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“MINOR” AQUILEIAN FAMILIES BETWEEN NORICUM AND PANNONIA **

Summary: The paper deals with the presence of North-eastern Italic families in Northern Pannonia. Through a selection of the epigraphic texts based on the information provided by the texts and the chronology, it is possible to investigate the spreading of Italic traders' families from Italy, Noricum and Emona to the cities on the north tract of the “Amber Route” and the Balaton Lake area.

Key words: trade, Aquileian *gentes*, *Caesernii*, *Canii*, Northern Pannonia, Amber Route, Balaton Lake, veterans

The foundation of the Latin colony of Aquileia took place, as is well known, in 181 BC in the middle of what is now the Friulian plain, which extends from the southernmost slopes of the Eastern Alps to the northern shores of the Adriatic Sea. Through that act, Rome claimed control over the easternmost portion of the Padanian plain, with the clear intention of monitoring and preventing future attempts by Gaul tribes from the north of the Alps to move southwards. This had, in fact, become a real threat only a few years before the foundation of the colony, between 186 and 183 BC with the famous raid of the *Galli transgressi in Venetiam*, mentioned by Livy.¹

The city was built at some distance from the sea, sheltered from Adriatic pirate attacks and close to the Natissa, a navigable river.² The isolated Roman *colonia*, on the north-eastern borders of the “Roman world”, was founded close to territories controlled by peoples who, if not openly hostile or suspicious towards Rome's expan-

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¹ Liv. XXXIX 22.

² The ancient *Natiso cum Turro*.

sionism, were only in those times taking their very first steps in the long process of Romanization.

In these circumstances, it immediately appeared clear that survival of the *colonia* depended on the necessity of assuring a close connection with the other Republican territories of the Padanian plain. For this reason, distant Aquileia played a relevant role in the subsequent road-building plans that were put into effect in the second half of the 2nd century BC.

Through the creation of an efficient road network, linked with the one already existing in central Italy, the Roman leadership intended to increase the connectedness and cohesion between the Roman foundations north and south of the River Po, concurrently facilitating and accelerating communication with central Italy and the *Urbs*.³

In 148 BC the route of the *Via Postumia* was traced out. The *Via Annia* followed a few years later, in 131 BC or 128 BC.⁴ Consequently, Aquileia became the north-eastern terminal of two important arterial roads: one leading into the western Cisalpine Gaul and the other into the Cispadane region and the rest of the peninsula.

Thus, in the second half of the 2nd century BC, thanks to the improvement of the Cisalpine road network, Aquileia's secondary function emerged. The colony, at the border of the region under direct Roman control, arrival station of the roads from the south and west, represented Rome's takeover in eastern Cisalpine. It also soon became the starting point for trading and commercial enterprises east and north of the Alps and any attempt to extend Roman political and economic influence beyond the mountain range, into Noricum and Pannonia.

From a military stronghold, Aquileia quickly developed its function as a trade centre for the transalpine regions. Strabo had already written that Aquileia was conceived as "an *emporion* for those tribes of the Illyrians that live near the Ister (Danube River)".⁵

Groups of merchants and businessmen from all over the Italian peninsula began to settle in the city, lured by the possibilities of profit due to the increasing demand for Italic products from those transalpine regions that were gradually entering the sphere of the political influence of the Roman Republic.⁶

After the end of the civil wars, the annexation of Noricum and the military conquest of the Illyricum and its final pacification following the Dalmato-Pannonian revolt of 6–9 AD led to a substantial increase and a radical expansion of the traffic of people and goods to and from Aquileia. Those movements of men and goods took place along ancient roads that had existed since prehistoric times and were already

³ ZACCARIA, C.: L'arco alpino orientale nell'età romana. In *Castelraimondo. Scavi 1988–1990. I: Lo scavo*. Ed. S. SANTORO BIANCHI. Roma 1992, 76; ZACCARIA, C.: Il ruolo di Aquileia e dell'Istria nel processo di romanizzazione della Pannonia. In *Proceedings of the Atti del Convegno La Pannonia e l'Impero Rom.* Roma, Italy, 13–16 January 1994, 51–70, here 52–53.

⁴ According to the new date proposal by A. DONATI: T. Annus T. f. *Epigraphica* 71 (2009) 71–83.

⁵ Strabo V 1. 8; PANCIERA, S.: Strade e commerci tra Aquileia e le regioni alpine. *AAAd* 9 (1976) 153–172, here 153–154.

⁶ PAVAN, M.: Aquileia città di frontiera. *AAAd* 29 (1987) 17–55, here 21–22.

used intensively by Roman traders in the 2nd and 1st century BC, looking for new markets for their products as well as new and more advantageous sources of the supply of raw materials for their manufacturing industries.⁷

Since the late Republican period, there are numerous and well-known proofs of merchants and Roman agents, belonging to or closely associated, as *servi* or *liberti*, with important North Italic or Aquileian *gentes*. They are present both north of the Alps, at the Magdalensberg,⁸ the most important commercial station in the *regnum Noricum*, a kingdom allied to Rome that controlled the mountain region on the north-eastern border of Cisalpine Gaul, and in the centres of Nauportus and Emona, east of the Julian Alps.⁹ The latter two centres, also probably part of the area controlled by Noricum as well, lay on the roads running eastwards that connected Italy with the Danube basin and Pannonia.

The Augustan expansion of the territory under Rome's direct control, stretching well beyond the Alps as far as the Danube, now including both Noricum and Illyricum, led to a significant increase in the presence of members of Italic *gentes* in those areas. These changes occurred both in terms of numbers and settlement organization of the newcomers in the territory.

Between the end of the Republic and the first decades of the Principate, a relevant number of Italics left their respective home cities and moved to a land that only a few years before was still outside the Roman administrative area. As the historian Tacitus put it, speaking of the traders who had left Italy to live in the territory of the

⁷ Vell. Pat. II 110. 6; See MÓCSY, A.: *Pannonia and Upper Moesia. A History of the Middle Danube Provinces of the Roman Empire*. London 1974, 31–52; ZACCARIA: Il ruolo (n. 1) 53–56; ŠAŠEL KOS, M.: The Roman Conquest of Dalmatia and Pannonia under Augustus – Some of the Latest Research Results. In *Fines imperii – imperium sine fine? Römische Okkupations- und Grenzpolitik im frühen Principat. Beiträge zum Kongress in Osnabrück vom 14. bis 18. September 2009*. Hrsg. von G. MOOSBAUER – R. WIEGELS. Rahden/Westf. 2011, 106–117.

⁸ ŠAŠEL, J.: Lineamenti dell'espansione romana nelle Alpi orientali e nei Balcani occidentali. *AAAd* 9 (1976) 71–90; PICCOTTINI, G.: Neue Belege für den Handel in der Stadt auf dem Magdalensberg. *MBAH* 9.2 (1990) 74–87; PICCOTTINI, G.: Verbindungen und Beziehungen zwischen Venetien und dem südlichen Noricum. In *La Venetia nell'area padano-danubiana, le vie di comunicazione, Convegno internazionale, Venezia, 6-10 aprile 1988*. Padova 1990, 288; ZABEHLICKY-SCHEFFENEGGER, S.: Magdalensberg: Rapporti commerciali fra Cisalpina e regione transalpina. In *Optima via, Postumia, storia ed archeologia di una grande strada romana. Atti del Convegno internazionale di studi, Cremona 13-15 giugno 1996*. Edd. G. SENA CHIESA e E. ARSLAN. Cremona 1998, 283–292, here 283; NONNIS, D.: Mercè e mercanti ad Aquileia in età repubblicana: il contributo dell'epigrafia. In *Aquileia dalle origini alla costituzione del ducato longobardo*. Edd. G. CUSCITO e C. ZACCARIA. *AAAd* 62 (2007) 363–392, here 382. Among the Aquileian families active in Noricum the *Barbii* of course play the most prominent role: PANCIERA, S.: *Vita economica di Aquileia in età romana*. Aquileia 1959, 94–99; ŠAŠEL, J.: *Barbii*. *Eirene* 5 (1966) 117–137, here 120–122; GREGORATTI, L.: Roman Traders as a Factor of Romanization in Noricum and in the Eastern Transalpine Region. In *Processes of Cultural Change and Integration in the Roman World*. Ed. S. T. ROSELAAR. Leiden 2015, 239–252, here 242–244.

⁹ ŠAŠEL KOS, M.: Nauportus: Literary and Epigraphical Sources. In *Nauportus (Vrhnika)*. Ed. J. Horvat. Ljubljana 1990, 143–159; PLESNICAR-GEC, L.: Aquileia ed Emona. *AAAd* 9 (1976) 119–132, here 127; PLESNICAR-GEC, L.: I rapporti tra Emona e la Venetia. In *La Venetia* (n. 8) 329–336, here 331–333.

Marcomannians, they were urged “first by the commercial privileges, then by the lure of increased profits, and finally by oblivion of their country”.¹⁰

As concerns the kingdom of Noricum, the date of 15 BC¹¹ unequivocally signals the end of an independent state followed, perhaps already under Tiberius and surely under Claudius and the several city foundations he promoted, by a rapid and massive process of the Romanization of the newly acquired province, a circumstance unanimously accepted by modern historical research.¹² In contrast, for Pannonia, a territory conquered over several different phases, the scenario appears to assume more complex characteristics.

As the famous Hungarian scholar Jenő Fitz pointed out,¹³ the debate about the Roman conquest of Pannonia is still far from reaching a definitive satisfactory conclusion. The submission of the *Pannoniorum gentes* to Tiberius, celebrated by Augustus in his *Res Gestae*¹⁴ and the expansion of Roman control as far as the Danube, *ad ripam fluminis Danuvi*, seems to refer exclusively to the southern part of the future province of Pannonia, that is to say, the portion south of the modern Drava river. That was the territory inhabited by the Pannonians. In contrast, the Celtic tribes of the *Boii*, *Arabiates* and *Eravisci* lived in the lands north of the river.¹⁵

In addition, ancient authors¹⁶ considered the north-westernmost part of the later Pannonia province and specifically the area east of the Neusiedler Lake¹⁷ (possibly the *Lacus Peiso* of the *codices*) part of the lands inhabited by the *Norici* possibly due to the close cultural ties the local population shared with the Celtic settlements in Noricum proper. In the last period of its existence, the Alpine kingdom was probably

¹⁰ Tac. *Ann.* II 62.

¹¹ Cass. Dio LIV 20. 2; Strabo IV 6. 9; See Alföldy, G.: *Noricum*. London 1974, 62–66, 78–81.

¹² Plin. *N.H.* III 146; See ALFÖLDY, G.: *Patrimonium Regni Norici*. Ein Beitrag zur Territorialgeschichte der römischen Provinz Noricum. *BJ* 70 (1979) 163–177, here 163–164; WINKLER, G.: *Le città romane del Norico*. *AAAd* 9 (1976) 103–117; ŠAŠEL KOS, M.: *The Early Urbanization of Noricum and Pannonia*. In *Roma e le provincie del Danubio, atti del I Convegno internazionale Ferrara–Cento, 15-17 Ottobre 2009*. Ed. L. ZERBINI. Soveria Manelli 2010, 209–230, here 215.

¹³ FITZ, J.: *La direttrice Emona-Aquincum*. In *La Venetia* (n. 8) 337–347.

¹⁴ *Res Gestae Divi Augusti* 30.

¹⁵ MÓCSY, A.: *Die Bevölkerung von Pannonien bis zu den Markomannenkriegen*. Budapest 1959, *passim*; KOVÁCS, P.: *A History of Pannonia during the Principate*. Bonn 2014 [*Antiquitas* I, 65], 5–15.

¹⁶ Plin. *N.H.* III 146; Tac. *Ann.* II 63. 1; Vell. Pat. II 109. 5.; ŠAŠEL KOS, M.: *The End of the Norican Kingdom and the Formation of the Provinces of Noricum and Pannonia*. In DURIČ, B. – LAZAR, I.: *Akten des IV. Internationalen Kolloquiums über Probleme des provinziäl-römischen Kunstschaßens*. Ljubljana 1997, 37; FEHÉR, B. – KOVÁCS, P.: *Fontes Pannoniae Antiquae I. Early Geographers. The Period of the Roman Conquest (to AD 54)*. Budapest 2005, 40–53; KOVÁCS, P.: *A History* (n. 15) 17–21; KOVÁCS, P.: *The Northern Border of the Pannonians and the River Drava. Godišnjak Udruženja BATHINVS “Acta Illyrica”* 2 (2018) 217–229.

¹⁷ The identification with the Neusiedler Lake is debated. *Communis opinio* has that Pliny here refers to the Balaton Lake. Still, this identification does not fit as well as the former with what the author later says about the locations of the Boian territory and the towns of Savaria and Scarbantia. Perhaps the two lakes had similar names, or Pliny confuses them with each other. See also KOVÁCS, P.: *Some Notes on the Division of Illyricum*. In *Provincia. Die römischen Provinzen und ihre Anfänge*. Ed. I. PISO. Cluj-Napoca 2008, 244–245, 248. For the passages in Velleius and Tacitus, see KOVÁCS, P.: *Velleius Paternulus on Pannonia*. In *Tiberius in Illyricum. Contributions to the History of the Danubian Provinces under Tiberius’ Reign (14–37 AD)*. Ed. P. KOVÁCS, Budapest–Debrecen 2017, 103–119.

able to exert a certain political influence on the tribes who settled in north-western Pannonia.¹⁸ Thus said, it seems probable that this region, as Fitz maintained, possibly already under some political and cultural influence from Noricum, shared its fate and therefore became one of the territories ruled directly by Rome already in 15 BC. Immediately east and south of the lake according to Pliny there was the land once inhabited by the *Galli Boii*. Both these territories were interested, according to the naturalist, as well as Noricum, by Claudius' later urbanization policy with the foundation of the towns of Savaria and Scarbantia.

In the first half of the 1st century AD, this area of the Pannonian territory was also involved in the general reorganization of the imperial domains and a road-building programme was put into action in order to connect the settlements. Further south-west, after the revolt of the Pannonian legions triggered by the announcement of Augustus' death in 14 AD, during which the important river harbour of Nauportus, on the River Ljubljanica,¹⁹ was pillaged and destroyed,²⁰ Emona, modern Ljubljana, on the eastern border of the *X Regio*, acquired prominence. It became the main trading centre between Italy, central-eastern Europe and the Balkans, the first Italic city east of the Alps, in direct connection with Aquileia.²¹

Two main roads departed from Emona, now the gateway of Italy. The first one, following the Sava River, led eastwards to Sirmium and the middle Danube. The second one, the so called "Amber Route", ran to the north through the territories around the Neusiedler Lake, in those years still considered by Pliny geographically part of Noricum.²² After crossing the Sava, the Drava and the *Arrabo*, this road reached the Upper Danube, and therefore the northern border of the empire close to the legionary bases of Vindobona and Carnuntum.

Along its way, the road touched a series of settlements such as Celeia and Savaria, both colonial foundations promoted by Emperor Claudius in the framework of his reorganization of the Norican province and the nearby territories. Further north, the road crossed the city of *Flavia Scarbantia* (nowadays Sopron). This settlement

¹⁸ The identification of the lake mentioned by Pliny (note 16) of course determines the extension of the Pannonian territory assigned to Noricum and therefore the whole scholarly debate about it: ALFÖLDY (n. 11) 41 and 57; very critic is Kovács; KOVÁCS: The Northern Border (n. 16) 229; KOVÁCS: A History (n. 15) 15–22; KOVÁCS, P.: Nazione Boius or What Did Happen to the Boii? In *Studia archaeologica Nicolae Szabó LXXV annos nato dedicata*. Edd. L. BORHY, K. DÉVAI and K. TANKÓ. Budapest 2015, 169–178.

¹⁹ ISTENIČ, J.: The Ljubljanica – A Roman Trade and Transport Route. In *The Ljubljanica – A River and Its Past*. Edd. P. TURK – J. ISTENIČ – T. KNIFIC – T. NABERGOJ. Narodni muzej Slovenije Ljubljana 2009, 79–85.

²⁰ Tac. *Ann.* I 20.

²¹ ŠAŠEL KOS, M.: Colonia Iulia Emona – The Genesis of the Roman City. *AV* 63 (2012) 79–104; GREGORATTI, L.: Linee privilegiate di contatto ed espansione delle élite dei centri italici nei territori alpini. *Historiká* 2 (2012 [2013]) 55–62, here 59–60.

²² POCZY, K.: Il prolungamento della Via Postumia con il tratto tra Aquileia ed Aquincum. In *Optima via* (n. 8) 161–168, here 163; GABLER, D.: Contributi per la valutazione dell'importanza della colonizzazione norditalica nella romanizzazione della Pannonia. In *Optima via* (n. 8) 293–300, here 293.

existed already during Augustus' and Tiberius' rule, but became a *colonia* only later, during the following Flavian dynasty.²³

With the parallel deployment at the borders of the large military units whose veteran soldiers were responsible for much of the demand for Italian goods and products, the necessity of assuring an effective trade connection between the banks of the Danube and the production centres in Italy became increasingly evident.

In the recently founded colonies along the ancient "Amber Route", trade agents from well-known Aquileian families coming directly from Aquileia itself or eastern cities like Emona,²⁴ opened trade agencies with the aim to supply the thousands of soldiers garrisoned on the Danube and their families with Italian goods. The newcomers, like at Emona and in the cities of Noricum proper, had the chance to integrate themselves in the recently constituted social environment of the new colonies and, thanks to their economic and social role, managed to reach a position of political prestige.²⁵

A perfect example is offered by Tiberius Barbius Valens, of the Veline tribe, the tribe to which Aquileia belonged, a member of the famous Aquileian *Barbia gens*, who was *decurion*, *questor*, *duumvir* and *pontifex* in the colony of *Claudia Savariensium*,²⁶ modern-day Szombathely, in the reign of Claudius. In the same city, during the same period, the presence is well attested of some *Caesernii*,²⁷ another *gens* from Aquileia, and of a numerous community of immigrants from Emona, *qui consistunt in finibus Savariensium*, who dwell within the territory of the colony.²⁸ These people²⁹ probably lived in close contact and no doubt had social relations with the many veterans of the *XV Legio*, who had received a plot of land in the same territory to move to with their family once discharged from military service.³⁰

²³ Plin. *N.H.* III 146; See SOPRONI, S.: L'importanza della via dell'ambra nello sviluppo delle città pannoniche. In *La Venetia* (n. 8) 349–354, here 351.

²⁴ GREGORATTI, L.: North Italic Settlers along the "Amber Route". *Studia Antiqua et Archaeologica* 19.1 (2014) 133–153.

²⁵ MÓCSY: Pannonia (n. 7) 76–78.

²⁶ *CIL* III 4156 = *RIU* I 14; BALLA, L. – BUOCZ, T. P. – KÁDÁR, Z. – MÓCSY, A. and SZENTLÉ-LEKY, T.: *Die römischen Steindenkmäler von Savaria*. Amsterdam 1971, n. 40, 89–90; ZACCARIA, C.: Testimonianze epigrafiche dei rapporti tra Aquileia e l'Ilirico in età romana. *AAAd* 26 (1985) 85–120, here 114; FORNI, G.: La tribù Velina degli Aquileiesi. *AAAd* 35 (1989) 51–81, here 61; TÓTH, E.: *Lapidarium Savariense. Savaria romai feliratos kömlékei* [Stone monuments with Roman inscriptions from Savaria]. Szombathely 2011, n. 28, 92–93.

²⁷ *AE* 1997, 1259, TÓTH (n. 26) n. 195, 229; KOVÁCS, *Tituli Romani in Hungaria reperti, Suppl.* Budapest–Bonn 2005, n. 29; *CIL* III 4201 = *RIU* I 131 = *AJL* 450, BALLA et al. (n. 26) n. 105, 103; TÓTH (n. 26) n. 179, 214.

²⁸ *RIU* I 135; BALLA et al. (n. 26) n. 70, 95; ŠAŠEL KOS, M.: *The Goddess Aecorna in Emona*. In *Festschrift für Jenő Fitz: Jenő Fitz septuagenario*. Ed. G. FÜLÖP – V. CSERMÉNYI. Székesfehérvár 1996, 85–90, here 85; TÓTH (n. 26) n. 202, 238–239.

²⁹ Also a family of *Caesii* of Italic origin, perhaps from Aquileia, is attested *CIL* III 4198 = III 10922 = *RIU* I 157; BALLA et al. (n. 26) n. 101, 102–103; TÓTH (n. 26) n. 188, 219–221, and in a second inscription, few kilometres north-east on the road to Arrabona, at Chernelházadamonya, in connection with a Petronius: MEDGYES, M.: Grabstein der Familie Caesius und ein spätrömisches Grab aus Chernelházadamonya. *Savaria* 15 (1981) 199–203; KOVÁCS: *Tituli* (n. 27) n. 29; TÓTH (n. 26) n. 189, 221–223.

³⁰ KOVÁCS, P.: *The Merchants from Emona and the Pomerium of Savaria*. *MBAH* 17.1 (1998) 100–120; *CIL* III 4171 = *RIU* I 32; BALLA et al. (n. 26) n. 59, 93; MOSSER, M.: *Die Steindenkmäler der*

In the same period, at Scarbantia, further north on the "Amber Route", some *Sextilii* and *Kanii/Canii*³¹ are attested, while some epigraphical findings from the city territory refer to the *Marcuseni gens*, probably coming from Tergeste.³² Closer to Italy along the same route those years saw the presence of other Italic or Aquileian *gentes*. In Celeia the inscriptions point to the presence of members of the *Cassii*,³³ *Postumii*³⁴ and a branch of the *Petronii* of probable Aquileian origin.³⁵ At Poetovio the emergence of the *Valerii* is later and dated to the early 2nd century even though the social status acquired by the members mentioned in the inscriptions could suggest an earlier presence.³⁶

In an area like north-western Pannonia, characterized by an early and intense presence of legionaries, auxiliaries and veterans³⁷ and due to the well-known scarcity of information given in Roman inscriptions about private citizens, it is hard to track down the presence of Italic merchants who moved in the region for business. In particular, it is difficult to exclude those who arrived there for military service and remained after their discharge, but much more difficult is to exclude their descendants

legio XV Apollinaris. Wien 2003, n. 208, 269; TÓTH (n. 26) n. 73, 130–131; *CIL* III 4188 = *RIU* I 56; BALLA et al. (n. 26) n. 94, 100; MOSSER n. 56, 192, TÓTH (n. 26) n. 106, 158–159; *CIL* III 4189 = III 10921 = *RIU* I 149; BALLA et al. (n. 26) n. 95, 100; MOSSER n. 119, 226–227, TÓTH (n. 26) n. 201, 236–237; *RIU* I 145; BALLA et al. (n. 26) n. 96, 100–101; MOSSER n. 32, 180, TÓTH (n. 26) n. 211, 246–247; *RIU* I 146; BALLA et al. (n. 26) n. 97, 101; MOSSER n. 72, 199, TÓTH (n. 26) n. 213, 248–249.

³¹ *RIU* I 195, they are probably of Italian origin due to the mention of the Lemonia tribe. One of them is a *decurio* of the city. Interesting is the mention of a Kania freedwoman associated with the family.

³² *CIL* V 571, 616, 617 and 625; MÓCSY, A.: Eine Triesterfamilie in Westpannonien. *Römisches Österreich* 11/12 (1973) 207–213; KOVÁCS: Tituli (n. 27) n. 41.

³³ *CIL* III 5158 = *ILLPRON* 1619 = *ILJug* 399 = VISOČNIK, J.: *The Roman Inscriptions from Celeia and Its Ager*. Celje 2017, n. 9; *CIL* III 5249 = *ILLPRON* 1705 = VISOČNIK 2017, n. 100; *CIL* III 5257 = *ILLPRON* 1711 = VISOČNIK 2017, n. 135; *CIL* III 11684 = *ILLPRON* 1859 = VISOČNIK 2017, n. 247; ŠAŠEL KOS, M.: *Pre-Roman Divinities of the Eastern Alps and Adriatic*. Ljubljana 1999, n. 3, 96. *CIL* III 5196 = *ILLPRON* 1657–58 = VISOČNIK 2017, n. 51 and *CIL* III 14368. 3 = *ILLPRON* 1754 = VISOČNIK 2017, n. 95 are later. *CIL* III 13524 = *ILLPRON* 1647–48 = VISOČNIK 2017, n. 226 = *ILS* 8906 and *AE* 2003. 1305 = VISOČNIK 2017, n. 227 are dated to the end of the 1st century but refer to a *centurio* of the *VI Ferrata*, thus a military officer.

³⁴ *CIL* III 5251 = *ILLPRON* 1585 = *AIJ* 52 = VISOČNIK 2017, n. 129; *CIL* III 5266 = *ILLPRON* 1717 = VISOČNIK 2017, n. 117.

³⁵ Only one family group belonging to the Velina tribe and with an *Atilia* associated to it can be possibly dated to the 1st century AD: *CIL* III 5259 = *ILLPRON* 1733 = VISOČNIK 2017, n. 110. The other *Petronii* and *Atilii* are surely later: *CIL* III 5191 = *ILLPRON* 1652–53 = VISOČNIK 2017, n. 38; *CIL* III 5260 = *ILLPRON* 1713 = VISOČNIK 2017, n. 112; VISOČNIK, J.: *Foreigners in the Area of Celeia. Classica et Christiana* 9/1 (2014) 275–298, here 278; *CIL* III 5115 = *ILLPRON* 1771 = *AIJ* 17 = VISOČNIK 2017, n. 410; *CIL* III 5196 = *ILLPRON* 1657–58 = VISOČNIK 2017, n. 51; *CIL* III 5225 = *ILLPRON* 1685 = VISOČNIK 2017, n. 66; *CIL* III 5241 = *ILLPRON* 1698 = VISOČNIK 2017, n. 86; *CIL* III 5252 = *ILLPRON* 1707 = VISOČNIK 2017, n. 152; *CIL* III 5259 = *ILLPRON* 1733 = VISOČNIK 2017, n. 110.

³⁶ *AIJ* 279, 288, *CIL* III 4028 = *AIJ* 280 *decuriones*, *aediles*, *questores* and *Ilviri iure dicundo*; ALFÖLDY, G.: Die *Valerii* in Poetovio. *AV* 15–16 (1964/5) 137–144.

³⁷ MÓCSY: Pannonia (n. 7) 42–48, 80–89, 154–156; LÖRINCZ, B.: *Die römischen Hilfstruppen in Pannonien während der Prinzipatszeit*. Teil I: Die Inschriften. Vienna 2001; FERJANČIĆ, S. – PELCER-VUJAČIĆ, O.: Veteran Settlements in Illyricum During the Reign of Tiberius. In *Tiberius* (n. 18) 55–58.

who could have been simple landowners with no connection with the army and therefore no reference to it in their funerary inscriptions.

Recent studies have individuated the northern section of the “Amber Road”,³⁸ the territory of Scarbantia and the surroundings of Balaton Lake³⁹ as early settlement zones of veterans since the last decades of the 1st century AD. In the inscriptions of both these regions along with epitaphs of former soldiers, also *gens* names of possible traders from North East Italy are attested to.⁴⁰ These men were probably those responsible for bringing there the Italian goods which had been found in these regions and that soldiers’ and ex-soldiers’ families required.⁴¹

A chance to individuate possible early traders consists in tracing the presence of members of north-eastern Italic *gentes* already well known for their trade activity in Noricum and/or east of the Alps, excluding of course those linked to the army or administration and taking into account only the inscriptions dated to the 1st century AD. Later inscriptions, especially those found in legionary bases⁴² or in areas of veterans’ settlement have lower chances to relate to early private business activity, more probably referring to the second or third generation of settlers. Far from being a flawless method, this selection certainly excludes some later cases of traders and the descendants of the early ones, who could have been involved in the trade as well, but has the merit of focusing the attention only on those cases which have the higher probability of belonging to the early phase of the north-eastern Italic immigration in northern Pannonia.

As it happened in Noricum, in the eastern Alps and along the “Amber Route” a similar phenomenon of commercial colonization took place in the territory of north-western Pannonia, but differently. In the early phase of the Roman organization of northern Pannonia⁴³ it seems that apart from the Savaria-Carnuntum main route, the

³⁸ MRÁV, Z.: Graves of Auxiliary Soldiers and Veterans in the Northern Part of the Province of Pannonia in the 1st Century AD. In *Proceedings of the XVIIth Roman Military Equipment Conference: Weapons and Military Equipment in a Funerary Context (XVII Roman Military Equipment Conference, Zagreb, 24th–27th May, 2010)*. Edd. M. SANADER – A. RENDIĆ-MIOČEVIĆ – D. TONČINIĆ – I. RADMAN-LIVAJA. Zagreb 2013, 99–100; MRÁV, Z.: The Roman Army along the Amber Road between Poetovio and Carnuntum in the 1st Century AD – Archaeological Evidence. A Preliminary Research Report. *CommArchHung* 2010–2013, 49–100.

³⁹ MRÁV, Z.: Graves (n. 37) 91–98; MRÁV, Z.: The Roman Army (n. 37) 55–61.

⁴⁰ See notes 56–63.

⁴¹ See notes 38–39.

⁴² For example, the *Cesernii* and *Kanii* from Aquincum *CIL* III 3582 = *CIL* III 10541 = *Tit.Aq.* II 989; *CIL* III 3599 = *Tit.Aq.* II 660; *CIL* III 3628 = *CIL* III 3630 = *RIU* III 944; *Tit.Aq.* II 585; the *Caesii* and *Barbii* from Carnuntum: *CIL* III 4395 = *CIL* III 11087 = *ILS* 3968, VORBECK, E.: *Zivilinschriften aus Carnuntum*. Wien 1980, n. 45, 14; *CIL* III 4440; *CIL* III 4461, VORBECK, E.: *Militärinschriften aus Carnuntum*. Wien 1980, n. 228, 87, MOSSER (n. 30) n. 173, 275; *CIL* III 4508, VORBECK, *Zivilinschriften* n. 40, 13; HILD, F.: *Supplementum epigraphicum zu CIL III. Das pannonisch Niederösterreich, Burgenland und Wien 1902–1968*. Wien 1968, n. 333, 218–220, VORBECK: *Zivilinschriften* n. 255, 61. Other examples: <http://lupa.at/20033>; *CIL* III 14358.15, MOSSER (n. 30) n. 114, 223–224. Sopiana *CIL* III 3308 = *CIL* III 10289 = *RIU* III 983 or Brigetio *CIL* III 4340 = *RIU* II 541.

⁴³ BURGHARDT, A. F.: The Origin of the Road and City Network of Roman Pannonia. *Journal of Historical Geography* 5.1 (1979) 8–12.

only other relevant road North of the Drava departed from Savaria to reach Brigetio and the Danube at the *castellum* of Arrabona (Győr).⁴⁴

In the absence of major towns connected by roads like in the west or on the “Amber Route”, the presence of Italic merchants in the area took a different shape.⁴⁵ Archaeological surveys, through the examination of materials found on the road stations, offer some useful elements concerning the beginning and the characteristics of the presence of Italic merchants in the area. The ceramic finds from Arrabona⁴⁶ and Mursella,⁴⁷ seem to indicate that Italian goods were transported along the road from Savaria to Brigetio already during the times of Tiberius and Claudius probably following the demand from garrisons’ soldiers.⁴⁸ The same is valid for the military base of *Gorsium*, north-east of the Balaton lake. Similar finds dated to the middle of the 1st century AD or the early Flavian period have been excavated in connection with brick stamps made by the first garrison of the settlement, the *ala I Scubulorum*, which came from Moesia and was located there, between 46/49 and 69/69 AD.⁴⁹

Between the early military bases on the road Savaria-Brigetio and *Gorsium*, there is the Balaton Lake area, since the second half of the 1st century AD a region of intense veteran settlement due to its climate and fertile land. Italic goods have been found at Magyarszerdahely, Zalavár, Keszthely/*Valcum*, and Ságvár/*Tricciana*, to the west and south of lake.⁵⁰ Bronze vases have been found at Pölöske. For the region north-east of the lake, Italic *amphorae* from Balácsa⁵¹ and *terra sigillata* of the Claudian and Flavian periods from Gyulaírádtót should be mentioned.⁵²

As pointed out by Jenő Fitz, most of these finds of north Italic products are connected with large rural complexes or country settlements. Differently from what can be seen along the “Amber Route”, here the settlement of Italic immigrants, veterans who had concluded their military service at the border of the province or

⁴⁴ *It. Ant.* 262,9, CSERMÉNYI, V. – TÓTH, E.: Der Abschnitt der Bernsteinstrasse in Ungarn. *Savaria* 16 (1982) 283–286. Arrabona was the base of the *ala Pannoniorum* between 25/30–69 AD and the *ala I Augusta Ituraeorum sagittaria* in the Flavian period: LÖRINCZ (n. 37) 21–22, 62, 65.

⁴⁵ MÓCSY: Pannonia (n. 7) 120–123.

⁴⁶ MRÁV, Z.: The Roman Army (n. 38) 75–78.

⁴⁷ Here probably lived a *libertus* of a Petronius, who married an indigenous woman and died in his 95th year of age *CIL* III 6480 = *CIL* III 10954 = *RIU* II 370. Here as well the extraordinary old age of the deceased would suggest an early date for his activity.

⁴⁸ FITZ (n. 13) 339–340.

⁴⁹ *AE* 1976. 556b; LÖRINCZ, B.: Die Stempelziegel von Gersium-Herculia, *Alba Regia* 15 (1976) n. 1a, 175–176; FITZ, J.: Das Auxiliarkastell von Gorsium. In *Studien zu den Militärgrenzen Roms III. 13. Internationaler Limeskongreß Aalen 1983*. Stuttgart 1986, 316–321; KNIGHT, D. J.: The Movements of the Auxilia from Augustus to Hadrian. *ZPE* 85 (1991) 190, 194; LÖRINCZ: Die römischen Hilfstruppen (n. 37) 20, 23.

⁵⁰ At Dobogóhill close to the Savaria – Sopianae road tombs of auxiliary soldiers contain Italian ware from the 3rd quarter of the 1st century AD; cf. MRÁV, Z.: The Roman Army (n. 38) 55–61.

⁵¹ At Nemesvámos-Balácapusztá and Gyulaírádtót-Pogánytelek below the later Roman villas settlements of veterans exist MRÁV, Z.: The Roman Army (n. 38) 61; MRÁV: Graves (n. 38) 91–99.

⁵² RADNÓTI, A.: Der Silberfund von Zalahosszúfalu. *FolArch* III/IV (1941) 102–124; FITZ (n. 13) 340–341; KELEMEN, M.: Roman Amphorae in Pannonia. *AArchHung* 29 (1987) 3–45.

traders active in supplying their legionary and auxiliary bases,⁵³ was not concentrated in a few specific urban centres, but was widely distributed over the territory.⁵⁴

Such materials are rarely found within local contexts in indigenous necropolises. It can therefore be reasonably supposed that in the 1st century AD the bulk of the demand for Italic products came almost exclusively from groups of Roman immigrants settled in north-western Pannonia.

A relevant number of these people lived sparsely in rural communities around Lake Balaton.⁵⁵ The onomastic elements that the epigraphical finds provided confirm the north Italic origins of many inhabitants of the rural settlements close to the Balaton shores, where most Roman products have been found.

Some references in the inscriptions in particular allow the investigation concerning the provenance of these immigrants to be further developed. The Aquileian *gentes*, whose trade activity was already documented elsewhere in the transalpine area, are well attested to. Probably they moved closer to where their activity took place and closer to their customers. Later they invested their profits in the acquisition of land, exactly like the former soldiers were doing using their discharge money.

In the necropolis of Magyarszerdahely, rich in Italic *sigillatae*, a funerary inscription mentions a family of *Iulii* coming from Italy.⁵⁶ The mother of one of the family members is a certain *Cania Ursula*,⁵⁷ from a *gens* well attested to in Aquileia. At Zalavár the tomb of *C. Iulius Severinus*, a veteran of the *I Adiutrix*,⁵⁸ was close to those of a *C. Caesernius Senecius* and a *C. Caesernius*,⁵⁹ both belonging to a well-known *gens* of Aquileian origin. A *T. Kanius Florentinus* comes from Balatonhenye,⁶⁰ while at Salföld a certain *T. Canius* and a *Cania Sura*, both sons of a *Titus* are attested to.⁶¹ Among the several *Iulii*,⁶² present everywhere, but all dated to the 2nd century, two *Opponii* are mentioned: a *T. Opponius* [*M?*]*ar*[*cian?*]*us* from Keszthely-Újmajor, and a second person whose *gens* is the only part of the name that has been preserved,

⁵³ Several inscriptions in the Balaton area testify the settlement of veterans already in the 1st century AD; *CIL* III 3352 = *ILS* 2591 = *RIU* VI 1551 from Sárpentele; *CIL* III 4122 = *RIU* IV 952 and *CIL* III 4123 = *RIU* IV 953 from Somogyvár; *CIL* III 4129 = *RIU* II 310 from Lesencetomaj; *CIL* III 4125 = *CIL* III 10905 = *RIU* II 296 from Keszthely.

⁵⁴ FITZ (n. 13) 337–347; TASSAUX, F.: Les importations de l'Adriatique et de l'Italie du nord vers les provinces danubiennes de César aux Sévères. In *Dall'Adriatico al Danubio. L'Illyrico nell'età greca e romana. Atti del Convegno internazionale Cividale del Friuli, 25-27 settembre 2003*. Ed. G. URSO. Pisa 2004, 167–205, here 176.

⁵⁵ MÓCSY: Pannonia (n. 7) 120–122.

⁵⁶ MÓCSY, A.: Une pierre tombale romaine de Magyarszerdahely. *FolArch* IX (1957) 83–90.

⁵⁷ *RIU* II 290.

⁵⁸ *CIL* III 4148 = *RIU* II 293.

⁵⁹ *RIU* II 292; ALFÖLDY, G.: Revidierte Inschriften aus der Gegend des Plattensees. *Specimina Nova Universitatis Quinqueecclesiensis* 6 (1990) n. 1, 86–87.

⁶⁰ *RIU* II 316.

⁶¹ *CIL* III 4130 = *RIU* II 321. A family of *Canii* is present at Zánka in the early 2nd century; KOVÁCS: Tituli (n. 27) n. 71.

⁶² *CIL* III 13418 = *RIU* II 319, *CIL* III 4133 = *RIU* II 324, *CIL* III 3692 = *RIU* II 329, *CIL* III 3691 = *RIU* II 330, *RIU* II 332.

from the necropolis of Keszthely-Fenékpuszta.⁶³ It seems that the presence of members of the *gens Cania/Kania* and *Caesernia* was more sizeable in the rural Roman settlements of eastern Pannonia than in the centres of the "Amber Route" further west. All these people, of course, do not mention any connection with military service.

Two Aquileian *gentes*, the *Caesernii* and the *Canii/Kanii* and that of the *Opponii*, deserve particular attention. Jaroslav Šašel⁶⁴ investigated the role of the *Caesernii* in the Aquileian trade with the transalpine regions in particular for what concerns the production and exchange of metallurgical products. Several *Caesernii* and their freedmen are mentioned in 1st century Aquileian inscriptions.⁶⁵ Some of them like *Sex. Caesernius Cedrus*,⁶⁶ *Sex. Caesernius Faustus*⁶⁷ or *T. Caesernius Ionicus*⁶⁸ held the *sevirate*. Members of the same *gens* had acquired a position of prominence in the society of Emona since the first decades of the Principate, as attested by the inscription on the grave of *T. Caesernius Diphilus*. He was at the same time *sevir* in Aquileia and freedman of *T. Caesernius Assupa*,⁶⁹ and died in Emona, probably while attending to his patron's trade affairs in that city, or those of the *gens* he belonged to. Many *Caesernii* of Aquileian origin are documented in Emona and its territory.⁷⁰ This leads to the assumption that due to their trade activity some of them moved from there to Savaria on the "Amber Route" as seen above, while some others settled in northern Pannonia, around the Balaton Lake.

The presence of the *Opponii*, a minor and not much documented Italic *gens*, establishes a link with the Italian city of *Iulia Concordia*, in north-east Italy where some other members of that *gens* are attested to. The *liberta Opponia Tertia* was in fact connected with two of the city *seviri*.⁷¹ Also in the *municipium of Iulium Carnicum* close to the mountain passes towards Noricum, lived some *Opponii* coming from Concordia.⁷²

The presence of *Caesernii* and *Opponii*, in the Lake Balaton area, two of the few attested *gentes* apart from the generic *Iulii*, seems to indicate probable commercial

⁶³ *RIU* II 295 and 300; ALFÖLDY: *Revidierte Inschriften* (n. 59) n. 2, 87.

⁶⁴ ŠAŠEL KOS, M.: *Caesernii*. *Živa Antika* 10 (1960) 201–221.

⁶⁵ CALDERINI, A.: *Aquileia romana, ricerche di storia ed epigrafia*. Milano 1930, 179: *IA* 481; *IA* 484 = *CIL* V 866; *IA* 586; *IA* 587; *IA* 617 = *CIL* V 1008; *IA* 677; *IA* 939 = *CIL* V 1133; *IA* 940 = *CIL* V 1134; *IA* 1177 = *CIL* V 1452; *IA* 2281; *IA* 2282.

⁶⁶ *IA* 587; TASSAUX, F.: *Sévirat et promotion sociale en Italie nord-orientale*. In *Les élites municipales de l'Italie péninsulaire de la mort de Cesar à la mort de Domitien entre continuité et rupture: classes sociales dirigeantes et pouvoir central*. Éd. M. CEBELLAC-GERVASONI. Rome 2000, 377; LETTICH, G.: *Itinerari epigrafici aquileiesi. Guida alle iscrizioni esposte nel museo archeologico nazionale di Aquileia*. Trieste 2003, n. 161, 131–132.

⁶⁷ *IA* 110 = *CIL* V 740.

⁶⁸ *IA* 586; LETTICH (n. 66) n. 260, 202.

⁶⁹ *AIJ* 176 = *RINMS* 3; BANDELLI, G.: *Le iscrizioni repubblicane*. *AAAd* 24 (1984) 210; BUONOPANE, A.: *Sevirato e augustalità ad Aquileia: nuovi dati e prospettive di ricerca*. *AAAd* 54 (2003) 353.

⁷⁰ For example: *AIJ* 177 = *CIL* III 3850 = *RNMS* 47; *AIJ* 220 = *RNMS* 101; *AIJ* 209 = *CIL* III 3893 = *ILS* 7235a; *AIJ* 493 = *CIL* III 10836; *ILJug* 232 and 308.

⁷¹ *CIL* V 1884 = *ILS* 6698; BROILO, F.: *Iscrizioni Lapidarie Latine del Museo Nazionale Concordiese di Portogruaro*. I. Roma 1980, n. 37, 86–88; LETTICH, G.: *Iscrizioni romane di Iulia Concordia (I a. C.-III d. C.)*. Trieste 1994, n. 47, 123–124.

⁷² *CIL* V 1850; MAINARDIS, F.: *Iulium Carnicum, Storia ed epigrafia*. Trieste 2008, 189.

immigration from Roman colonies of the eastern *X Regio*, Aquileia and Concordia and in the case of the *Caesernii*, perhaps through Emona.

Another and perhaps more interesting case is that of the *gens Cania/Kania*. Members of this *gens* are well attested at Aquileia.⁷³ Here the most common *praenomen* is *Titus*, as for *T. Canius T. l. Adrastus, sexvir*⁷⁴ or *T. Canius Ianuarius*,⁷⁵ who was a priest of *Feronia* in the Republican period, as testified by several inscriptions.

The geographical distribution of the *Titii Kanii* is extraordinarily wide. Along the “Amber Route”, a certain *Kania T. l. Urbana* is a relative of a *decurio* in Scarbantia⁷⁶ and the two sons of a *T. Canius T. l. Cinnamus, negotiator*, in the Flavian period dedicated a funerary monument to their father at Hegykő, in the territory of the same city.⁷⁷ *Cinnamus* died in his 70th year of age; this suggests that he was one of the first merchants to establish his business in the region.

Again, at Scarbantia according to a possible reading, a [*Can*]us *M(arci) f(ilius) Praesens* and a [*Can*]us *M(arci) f(ilius) Lucanus* honour their father with an inscription, [*Aug*]ustali *Cla(udia) [Sava]ria primo [decur]ion(i) Scarban(tia)*,⁷⁸ probably a member of the leading class both at Scarbantia and Savaria, the two key settlements along the “Amber Route”. In this case too and due to the established position of citizen of Savaria achieved by the father, it seems that his activity began rather early.

The *Canii/Kanii* were also active in Noricum, possibly due to the availability of raw material for metalworking in that region. The grave of a *T. Canius T. l. Philocrates* was on the Magdalensberg.⁷⁹ Other two inscriptions mention a *T. Canius* from Sankt Michael am Zollfeld/*Virunum*,⁸⁰ not far from the mentioned site, while a certain *Kania Ursula*⁸¹ is named in an inscription from Villach.

A contribution by Zabehlicky-Scheffenegger written in the mid-1980s has proved fundamental to the clarification of the commercial role of this *gens* in Noricum.⁸² According to the scholar, the many materials bearing the sign TK should be connected with the trade enterprise of a certain *Titus Canius*, surely a member of the *Kania gens*

⁷³ *IA* 201 = *ILS* 8321 = *CIL* V 992, *IA* 1224 = *CIL* V 1270, *IA* 1269 = *CIL* V 8420, *IA* 1567, *IA* 3280 = *CIL* V 8353; CALDERINI (n. 65) 179.

⁷⁴ *IA* 588 = *CIL* V 978; TASSAUX (n. 66) 378.

⁷⁵ *IA* 153 = *CIL* V 755; *IA* 199 = *CIL* V 8218; *IA* 200 = *CIL* V 776 = *ILS* 3483.

⁷⁶ *RIU* I 195, see above n. 31.

⁷⁷ *CIL* III 4250 = *RIU* I 221.

⁷⁸ *RIU* I 222; EGGER, R.: Allerlei aus Inschriften. *BAHD* 56–59 (1954–1957) 131–133; ALFÖLDY, G.: *Studia Pannonica. Aert* 88 (1961) n. 1, 23–26 (in Hungarian with German summary).

⁷⁹ *CIL* III 11577 = *ILLPRON* 271; VETTERS, H.: Die Personennamen von Magdalensberg. *Carinthia I* 144 (1954) 32–45, here 41.

⁸⁰ DOLENZ, H.: Neue Römersteinfunde aus dem vicus bei St. Michael am Zollfeld. In *Anodos. Festschrift für Werner Jobst = Studies of the Roman World* 8 (2008) 131–146, here 138–139; DOLENZ, H.: Neu entdeckte römische Altertümer in Kärnten. *Carinthia I* 200 (2010) 43–82, here 70–71; WEBER, E. – WEBER-HIDEN, I.: *Annona epigraphica Austriaca* 2010. *Tyche* 26 (2011) 259–287, here 279.

⁸¹ *CIL* III 4761 = *ILLPRON* 698.

⁸² ZABEHLICKY-SCHEFFENEGGER, S.: TK – Zur kommerziellen Verbindung des Magdalensberges mit Aquileia. In *Lebendige Altertumswissenschaft: Festgabe zur Vollendung des 70. Lebensjahres von Hermann Vetters*. Wien 1985, 252–254.

working in Noricum, if not one of the *Titii Kanii* named in the inscriptions mentioned above.

In the excavation of a storage building on the Magdalensberg, destroyed by fire with all the goods it contained, a large number of plate fragments with the graffiti TK was found. The ceramics have been dated to the Claudian period. For Zabehlicky-Scheffenegger, given the context of the finds and the fact that no sign of normal usage is evident, the TK on these stored pieces should be interpreted as a mark placed by the merchant responsible for selling these Italian materials beyond the Alps.

Similar marks appear both on the Magdalensberg, and at Aquileia also on transport *amphorae* and on stone weights, the latter linked either to the trade of raw metal or of metal products, like iron buckles. One of the buckles found at the site, in fact, bears the inscription *Leand(er) T(iti) Can(ii servus)*, probably referring to an agent or a businessman, a member of a family very active in the metal industry.

The data provided by the archaeological investigations seem to indicate that the *Canii/Kanii*, apart from trading and transporting perishable goods and Aretine pottery,⁸³ were also active in metalworking.

The scenario just described appears to indicate that the *gens* was able to organize a profitable and diversified trade with the Norican centres. Considering the stiff competition from other Aquileian families in the same areas and business, it seems probable that some members of the *Canii/Kanii* gradually moved to the centres and colonies that had arisen along the "Amber Route" (Scarbantia and Savaria), in an attempt to widen the area of the familiar business. In a later phase, following the minor roads departing from the main "Route", they moved from these cities or directly from the Noricum into northern Pannonia to expand their area of commercial activity and to include the market constituted both by the military units on the borders and the settlements of veterans around the Lake Balaton.

The *Canii/Kanii*, whose agents were already trading on the Magdalensberg and in Noricum, decided to include, parallel to the Roman territorial expansion and Claudius' foundation activity, the main centres on the "Amber Route" within their sphere of commercial influence, just before moving eastwards following the large military units.

The significant presence of *Canii* and *Caesernii* in the area around Lake Balaton and northern Pannonia in the 1st century AD seems to attest to a progressive expansion, eastwards of the area of settlement and trade activity of some Aquileian families: from Noricum and Emona to the Claudian colonies on the "Amber Route", then to those regions that had become the favourite settlement place of the discharged veterans.

This reconstruction would constitute an element in support of Fitz's hypothesis on the gradual progression from Noricum eastwards of the conquest and the later Romanization of the Pannonian region, or at least of its northern area. The *Canii* and

⁸³ SCHINDLER KAUELKA, E. – ZABEHICKY-SCHEFFENEGGER, S.: Le commerce entre l'Adriatique et le Magdalensberg. In *Les routes de l'Adriatique antique*. Éd. S. CACE – A. KURILIC – F. TASSAUX [Ausonius éditions 16]. Bordeaux/Zadar 2006, 151–165.

Caesernii, like Rome's armies, also moved from the west to the east, that is, to say from the core of Noricum, Roman since 15 BC, to the eastern part of the former kingdom and the towns of the "Amber Route", a region ethnically and culturally similar to Noricum, before moving further into the estates of northern Pannonia, following the itinerary of the former soldiers, their principal customers and source of income.

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