoburgio XVI – Cornaco XIII – Cuccio XVI – Malata XVI – Cusum* and further upstream from the outpost *Cusum* (Petrovaradin?); downstream from Petrovaradin, the road went to *Acumincum* (Slankamen) and *Burgenae* and further towards *Taurunum* in the south, up to the mouth of the river Sava. On the left bank of the Danube, there was an outpost near present-day Titel.

D. Popović and P. Milošević, who investigated the Roman roads in Srem, suggest a correction of the Sirmium – Basisana road, as earlier suggested by A. Graf or K. Miller. The road would not go through the village of Jarak, although this name has the same meaning as the Roman *Fossis* (trench). The discovery of a milestone in the village of Crepovac, on the fourth kilometer north of the presumed route leading to the village of Jarak, indicates that the road took a different direction, to today's village of Šašinci. D. Popović assumed that the mansion *Fossis* could have been located either in Drajšpic or Kudoške Livade, 13.5 km from Sremska Mitrovica.

Another road went in the direction of the village of Šašinci to the north-east. It was discovered around 800 meters from the intersection of today's highway and the road to Ruma. However, this is not necessarily always the road noted in Roman itineraries because we should count on possible turns and detours.

A correction in the direction of the road concerns the route from Sirmium to Bononia. The discovery of a milestone near Laćarak north of the city would indicate that the main road did not pass through the town but north of it. From the town to this point, the road went in the same direction as the town *cardo* and then connected it to the main road. It is possible that the discovery of a milestone on the Crepovac farm, 3 km east of Sirmium, should be interpreted in the same way. This is where the road connecting with the town *decumanus* might have met with the main road. The swamps in the north and east might explain the road going further east and north of the town.

From Acumincum (Slankamen) to Mursa (Osijek) the road went along the right bank of the Danube: *Aciminco m.p. CXIII – Cusi m.p. XXXIII – Bononia m.p. XVI – Cucci m.p. XVI – Cornaco – Teutoburgio m. p. XVI – Mursa m.p. XVI* (Itin. Anton 242.2). This road was not investigated.

## MILESTONES

### Road Mursa – Aquincum

**263**

Milestone of limestone, h. 134 cm, diam. 50 cm. When found it was already considerably damaged on both the upper and lower sides and chipped at several places; letters, h. 8 cm. Discovered about 1880 in Neštin, in front of the Orthodox church; about 1909 transferred to the Archaeological Museum in Zagreb where it still is, inv. no. 749, phot.t. no. 786-IV-218.

Jos. Jakosics, *Adversariorum liber* VIII; Mat. Pet. Katancsich, Istri adcolarum geographia vetus, I, 374, n. LX from his and Jakosich's schedis a; Brunšmid, Kubitschek 1880: 106; CIL III 10651 (= 3703); Brunšmid 1909: no. 341-342, with phot. 749; Mirković 1971: 87-88, no. 96.

*Imp(erator) Caes(ar) Mar(cus)*
*[[Aurelius Severus | A[l]]e[x]an[d]e[r] pius*
*felix Au[gust(us) pontifex*
*maximus tribuniciae*
5 *potestati[s V]III co(n)s(ul) III*
*p(ater) p(atriae) restitu[it] ab A[q(uinco)]*
*m(ilia) [p(assum) CC] VIIII.*

Line 6: POTESTATIS III Jakosics, POTESTAT//II Katancsich, POTESTATIS viii? CIL III 10651, *potestati[s v]III* Brunšmid.
The name of Alexander Severus erased.
If the *tribunicia potestatuis* is well restituted the milestone is from the 230 AD.

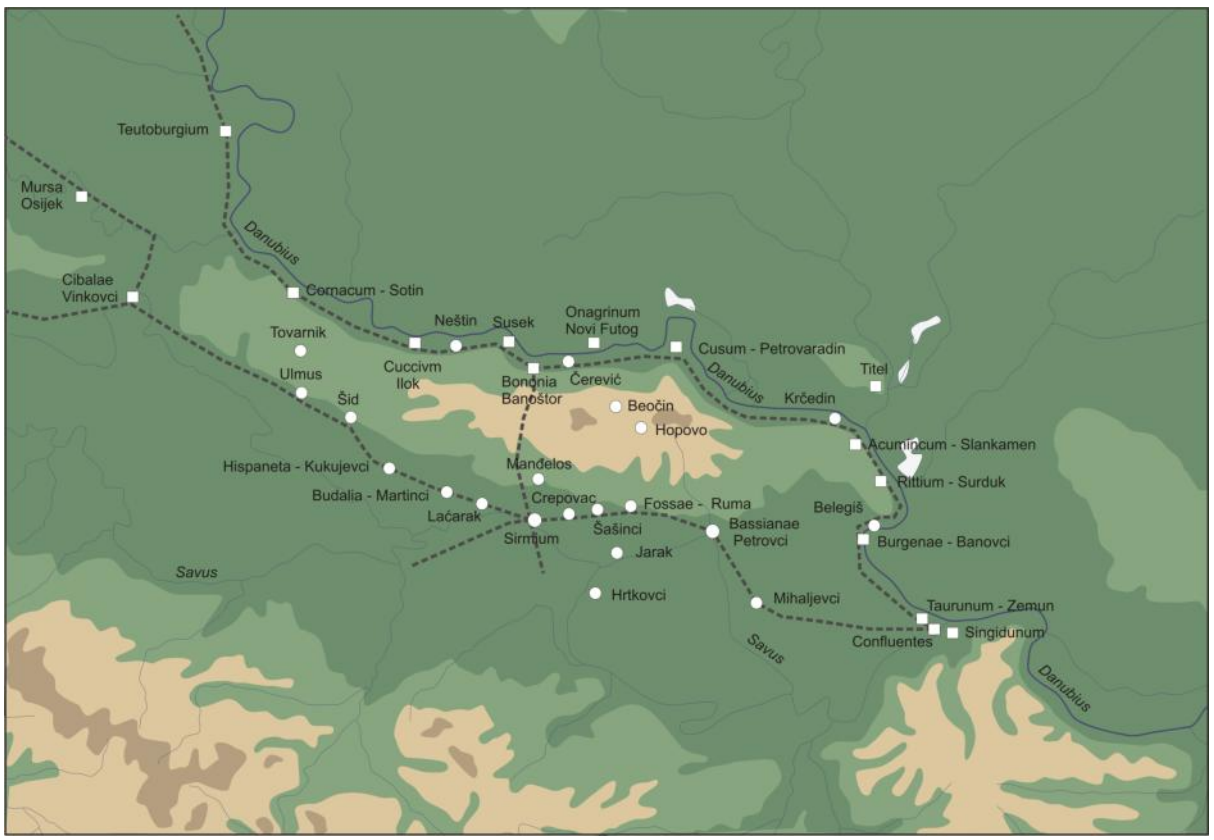

Fig. 23: The region of Srem

Road to the nord-west

**264**

Milestone of crumbly limestone, h. 123 cm, diam. 60 cm; letters, h. 8 cm. Three first lines missing. On the upper side the milestone is unevenly broken off. Discovered by Gruić in Lacarak, on the road to Cibalae, about 4 km north-west of Sirmium, in 1871. Now in the Museum of Srem, inv. no. 421.

Gruić, Mitt, der Centralkommission 16, 1871: CXXVII; CIL III 10652 = 6466; Mirković 1971: no. 94.

*[[Imp(erator) Caes(ar)*
*M.Aurelius*
*Severus Alexand]]er Pius*
*[fel]ix Augustus*
*pontifex maximus*
*[tribu]nicia potestatis (!) VIIII co(n)s(ul) III p(ater) p(atriae) restituit*
*ab Aquinco*
*m(ilia) p(asuum) CCXXV.*

Date: 229-230 AD

Alexander Severus was *Caesar* from the 14th or 30th July 221, *pontifex maximus* from March 13th, 222, his *tribunicia potestas IX* extends from December 229 to the same date in 230. He filled the office of consulship III in the year 229 (comp. PIR I2 327-329, n. 1610; Barbiéri, L'albo senatorio 197, n. 966 - with literature).
The emperor's name is erased.
The milestone was erected in 229-230 AD in connection with a military campaign to the East (Ensslin, CAH XII 69). A milestone found in Neštin originates from the same year (no. **263**) as well as several milestones from Upper and Lower Pannonia (CIL III 11331, O. Szony; 11335, 10633, Titel; 10630, Erd, 10657 Pilis-Szántó).

Road East of Sirmium

**265**

Milestone discovered in Srem. Mitrovica. Preserved in the transcription of Marsigli and Katančić. Lost.

Marsigli 1726: Tab. 41, 2 (Muratori, 459, 4 i Orelli, 958; CIL III 3704); Katancsich, Geographia. 347; Mirković 1971: no. 95.

*Imp(erator) Caes(ar)*
*[Marcus Aurelius*
*Severus Alex]-*
*ander pius fe-*
*lix Augustus pon-*

*tifex maximus*
*tribuniciae po-*
*testatis VII[II co(n)sul)]*
*III p(ater) p(atriae) restituit [ab---]*
*m(ilia) p(assum) XV.*

line 5: EM Marsigli, CIL III; FE – Katancsich.
line 7: VIL Marsigli, CIL III; POT – Katancsich.
line 9: II. PERTSTI... - Marsigli, CIL III; IMPERATOR VC - Katancsich.
*Tribunicia potestatis* VIIII consul III as in no. **264**.

Date: 230 AD

**266**

Milestone of sandstone, height 210 cm, diam. 58 cm. Handsome and regular letters, h. 4-9.5 cm. In ligature ET in the 3rd line; NE and ET in the 8th line; VAE and EA in the 11th line; I is over N in line 9. Discovered in 1887 near today's farm Crepovac, about 4 km east of Sirmium, on the road to Bassiana. Now in the Museum of Srem, inv. no. 9.

Ljubić 1887b: 14; Brunšmid 1889: 35; CIL III 10615; Mirković 1971: no. 92, with phot. pI. XIV, 1.

*Imp(erator) Caes(ar) M. Aurel(ius)*
*Antoninus Aug(ustus)*
*trib(uniciae) potest(atis) XV co(n)s(ul) III et*
*Imp(erator) Caes(ar) L. Aurel(ius)*
*Verus Aug(ustus)*
*trib(uniciae) potest(atis) co(n)s(ul) II*
*divi Antonini fili*
*divi Hadriani nepotes*
*divi Traiani pa[r]thici*
*pronepotes*
*divi Nervae abnepotes*
*Sirmi*
*m(ilia) p(assuum) III.*

The milestone is dated erroneusly in CIL III in 167, instead in 161. Mark Aurel's *tribunia potestas* XV runs from December 10, 160 to December 10, 161 AD, he was *consul* III in 161, comp. PIR-2, I, 121; Hammond 1959: 72. In the same, 161 AD falls the *tribunicia potestas* of his co-emperor and his title *consul* II (PIR I-2, 139; Degrassi, Fasti consolari, 45). To the 161 are dated other milestones in Pannonia Inferion, for example CIL III 10632 (Adony), CIL III 10638 (Titel) and others.

**267**

Milestone of marble, h. 213 cm, diam. 60 cm. Discovered in Srem. Mitrovica 1867, transferred to Vienna 1868, where is still in the Kunsthistorisches Museum: Antikensammlung, inv. no. Ill 39.

CIL III 10617 = 3705 (Dessau ILS 732 - add. Ill p. CLXXII); Fiebiger, Schmidt 1917: 87 n. 166; Noll 1962: 123 n. 412, with phot.; Mirković 1971: no. 97 with phot. pI. XIV, 2.

*M(ilia) p(assuum) V*
*Imp(erator) Caes(ar) Fla(vius) Iul(ius)*
*Constantius Pius fel(ix)*
*Aug(ustus) victor maximus*
*triumfator aeternus*
*divi Constantini optimi*
*maximique principis (filius) divo-*
*rum Maximiani et*
*Constanti nepos divi*
*Claudi pronepos ponti-*
*fex maximus Germanic(us)*
*Alamamnicus (!) maximus*
*Germ(anicus) max(imus) Gothiicus*
*maximus Adiabin(icus) (!) max(imus)*
*tribuniciae potestatis*
*XXXI imp(erator) XXX consuli (!) VII*
*p(ater) p(atriae) proconsuli (!) viis muni-*
*tis pontibus refecti(s)*
*recuperata re publica*
*quinarios lapides per Il-*
*lyricum fecit*
*ab Atrante ad flumen*

Savum milia passum CCCXLVI

Constantius took his *tribunicia potestas* probably in 324 when he was proclaimed Emperor; he was *consul VII* in 354. Therefore, the milestone was erected in 354-355 (comp. Seeck 1900b: 1044 and Alföldi 1926: 482; Schmidt, Gesch. d. deutschen Stamme II 260; Stein 1910: 1257).
The milestone marks the distance from Atrans to the mouth of the Sava River (Atrans – Taurunum - 348 m.p., Itin. Ant. 129).

Date: 354/355 AD

**268**

Milestone of limestone, h. 160, diam. 72 cm; letters, h. 3-6 cm. Ligatures are frequent: line 1 AE; line 4 AV; line 5 AD; line 6 NT; line 7 AN, AD, NP; line 8 NP, TR; line 9 NE, AB, NP; line 10 MP, ET; line 11 MP, AVR, AV; line 12 TR; line 13 NT, NP; line 14 NT, ENP; line 15 NP; line 17 TR. TR, ET; line 18 NERV, NP, ET; line 21 AV.
Discovered in 1889 on the Crepovac farm, about 4 km east of Sirmium, then transferred to Srem. Mitrovica where it is now exhibited in the city park.

Ljubić 1889: 36; Ljubić 1887b, 14; CIL III 10616; Mirković 1971: no. 93.

*Imp(eratori) Caes(ari)*
*L.Sept(imio) Seve-*
*ro Pio Pert(inaci)*
*Aug(usto) Arab(ico)*
*Adiab(enico) Part(hico)[ m(aximo)]*
*[div(i) Marci f(ilio)] div(i) Commodi] fr(atri)*
*divi Anton(ini) Pi(i) nep(oti)*
*divi Had(riani) pron(e)p(oti)*
*div(i) Tr(aiani) Part(hici) abn(e)p(oti)*
*Div(i) Ner(vae) abn(e)p(oti) p(atri) p(atriae)*
*Imp(eratori) XI tr(ibuniciae) p(otestatis) VI co(n)s(uli) II proco(n)s(uli) et*
*Imp(eratori) M. Aur(elio) Ant(onino) Aug(usto) L. Sep(timii)*
*Sever(i) Pert(inaci) Aug(usto) n(ostri) f(ilio)*
*div(i) Ant(onini) n(e)p(oti) div(i)*
*Ant(onini) Pii pronepo(oti)*
*Div(i) Hadr(iani) abn(e)p(oti)*
*Div(i) Tr(aiani) Part(hici) et div(i)*
*Nerv(ae) abn(e)p(epoti) et*
*[[ L.Sept.Geta Caes.]] Aug(usto) n(ostro)*
*fil(lio) cur(ante) Ti. Cl(audio) Clau-*
*diano leg(ato) Augg(ustorum)*
*pr(o) pr(aetore)*
*A Sirmi(o)*
*m(ilia) p(assuum) III.*

line 8: AIAD - CIL III.
line 9: ABNP - CIL III.
In CIL III is erroneously added a line as 17. It does not fit to the filiation which is complete preserved. It is the place of the fracture of the monument connected by mortar in the 19th century.
Septimius Severus carries the titles *Arabicus, Adiabenicus* and *Parthicus* since the year 195, and *Parthicus maximus* as of January 198 AD (Hasebroeck 1921; CAH XII 3-41 (Miller); PIR III p. 214 n. 346; Barbiéri, Albo senatorio 111, n. 471). He was *Imperator XI* since January 1, 198; *consul* since 194 (PIR III loc. cit.; RE II A (1923) 1940-2000 n. 13; Hasebroeck, loc. cit.; Barbiéri, loc. cit.). Geta carried the title Caesar from 198 (PIR III p. 206, n. 325; Hasebroeck 1921: 195; Diz. Ep. Ill, 1922, 526; RE II A n. 32; CAH XII, 11; Barbiéri, n. 468). His name was erased on the monument after the year 211 AD.
Ti. Claudius Claudianus was governor of Lower Pannonia 196/7 and in 198 (PIR II2 198 n. 834; Reidinger, Die Statthalter 102; Thomason, Laterculi I, 1984: 115). Therefore, the milestone must have been erected in 198. Road repairing in Pannonia during this year, comp. Hasebroeck 1921: 127; Murphy 1945, 88, 98.

Date: 198 AD

**269**

Milestone of limestone, h. 60 cm, diam. 44 cm. Considerably damaged on both the upper and lower sides and chipped at several places. Letters, h. 4.5-4.8cm. Discovered in the village Dobrinci near Ruma 1979. Preserved in the Museum of Srem.

Milin 1990: 643-648, with phot. AE 1990, 857.

*[Imp(eratori) Caes(ari) L.Septimio*]
*Severo Pio Per[t(inaci) Aug(usto) Arabico Adiab(enico)*]
*Part(hico) Max(imo) div[i Marci f(ilio) div(i) Com*]-
*modi fratri di[vi Antonini Pii*]
5 *nep(oti) divi Had[r(iani) pronepo*]-
*ti divi Traiani a[bnepoti) divi Nervae*]
*ad[nep(oti)] pon[tif(ici) [max(imo) p(atri) p(atriae)*
[*tri]b(unicia)] po[testate*……..

M. Dušanić reads: line 2: *Severo pio Pe[rt(inaci) Aug(usto) Arab(ico) Adiab(enico)*], line 4: *div[i Antonini*], line 5: [*pi]i nep(oti) divi Hadr[iani pro*], line 6: *nep(oti*), line 7: *adn(epoti), pont(ifici) [max(imo*), line 8: [*t]rib(unicia) [pot(estate*)...

Date: after 198 AD, when Septimius Severus took the title *Parthicus maximus*.

**270**

Milestone of limestone, h. 250 cm, diam. 50 cm; letters, h. 6-7.5 cm. Discovered in the village Vagan not far from Dobrinci before 1978. Preserved in the Museum of Vojvodina in Novi Sad.

Popović 1980: 104; AE 1981, no. 712.

*Imp(eratior) Caes(ar)*
*[Ma]rcus Aureli[us]*
*Severus A[lexan-*
*der Pius Felix*
5 *Aug(ustus) Pontifex*
*Maximus trib-*
*uniciae potesta-*
*tis VIIII co(n)s(ul) III p(ater) p(atriae)*
*Restituit* [ ]
10 *mil(ia) p(asuum)* XVII

*Milia passuum* XVII could be the distance between Sirmium de Bassianae, (m.p. XVIIII, Itin. Ant. 131,4), or between Bassianae et Mursella (Itin. Ant. 262, 10).

Date: 229/230 AD

**271**

Two fragments of a milestone of sandstone, discovered in the village Sremski Mihaljevci, between Sirmium and Singidunum, 40 km from one and other. They have been transported to the garden of Radivoje Kosanić, therearfter in his field. Transported to the Museum of Srem and preserved there.

Mirković 2012c: 29-39, with phot. and idem 2006: 135-136, with phot. and drawing.

**a)** h. 62 m, diam. 48 cm; letters, h. 9 cm.

*Im]p(eratori) [Ca]es(ari)]s (!) L.Sept(imio)*
*[Severo pi]o Pert(inaci) Aug(usto) Ara[b(ico) [A]diab(enico)*
*[po]nt(ifici) max(imo) ...divi Marci fi[l(io) divi*
*Comm(odi) fratri divi Antoni[ni]*
*Pii n[epoti] divi H[adr(iani)*
*[pr]on[epoti divi] Trai(ani)Part(hici) a[bnepoti divi Ner]vae ad[nep(ti) p(atri) p(atriae)]*
*Imp(eratori? XI tr(i)b(uniciae) pot(estatis) [...cos. .. procos. et]*
*[Imp. M.Aur. A]ntonin(o) [Aug.*

*Imperator XI* Septimius Severus was proclaimed in 198 AD.

**b)** Lower part of the milestone damaged on both, upper and lower sides, h. 80 cm, diam. 44 cm; letters, h. 6 cm.

*[----------]*
*Cur[a] agente*
*T.Cl.Claudia-*
*no leg(ato) Aug(ustorum duorum)*
*pr(o) pr(aetore)[---]*

Tiberius Claudius Claudianus was *legatus augg. pro praetore Pannoniae Inferioris* from 198 AD (Thomasson, Laterculi, 115, no. 26). Caracalla's and Geta's name erased.

**272**

Fragment of the milestone, h. 50 cm, diam. 25 cm. Discovered probably in the village Šašinci.

Popović, Dušanić, Arh.vestnik 41, 1990: 646. Lost.

*D(omino) n(ostro) n(obilissimo)*, M. (Milin) Dušanić, possible *D(omini) n(ostri duo)*.

**273**

Fragment of a milestone. Discovered in Crepovac. Copied by B. Lučic. Unpublished.

\ IVL
LIVL
ONT
NOBI

Probably Philippus Arabs:
*[---] Iul(ius) [---p]ont(ifex) [ max(imus)---] nobi[lissimus Caesar?*

**274**

Milestone discovered in Sremski Karlovci (Jakosich). Preserved in two copies.

Jakosics, Adv. t. VIII (Katancsich, Geographia I 368 iz Jakošićevih sheda.

| Jakosich | Katančić: |
|---|---|
| I.M.R.G. A.L./ D // | IMP.CAES. D |
| HADRIAN // DVITRV | HADRIANI F. DIVI.TRA |
| IANI. PAR///OSD/// | IANI PART.NEPOS D.. |
| NERVAE /// PRO// POSTAE . | NERVAE. PRONEPOS T.AE |
| //DRIANVS.ANTONINVS | HADRIANVS ANTONINVS |
| PIVS PONTIFEX MAX/// | PIVS PONTIFEX MAX... |
| TRIB/// POTE//// | TRIB...POTE... |

*Imp(erator) Caes(ar) d[ivi]*
*Hadriani f(ilius) divi Tra-*
*iani Part(iici) nepos d[ivi]*
*Nervae pronepos T.Ae[l(ius)]*
*Hadrianus Antoninus*
*Pius pontifex max(imus)*
*trib(uniciae) potes(tatis) [---]*

In Petrovaradin the following three milestones have been discovered. All lost.

**275***

Milestone discovered during the time of the construction of the fortress in Petrovaradin. Lost.

Marsigli 1726: Tabl. 47, with drawing (CIL III 3700, Muratori, p. 447); Katancsich, Geographia I, p. 366 (the first sex lines).

*Imp(erator) Nerva Caes(ar) Aug(ustus)*
*pontifex maximus*
*tribuniciae potestatis*
*co(n)s(ul) III p(ater) [p(atriae)*
*a Malata Cusum*
*m(ilia) p(assuum) <XVI>*
*<et?>Imp(eratori) Caes(ari) M.Aurel(io)*
*Antonino Aug(usto) Pi-*
*o fel(ici) Malata [C]u-*
*sum m(ilia) p(assum) XVI*

Lines 7-9 with the name of the emperor Caracalla are palimpses on the milestone from the time of the emperor Nerva, lines 1-6).
The distance of XVI miles was between Malata (Bononija) and Cusum in Itin, Antonini.
Date: The reign of the emperors Nerva (96-98) and Marcus Aurelius (161-180 AD).

**276***

Milestone discovered together with the no. **275**. Lost.

Marsigli 1726: Tab 467 (Muratori, 459,6; CIL III 3701); Katancsich, Geographia II 376.

*Imp(eratori) Caes(ari)*
*M. Antonio*
*Gordiano*
*p(io) [f(elici)] Aug(usto)*
*pontifici*
*maximo*
*tribuniciae*
*pot[e]statis*
*patri [p]a[tri]ae*
*co(n)s(uli) proco(n)s(uli)*
*a Ma[lata]*
*[.....]*

Emperor's titles doesn't correspond one he has during his life.

**277***

Milestone discovered together with the former two. Lost.

Marsigli 1726: Tab. 47 (Muratori, p. 461; CIL III 3702); Katancsich, Geographia II p. 378, no. LXXXII.

*Imp(aratori) Cae[s(ari)]*
*Marco*
*Aurelio*
*Claudio*
*pio felici*
*Invicto*
*a Malata*
*Cus(um) m(ilia) p(assuum)*
*XVI*

**278**

A big altar or monumement basement of wite marble, h. 91 cm, w. 100 cm, thk. 78 cm. The basis decorated: letters, h. 3-4 cm. Now in the Museum of Srem. It is not sure that it originated from the Roman town.

A small part of the inscription is preserved:

---]
---]ORVM or MORUM
---]NS LEGES titulum ] leges [viator]
---]ACENS ia]cens
---]RIO famulans
LOCAVIT



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## Abbreviations

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|---|---|
| Acta ant. hung. | Acta antiqua academiae scientiarum hungaricae, Budapest |
| Acta arch. hung. | Acta archaeologica Academiae scientiarum hungaricae, Budapest |
| AE | Année épigraphique |
| AEM | Archaeologisch-epigraphische Mittheilungen aus Oesterreich |
| ANRW | Aufstieg und Niedergang der römischen Welt |
| AÖAW | Anzeiger der philosophisch-historischen Klasse der Österreichische Akademie der Wissenschaften |
| AP | Arheološki pregled |
| Arch. Közlem. | Archaeologiai Közlemények |
| Arh. Pregled (AP) | Arheološki pregled, Beograd |
| Bagnall, Consuls | Bagnall, R. S. Worp, K. A. Cameron, A. D. E. Schwartz, S. R. *Consuls in the Later Roman Empire*, Oxford, 1987. |
| BJ | Bonner Jahrbücher |
| Bueheler, CLE | Buecheler, F. *Carmina latina epigraphica*, Leipzig, 1895. |
| CAH | Cambridge Ancient History |
| CIL | Corpus inscriptionum Latinarum |
| CJ | Codex Iustinianus, ed. Crueger |
| CMH | Cambridge Medieval History |
| CPh | Classical Philology |
| CTh | Codex Theodosianus, ed. Th. Mommsen, 1904; English translation C. Pharr, The Theodosian Code and Novels and the Sirmondian Constitutiones, a translation with commentary, glossary and bibliography, New York, 1952. |
| Degrassi, Fasti | Degrassi, A. *Fasti consolari*, Roma, 1952. |
| Dessau ILS | Dessau, H. *Inscriptiones latinae selectae*, Berolini, 1892. |
| Diehl, ILChv | Diehle, E. *Inscriptiones latinae christianae veteres*, Berlin, 1924-1931. |
| Diz. Ep. | Ruggiero, de E. *Dizionario epigrafico*, Rome, 1900. |
| Domaszewski, Rangordnung | Domaszewski, v. A. *Die Rangordnung des römischen Heeres*$^{2}$, Graz-Köln, 1967. |
| EPRO | *Etudes preliminaires aux religions orientales dans l'Empire romain*, ed. M. J. Vermaseren, Leiden, 1961. |
| FHG | Fragmenta historicoum Graecorum I-IV, ed. K. Mueller |
| Glas SKA | Glas Srpske kraljevske Akademije nauka |
| IAM | *Inscriptions antiques du Maroc, Inscriptions latines*, ed. M. Euzennat et J. Marion, Paris, 1982. |
| ILJug | A. et J. Šašel, Inscriptiones latinae quae in Jugoslavia inter annons---et annos … repertae et editae sunt, Ljubljana, 1963, 1978, 1986. |
| IMS | *Inscriptions de la Mésie Supérieure*, I, II, III/1, IV,VI, ed. F. Papazoglou, Beograd, 1976-1986. |

| | |
|---|---|
| Itin. Anton. | Itinerarium Antonini |
| Itin. Hieros. | Itinearium Hierosolimitaneum |
| JÖAI | Jahreshefte des Österreichischen archaeologischen Instituts, Wien |
| JRS | Journal of Roman Study |
| Kajanto, Cognomina | Kajanto, I. *The Latin Cognomina*, Helsinki, 1965. |
| Katancsich, Geographia | Katancsich, M. P. *Istri adcolarum geographia vetus* 2 vol., Buda, 1826. |
| Krahe, Personennamen | Krahe, H. *Illyrische Personennamen*, Heidelberg, 1925. |
| Leunissen, Konsuln | Leunissen, P. M. M. *Konsuln und Konsulare in der Zeit von Commodus bis Severus Alexander (180-235 n.Chr.)*, Amsterdam, 1989. |
| Loeb | Loeb Classical Library |
| Lörincz, Onomasticon | Lörincz, B. Redö, F. *Onomasticon provinciarum Europae latinarum*, Budapest, 1994 f. |
| MEFRA | Mélanges de l'Ecole fransaise de Rome, Antiquité |
| Merlat, Répertoire | Merlat, P. *Répertoire des inscriptions et monuments figurés du culte de Jupiter Dolichenus.* |
| MGH | Monumenta Germaniae historica |
| Miháescu, Limba latina | Miháescu, H. *Limba latina in provinciile dunarene ale imperiului Roman*, Bucuresti, 1960. (French ed.: Miháescu, La langue latine dans le Sud-Est de l'Europe, Bucureşti – Paris, 1978) |
| Pape-Benseler, Eigennamen | Pape, W. Benseler, G. E. *Wörterbuch der griechischen Eigennamen*, Braunschweig, 1911. |
| RE | Real Encyclopaedie der Altertumswissenschaft |
| REA | Revue des études anciennes |
| Pflaum, Les carrières | Pflaum, H. -G. *Les carrières procuratoriennes équestres sous le haut-empire romain*, Paris, 1960. |
| RIC V | Roman Imerial Coinage V, ed. P. Bruun |
| RIEB | Revue intrenationale des études balcaniques, Beograd |
| Pigafetta, Itinerario | Itinerario di Marc' Antonio Pigafetta gentil huomo Vicentino, 1585. |
| PIR | Prosopographia imperii Romani |
| PLRE | *Prosopography if the Later Roman Empire*, ed. A. H. M. Jones, J. R. Martindale, J. Morris, Cambridge I, 1971, II 1980, III 1992. |
| RMD | Roman Military Diplomas, ed. M. Roxan and A. Holder, I-V, London, 1978-2006. |
| Roscher, Lexicon | Roscher, W. H. *Ausführliches Lexicon der griechischen und römischen Mythologie*, Leipzig, 1897. |
| Schulze, Lat. Eigennamen | Schulze, W. *Zur Geschichte lateinischer Eigennamen*, Berlin, 1904. |
| Tabula Peutingeriana | |
| Thomasson, Laterculi | Thomasson, B. *Laterculi praesidum*, I, Göteborg, 1984. |
| VDI | Vjestnik drevnej istorii |
| VHAD | Vjesnik hrvatskog arheološkog društva |
| VAHD | Vjesnik za historiju i arheologiju dalmatinsku |
| Vulić, Spomenik | Vulić, N. Antički spomenici naše zemlje, Spomenik SKA LXXV, LXXVII, XCVIII. |
| Wien. Jahrb. | Wiener Jahrbücher |
| Wiener Sitz.-Ber. | Wiener Sitzungsberichte |
| ZPE | Zeitschrift für Papyrologie und Epigraphik |
| ŽA | Živa antika |

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Hierocles, Synecdemos = Honigmann, E. *Le Synecdèmos de Hierocles et l'opuscule géographique de Georges de Chypre*, Bruxelles, 1939.

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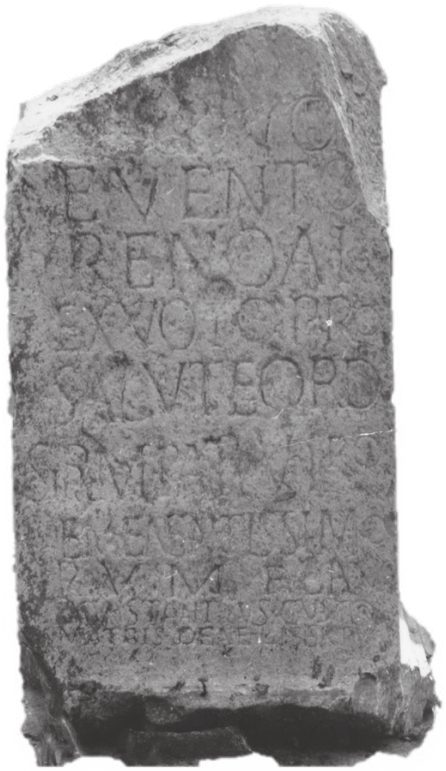
Table I



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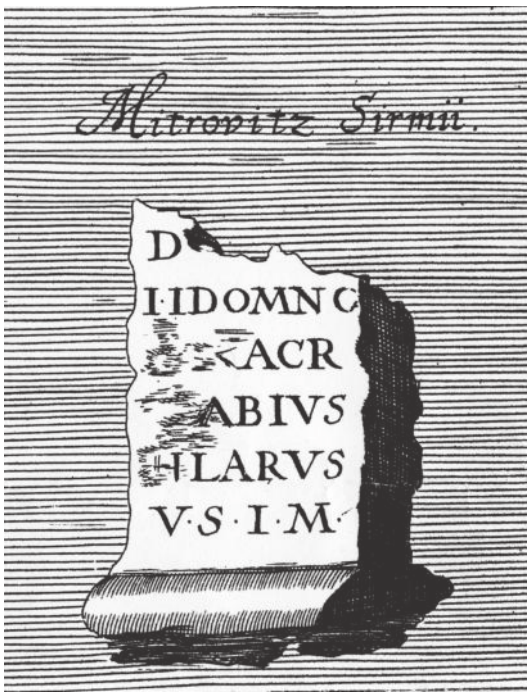


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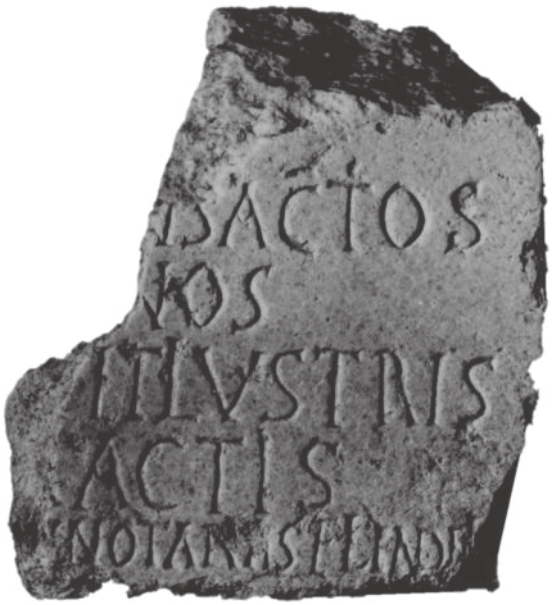

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Table VII



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Table XIX



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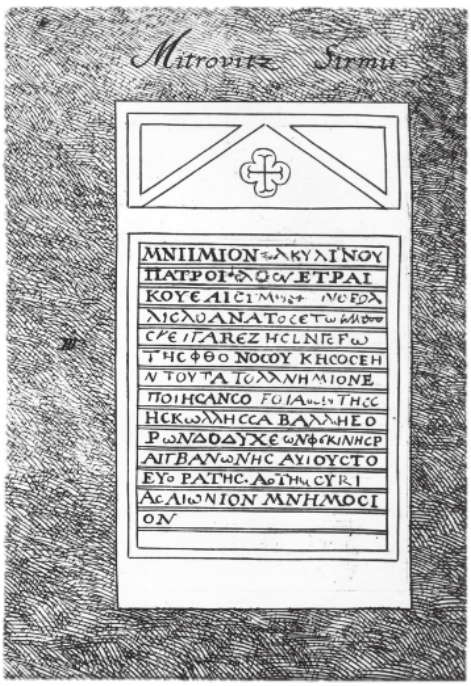


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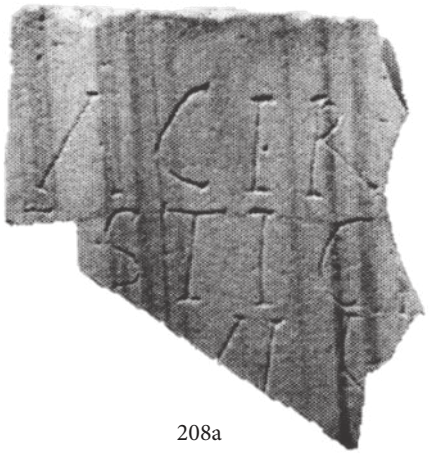

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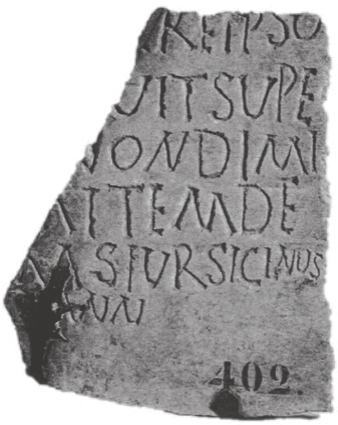

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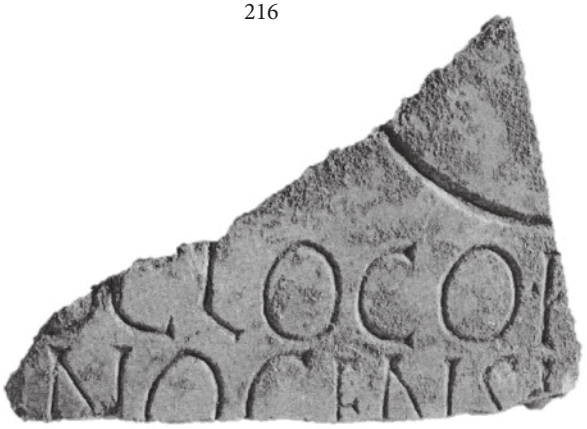

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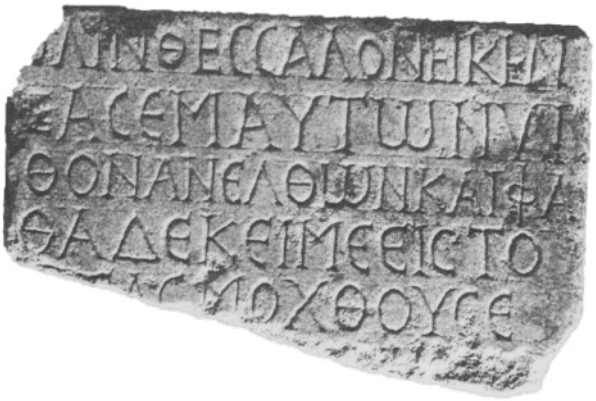

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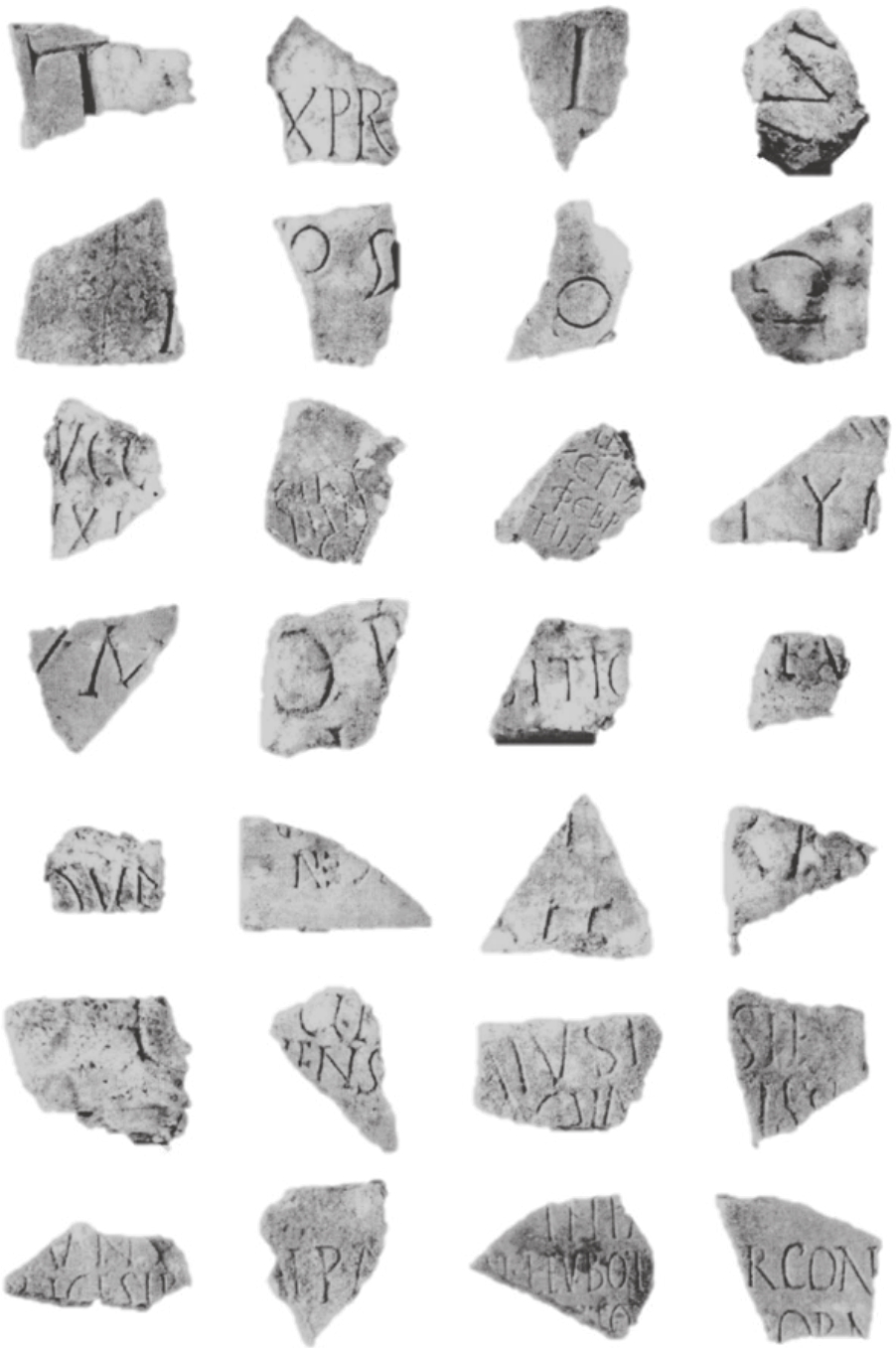

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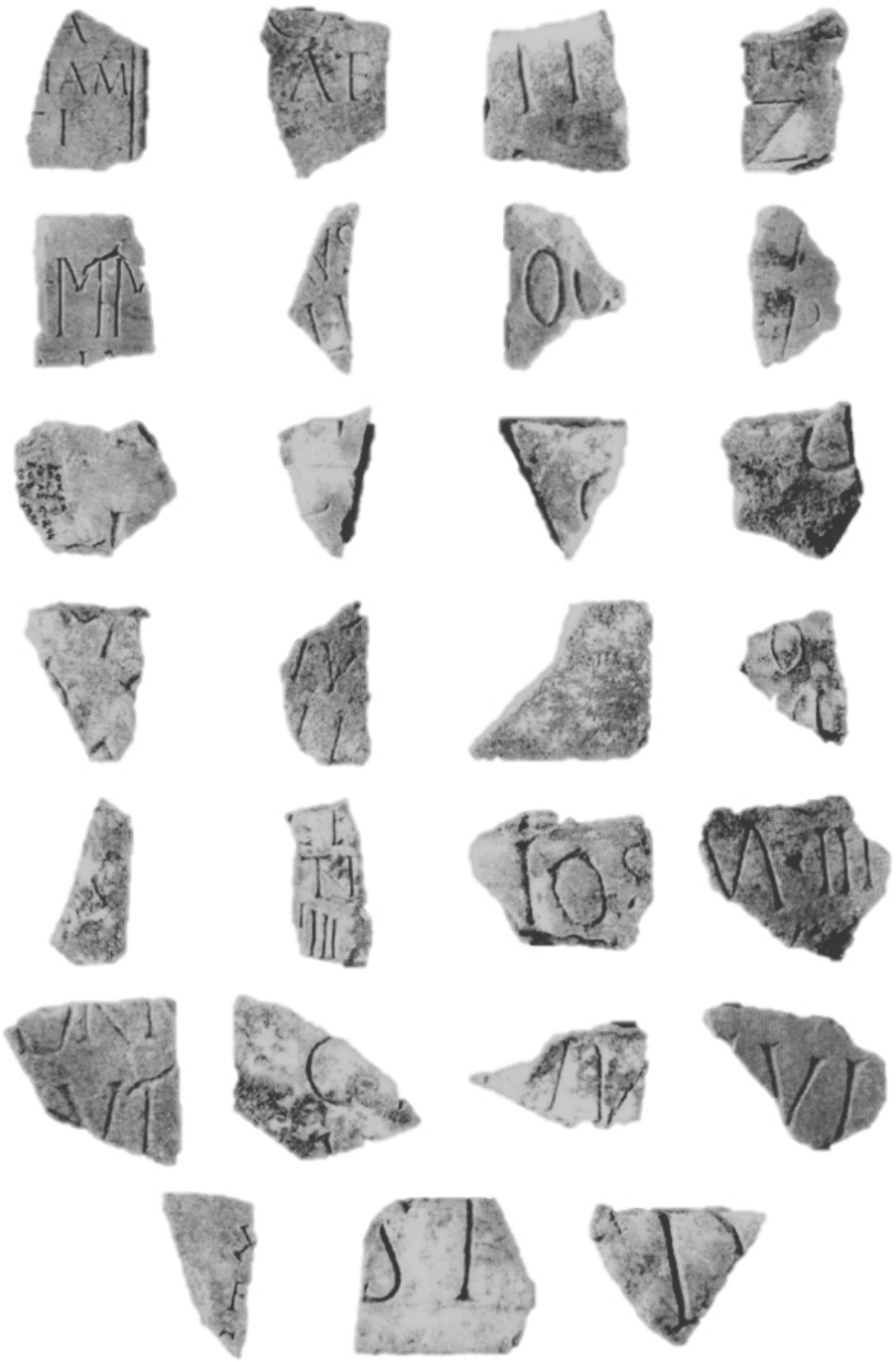

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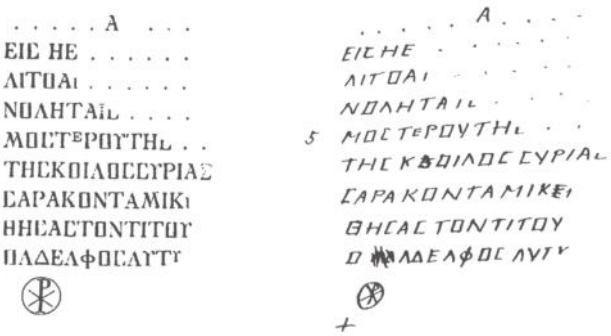


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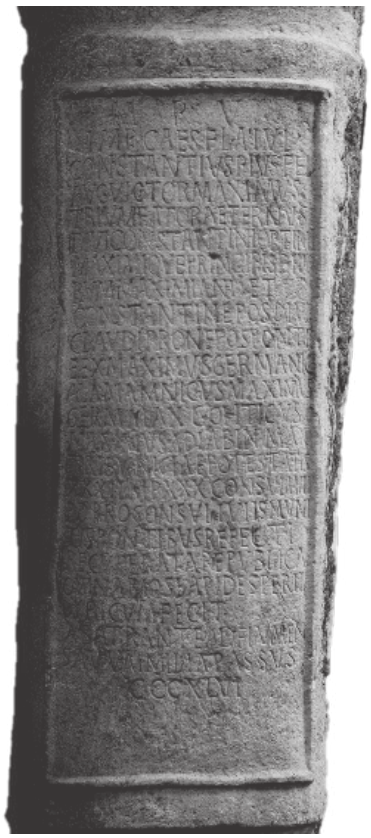

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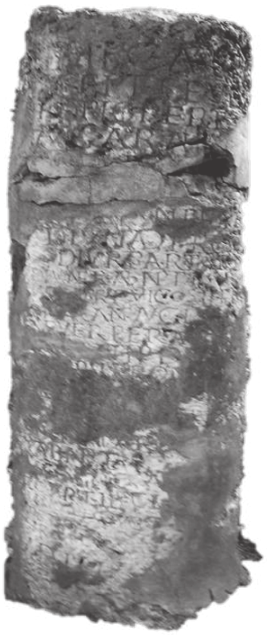




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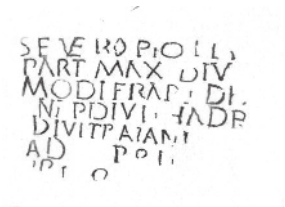



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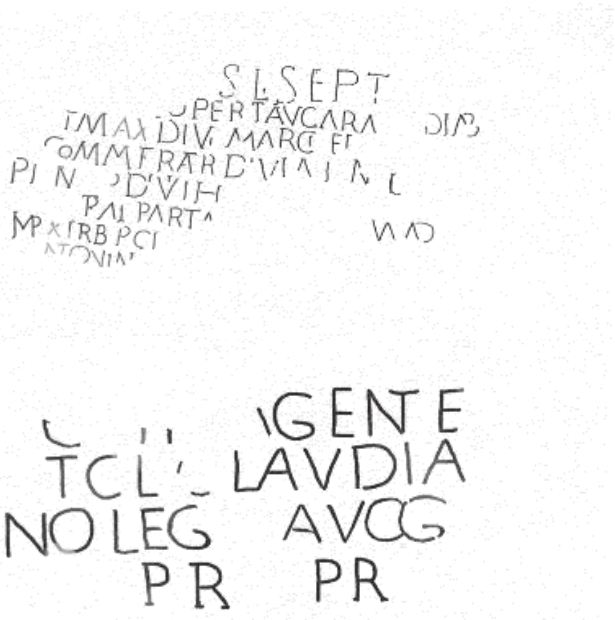
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