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FREE-BORN *NEGOTIATORES* IN SCARBANTIA

Melinda SZABÓ*

The paper presents a survey of the backgrounds of two free-born negotiatores known from Scarbantia. This study is the first step of a comprehensive research on the negotiatores in the towns of Pannonia, examining their social status. Detailed definition of the concept of negotiator may give us a starting point for further research about the role of these people in the society.

Jelen cikkben két scarbantiai, szabad születésű negotiator származását és családi kapcsolatait vizsgálom, ami egy, a pannoniai városokban megjelenő negotiatorok társadalomban betöltött szerepével és szociális helyzetével foglalkozó, átfogó kutatás első lépése. A két tárgyalt negotiator eset tanulmányként alapul véve vizsgáltam meg, melyek azok a lehetőségek, kérdésvetések, amelyek az adott személyek társadalmi státuszának meghatározásához hozzásegíthetnek.

Keywords: *negotiator, libertus, merchant, indigenous people, Scarbantia, Publius Domatius, Iulius Senilis, sacerdos, Silvanus*

Kulcsszavak: *negotiator, libertus, kereskedő, bennszülött, Scarbantia, Publius Domatius, Iulius Senilis, sacerdos, Silvanus*

The paper present a survey of the backgrounds of two free-born *negotiatores* known from Scarbantia. This study is the first step of a comprehensive research on the *negotiatores* in the towns of Pannonia, examining their social status. The concept of *negotiator* has not yet been defined in the fullest detail by researchers (Remesal Rodríguez 2000, 797) however, there is no doubt that this word refers to a person who works in trade. This paper does not aim at taking a stand on this question, this may only be possible after collecting and evaluation of data from the entire territory of the province. In my paper I present case-studies on two persons in order to examine one by one those aspects by which their social status can be specified. My goal is to contribute to a detailed definition of the concept of *negotiator* which may give us a starting point for further research about the role of these people in society.

From the area of Pannonia, epigraphs of 11 persons have survived who are mentioned specifically as *negotiatores*. In one case (Caius Tortedius, CIL 03, 14354, 22; ILS 1, 059), it is possible to define the word *negotiator* more than one way, because it could also be a *cognomen*. However, considering the fact that the inscription is dated to the 1st century AD,

the omission of the *cognomen* is conceivable (Šašel Kos 1997, 390), and the definition of the word as an occupation is widely accepted in literature (cf. Šašel Kos 1997, 390; Mócsy 1959, 210. Nr. 46/1). Beyond these 11 persons, in the case of Lucius Valerius Italus (CIL 03, 10430; TitAq 0196; ILS 3095), the option to consider him a *negotiator* arises, although the inscription does not name him clearly as such. He erected an altar to Jupiter, Juno and Neptunus and also for the *collegium* of the *negotiatores*. This suggests that he certainly was in connection with this *collegium*, but we cannot undoubtedly count him a *negotiator*.

Three persons from the above-mentioned 12 (including Lucius Valerius Italus), that is, a quarter of the *negotiatores* known from Pannonia are attached to Scarbantia. Therefore, I have chosen this settlement as a starting point for my survey. From the Scarbantian *negotiatores* two were free-born (namely, Publius Domatius Citio AE 1992, 1393; CIL 03, 04251 and Iulius Senilis AE 1962, 0383; RIU 0226), the third was a *libertus* (Titus Canius Cinnamus CIL 03, 04250, RIU 0221). The dating of the inscriptions is widely varied: the earliest epigraph can be dated to the first half of 1st century AD (CIL 03, 04251), while

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the latest around the end of the 2nd century AD (AE 1962, 0383).

The importance of Scarbantia in the trade and commerce of the province during its occupation and expansion has been verified long since, and the fact that one part of Pannonia's population was made up of immigrant entrepreneurs from Northern Italy, who wanted to take commercial advantages of the Amber Route, is widely accepted (Mócsy 1974, 122). In the 1st–2nd centuries AD, merchants have arrived to the province in two waves. In the first there were those who arrived during the early Roman settling, and took their chances on the newly opened market in the new province. In the second wave were those who followed (for example as merchants) the disposition of the troops in the Flavian period (Mócsy 1974, 123). As the date of the inscription shows, the free-born negotiator Publius Domatius Citio, one of the two persons discussed in my paper, was one of these merchants. The epigraph of the other person, Iulius Senilis, is dated long after this period, when the occupation and organization of the province has already been finished.

The two epigraphs discussed in this paper are the following:

P(ublius) Domatius / P(ubli) f(ilius) Ter(etina) Citio / negotiator / h(ic) s(itus) e(st) / et Domatiae / P(ubli) l(ibertae) Vimpie / coniugi eius / P(ublius) Domatius / Peregrinus / parentibus / posuit.
(AE 1992, 1393; CIL 03, 04251)

Silvan/o sacr(um) / Iul(ius) Sen/ilis neg(otiator) / v(otum) s(olvit) l(ibens) m(erito).
(AE 1962, 0383; RIU 0226)

The only *negotiator* who was a Roman citizen in Scarbantia was Publius Domatius Citio,¹ whose origins can be deduced from his *cognomen*. G. Alföldy suggests two possibilities: either it could have been derived from the fairly rare *cognomen* Citus, or from the city of Citium in Cyprus (Alföldy 1990, 209). By the combination of the father's *praenomen* and *nomen gentile* and the *tribus*, he identified the Domatii as a merchant family with Campanian origins who got to Cyprus for making trade. This assumption is sound even from the viewpoint of the *tribus* listing, since the settlements in Cyprus were not ranked into *tribus*, the Roman citizens living there belonged to their families' traditional *tribus* (Alföldy 1990, 210). In the first case, Publius Domatius Citio could have come directly from Cyprus to Pannonia, but it is also possible that the merchant and his family first

returned from Cyprus to their home in Italy, and later tried their luck in Pannonia. Considering the history of Scarbantia, the second possibility seems to be acceptable. Scarbantia was a popular destination among the Italian merchants, because they could engage in satisfying the needs of the Roman and already Romanised population in Scarbantia during the veteran settling (Barkóczy 1964, 266). By the time of the family's arrival at Scarbantia, they already had a *cognomen*, derived from the Cyprian city in which they lived earlier (Alföldy 1990, 212). Regarding the social status of Publius Domatius, his marriage can provide us some information. He married an indigenous woman, his own freed slave (Alföldy 1990, 211). The question emerges, why did a Roman citizen do so, instead of choosing the daughter of another Roman citizen? However, multiple explanations can be found for the *manumission* of the wife-to-be and the marriage. We cannot disregard the fact that Publius Domatius was not only the first member of his family to settle in Scarbantia, but he might be one of the earliest Roman settlers at all.² Although the veteran settlements in the territory of Scarbantia already existed in the first half of the 1st century (Kovács 2007, 297), the Roman veterans' families living there surely did not have many daughters of marriageable age. According to the epigraphs from the area of Scarbantia, which are dated to the same period as the above-mentioned inscription of Publius Domatius, it can be noted that all the women – except one³ – are mentioned as slaves or *libertae*, in more than one case they are presented as *liberta et coniunx*.⁴ If the survey is extended to the end of the 1st century, not only *libertae* can be found as wives, but also indigenous or already Romanised women appear in numerous cases (for example: AE 1914, 0005. Comagia Ingenua, wife of a *veteranus*; CIL 03, 04263. Sempronia Catta, wife of Lucius Sempronius Catomarus). From the epigraphs of Scarbantia dated to the 1st century, 24 women are known,⁵ and because five of them are children, 19 individuals can be included in the study. From these 19 women seven were *liberta et coniunx* (sometimes other expressions were used instead of *coniunx*), and one *liberta*, who became the wife of person different from her previous patron. Four were wives in indigenous families. From the 19 women, 11 were *libertae* or indigenous, therefore the choice of Publius Domatius was neither special nor below his status, as, based on the above, in the 1st century in Scarbantia it was a common practice to marry *libertae*. This is not surpris-

ing because the population of the freshly founded Roman settlement consisted mainly of veterans and merchants, who, if they arrived without a family, did not have any other choice but to marry indigenous (perhaps already Romanised) women or women who have been brought there as slaves. Besides, for Publius Domatius who came from Northern Italy it might have been quite useful to have an indigenous woman around who, even as a slave, knew the local affairs. Based on these arguments we do not have to assume that Publius Domatius' social status or wealth was so low that he could not have married anyone else apart from his *liberta*.

In the case of those persons whose wife wears a Roman name, it is possible that they were already married by the time they arrived in Pannonia. There are three such epigraphs in the area of Scarbantia. The 20 years old son of Petronia Ianuaria (AE 1969/70, 0540) died in the second half of the 1st century in Scarbantia, thus the family could have arrived to Pannonia around 50–70 AD at the latest. Because Petronia Ianuaria had the *gentilicium* of a Northern Italian merchant family, it is more likely that she or her ancestors were freed there, and she arrived to Pannonia with her husband. The same would apply to Sextilia Prima (AE 1913, 0057), who shared a Northern Italian *gentilicium* with her husband Caius Sextilius Senecio (Póczy 1977, 9). According to the epigraph erected by Iulia Titia (CIL 03, 04252) for her 20 and 25 years old sons, they were born in Salona, thus they also arrived to Pannonia as a family.

When analysing Publius Domatius' social status, the name of his son, Peregrinus can also be considered, though no real significance can be attributed to it despite the fact that it has a certain meaning, as this name was quite common (Kajanto 1965, 81). In any case, it is interesting that the *cognomen* Citio was neglected and a more common and general name was chosen for the child, that suggests the remote origin of the family. Because of the scarce occurrence of the *gentilicium* Domatius, Zs. Mráv and G. Gabrieli assumed a family connection between a *sacerdos* called Domatius Ingenuus⁶ and the merchant Domatius. Apart from the similar name, the religious connections of the *sacerdos* also suggest an Eastern, Cyprian origin, as the *sacerdotes* of Eastern cults in the provinces were mostly of Eastern origin, or at least they had eastern ancestors (Delgado Delgado 2000, 53). Also, Domatius Ingenuus, as a priest of Isis, dedicated an altar to Osiris Augustus. Because of the Egyptian influence in Cyprus, the worship of Isis

fused with the cult of Aphrodite was especially widespread. In the Isis temples it was common to build altars for Osiris, which practice may also explain the presence of an Osiris altar in Scarbantia (Mráv, Gabrieli 2011, 226–228). In the cults of Alexandrian origin, it was quite common to inherit functions inside the family (Szabó 2006, 174). Therefore, even if we cannot say that Domatius himself was a *sacerdos*, the family's connection to the Eastern cult can be assumed. The *sacerdos* function does not help in determining the social status of the family, as the *sacerdotes* of the Eastern cults typically performed their duties at a certain religious centre (Delgado Delgado 2000, 53). Therefore, in the community as a whole they had only limited influence, however among a smaller group, namely the followers of the cult, they possessed a leading role. In addition, some *sacerdotes* could hold for example judicial functions, and the *sacerdotes* of the Imperial cult could be of outstanding status. Still, the *sacerdotes* of Eastern cults can be considered as persons operating in merely religious functions. At the same time, *sacerdos* was recognised by Roman law as a religious office, therefore it was part of the administrative framework of the settlement (Szabó 2006, 167–168).

It is conspicuous that the *sacerdos* Domatius had the name Ingenuus while the son of Publius Domatius was named Peregrinus. However, both names are so common, that an actual meaning should not be assumed, they both occur in great numbers among the freeborn Romans (Kajanto 1965, 80–82).

The other free-born *negotiator* in Scarbantia is Iulius Senilis, whose inscription can be dated from the second half of the 2nd century to the 3rd century. There is a huge time difference between the two discussed epigraphs. In Scarbantia and its territory, the Iulii appeared in the first half of the 1st century among the earliest veteran settlers, however this fact only applies to the Tiberii Iulii for certain (Mócsy 1959, 44). They owned an estate in the territory of the settlement where both slaves and *liberti* worked (Mócsy 1959, 44), that is why it is not possible to decide whether Iulius Senilis' ancestors arrived with the Iulii during the veteran settling, or worked later on the estate of the family as slaves. According to S. Soproni, among the Iulii who settled in Scarbantia there were not only veterans, but also civilians (Soproni 1956, 344), a fact that we need to take into account when examining Iulius Senilis' origin. Regarding the civilian inhabitants of Scarbantia, A. Mócsy pointed out a connection to Noricum (Mócsy 1959,

44), thus it is worth to examine the names which appeared there, in order to find out whether it is possible that Iulius Senilis was not the descendant of the above-mentioned „first generation of the settled Iulii”, but either he or his ancestors arrived from another province. The frequency of the name Iulius in the onomasticon of the Roman Empire render the examination even more difficult. Nevertheless, the followings can be stated:

1. In Noricum we can find the Iulii among the nobles of the settlements and among the soldiers, but in connection with merchants this *gentilicium* does not appear (Scherrer 2002, 13–31). Naturally, this information does not exclude the possibility of any relations between these people and Iulius Senilis, because a merchant could be related to both nobles and soldiers, but in this case we do not have any evidence of Senilis’ Noric affiliation.

2. In the territory of Dalmatia, when examining the upper noble strata of Italian origin, we cannot find Iulii in any settlements (Wilkes 1969, 300–316), while Iulii of manumitted state or origin appear in high numbers in Liburnia. Iulii bearing the liberator’s name Tiberius, are much fewer than the Caii Iulii, as only three of them are known. In addition, only a few inscriptions dated to the reign of Augustus and Tiberius mention Iulii. Most of the epigraphs displaying the Iulii with indigenous *cognomina* have survived in Corinium, a city founded by Augustus. Only the Sexti Iulii are known to be a family of Italian origins. Besides Liburnia, Iulii appeared in higher numbers in the territory of Salona and Narona. The inhabitants of these two settlements were mostly Italian immigrants (Wilkes 1969, 294). This is especially interesting as the above-mentioned inscription of Iulia Titia from Scarbantia (CIL 03, 04252) informs us that her sons were born in Salona. Based on this information, it cannot be excluded that Iulii came to Scarbantia from Dalmatia, or rather from Salona. However, it must be noted that there is no obvious evidence for any relation between Iulius Senilis and the Iulii from Salona.

The examination of the *cognomen* does not yield any results either. The name Senilis was very popular in Gallia and Germania, and it was also frequent in Noricum in the Danube region. Since the name has no parallels in Pannonia yet, it occurred to the researchers to consider Iulius Senilis as someone from the above-mentioned Western provinces (Soproni 1956, 344–345). In his study, S. Soproni explains the Senilis name as a Roman variation of a Celtic name

beginning with ‘Senil’. The name became popular mostly in Celtic populations so its Celtic origin cannot be excluded. I. Kajanto saw it as the Latinised version of Senillus (Kajanto 1965, 301). On the other hand, in the light of the reviewed information, we cannot accept this as an obvious evidence for Iulius Senilis’ family ties in the Western provinces. Nevertheless, his name allows us to define his social status. The name Senilis belongs to names correlated with age, although this type of *cognomina* are frequent among free-born persons (Kajanto 1965, 78), and the inscription does not refer to a *libertus* origin. Nevertheless, Iulius Senilis’ family may have been of *libertus* origin.

Although we are unable to provide further information about Iulius Senilis by studying his name, we can observe his connection to the cult of Silvanus. Since being a merchant, the fact that he erected an altar to Silvanus is not surprising, because the protection of the travellers and merchants was one of Silvanus’ duties. The cult of this aspect of Silvanus was widespread in the Northwestern part of Pannonia (Tóth 1980, 172). Observing the cult of Silvanus from the point of view of social history, it is important to take into account the emergence of the cult in Pannonia and the circle of its followers. The ritual act, such as the altar and oblation, has Italian origins as ‘Silvanus’ is the name of an Italian god. However, many researchers have already proven that in the cult of Silvanus many indigenous gods were absorbed by the method of the *interpretatio Romana* (Raknić 1965; Farkas 1972; Perinić Muratović, Vulić 2009; Fehér 2012). The roots of the cult of the god, called Silvanus in the Roman area, stemmed from the Illyrian–Dalmatian cultural area.⁷ Iulius Senilis came to Scarbantia exactly from that cultural area: from Salona. For the local cult of Silvanus we have various examples from Liburnia, where the appearance of the Iulii shows a concentration (Wilkes 1969, 294). The cult of Silvanus belonged to the private religiosity (Perinić Muratović, Vulić 2009, 169) and was not a state obligation, therefore, family traditions probably are enough to explain Iulius Senilis’ attachment to this god. This fact could corroborate the Illyrian–Dalmatian origins of the family. It must be noted that our data regarding migration from this direction dates to the 1st century, while the earliest possible dating of Iulius Senilis’ epigraph is the middle of the 2nd century; this chronological difference weakens our argument. Besides, the cult of Silvanus was really popular among the indigenous Celts, but

the cult also includes Northern Italian elements in its actions, and it can be assumed that settlers from the latter region brought it to Scarbantia. Actually, every inhabitant of Scarbantia might have been able to find a familiar element in Silvanus' worship, irrespectively of their social status or their origins. Therefore, this analysis cannot help in distinguishing the relationships of Iulius Senilis. About the followers of the Silvanus cult it can be said that quite a large number of them belonged to the lower social strata (Fehér 2012, 179 and footnote no. 14 on the same page). In Pannonia, no members of the *ordo equester* or the *ordo senatorius* can be identified among them. This fact will be important later during the research of the Pannonian *negotiatores*.

Summary

In my paper I attempted to summarise the information we possess about the two free-born *negotiatores* from Scarbantia, and to outline ways in which we can draw conclusions about these two persons' roles and relationships in society. The chronological difference between the two epigraphs is striking, therefore we need to evaluate them in totally different historical contexts. The chronological difference also corresponds to the conclusions. While in the case of Publius Domatius Citio, his Italian origin is very important to define the person, the examination of the origin of Iulius Senilis did not conduce to a clear result. We can well assume Domatius was a

merchant who had arrived to Pannonia in the years of the Roman conquest. His marriage points out that he followed the way of life of the recently settled Italian families, but at the same time massive oriental bonds can be observed in his family and this puts him into to smaller social unit in the newly-forming Roman community in Pannonia.

In the case of Iulius Senilis, all of the different trials of his specification have some arguments for them. His person is an example for the fact that by the second half of the 2nd century Pannonia has become completely Roman, and in this new social structure among the members of the middle class it did not matter where a certain person came from. Instead, the mixed cultural substance – which came into existence by the mixing of the population in the province and its settlements – defines the attitude and social positions of the inhabitants (cf. Szabó, Borhy 2015, 133–134 and 136–138). Therefore, we can use the term „Pannonian” in connection with the origin of people in cases like Iulius Senilis'.

The two inscriptions indicate that it is worth examining the people who are collectively called *negotiatores* beyond their occupation, since they could be in different social statuses in different historical periods of the province, and their place in the very wide Roman middle class is also worth distinguishing. To present this in nuanced detail we need to study, as we have seen above, first of all the two *liberti negotiatores* from Scarbantia, and then other *negotiatores* from other cities of Pannonia.

Notes

- 1 There were numerous false readings, the latest version is: Publius Domatius Publi filius Tergitio. It is accepted by A. Mócsy, D. Gabler and A. Barb (for detailed reference see Alföldy 1990, 207, 3. footnote) The name Tergitio is connected to the settlement Tergeste. G. Alföldy, however, proved by analysing the letters of the inscription that the letter g should be read as c in Tergitio. Nevertheless between the letters *ter* and *citio* a shallow interpunction can be seen, so we should cast aside the reading of Tercitio, as a *cognomen*. Alföldy 1990, 207.
- 2 The date of the epigraph is 1–70. This date is especially early regarding the history of the province. In the case of Scarbantia Plinius used the *oppidum Scarbantia Iulia* expression (Plin. Nat. Hist. 3.146). Based on the usage of the Iulia attribute and the research of P. Kovács the formation of the settlement can be dated under the reign of emperor Tiberius, or at least before 43. Although there is no agreement between researchers about the time when the settlement got city privileges, it is certain that Scarbantia was one of the first civil settlements of Pannonia (Kovács 2007, 296–297).
- 3 AE 1909, 0198. *Ti(berius) Iulius / Rufus / milit(avit) ala / Scub(ulorum) stip(endiorum) L / vixit an(nos) XXCV / h(ic) s(itus) e(st) / Iulia Ti(beri) f(ilia) Ruf(i)lla / v(iva) f(ecit) sibi et patri.*
- 4 These are the following inscriptions: AE 1896, 0055; AE 1913, 0057; AE 1914, 0006; AE 1909, 0200; CIL 03, 11301; AE 2013, 1216. And in one case although the epigraph mentions the woman only as the *liberta* of the dead man, on the portrait niche of the gravestone they can be seen next to each other in a position specific to spouses, and the gravestone itself was erected by the *liberta*. HD072286. *Petronius / Rufus an(norum) XX / h(ic) s(itus) e(st) / [[Iulia]] Petroni l(iberta) / Urbana v(iva) f(ecit) sibi.*
- 5 AE 1969/70, 0540; AE 1965, 0162; AE 1965, 0163; AE

- 1909, 0199; AE 1909, 0198; AE 1896, 0055; AE 1913, 0057; AE 1914, 0005; AE 1914, 0006; AE 1909, 0200; CIL 03, 10946; CIL 03, 10948; CIL 03, 04252; CIL 03, 13429; AE 2013, 1220; CIL 03, 04263; CIL 03 Suppl. 398; CIL 03 Suppl. 397; CIL 03, 11301; AE 2013, 1216.
- 6 AE 2011, 0970. *[Os]iri Au<g>(usto) / [Isi]dis sacerd(os) / [-] Domatius / [I]ngenu(us) / f(ecit)*. (From Scarbantia, 101 AD–105 AD).
- 7 Fehér 2012, 179; Tóth 1980, 169. For the Dalmatian and Pannonian examples see Krug, Gesztelyi 1997, 195. Based on this and other proven appearance of Dalmatian population it can be assumed that in the Pannonian cult of Sylvanus the Dalmatian cult is also present beside the local Celtic tradition.

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SZABAD SZÜLETÉSŰ *NEGOTIATORES* SCARBANTIÁBAN

Rezümé

Pannoniából tizenkét olyan személy ismert, akiket felirataik *negotiator*ként említenek. Ebből a tizenkettőtől tizenegy esethez kétség sem fér, egy esetben pedig a felirat szövege alapján valószínűsíthetjük, hogy *negotiator* volt a felirat állíttatója. Ebből a tizenkét főből három Scarbantiához köthető. Tekintetbe véve Scarbantia elhelyezkedését, a korán megjelenő katonai csapatok és a Borostyánút közelségét, a kereskedők jelenléte nem meglepő. A három scarbantiái illetőségű *negotiator* közül kettő szabad születésű. Egyikük Publius Domatius Citio, aki itáliai származású, családjának bizonyíthatóan Cipruson voltak kereskedelmi kapcsolatai. Társadalmi helyzetének meghatározásához a házasságát tudjuk vizsgálni. Első pillantásra úgy tűnhet, mivel saját felszabadított rabszolgáját vette feleségül, hogy talán rangon alul házasodott, de az 1. századi Scarbantiában ez szokványos volt. Mindemellett felesége bennszülött, aki nagy segítséget jelenthetett a kereskedőnek, mivel ismerte a helyi viszonyokat, kapcsolatrendszereket. Domatius fiának neve nem segít a család társadalmi helyzetének meghatározásában. Az általa viselt Peregrinus *cognomen* igen gyakori, így semmiféle többletinformációt nem nyerhetünk belőle. Még egy Domatiust ismerünk az említetteken kívül Pannoniában, egy *sacerdot*s, itt azonban a családi kötelék nem tisztázható teljesen, valamint a *sacerdos*, mint papi hivatal változó, hogy milyen társadalmi szerep-

körrel párosult. A másik szabad születésű *negotiator*, akinek felirata maradt fenn Scarbantiában Iulius Senilis. Az ő esetében a Iulius név gyakorisága az egész birodalom területén még nehezebbé teszi társadalmi helyzetének meghatározását családi kapcsolatai alapján. A Iuliusok már az 1. század első felében megjelentek Scarbantiában, de közvetlen bizonyíték arra vonatkozóan nincs, hogy Iulius Senilis az ő leszármazottjuk lenne. Származását tekintve két provincia merül fel: Noricum vagy Dalmatia, de egyik esetben sincsenek megkérdőjelezhetetlen bizonyítékok. A Senilis *cognomen* vizsgálata sem hoz egyértelmű eredményt. A név igen népszerű volt Galliában és Germaniában, illetve Noricumban is. Mivel Pannoniából a név párhuzama nem ismert, felmerül az említett nyugati provinciákkal való kapcsolat lehetősége. Iulius Senilis esetében a Silvanus kultuszhoz való kapcsolata alapján kísérelhetjük meg társadalmi helyzetének és származásának meghatározását. A Silvanus kultusz követői között igen nagy számban találunk az alacsonyabb társadalmi rétegekbe tartozó személyeket, de ennél konkrétabb adat Iulius Senilire vonatkozóan nem áll rendelkezésre. Iulius Senilis esete példa lehet arra, hogy a 2. században Pannoniában, amikor a romanizációs folyamat végbement, az új társadalmi struktúrában a középréteg számára a földrajzi értelemben vett származás jelentősége már nem volt számottevő.

