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Zofia Kaczmarek

CENTERS OF ROMANNESS. THE *COLLEGIA* IN VIRUNUM AND THEIR ROLE IN INTEGRATING THE POPULATION OF THE PROVINCES

Abstract: One of the most distinctive features of Roman religious, social and economic life were *collegia*. Even though the Romans of the imperial period were ambivalent towards them, the idea of religious or professional associations spread all over the Empire and its existence is evidenced also in the northern provinces. Based on the epigraphy much can be said about activities carried out by the *collegia* and about their members in Virunum (Noricum). Despite the fact, that it may not fully reflect the entirety of those associations' engagement in the city life, the study of the collegiate life sheds some new light on Romanization processes in Virunum. Moreover, the existence of colleges doubtlessly attests to the city's role in creating the identity and self-awareness of its residents.

Keywords: *collegia*, Romanization, Roman provinces, Noricum, Virunum

The buildings¹ erected by the Romans in the erstwhile cities are visible traces of the Empire's bygone splendour in Europe. Those centres of administration, culture and worship were undoubtedly vital to the functioning of the provinces and sustained Roman domination in a given area. However, they did not exclusively serve the interests of the Empire but also, or perhaps above all, benefited their inhabitants as sites where their self-awareness and collective identity took shape.² After all, the Romans believed that their civilization manifested not only in the material culture, but also had its crucial non-material aspects: appropriate lifestyle and knowledge of the custom and mores,³ the cultivation of which was facilitated precisely by cities.

Built in the first half of the first century, the city of Virunum became one of the most important centres of Romanness in Noricum. Its location on the so-called Zollfeld, on the eastern terrace of the river Glan and on the western slope of the Töltschachberg hill, was certainly dictated by economic and strategic considerations [Fig. 1]. The main route across the province passed through that very area, with sources of raw materials and fertile land situated nearby. The area was once thought to have been inhabited by the Latovici, although no traces of local, pre-Roman settlement have been found at the site where the later municipium was erected.⁴

¹ Paper developed as part of the research *Romanization of Urbanized Areas in Roman Provinces on the Rhine and Danube (1st–3rd cent. CE)*, financed by the National Science Centre of the Republic of Poland (UMO-2015/19/B/HS3/00547).

² GERRITSEN, ROYMANS 2006, p. 255.

³ Tac. *Agr.* 19–21.

⁴ VETTERS 1977, pp. 303–305; ALFÖLDY 1974, pp. 87–89.



Fig. 1. Virunum and its location in Noricum (Ł. Kaczmarek, <https://maps-for-free.com>)

Despite its relatively small size (1 km sq.), the town was carefully laid out. The wide streets, allowing carriage traffic, were provided with a drainage system.⁵ In the eastern part, there was a temple of the Capitoline Trinity, built during Hadrian's reign and occupying two *insulae*, with a cobbled forum adjacent to the south, which contained halls with administration offices and a basilica.⁶ Virunum also had its theatre and amphitheatre.⁷

Apart from the public buildings, the vast majority were residential structures constructed soon after the municipium had been established.⁸ Their remains, including interiors equipped with hypocausts and lined with mosaics,⁹ testify to the wealth of the inhabitants. The city must have been a safe living space, as Virunum was never surrounded by walls.¹⁰

The remnants of the structures are unmistakable testimony to the fact that Virunum was the centre of a prosperous life according to the Roman style; a space enabling social advancement through official careers, with designated venues to worship gods and perform rituals, and a place where culture and art flourished.¹¹ Its inhabitants left behind plentiful epigraphic testimonies that complete the picture of the city's everyday life. In addition to tombstones, cultic or honorific inscriptions, they also founded inscriptions which documented their professional and social lives. As it turns out, the residents of Virunum were keen to associate in colleges of various kinds, the evidence of which has survived to this day.

⁵ ZIMMERMANN 2017, p. 208; VETTERS 1977, p. 313.

⁶ VETTERS 1977, pp. 317–318.

⁷ ZIMMERMAN 2017, pp. 28, 210; JERNEJ 2000; ALFÖLDY 1974, p. 89.

⁸ ALFÖLDY 1974, p. 89.

⁹ VETTERS 1977, p. 320.

¹⁰ VETTERS 1977, p. 314; ALFÖLDY 1974, p. 89.

¹¹ MROZEWICZ 2017, pp. 288–289.

The *collegia*

Characteristic of the Roman economic and religious culture, the *collegia* were organizations in which people with common goals joined together.¹² Even in early research concerned with those associations, Jean Pierre Waltzing attempted to clarify the purposes which guided specific communities and develop a typology on that basis.¹³ It would seem that, regardless of the ultimately adopted priorities — religious or professional — their most important aim was to support and provide opportunities for cooperation and status-building to those unable to pursue it within the traditional *cursus honorum*.¹⁴ Thus, they were primarily social associations whose professional tasks took second place,¹⁵ though of course this does not mean that their members were not valued for their skills.¹⁶ The *collegia* enjoyed certain privileges, such as tax exemptions or good seats in amphitheatres, therefore it may have happened that certain members had no professional affiliation with their fellows.¹⁷ They operated in the cities while the length of their activity would vary. Most likely, their members included representatives of the wealthy urban plebs who had gained affluence thanks to their trade or craft, but did not have the necessary status to advance in the official hierarchy.¹⁸

The Romans of the imperial period¹⁹ were ambivalent towards the *collegia*; they appreciated their contribution, especially where it proved useful for the community, such as distributing goods or protecting against fires, but at the same time were concerned about their latent political potential.²⁰ That distrust can be traced back to the Republican times, when their activities were confined to only those which benefited the community, including e.g. patronage, construction undertakings or providing a funeral.²¹

The correspondence between Pliny the Younger and Emperor Trajan sheds the most light on the Roman view of the colleges in the territories they had conquered.²² The letters outline what was acceptable in that respect: membership strictly controlled by the person in charge of the province, verifiable professional expertise of the member craftsmen and, above all, limited number of colleges.²³ Conceivably, the emperor's views may have echoed the republican traditions, which by that time had become somewhat obsolete. The following years saw collegiate activity flourish, peaking in the Danubian provinces in the mid-second and the third century AD.

The structure of the *collegia* resembled cities, in that it emphasized hierarchy and career-building modelled on the clerical *cursus honorum*. Just as cities, colleges had their own officials, patrons and an assembly that issued decrees.²⁴ Often enough, they also had their own gods, geniuses or their own festivals.²⁵ Furthermore, much like the cities, they could carry out specific tasks, such as honorific or construction undertakings,²⁶ and had a budget or financial means at their disposal.²⁷ Since the members shared faith or profession and as well as gathered for common meals, the colleges had a socializing, integrating, and trust-building function, as well as a capacity for neutralizing tensions.²⁸

All the above features must have been even more important in the provincial towns where, for a large proportion of their residents, access to the privileges and offices was far more difficult

¹² MACMULLEN 1974, p. 73.

¹³ WALTZING 1895, pp. 33–56.

¹⁴ VERBOVEN 2007, p. 871; MACMULLEN 1974, p. 74.

¹⁵ VERBOVEN 2011, p. 187; MACMULLEN 1974, p. 75.

¹⁶ VERBOVEN, LEAS 2016, pp. 9–10.

¹⁷ PICCOTTINI 1993, p. 111; MACMULLEN 1974, p. 76.

¹⁸ PATTERSON 1994, p. 238.

¹⁹ VERBOVEN 2016, p. 175.

²⁰ MACMULLEN 1974, pp. 74–75.

²¹ PATTERSON 1994, p. 233.

²² Plin. *Ep.* 10.33, 34 as well as 10.92, 93.

²³ LIU 2012, p. 298, cf. note 94; COTTER 1996, p. 82.

²⁴ MACMULLEN 1974, pp. 76–77; WALTZING 1895, pp. 357–449.

²⁵ PATTERSON 1994, p. 234; VERBOVEN 2007, pp. 870–871.

²⁶ PATTERSON 1994, p. 235.

²⁷ WALTZING 1895, pp. 449–493.

²⁸ VERBOVEN 2007, p. 872; MACMULLEN 1974, p. 77.

than in Rome itself, often altogether impossible. The professional colleges were certainly vital for those merchants and craftsmen who, having arrived in the new territories, had not yet developed an adequate network of clients or acquired a standing. Operating as part of an organization may have lent them more credibility as entrepreneurs, as well as enabled them to establish new contacts. In turn, for the local population, being a member of a college meant a chance of finding oneself a place in the Roman order of the world. For the contemporary researcher, the inscriptions concerning the activities of the *collegia*, especially those provided with a list of members, are an extremely valuable testimony to the integration of the local and influx populations, which no doubt is one of the components in the modern understanding of Romanization.²⁹

The *collegia* of Virunum

The epigraphic evidence discovered in Virunum demonstrates that at least seven or perhaps eight colleges functioned there. A proportion of the material includes members' lists, which were probably compiled to facilitate verification of membership and thus collection of fees.³⁰ The lists in question will be discussed further on in the article. The member registers of the colleges of builders and followers of Mithra have been studied previously by Gernot Piccottini,³¹ while Rudolf Egger dedicated his attention to the *collegium Iuvenum*.³² Their conclusions are taken into account in the analyses below. The analyses concerning the names of the members rely mainly on the findings of two researchers, Géza Alföldy³³ and Iiro Kajanto,³⁴ but also on the conclusions of Heikki Solin and Olli Salomies,³⁵ and Alfred Holder.³⁶ Data from the Epigraphic Database Heidelberg was used in the final interpretation of the inscriptions and the spelling of the names.³⁷

The *collegia* of Virunum may be divided into three groups, the first of which comprises religious colleges, whose main purpose was worship and tending to temples. Then there are professional colleges, which mostly brought together people who were professionally engaged in the same craft. Characteristically enough, those in Virunum admitted not only men but also women into their ranks. The final group—or in fact a type—is a youth college,³⁸ which brought together young men (*iuvenes*) with the goal of moulding their character. A number of artefacts which feature lists of names have not been categorized, but the state of preservation does not permit stating conclusively whether they are related to collegiate activities.

One of the most famous epigraphic monuments from Noricum—and an extremely important source for learning about the history of the residents of Virunum—is a building inscription engraved on a bronze plate measuring 885 × 585 × 0.4 cm, which speaks of the restoration of the temple of Mithra between 182/183 and 184 AD and commemorates late members of the college of that deity, who had likely died in the plague.³⁹ The plate would subsequently serve as an *album mithreum*, because a list of local worshippers of Mithra was appended to the original inscription [Tab. 1]. Initially, it enumerated 34 people who, at their own expense, had rebuilt the temple which had collapsed, probably due to natural causes. Over time, more names were added to the list, so that eventually there were 99, five of which are the names of the aforementioned deceased, specifically honoured in the text.⁴⁰ In addition, it features 59 Latin cognomina, 24 Greek

²⁹ MROZEWICZ 2017.

³⁰ PICCOTTINI 1993, p. 113.

³¹ PICCOTTINI 1993; 1994.

³² EGGER 1915.

³³ ALFÖLDY 1969; 1977.

³⁴ KAJANTO 1965.

³⁵ SOLIN, SALOMIES 1994.

³⁶ HOLDER 1896; 1904.

³⁷ <https://edh.ub.uni-heidelberg.de/> (accessed 21.03.2023).

³⁸ JACZYNOWSKA 1964, p. 28; WALTZING 1895, p. 47.

³⁹ *AE* 1993, 1246; 1994, 1334; 1996, 1189; 1998, 1016; *EDH* 051713.

⁴⁰ BECK 1998, p. 335; PICCOTTINI, DOLENZ 1993, pp. 250–253.

cognomina — some of which are attested for the first time in Noricum—and only four local ones, demonstrating Celtic provenance. Consequently, over the period in which the list was made, local adherents of Mithra accounted for only 3.5%.⁴¹ The majority, i.e., as many as 73 members (74.5%) held Roman citizenship or citizenship under *ius Latinum*. The remaining 23.5% were slaves and freedmen.⁴² G. Piccottini demonstrated that several dozen members of the cult of Mithra named in the inscription belonged to families known to be active in other areas of Virunum, as well as in other cities of the Empire, including Aquileia.⁴³

The cult of Mithra is also involved in an inscription in honour of Septimius Severus, Geta and Caracalla dated to 201–209 AD, which speaks of the restoration of a temple dedicated to that god.⁴⁴ It was engraved on a marble tablet measuring 22 × 33 × 16 cm and also included a list of twenty members of the college originally written in four columns, only three of which have been preserved [Tab. 2]. Those persons were probably active in the college when the inscription was founded, meaning that it was not an *album* of the association as was the case with the bronze plate described above.⁴⁵ All the names on the marble tablet can be found on the earlier bronze artefact, and denote mostly Roman citizens.⁴⁶

The city also had its *collegium Larum*, the existence of which is attested in a now lost limestone plate mentioning the erection or renovation of a portico.⁴⁷ When exactly that undertaking was carried out cannot be ascertained; it must have been between the first and the third century AD. The college of the Lares at Virunum was most likely one of the many such associations in the Empire, dedicated to the cult of the imperial Lares in particular.⁴⁸ Their activities were no different from those in which other cultic associations engaged; they are known to have been involved in construction (as in the case in question), founding inscriptions, or providing burials for their members. However, a list of members of the Virunum association has not survived, which is an irreparable loss.

The activities of the professional colleges are evidenced in a marble plate measuring 75 × 122 × 17 cm, dating to the latter half of the second century AD [Fig. 2]. As it clearly follows from the inscription, it records the names of the male and female members of the *collegium Subaedianorum*. They were listed in four columns, women and men separately [Tab. 3].⁴⁹ That particular college gathered workers and craftsmen associated with construction and manufacture of building and decorative materials, i.e. people belonging to the lower strata of society, albeit not without wealth. Nonetheless, the possibility that people from outside the building community were its members must be taken into account as well.⁵⁰

Initially, the list named 57 members who, in addition to men (35), also included women (22). Moreover, twelve members of the college were married; eight of those were evidently Roman whereas the other four had names betray local origin. The women are mainly wives and sisters of the enumerated men, although four appear unrelated to anyone on the list. After the names of two male and three female members had been erased, the college consisted of 52 persons, 33 men and 19 women. Eighteen of the men held Roman citizenship, while 15 were *peregrini*. The women were largely of native descent, but their names had been Latinized, while their position depended on the status of their husbands. Latin surnames include those of Aelius, Claudius, Iulius and Ulpius, as well as Barbius Primigenius, suggesting a familial connection with the Barbii; names

⁴¹ PICCOTTINI 1994, pp. 29–31.

⁴² PICCOTTINI 1994, pp. 31–32.

⁴³ PICCOTTINI 1994, pp. 36–44.

⁴⁴ *AE* 1994, 1335; *CIL* III 4816; *ILLPRON* 15; 16; 748; 773; 774; *EDH* 051714.

⁴⁵ PICCOTTINI 1994, p. 44.

⁴⁶ PICCOTTINI 1994, pp. 47–49.

⁴⁷ *CIL* III 4792; *ILLPRON* 789; *EDH* 057567; DOLENZ, RUTTER 2020, p. 58.

⁴⁸ WOJCIECHOWSKI 2014, pp. 157, 160.

⁴⁹ *AE* 1993, 1245; *ILLPRON* 610; 620; 621; 622; 623; *EDH* 052954; PICCOTTINI 1993, p. 111.

⁵⁰ PICCOTTINI 1993, p. 111.



Fig. 2. The plate of the *collegium Subaedianorum* (photo by Ortolf Harl, lupa.at/5877)

indicative of Greek and Celtic origin are also attested. In addition, the plate provides evidence that the college had its own premises, since such lists were usually affixed to buildings where meetings or cultic ceremonies were held.⁵¹

The young people of Virunum also formed an association, which functioned as *collegium Manliensium*, an appellation deriving from the building (probably a basilica)⁵² in which they would convene.⁵³ The organization was most likely modelled on other youth associations in the Empire and oriented towards self-education and sporting competition. Such a conjecture may be borne out by a marble plate, one of the earliest monuments in the lapidary of the Landesmuseum für Kärnten. Dated to the first half of the second century AD,⁵⁴ it depicts *lusus iuvenalis*, with two young mounted men dressed in tunics and trousers. A third horse may be seen behind a column, probably architectural feature; the dynamic movement of the animals is a notable element of the representation. The leading rider is holding a flag, which may suggest a procession relating to *lusus iuvenalis*. Furthermore, it may be surmised that it adorned a building, possibly a basilica — *Manlia* — from which the college took its name.⁵⁵

The youth of the *collegium Manliensium* founded several altars, dedicated to the *Genius Augusti* (probably financed by a freedman),⁵⁶ the *Fortuna Augustae* and the Genius of Manlienses (?),⁵⁷ Epona,⁵⁸ the Nymphs and Sylvanus.⁵⁹ Precise dating of those plates has not been possible so far; they were approximately determined to have been made between the mid-second and late third century AD. The dedications to the Nymphs and Sylvanus may be suggestive of the significance that the association attached to competitive sport such as hunting. The dedication of an altar to Epona, a particular protector

⁵¹ PICCOTTINI 1993, esp. pp. 111, 113, 115, 119 and 120.

⁵² BOULEY 2003, p. 204; EGGER 1915, p. 121.

⁵³ CIL III 4779; ILLPRON 523; DOLENZ, RUTTER 2020, p. 44.

⁵⁴ BOULEY 2003, p. 197; PICCOTTINI 1992, pp. 51–56; JACZY-
NOWSKA 1964, p. 66; EGGER 1915, pp. 115–116.

⁵⁵ PICCOTTINI 1992, pp. 56–58.

⁵⁶ CIL III 4779; ILLPRON 523; EDH 057354.

⁵⁷ ILLPRON 110; EDH 056987.

⁵⁸ CIL III 4777; ILLPRON 764, 765; EDH 042460; DO-
LENZ, RUTTER 2020, pp. 33–34.

⁵⁹ ILLPRON 112; EDH 056928.

of horses, warrants the conclusion that equestrianism was equally important to the young people of Virunum, in which they were no different from other associations of that type across the Empire.⁶⁰

Another artefact associated with that college — dated to the first half of the third century AD — features a partially preserved list of members under an inscription dedicated to *Fortuna Augusti* [Tab. 4].⁶¹ This marble plaque, measuring 36 × 55 × 10 cm, founded by Flavius Covnertus and Nonius, named 73 people — with five entries virtually illegible today — although originally there must have been many more.⁶² The members were free men, including freedmen; the nomina of seven may indicate local origin, although all but one were Latinized.⁶³ All the members of the college were male, which naturally derived from the underlying idea of the college.

Investigations at the Virunum site also yielded a stone plaque measuring 33 × 23 × 8 cm with a fragmentary list of persons may have been followers or members of the college of the cult of Serapis [Tab. 5].⁶⁴ Such an inference is supported by the place of discovery, i.e. next to the previously mentioned altar of the *collegium Manliensium* in honour of Epona. Given the fragmentary nature of the inscription and considerable damage (it was probably used as a boundary stone),⁶⁵ only four names — all Latinized — were able to be deciphered in full.

Another inscription, dedicated to Hercules and Epona to honour emperor Caracalla and containing a partially preserved list of names may suggest the existence of yet another association [Tab. 6].⁶⁶ The marble plaque measuring 27 × 57 × 6 cm includes the names of 36 people and, although some remain illegible, it is worth noting that the least eight are undoubtedly female. In addition, there is a relatively large number of freedmen among them, some of whom may have been native to the region.

An honorific inscription to Heliogabalus was founded by members of an unidentified college [Fig. 3; Tab. 7].⁶⁷ This white marble plaque measuring 68 × 67 × 8 cm features 22 names. All members of that college were male, with two likely freedmen. One of the members (Messor) may have been a person of Illyrian descent.



Fig. 3. Honorific inscription for Heliogabalus
(photo by Ortoolf Harl, lupa.at/5778)

⁶⁰ JACZYNOWSKA 1961, pp. 40, 48.

⁶¹ *CIL* III, 4778, 4785, *ILLPRON* 522, 616, 617, 625, 628, 629, 630; *EDH* 057446.

⁶² EGGER 1915, pp. 123–124.

⁶³ JACZYNOWSKA 1964, p. 51; EGGER 1915, pp. 123–124.

⁶⁴ *CIL* III 4817; *ILLPRON* 793; *EDH* 067117; DOLENZ, RUTTER 2020, pp. 34–46.

⁶⁵ DOLENZ, RUTTER 2020, p. 41.

⁶⁶ *CIL* III 4784; *ILLPRON* 785, 786, 787, 788; *EDH* 057566.

⁶⁷ *ILLPRON* 611; 618, 619; *EDH* 057434.

A list of names was appended to yet another inscription engraved in a marble plaque measuring 86x53x8cm with a hardly legible dedication [Fig. 4; Tab. 8].⁶⁸ As regards the founders, only two women have been identified (Var. Re[s]pecta) and (Val. Re[--]cl(?)[--]), though there must have been more. Also, it is likely that no other person enumerated below the dedication was a founder,⁶⁹ from which it would follow that those listed were members of a college. The list in question provides only male names, including a number of freedmen and one individual of undoubtedly Greek origin.



Fig. 4. Votive inscription with a list (photo by Ortoolf Harl, lupa.at/11209)

Conclusions

The quantity of inscriptions founded by the colleges in Virunum is significant, even though it may not fully reflect the entirety of the activities in which those associations engaged. The testimonies discussed above are largely related to construction, which is exactly what the Romans would have been expected of colleges. Also, there can be no doubt that the associations needed buildings for meetings and joint repasts.⁷⁰ Indirectly, the plaque founded by the *collegium Subaedianorum* attests to the existence of such a structure, whereas the *collegium Manliensium* even took its name from the place where it convened. Naturally, construction undertakings had a direct impact on the formation of the cityscape.⁷¹

⁶⁸ *AE* 1997, 1219; *EDH* 049755.

⁶⁹ [--]T eis ne defuncto N(?)N[-]MF(?)E(?)[--].

⁷⁰ Varto. *Rust.* 3.2.16; MACMULLEN 1974, p. 77.

⁷¹ VERBOVEN 2011, p. 187.

The context in which these epigraphic artefacts were discovered offers additional insights. The inscriptions dedicated to Serapis, the Lares and Epona were placed north-west of the city buildings, where one would have found statues and a portico, the *collegium Larum* referred to in the inscription, or the presumed Serapeum. The presence of such buildings suggests that the site was an *area sacra*,⁷² closely associated with the imperial cult. Consequently, one can hardly fail to note a close link between the activities of the *collegia* in Virunum and the veneration of the imperial family,⁷³ which is consistent with the trends observed in other provincial cities. The special reverence for the imperial family, originating already with Augustus, was one of the two mainstays of the official state cult, next to the Greco-Roman religion. It proved to be a city-forming factor — as in the case of Mogontiacum⁷⁴ — as well as major platform enabling integration of the Roman and indigenous population. This is probably why the venues of imperial worship are to be found in virtually every major town in the provinces on the Rhine and the Danube.⁷⁵

Youth colleges were extremely popular in the Danubian provinces, particularly in the second and third century AD,⁷⁶ and they appear to have set great store by imperial worship. The *collegium Manliensium* founded as many as three inscriptions to the emperors. However, the most important activity that such youth associations could undertake in the provinces was education. The task of the young people was to prepare for the *lusus iuvenalis*⁷⁷ which, not insignificantly, contributed to the formation of skills that would have ultimately served in the event of a military threat.⁷⁸ Moreover, examples from other cities demonstrate that the colleges of the young had an elaborate para-clerical structure,⁷⁹ hence it is not surprising that they could have offered a recruitment pool for offices.⁸⁰ Regrettably, it remains unknown whether the members of the Virunum association entered professional life in this fashion. It should also be noted that although members of the college were largely Romanized, there was a number of the locals among them.⁸¹ This must have been a tremendously significant factor which nurtured values considered typically Roman in the latter group. The fact that the local youth established and joined such an association may attest to a desire to participate in the global world of Roman culture, to break out of the local environment or ensure oneself new career prospects. Even so, given that one of the dedications invoked Epona, it may be surmised that local culture left a mark on their activities as well. Moreover, *collegium Manliensium* had an undoubted influence on the cityscape in the second century AD as it contributed, e.g., to the beautification of buildings, an accomplishment the inscriptions they founded readily mention.⁸²

The cult of Mithra enjoyed substantial popularity in the Danubian provinces. Although Eastern cults may have reached the city through Aquileian merchants⁸³ even prior to the Roman conquest, they did not spread in the provinces until the early centuries AD. The actual propagation of the Mithraic religion is associated with the Roman army,⁸⁴ though new adherents among the civilian and local population were welcome. Here, the list of names on the famous bronze inscription from Virunum offers some cogent evidence. The *peregrini* were a small yet noticeable group among the followers of Mithra. For G. Piccottini, the considerable proportion of the *collegiati* with Latin and Latinized surnames is primarily an indication that a greater part of the urban population had been Romanized in the latter half of the second century AD.⁸⁵ The followers of Mithra also

⁷² DOLENZ, RUTTER 2020, pp. 60–62.

⁷³ WOJCIECHOWSKI 2014, pp. 154–156.

⁷⁴ MROZEWICZ 2021, p. 175.

⁷⁵ BOULEY 2003, pp. 206–207.

⁷⁶ JACZYNOWSKA 1964, pp. 68, 77, 79.

⁷⁷ JACZYNOWSKA 1964, pp. 62–65; MOHLER 1937, p. 451; EGGER 1915, pp. 117–118.

⁷⁸ JACZYNOWSKA 1964, pp. 66–69.

⁷⁹ EGGER 1915, p. 118.

⁸⁰ MOHLER 1937, pp. 460–461, 476.

⁸¹ ILLPRON 110.

⁸² EGGER 1915, p. 128.

⁸³ VETTERS 1977, pp. 336–337.

⁸⁴ Tert. *De corona* 15.4; CHALUPA *et alii* 2021, pp. 126–129; HELGELAND 1978, 1497.

⁸⁵ PICCOTTINI 1993, pp. 120–121.

contributed to the urban development of Virunum by erecting their temples there. Furthermore, it may be presumed that in addition to construction undertakings — which stood out the most as a component in the fabric of the city — the members of the college also took part in the events which were important for its residents.⁸⁶

On the other hand, the professional colleges — as argued by Wim Broekaert⁸⁷ — supported their members, provided care and mediation to resolve problems. That particular mode of functioning of the associations would have been particularly applicable in the provinces, where the presence of the local and influx element was a potential source of conflict. Indeed, evidence from other provincial towns demonstrates there was rivalry between the newcomers and the natives.⁸⁸ However, this issue does not seem to have arisen in Virunum. The composition of the *collegium Subaedianorum*, which gathered family businesses run by mixed, Roman-local marriages, warrants the supposition that co-operation between the natives and the newcomers proceeded in relative harmony. This must have been influenced by the fact that the *collegiati* prioritized honour over economic success.⁸⁹ Nonetheless, one cannot fail to note that the inscriptions offer insights only into a limited section of the economic life of the town, as not all practitioners of a particular profession would have established associations.⁹⁰ Nothing can be said about the nature of professional relations between non-associated craftsmen.

In order to comprehensively assess how a particular college functioned, and thus determine its impact on the development of the town, it is also necessary to consider its lifespan. The testimonies of collegiate activity from Italy show that such organizations divided their functioning into periods known as *lustra*, and that certain colleges continued to exist over a dozen of such units of time.⁹¹ For the most part, the epigraphic sources from Virunum do not permit such analyses to be carried out. Cautious assessments may only be made with respect to one college — of the followers of Mithra — based on the list names featured in the relevant inscription. The addition of successive names on the bronze plate shows that the college operated for a longer period of time and took effective measures to protect the common property (rebuilding the temple) as well as ensure proper venue of worship for its members. Also, regarding the associations of Virunum, the fact that their members received political support from their respective colleges cannot be confirmed by any available evidence, such as has been found for the colleges of Pompeii, for instance.

The study of the collegiate life in Virunum also sheds some light on Romanization processes. Despite more than a century of debate concerning its meaning, the very term has not been precisely and conclusively defined. The most widespread conception of Romanization, introduced in the nineteenth century and denoting the dominance of Roman culture in a given area, was challenged after the post-colonial turn and replaced by other numerous definitions and novel designations.⁹² Hence, using this term is extremely problematic, compelling the researcher to refer to multiple studies as well as define it on each occasion. However, regardless of the current within which one conducts their research, a particular conviction is shared by all: wherever the Romans appeared, they brought change to which the local population had to adapt.⁹³ Association in the form of colleges must be considered one of the responses to such a change. After all, associations were a Roman invention and there can be no doubt that their emergence in provincial towns resulted from the Roman conquest. However, membership was not compulsory. Those who chose to join them must have seen the advantage of being helped to find their bearings in a new reality, whether through interaction with people of the same religion or the same profession, who confronted similar issues.

⁸⁶ VERBOVEN 2016, p. 190.

⁸⁷ BROEKAERT 2011.

⁸⁸ LIU 2016, pp. 212–213, 215.

⁸⁹ MACMULLEN 1974, p. 76.

⁹⁰ LIU 2016, pp. 224–225.

⁹¹ LIU 2016, pp. 206–207.

⁹² PIĘDGOŃ 2020; MROZEWICZ 2017.

⁹³ Cf. WOOLF 2005, p. 110.

Moreover, the existence of colleges doubtlessly attests to the role of the cities, which did contribute to the identity and self-awareness of their residents. The activities of such bodies spanned virtually every element of daily life, as they were involved in professional work, worship, celebrations or formation of the young, fostering virtues which the urban community found desirable. Collegiate inscriptions appear relatively late (in the second and third centuries AD), when the epigraphic tradition in that area had already been well established, and mainly concern the Romanized population, i.e. those who had come into contact with the Roman culture and embraced some of its customs. They are evidence of the residents' commitment and contribution to the functioning and aesthetics of their city, their concern for the common space, and manifest the adoption of the Roman way of life, including the very Roman need to commemorate themselves and their deeds.⁹⁴ Additionally, as meeting places and venues of cooperation, the *collegia* of Virunum were undoubtedly instrumental in social integration within the Roman cultural framework, promoting its dissemination. At the same time, the fact that the *collegiati* invoked pre-Roman deities such as Epona eloquently demonstrates that cultural exchange was by no means a one-way process.

Appendix

Tables

Tab. 1. The list of members of *collegium Mithrae* from the bronze plate, AD 182–184 (*AE* 1993, 1246; 1994, 1334; 1996, 1189; 1998, 1016; *EDH* 051713)

No.	Names	Description
1	Tertinius Tertinus	Male, Latin cognomen, Roman citizen
2	G. Sec(undius) Reditus	Male, Latin nomen and cognomen, Roman citizen
3	Suc(essius) Florianus	Male, Latin nomen and cognomen, Roman citizen
4	Tiberius Claudius Quintilianus	Male, Latin nomen and cognomen, Roman citizen
5	L. Quar(tinius?) Quartus	Male, Latin nomen and cognomen, Roman citizen
6	Mamilius Dionysius	Male, Latin nomen and Greek cognomen, freedman
7	Sabinus Hermaiscus	Male, Latin nomen and Greek cognomen, freedman
8	Sentius Hermes	Male, Latin nomen and Greek cognomen, freedman
9	Priscus Oppidanus	Male, Latin nomen and cognomen, Roman citizen
10	Varius Fortis	Male, Latin nomen and cognomen, Roman citizen
11	Titius Ruso	Male, Latin nomen and cognomen, Roman citizen
12	Annius Syrillio	Male, Latin nomen and Greek cognomen, freedman
13	Lydacus Charito	Male, Latin nomen and Greek cognomen, freedman

⁹⁴ WOOLF 1996, pp. 25–26; ROXAN 1989, pp. 462–463.

No.	Names	Description
14	Baienius Axio	Male, Latin nomen and Greek cognomen, freedman
15	Rufius Fuscus	Male, Latin nomen and cognomen, Roman citizen
16	Marius Achilleus	Male, Latin nomen and Greek cognomen, Roman citizen
17	Claud(ius) Quintilianus	Male, Latin nomen and cognomen, Roman citizen
18	Iulius Carpus	Male, Latin nomen and Greek cognomen, freedman
19	Publilius Moderatus	Male, Latin nomen and cognomen, Roman citizen
20	Mamil(ius) Crescentinus	Male, Latin nomen and cognomen, Roman citizen
21	Varius Secundus	Male, Latin nomen and cognomen, Roman citizen
22	Marius Eutyches	Male, Latin nomen and Greek cognomen, freedman
23	Atticius Sextus	Male, Latin nomen and cognomen, Roman citizen
24	Atticius Tacitus	Male, Latin nomen and cognomen, Roman citizen
25	Annius Calocaerus	Male, Latin nomen and Greek cognomen, freedman
26	Claud(ius) Mercurialis	Male, Latin nomen and cognomen, Roman citizen
27	Brittannius Syrus	Male, Latin nomen and Greek cognomen, freedman
28	Mercatorius Crispin(us)	Male, Latin nomen and cognomen, Roman citizen
29	Lydaci ^{us} Ingenuus	Male, Latin nomen and cognomen, Roman citizen
30	Claud(ius) Quintianus	Male, Latin nomen and cognomen, Roman citizen
31	Cornel(ius) Maturus	Male, Latin nomen and cognomen, Roman citizen
32	Cornel(ius) Florentinus	Male, Latin nomen and cognomen, Roman citizen
33	Trebius Alfius	Male, Latin nomen and cognomen, Roman citizen
34	Valerius Hermophilus	Male, Latin nomen and Greek cognomen, Roman citizen
35	Iulius Secundinus	Male, Latin nomen and cognomen, Roman citizen
36	Baienius (H)omuncio	Male, Latin nomen and cognomen, Roman citizen
37	Licinius Marcianus	Male, Latin nomen and cognomen, Roman citizen
38	Iulius Philostratus	Male, Latin nomen and Greek cognomen, freedman
39	Volusius Atticus	Male, Latin nomen and cognomen, Roman citizen
40	Aelius Successus	Male, Latin nomen and cognomen, Roman citizen
41	Marc(ius) Marcianus	Male, Latin nomen and cognomen, Roman citizen
42	Claud(ius) Felix	Male, Latin nomen and cognomen, Roman citizen

No.	Names	Description
43	Aelius Marcianus	Male, Latin nomen and cognomen, Roman citizen
44	Varius Sabinus	Male, Latin nomen and cognomen, Roman citizen
45	C. Baebius Cupitus	Male, Latin nomen and cognomen, Roman citizen
46	Trebius Zoticus	Male, Latin nomen and Greek cognomen, freedman
47	Auconius Eucarpus	Male, Latin nomen and Greek cognomen, freedman
48	Aelius Fuscus	Male, Latin nomen and cognomen, Roman citizen
49	Marius Eutyclus	Male, Latin nomen and Greek cognomen, freedman
50	Baebius Bassianus	Male, Latin nomen and Latin cognomen, Roman citizen
51	Q. Baienius Ingenu(u)s	Male, Latin nomen and cognomen, Roman citizen, local origin (?)
52	C. Fl(avius) Nectareus	Male, Latin nomen and Greek cognomen, freedman
53	P. Aelius Fuscianus	Male, Latin nomen and cognomen, Roman citizen
54	M. Mar(ius) Zosimus	Male, Latin nomen and Greek cognomen, freedman
55	T. Auc(onius) Callimorfus	Male, Latin nomen and Greek cognomen, freedman
56	L. Fac(---) Onesimus	Male, Latin nomen and Greek cognomen, freedman
57	Rufius Severinus	Male, Latin nomen and cognomen, Roman citizen
58	T. Mest(rius) Respectus	Male, Latin nomen and cognomen, Roman citizen
59	Q. Sep(timius) Speratus	Male, Latin nomen and cognomen, Roman citizen
60	L. Alb(ius) Aristo	Male, Latin nomen and Greek cognomen, freedman
61	A. Tap(petius) Chionius	Male, Latin nomen and Greek cognomen, freedman
62	Lutucc(ius) Maro	Male, Latin nomen and cognomen, Roman citizen
63	M. Mar(ius) Severianus	Male, Latin nomen and cognomen, Roman citizen
64	C. Iul(ius) Maternus	Male, Latin nomen and cognomen, Roman citizen
65	L. Cand(idus) Aper	Male, Latin nomen and cognomen, Roman citizen
66	C. Pris(cius) Crescentinus	Male, Latin nomen and cognomen, Roman citizen
67	Q. Iul(ius) Adrastus	Male, Latin nomen and Greek cognomen, freedman
68	Iulius Optatus	Male, Latin nomen and cognomen, Roman citizen
69	Tros(ius) Tertullinus	Male, Latin nomen and cognomen, Roman citizen

No.	Names	Description
70	Aelius Seccundianus	Male, Latin nomen and cognomen, Roman citizen
71	Calend(inus) Successi	Male, Latin nomen and Celtic cognomen
72	Antonius Atticianus	Male, Latin nomen and cognomen, Roman citizen
73	Claudius Primiti(v)us	Male, Latin nomen and cognomen, Roman citizen
74	Veponius C(h)restus	Male, Latin nomen and Greek cognomen. Roman citizen
75	Auconius Boniatius	Male, Latin nomen and Celtic cognomen, Roman citizen
76	Tib. Claudiu(s) Curio	Male, Latin nomen and cognomen, Roman citizen
77	G. Iul(ius) Secundinus	Male, Latin nomen and cognomen, Roman citizen
78	Septimius Mercator	Male, Latin nomen and cognomen, Roman citizen
79	Cl(audius) Tib. Dignus	Male, Latin nomen and cognomen, Roman citizen
80	L. Val(erius) Valerianus	Male, Latin nomen and cognomen, Roman citizen
81	G. B(a)eb(ius) Ursulus	Male, Latin nomen and cognomen, Roman citizen, local origin (?)
82	G. Mari(us) Tertullinus	Male, Latin nomen and cognomen, Roman citizen
83	Bellicius Senecio	Male, Latin nomen and Celtic cognomen, Roman citizen
84	Sum(m)ian(us) Maximus	Male, Latin nomen and cognomen, Roman citizen
85	P. Aelius Cupitus	Male, Latin nomen and cognomen, Roman citizen
86	Asconius Severinus	Male, Latin nomen and cognomen, Roman citizen
87	Gemelli(us) Gemellianus	Male, Latin nomen and cognomen, Roman citizen
88	M. Ulpius Atticus	Male, Latin nomen and cognomen, Roman citizen
89	Septimius Marcus	Male, Latin nomen and cognomen, Roman citizen
90	Aelius Celerinus	Male, Latin nomen and cognomen, Roman citizen
91	M. Ulpius Atticianus	Male, Latin nomen and cognomen, Roman citizen
92	Speratus	Male, Latin, slave
93	L. Vibius Iuvenis	Male, Latin nomen and cognomen, Roman citizen
94	Helvi(us) Var(r)onianus	Male, Latin nomen and cognomen, Roman citizen
95	L. Vibius Aeliomarus	Male, Latin nomen and Celtic cognomen, Roman citizen
96	Rufi(us) Saturninus	Male, Latin nomen and cognomen, Roman citizen
97	M. Ma(n)sue(tius) Ma(n)suetus.	Male, Latin nomen and cognomen, Roman citizen

No.	Names	Description
98	M. Belli(cus) Reditus	Male, Latin nomen and cognomen, Roman citizen
99	Ti. Cl(audius) Optatus	Male, Latin nomen and cognomen, Roman citizen

Tab. 2. The list of members of *collegium Mithrae* from the marble tablet, AD 201–209 (AE 1994, 1335; *CIL* III 4816; *ILLPRON* 15, 16, 748, 773, 774; *EDH* 051714)

No.	Names	Description
1	[Val(erius)] Hermofilus	Male, Latin nomen and Greek cognomen, Roman citizen
2	[Li]cin(ius) Marcian(us)	Male, Latin nomen and cognomen, Roman citizen
3	Iul(ius) Fylostrat(us)	Male, Latin nomen and Greek cognomen, freedman
4	Mar(cius) Marcianus	Male, Latin nomen and cognomen, Roman citizen
5	Ael(ius) Marcianus	Male, Latin nomen and cognomen, Roman citizen
6	Baeb(ius) Cupitus	Male, Latin nomen and cognomen, Roman citizen
7	[--]l(ius) Eucharpus	Male, Latin nomen and Greek cognomen, freedman
8	[A]el(ius) Fuscus	Male, Latin nomen and cognomen, Roman citizen
9	[M]ar(ius) Euty[chus]	Male, Latin nomen and Greek cognomen, freedman
10	[M(arcus) Mar(ius) Zosimus]	Male, Latin nomen and Greek cognomen, freedman
11	[Q(uintus) Sept(imius)] Speratus	Male, Latin nomen and cognomen, Roman citizen
12	L(ucius) Al[bius] Aristio	Male, Latin nomen and Greek cognomen, freedman
13	A(ulus) Ta[pp]et(ius) Chionius	Male, Latin nomen and Greek cognomen, freedman
14	L(ucius) Lut[u]cius Maron	Male, Latin nomen and cognomen, Roman citizen
15	M(arcus) M[ari]us Sever[ianus]	Male, Latin nomen and cognomen, Roman citizen
16	C(aius) Iu[l(ius) Maternus]	Male, Latin nomen and cognomen, Roman citizen
17	C(aius) Marius Tertullinus	Male, Latin nomen and cognomen, Roman citizen

No.	Names	Description
18	Bell(icius) Senecio	Male, Latin nomen and Celtic cognomen, Roman citizen
19	S(extus?) Summ(ianius) Maximus	Male, Latin nomen and cognomen, Roman citizen
20	Ael(ius) Cupitu[s]	Male, Latin nomen and cognomen, Roman citizen

Tab. 3. The list of the members of the *collegium Subaedianorum*, AD 151–200 (*AE* 1993, 1245; *ILLPRON* 610, 620, 621, 622, 623; *EDH* 052954)

No.	Names	Description
1	[A]terius Calendinus	Male, Latin nomen and Celtic cognomen, Roman citizen
2	Curionius Cautus	Male, Latin nomen and cognomen, Roman citizen
3	G(aius) Alfius Granius	Male, Latin nomen and cognomen, Roman citizen
4	Satrius Tertianus	Male, Latin nomen and cognomen, Roman citizen
5	Secundinus Obilonis	Male, Latin cognomen and Celtic cognomen (?)
6	Titius Quartus	Male, Latin nomen and cognomen, Roman citizen
7	Tertullus Calvonis	Male, Latin nomen and cognomen
8	Octavius Vitalis	Male, Latin nomen and cognomen, Roman citizen
9	Postumius Ripanus	Male, Latin nomen and cognomen, Roman citizen
10	Successus Iuliani	Male, Latin nomen and cognomen
11	Aelius Axio	Male, Latin nomen and Greek cognomen, Roman citizen
12	Primigenius Secundini	Male, Latin nomen and cognomen, freedman
13	Crispius Tertianus	Male, Latin nomen and cognomen, Roman citizen
14	Ulpus Petronianus	Male, Latin nomen and cognomen, Roman citizen
15	Corido Ingenui	Male, Latin nomen and cognomen, local origin (?)
16	Ingenu(u)s Cupiti	Male, Latin nomen and cognomen, local origin (?)
17	Iulius Vicarius	Male, Latin nomen and cognomen, Roman citizen
18	Respectus Maximi	Male, Latin nomen and cognomen, Roman citizen

No.	Names	Description
19	Lucanus Secundini	Male, Latin nomen and cognomen
20	Pompeius Verinus	Male, Latin nomen and cognomen, Roman citizen
21	Liberalis Axionis	Male, Latin cognomen and Celtic nomen (?)
22	Viatorius Castus	Male, Latin nomen and cognomen, Roman citizen
23	Barbius Primigenius	Male, Latin nomen and cognomen, Roman citizen
24	Britannius Candianus	Male, Latin nomen and cognomen, Roman citizen
25	Crescentinus Maximi	Male, Latin nomen and cognomen, freedman
26	Atto(nius) Pictor	Male, Latin nomen and cognomen, Roman citizen
27	[[-----]]	Male (?)
28	Mogetimar(us) Mogeti	Male, Celtic nomina
29	Successus Crescentis	Male, Latin nomen and cognomen, freedman
30	Messorinus Rufini	Male, Latin nomen and cognomen, freedman
31	[[-----]]	Male (?)
32	Pompeius Antenor	Male, Latin nomen and cognomen, Roman citizen
33	Acceptus Cassiani	Male, Latin nomen and cognomen
34	Ursulus Cauti	Male, Latin nomen and cognomen, local origin (?)
35	Claudius Iucundus	Male, Latin nomen and cognomen, Roman citizen
36	[[-----]]	Female (?)
37	Flora Cauti	Female, Latin nomen
38	Iucunda Grani	Female, Latin nomen
39	Priscia Tertiani	Female, Latin nomen
40	Quinta Surioni(s)	Female, Latin nomen
41	Tertull(a) Secundini	Female, Latin nomen
42	Beni(g)na Quarti	Female, Celtic (?) and Latin nomina
43	Sucelu Calvinis	Female, Celtic and Latin nomina
44	Veponia Quintilla	Female, Latin nomina, Roman citizenship (?)

No.	Names	Description
45	Gemina Suc(c)essi	Female, Latin nomina
46	Rantia Ianuaria	Female, Latin nomina, Roman citizenship
47	Secu(n)dina Secundini	Female, Latin nomina
48	[[-----]]	Female (?)
49	Primitiv(a) Petroniani	Female, Latin nomen
50	Secundina Ingenui	Female, Latin nomina
51	[[-----]]	Female (?)
52	Calida Casti	Female, Latin nomina
53	Rest(it)uta Primigeni	Female, Latin nomina, local origin (?)
54	Ingenua Mogetima(ri)	Female, Latin nomen
55	Sabinilla Cas(siani)	Female, Latin nomina
56	Sabina Iucundi	Female, Latin nomina
57	Dubitata Crescent(is)	Female, Latin nomina, local origin (?)

Tab. 4. The list of members of the *collegium Manliensium*, AD 201–250 (*CIL* III, 4778, 4785; *ILLPRON* 522, 616, 617, 625, 628, 629, 630; *EDH* 057446)

No.	Names	Description
1	Flavius Covnertus	Male, Latin nomen and cognomen (?), Roman citizen
2	[---] Hilarus	Male, Latin cognomen
3	[--- Se]cundi	Male, Latin cognomen, freedman (?)
4	Var(ius) Ursus	Male, Latin nomen and cognomen, Roman citizen, local origin (?)
5	N(a)evius Fortunatus	Male, Latin nomen and cognomen, Roman citizen
6	Domiti(us) Primus	Male, Latin nomen and cognomen, freedman
7	Iul(ius) Vibianus	Male, Latin nomen and cognomen, Roman citizen
8	Iul(ius) Secundinus	Male, Latin nomen and cognomen, Roman citizen

No.	Names	Description
9	[---]d(us) Calendini	Male, Latin cognomen, freedman (?)
10	[--- In]genuus	Male, Latin cognomen, local origin (?)
11	[---]unu[s]	Male, Latin (?)
12	Au[l(us) ---]	Male, Latin nomen
13	Iu[l(ius) ---]	Male, Latin nomen
14	A[---]	Not determined
15	P[---]	Not determined
16	[---]s	Male
17	Iu[l(ius) ---]	Male, Latin nomen
18	I[---]	Male
19	[---]s	Male
20	[---]s	Male
21	[---]us	Male
22	[---]s	Male
23	[--- In]genuus	Male, Latin cognomen, local origin (?)
24	[---] Rediti	Male, Latin cognomen, freedman
25	Mi(---) Ursu[s]	Male, Latin cognomen, local origin (?)
26	[---]ato(---) Maxim[us]	Male, Latin cognomen
27	Vitali(us) Successianus	Male, Latin cognomen, freedman (?)
28	Cl(audius) (H) ilarus	Male, Latin nomen and cognomen, Roman citizen (?)
29	Roman(ius) Ligur	Male, Latin nomen and cognomen, freedman
30	Spera(tius) Maximi	Male, Latin nomen and cognomen, freedman
31	B(a)ebius Fortunatus	Male, Latin nomen and cognomen, Roman citizen
32	Corne(lius) Dubitatus	Male, Latin nomen and cognomen, Roman citizen
33	Cresc(entius) Tertullus	Male, Latin cognomen, Roman citizen
34	[---]erc(---) E[---]	Not determined
35	[At]unu(s) But[ti]	Male, Celtic nomen, local origin (?)

No.	Names	Description
36	Vetti(us) Secun[dus]	Male, Latin nomen and cognomen, Roman citizen
37	Ursus Itt[i]	Male, Latin nomen and cognomen, freedman
38	Marti(us) Covner[t][i]	Male, Latin nomen (?) and cognomen
39	Public(us) Aviti	Male, Latin nomen and cognomen, freedman (?)
40	Ursus Lucconi[s]	Male, Latin cognomen, local origin
41	Geneti(vus) Marin[i]	Male, Latin nomen and cognomen, freedman (?), from the seaside (?)
42	Quinti(us) Quintilianus	Male, Latin cognomen, freedman (?)
43	Aur(elius) Ingenuus	Male, Latin nomen and cognomen, freedman (?)
44	Fl(avius) Ingenuus	Male, Latin nomen and cognomen, freedman (?)
45	Lucan(ius) [Se]cundus	Male, Latin nomen and cognomen
46	Fl(avius) [U]rsinus	Male, Latin cognomen, Roman citizen, local origin (?)
47	Sept(imius) Suc(c)essi	Male, Latin nomen and cognomen, freedman
48	[---]talis	Male, Latin (?)
49	Ulp(ius) Valerius	Male, Latin nomen and cognomen, Roman citizen
50	Spera(tus) (H)ilari	Male, Latin nomen and cognomen, freedman (?)
51	Matern(ius) Acutio	Male, Latin nomen and cognomen, freedman
52	Tappi(us) [Fi]rmus	Male, Latin nomen and cognomen, Roman citizen
53	Aur(elius) [---]	Male, Latin nomen, freedman (?)
54	Iul(ius) Fortunatus	Male, Latin nomen and cognomen, Roman citizen
55	Sep(timius) Claudianus	Male, Latin nomen and cognomen, Roman citizen
56	[----]	Not determined
57	Do[---]	Not determined
58	Iul(ius) [---]	Male, Latin nomen
59	Iul(ius) [---]	Male, Latin nomen

No.	Names	Description
60	Cand[idus ---]	Male, Latin cognomen
61	[---]	Not determined
62	Murcia[nus ---]	Male, Illyrian (?) nomen
63	[---]	Not determined
64	Aur(elius) [---]	Male, Latin nomen
65	Anton(ius) [---]	Male, Latin nomen
66	Catro[n(ius) ---]	Male, Latin nomen
67	Aur(elius) [---]	Male, Latin nomen
68	Ulpia[nus ---]	Male, Latin nomen
69	[---]	Not determined
70	[Ca]mpan(ius) [---]	Male, Latin nomen
71	Securianu[s ---]	Male, Latin nomen
72	[---]	Not determined
73	N[on(ius) ---]	Male, Latin cognomen, freedman (?)

Tab. 5. The list of the members of the *collegium* (?) of Serapis, AD 101–300 (*CIL* III 4817; *ILLPRON* 793; *EDH* 067117)

No.	Names	Description
1	[---](ius) Secundinus	Male, Latin cognomen, freedman (?)
2	[---]s(ius) Secundus	Male, Latin cognomen, freedman (?)
3	[---] Rusticus	Male, Latin cognomen
4	[---] Victor	Male, Latin cognomen
5	[---]tu[s]	Male, Latin (?)
6	A[---]	Not determined
7	S[---]	Not determined
8	D[-----]	Not determined

Tab. 6. Votive inscription for Epona and Hercules *pro salute* of Caracalla, AD 161–211 (*ILLPRON* 785, 786, 787, 788; *CIL* III, 4784; *EDH* 057566)

No.	Names	Description
1	CLI[---]	Male, local origin (?)
2	TI[---]	Male

No.	Names	Description
3	[---]	Not determined
4	[---]ius	Male
5	[---]	Not determined
6	[---]	Not determined
7	[---]O[---]	Not determined
8	Cupitus [---]	Male, Latin cognomen
9	[---]	Not determined
10	[---]	Not determined
11	[---]	Not determined
12	[---]	Not determined
13	CELTAM	Male, local origin (?)
14	[---	Not determined
15	Cominius Ursus	Male, Latin nomen and cognomen
16	Aelius Taitionis	Male, Latin nomen and Celtic cognomen, freedman (?)
17	Masculus Ittonis	Male, Latin nomen and cognomen, freedman (?)
18	Cl(audia) Ingenua	Female, Latin nomina, local origin (?)
19	[---] Secundina	Female, Latin nomen
20	Secundus Iucundi	Male, Latin nomen and cognomen, freedman (?)
21	Octavius At(h)enio	Male, Latin nomen and Greek cognomen, freedman (?)
22	Inseque(n)s [---]	Male, Latin cognomen
23	[---] Curena	Female, Celtic nomen
24	[---] Dubitata	Female, Latin nomen, local origin (?)
25	Tretucio Maturi	Male, Latin nomen and cognomen, freedman
26	[---] Varia	Female, Latin nomen
27	[---] Saturnina	Female, Latin nomen
28	[---] Ingenua	Female, Latin nomen, local origin (?)
29	[-----	Not determined
30	T(itus) Tertul(lius) Fl(avianus?)	Male, Latin nomen and cognomen, Roman citizen
31	[---]	Not determined
32	[---]	Not determined
33	[---]	Not determined
34	[---]	Not determined

No.	Names	Description
35	[---]ta	Female
36	[-----]	Not determined

Tab. 7. Honorific inscription for Heliogabalus, AD 218–222 (*ILLPRON* 611; 618, 619; *EDH* 057434)

No.	Names	Description
1	[---]ius Severinus	Male, Latin cognomen, Roman citizen
2	[---]onius Secundinus	Male, Latin cognomen, freedman (?)
3	[---]ius Optatus	Male, Latin cognomen, Roman citizen (?)
4	[---]ius Mandatus	Male, Latin nomen
5	[---]ius Quintus	Male, Latin cognomen
6	Annius Respectus	Male, Latin nomen and cognomen, Roman citizen
7	[---]ius Extricatus	Male, Latin cognomen, Roman citizen (?)
8	[---]ius Ferrox	Male, Latin cognomen, Roman citizen (?)
9	Titius Ianuarius	Male, Latin nomen and cognomen, Roman citizen (?)
10	Iulius Candidus	Male, Latin nomen and cognomen, Roman citizen (?)
11	[---]s Ex(s)uperans	Male, Latin cognomen
12	[---]s Iuncinus	Male, Latin cognomen
13	[---]s Secundinus	Male, Latin cognomen, freedman (?)
14	[---]ius Candidus	Male, Latin cognomen, Roman citizen (?)
15	[---]s (H)omuncio	Male, Latin cognomen, Roman citizen (?)
16	[---]s Res(ti)tutus	Male, Latin cognomen, Roman citizen (?)
17	[---]ius Primiti(v)us	Male, Latin cognomen, Roman citizen (?)
18	[---]s Fuscus	Male, Latin cognomen, Roman citizen (?)
19	[---]us Crescens	Male, Latin cognomen, Roman citizen (?)
20	[---]s Messor	Male, Illyrian cognomen
21	Ulp[us] [---]	Male, Latin nomen
22	Rufiu[s]	Male, Latin nomen

Tab. 8. Votive inscription with a list, AD 151–230 (*AE* 1997, 1219; *EDH* 049755)

No.	Names	Description
1	[---]nio	Male
2	[---]s	Male
3	[---]us	Male
5	[---] Quarti	Male, Latin cognomen, freedman
6	[---] Verinus	Male, Latin cognomen
7	[--- Ing]enui	Male, Latin cognomen, freedman (?)
8	[Ing]enui	Male, Latin cognomen, freedman (?)
9	[---]inus	Male, Latin (?)
10	[---]inani	Male, Latin (?)
11	[...]inani	Male, Latin (?)
12	[---]s	Male
13	[---]us	Male
14	[---]i	Male
15	[--- Pr]imitivi	Male, Latin cognomen
16	[---]n[u]s	Male, Latin (?)
17	[---]s	Male
18	[---]s	Male
19	[---]tus	Male
20	[---]i	Male
21	[---]s	Male
22	[---]i	Male
23	[---]i	Male
24	[---]i	Male
25	[---]s	Male
26	[---]i	Male
27	Aurelius Iulius	Male, Latin nomen and cognomen, freedman
28	Valentinus Primitivi	Male, Latin nomen and cognomen, freedman
29	Claudius Claudianus	Male, Latin nomen and cognomen, freedman (?)
30	Vitalius Aprilis	Male, Latin nomen and cognomen
31	Iunilius Martius	Male, Latin nomen and cognomen
32	Genialis Ingenui	Male, Latin cognomen, freedman, local origin (?)

No.	Names	Description
33	Pompeius Chryseros	Male, Latin nomen and Greek cognomen, freedman
34	Volusius Ursus	Male, Latin cognomen, peregrinus (?)
35	Gemellinus Balosi	Male, Latin nomen and cognomen, freedman (?)
36	Iulius Nicephor	Male, Latin name and Greek cognomen, freedman
37	Quartus Balosi	Male, Latin cognomen, freedman (?)
38	Serenianus Placidi	Male, Latin nomen and cognomen, freedman (?)
39	Ursus Sabini	Male, Latin nomen and cognomen, freedman
40	Marius Thallus	Male, Latin nomen and Greek cognomen, freedman
41	Antonius Primus	Male, Latin nomen and cognomen, freedman
42	Valerius Nigrinus	Male, Latin nomen and cognomen, Roman citizen
43	Valerius Respectus	Male, Latin nomen and cognomen, Roman citizen
44	Successus Baieni	Male, Latin cognomen, freedman
45	Atilius Felix	Male, Latin cognomen, Roman citizen
46	Troianus Flavinus	Male, Latin nomen and cognomen
47	Val. Re[--]cI(?)[---]	Female, Latin nomen
48	Var(ia) Re[s]pecta	Female, Latin nomina

Abbreviations

AE

L'Année épigraphique, Paris.

CIL

Corpus Inscriptionum Latinarum, ed. Th. MOMMSEN *et alii*, Berlin 1863–. Epigraphic Database Heidelberg, <https://edh.ub.uni-heidelberg.de> (accessed 21.03.2023).

EDH

ILLPRON

Inscriptionum lapidariarum Latinarum provinciae Norici usque ad annum MCMLXXXIV repertarum Indices 1–3, ed. M. HAINZMANN, P. SCHUBERT, Berlin – New York 1986–1987.

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