

The tombstone of Cassius Sextus from the village of Kusunje (*Pannonia superior*)

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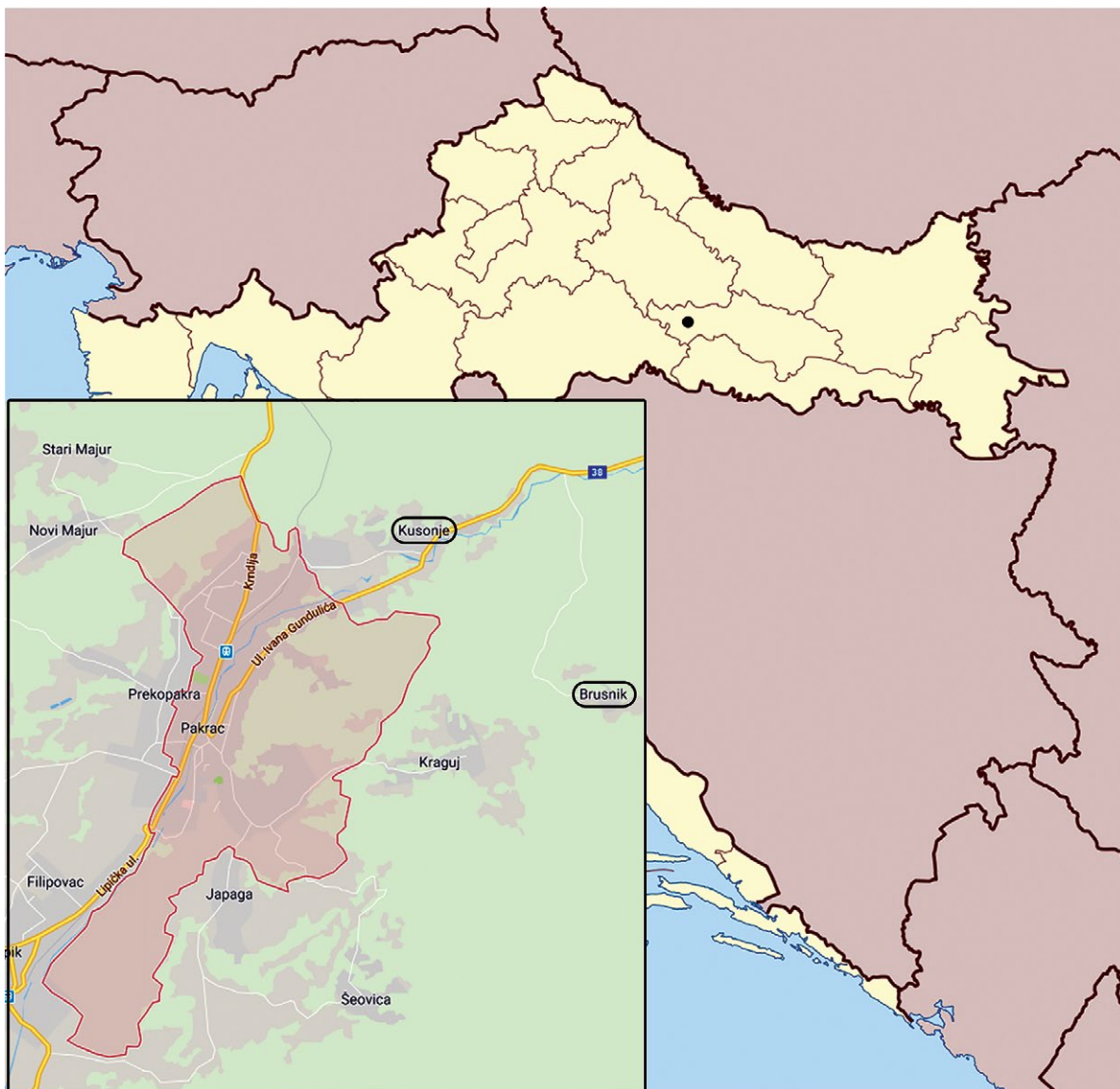
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The tombstone discussed here was recovered in 1990 in an amateur archaeological excavation in the village of Kusunje, in the close vicinity of the city of Pakrac (central-north Croatia). While the stress in the previous discussions of this monument was on political-historical circumstances of the find and its implications for the Roman history of the wider Pakrac region, a lot of unanswered questions have remained concerning the appearance of the monument in terms of its classification as a tombstone kind, as well the social context of its epitaph. This contribution aims at getting a better insight into these aspects of the monument, as well as at correcting some previously adduced inexact information and misleading assumptions. Although the analysis of the formal-structural and iconographical traits of the piece has revealed its eclectic nature, it has also established its affiliation with stelae rather than funerary altars. The dating to the early 3rd century is based on the combination of formal-structural, iconographic, epigraphic and historical arguments.

Key words: tombstone, stelae, funerary altars, Pannonia, Kusunje, Pakrac, Menneianae, cohorts Maurorum.

The archaeological context and introduction

The funerary monument discussed here was recovered in 1990 in an amateur archaeological excavation in the village of Kusunje, in the close vicinity of the town of Pakrac (central-north Croatia) (Map 1). The excavation was conducted by Siniša Njegovan Stárek, a local artist and amateur historian and archaeologist. The immediate findspot of the monument, now kept in the Pakrac Museum (inv. no. MGP-320), was on the hillside of a hill of 234 m altitude, close to its peak. Apart from short mentions in the newspapers and literature, the piece was published preliminarily by Mirko Bulat and more extensively by the excavator, and also recently in the wider context of funerary monuments of south-western Pannonia (Sokač-Štimac 1993; Bulat 2001; Herman Kaurić 2004: 28–30; Njegovan Stárek 2009; Lőrincz 2010b: 189, fn. 34; Migotti & Šašel Kos 2018: 114–116; *Lupa* 10057). While the stress in the discussions of Bulat and Njegovan Stárek was on political-historical circumstances of the find and its implications for the Roman history of the wider Pakrac region, a lot of unanswered questions have remained concerning the appearance of the monument in terms of its classification as a tombstone kind, as well as the social context of its epitaph. Therefore, the aim of this paper, dedicated to the deserved honouree Mirjana Sanader, is to get a better insight into these aspects of the monument, as well as to correct some previously adduced inexact information and misleading assumptions about it.



Map 1. Plan of the city of Pakrac in its geographical setting (after Google Maps, modified by A. Jambrović).

The description and determination of the monument

The monument (Fig. 1) is composed of two separately carved pieces, the first one being a parallelepiped shaft (height 117 cm, width 65 cm, thickness 39 cm) with tenons on the upper (length 36 cm, height 20 cm, thickness 8 cm) and bottom (length 37 cm, height 23 cm, thickness 11 cm) surfaces, the total height of the piece amounting to 160 cm. The other part is the irregularly shaped and very roughly worked pedestal (length 84 cm, width 75cm, thickness 46 cm) with a central hole (42 x 26 x 12 cm) for taking the shaft. The upper tenon suggests that originally an upper part of the monument existed, whose shape remains unknown. The shaft is much damaged and weathered at various places, including the whole of the front. The inscription field is smoothed except for its peripheral surfaces that are roughly chiselled, as are the background of the relief on the base and the sides of the shaft.

The majority of the front is taken by the inscription panel, moulded and additionally framed with a geometricized band of stylized acanthus leaves, which has no close parallel but seems to be a simplified variant of the motif of the so-called leaf candelabrum (*Blattkandelaber*), such as can be found on the funerary monuments from the area of Celeia (cf. Kremer 2001: 73, no. 12; *Lupa* 13266). The decorative band runs continuously along three sides (except the lower one), which is reminiscent of the iconographic conception typical of funerary altars. Such decoration is customarily found on the altars of the city of Rome,



Fig. 1. Tombstone of Cassius Sextus with the pedestal (Lupa 10057, O. Harl).

north Italy and the Norico-Pannonian region, although it should be noticed that generally all four sides of altars take a decorative frame (Boschung 1987: 111–112, nos 904–930; Dexheimer 1998: nos 22, 39, 108, 109, 110, 144, 242; *Lupa* 1308, 1309, 235, 4334, 5171, 8172, 14526, 14527, 19629). When applied on the inscription fields of stelae (cf. *Lupa* 247, 2919, 2999; Paškvalin 2012: 218, no. 25, 236, no. 74), such decorative scheme can be straightforwardly interpreted as an influence from the altar iconography. The free space above the inscription of the monument from Kusonje holds an apparently indistinct motif (Fig. 2), which was previously hypothetically interpreted as a bird, while in reality it features an elongated stemmed triangle flanked by a simplified and stylized sea-griffins (cf. Walde 2005: 1809, Abb. 339 = *Lupa* 13256). Given that the monsters' heads are turned outwards while their tails rest on the sides of the triangle, the scene should be interpreted as a stylization of a very low pediment of a stela with a flat upper part, featuring a dolphin or a monster in each of the spandrels (cf. *Lupa* 574, 675, 1270, 1649, 1997, 2774, 3722, 4290, 4304, etc.). However, the fact that in the present example the pediment is placed in a structurally impossible position within the inscription field, resulted in a distortion far removed from its original design.

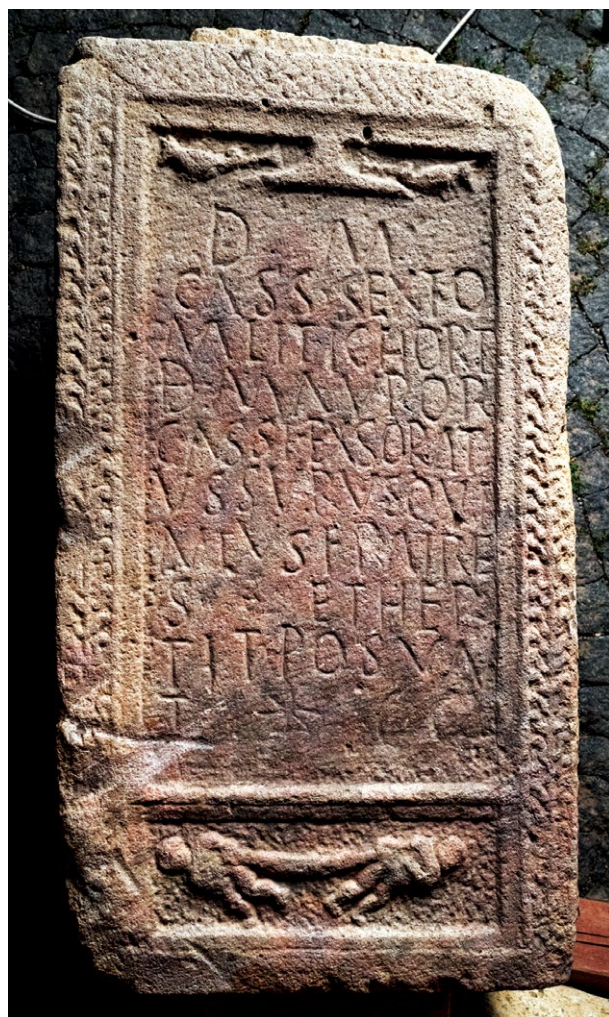


Fig. 2. Front side of the tombstone of Cassius Sextus (Lupa 10057, O. Harl).

The base, framed in the same manner as the inscription field, holds two short-haired wingless Erotes half striding and half floating in opposite sides; both are standing on one leg with the other slightly lifted from the floor, and are supporting a smooth garland. They are executed inaccurately, with rude and stiff wingless¹ bodies and leaving the impression of falling down rather than either floating or striding; the lack of the wings here suggests the artist's incapability rather than an artistic conception. As a parallel for the scene in question the depiction of Erotes on a stela

¹ Despite the fact that the wings are not indispensable in their iconography, Erotes on north-Italian and Norico-Pannonian funerary monuments are mostly depicted with at least one wing (Koch & Sichtermann 1982: 206–207; Pochmarski 1984: 237, 256).

from Osijek was adduced (Bulat 2001: 61; *Lupa* 5262). This, however, is not an accurate comparison, as the two scenes are similar but not identical in their conception. The one from Kusonje features floating Erotes, while on the piece from Osijek striding Erotes are depicted. The latter scene can be found on some Norico-Pannonian stelae as early as the turn of the 1st and 2nd centuries (Pochmarski 1984: 271; *Lupa* 706, 3105, 3331), that is, earlier than on north-Italian and Norico-Pannonian funerary buildings and sarcophagi (Gabelmann 1973: 54, Taf. 8: 1; 130, Taf. 31: 1; 33: 1; 39: 1; Pochmarski 1984; Pochmarski 1986). On the other hand, floating Erotes appear only sporadically in Norico-Pannonian funerary art; only one example is known to me, originating from Roman Aguntum (Lienz, AU) (*Lupa* 615; Pochmarski 1986: 243–249, Taf. 26; Kremer 2001: 114–116, no. I/52c.). The origin of this motif in Norico-Pannonian art is not straightforward, as possible (though partial) influences can be found in all three main production centres of Roman sarcophagi: Athens, Rome and Near Asia (Gabelmann 1969: 228; Koch & Sichtermann 1982: 63–64, 206–230, 424–429, 500, nos 282–286, 448–472, 483). What makes the issue of the origin of this motif in the northern provinces debatable is the fact that both Erote-scenes (floating and supporting a garland) appear on a Flavian votive altar from Brescia, that is, earlier than on sarcophagi (Gabelmann 1969: 228–229). On the other hand, if we bear in mind that the motif of floating Erotes entered Norico-Pannonian funerary art probably at the turn of the 2nd and 3rd centuries (Pochmarski 1984: 271; Pochmarski 1986: 247–249), its model should be looked for in sarcophagi rather than in a 1st-century altar from Brescia.

Previously, authors escaped naming precisely the tombstone from Kusonje in regard of its kind, employing instead the term *monument*. When I included it among stelae (Migotti 2018: 152; Migotti, in: Migotti & Šašel Kos 2018: 114–116), it was for a practical reason of cataloguing a wider body of funerary monuments, and with an appropriate explanation. Such explanation was necessary because this monument comprises structural, formal and iconographic characteristics of stelae and funerary altars, as is otherwise customary for funerary structures (cf. Pflug 1989: 47–50, *passim*; Starac 2002: 62; Scholz 2012: 3; Migotti 2018: 152; Migotti, in: Migotti & Šašel Kos 2018: 77, fig. 149). The stela is basically an upright, relatively thin parallelepiped meant prevalently for frontal viewing, whose height surpasses its width and whose width surpasses its thickness (Schober 1923: 155–177; Pflug 1989: 1, *passim*; Starac 2002: 62). The altar, on the other hand, is a rectangular block whose height surpasses both its width and its thickness, but not so conspicuously as in the stela. More important for the altar is the relation between its width and thickness, which are sometimes about equal, but mostly the width is one third or even the double that of the thickness. The inscription is always cut on the front, while the sides customarily take reliefs, proving that the altar was meant for both frontal and side viewing (Boschung 1987: 12–13, 37–41; Dexheimer 1998: 3–15; Pochmarski & Weber-Hiden 2016: 18–20). The most important similarity between the stela and funerary altar is recognizable in very thick stelae, as well as in those whose sides, irrespective of their thickness, hold relief decoration. The thickness of the sides of stelae vary between some 10 and 40 cm; despite taking in some (rare) examples even the half of the stela's width, the basic ratios between the sizes of the three dimensions is never disturbed. On balance, the ratio between the height and width of the monument under discussion (117:65 cm) points to a stela, the more so if the now missing top is taken into account, while the ratio between the width and thickness (65:39 cm) is closer to the structure of a funerary altar.

It would possibly be easier to decide to what kind of monument the tombstone from Kusonje belong if we knew the appearance of its missing top. It was not found during the excavations, but we cannot exclude the possibility that it had been stumbled upon by the previous owners of the land and destroyed, which is more probable than to presume that it never existed, as the presence of the upper tenon contradicts such possibility. M. Bulat (2001: 61) presumed that the monument was crowned by a lion top, a horizontal parallelepiped with two lions lying back to back by the sides of a central element, such as in the stela from the nearby village of Brusnik (*Lupa* 3812, Map 1). A serious obstacle to resolving this issue is inadequate knowledge of the technique of fitting the shafts and tops in stelae generally. This is because the latter are mostly found as dismembered pieces and are displayed as such in museums, with their bottom surfaces mostly hidden from sight. Luckily, in rare but precious examples technical details of lion tops are described in the literature, revealing metal clamps as bonding devices (Ubl 1979: 52–53: 49; Pochmarski & Weber-Hiden 2016: 78–79, no. 22). Still, some pieces were certainly fixed together by the sheer weight of stone, as is exemplified by the abovementioned stela from Brusnik (*Lupa* 3812). Since the tombstone from Kusonje incorporates elements of both stelae and altars, it should be noted that in rare cases even altars were

crowned by lion tops.² On the other hand, a hybrid structure of the monument from Kusunje gives grounds for the presumption that its top was of a different shape, perhaps more in tune with a funerary altar. Such reasoning is grounded in the fact that some altars contained the ashes, which could have been placed in an appropriate receptacle in the base, shaft, or the top piece; the latter was shaped as a rectangular, pyramidal or arched block that could have been carved separately or in the same piece with the shaft. Also, the ashes could have been contained in a variously shaped vessel, serving as an urn (*urna cineraria*) fixed onto the upper surface of the altar shaft (Schober 1923: 177–179; Boschung 1987: 12–13, 37–41, *passim*; Dexheimer 1998: 3–6; Kremer 2001: 342–352; Ertel 2010: 151–163; Pochmarski & Weber-Hiden 2016: 18–20).

The main obstacle to juxtaposing the monument from Kusunje with those from Rome or north Italy is the fact that in the latter examples the tops were fixed onto the shafts by iron clamps or the mere weight of the stone (Boschung 1987: 38; Dexheimer 1998: 4–5); none of the examples known to me were equipped with a tenon as a fixing device. Nevertheless, the possibility cannot be excluded that such technique was used in a provincial piece. If such eventuality is considered, the missing top of the tombstone from Kusunje could have been shaped as a block or even a larger vessel holding the ashes, which would make it resemble more closely an altar than a stela. Furthermore, such restoration would account for the fact that no remains of the deceased were found during the excavations, which, although amateur, were very carefully executed, establishing that the detached pedestal of the tombstone rested in a closed archaeological whole (Njegovan Stárek 2009: 125). On the other hand, it should be observed that the shaft of the tombstone was fitted into the pedestal by means of a tenon, which is a technical device typical of stelae but not evidenced in altars.

Let us now recapitulate the main points of the argument about the kind of monument discussed here in terms of its affiliation with stelae and/or funerary altars. This tombstone can be perceived as resembling an altar only on account of the decorative conception of its inscription panel, while the further two arguments remain tentative. The first one is a considerable thickness of its shaft, and the second is (unprovable) possibility that its top contained the ashes. The remainder of its formal-structural and iconographic features speak for a stela: the ratio between its height and width, the depiction above the inscription and possibly that on the base,³ as well as the tenon for fixing into the pedestal. Therefore, it is more appropriate to consider the tombstone from Kusunje as a stela than a funerary altar, with its prototype remaining unclear. Nevertheless, the safest term to use is a neutral one: a *tombstone*. Whoever conceived the shape and iconography of the tombstone from Kusunje, the owners or the workshop artist, must have had various funerary monuments in front of their eyes, either in person or in a pattern book (cf. Pochmarski 1986: 259; Koch & Sichtermann 1982: 250–252; Migotti 2018: 197, fn. 467). Still, it remains unanswered why the result came as an eclectic piece unparalleled in Norico-Pannonian funerary art.

The interpretation of the epitaph in its military and social context

Despite a fairly incompetent cutting and rustic letters of various heights, arranged in ten uneven lines, the inscription is well preserved and phrased in a manner which renders easy its reading, restoration and basic interpretation, except in the last line. The only specific feature is a horizontal stroke across the vertical *hasta* across the latter *D*, standing for the numeral 500. In the last line of the inscription a six-pointed star is crudely carved between the letter *T* and two *C*s, which were in earlier publications interpreted as a (one!) moon. Although the symbols following the star are not cut regularly enough to represent two letters *C* beyond doubt, an astral symbolism is not convincing either, not least because a star and two moons on its one side are difficult to interpret in such key.

² In the only example known to me (Lambach, AU, *Lupa* 570), the top was fixed onto the altar shaft by means of iron clamps (Kremer 2001: 146, no. 128).

³ The motif of striding or floating Erotes are missing from Norico-Pannonian funerary altars, while those striding appear on stelae and funerary buildings (Pochmarski 1984: 226–230).

The inscription goes: *D(is) M(anibus) / Cass(io) Sexto / militi c(o)hort(is) / D Mauror(um) / 5 Cassi(i) Exsorat(us) (!), Surus, Qui/ntus, fratre/s et her(edes) / tit(ulum) posu(eru)n/t.*

Translation: Sextus, soldier of the Cohort of the 500 Mauri. Cassii Exsoratus, Surus, and Quintus, brothers and heirs, had the tombstone erected (Šašel Kos, in: Migotti & Šašel Kos 2018: 115).

Despite the ethnic name of the Cohort of the 500 Mauri, during its stay in Pannonia it recruited local men according to a customary policy of the Roman Army concerning ethnic units (Wagner 1938: 219–220, *passim*; Kovács 2009: 261; Gilliver 2011: 193). In the epitaph from Kusonje such policy is proved by the personal names (*cognomina*) of the four brothers Cassii, which were ubiquitous in Pannonia while lacking any clues as to a possible African origin. Moreover, the incorrect rendering of the name Exoratus as Exsoratus points to a Celtic origin, which possibly holds true also for the name Surus. The brothers' family name Cassius stems from the ancient Roman plebeian family, to have spread everywhere in the period of the Empire (Šašel Kos, in: Migotti & Šašel Kos 2018: 115–116; Šašel Kos 2018: 227). The question arises whether the Cassii brothers were Roman citizens at the time of the tombstone's erection, as suggested by their name formula but at the same time contradicted by the auxiliary service of at least one (the deceased Sextus) of them. However, it has often been overlooked that awarding citizenship to auxiliary soldiers only upon an honourable discharge was a policy prevailing in the beginning of provincial recruiting. In reality, quite a lot of Roman citizens were recruited in the auxiliary units as early as the beginning of the 2nd century, apart from *cohortes civium Romanorum* (Kraft 1951: 72–73; Speidel 1975; Haynes 1999: 165–166; Radman-Livaja 2018: 233). Nevertheless, the commentators do not agree on whether a family name combined with a cognomen, if the former is non-imperial, is a sufficient proof of citizenship (Kraft 1951: 69–78; Lőrincz 2010b: 186–188; Lőrincz 2010c: 261–266; Lőrincz 2011: 418). Challenging an outdated claim of Theodor Mommsen, that only a proper name formula in combination with the city and tribe origin constituted indispensable prerogatives of citizenship as adduced in inscriptions, Konrad Kraft persuasively argued that the majority of the auxiliary soldiers with Roman name formula, irrespective of whether their family name was imperial or other, were Roman citizens (Kraft 1951: 70–71; see also Saddington 1982: 190–192, and Haynes 1999: 165–166). Therefore, the same presumption is quite probably valid for the brothers Cassii, especially in light of the date of their monument (see below). When discussing the tombstone from Kusonje, S. Njegovan Stárek (2009: 131) posited undoubtedly that the Cassii had not been only biological brothers, but also “brothers in arms”. While the author did not care to substantiate his thesis by any historical or archaeological arguments, he seems to have been in the right. This can be inferred from the fact that the phrase *fratres et heredes* was unusual for civilian funerary contexts, and was indeed more familiar in military surroundings. This can be brought in relation with the fact that biological brothers often served in the same units, while at the same time military comrades were commonly named as heirs entrusted with the burial and with keeping the memory of their deceased fellow-soldiers (cf. Migotti 2017: 95, fns 44 and 45).

Despite the clumsy execution of the signs figuring in the last line of the epitaph, the one that was by all the authors so far interpreted as a star can be tentatively explained as the symbol for the word *denarius*, containing a capital letter X crossed by a horizontal stroke across its middle.⁴ If this is so, then the two Cs, interpreted earlier as a moon, should be explained as numerals standing for the number 200, referring to the price of the tombstone and providing it with an “added (archaeological) value”. The syntagm used relates to the fact that the tombstone prices are not adduced in epitaphs as often as required for a better insight into the material worth of funerary stones. The suggested meaning would be even more persuasive if the three signs were accompanied by a customary verb describing the action of paying, such as *curavit*, *legavit*, *donavit* and the like (cf. *CIL* III 633, 4779, 143493; *CIL* VII 180; *CIL* XII 324, 1357; *CIL* XIII 5056, 5072, 5416, 5417, 5233, 8591). On the other hand, such omission is tolerable in a somewhat careless inscription lacking some other common information, such as the age of the deceased and especially the number of the years served in the army. Presumably, the price of a tombstone in Pannonia in the 2nd and 3rd centuries ranged between 800 and 50.000 sesterces (Graßl 1991: 6–7). After a conversion into denarii, it turns out that the Cassii brothers paid exactly 800 sesterces. For a meaningful juxtaposition of this sum with their financial means if all of the brothers were soldiers or with Sextus' earnings if only he was in the

⁴ The possibility of such interpretation was kindly communicated to me by Dino Demicheli.

army, the number of the years served at the moment of death should be known. Unfortunately, this is not stated in the epitaph. Therefore, it remains to compare the sum of 200 denarii (800 sesterces) with the presumed pay of cohort soldiers in the 2nd and 3rd centuries, which has been calculated at between 2.000 sesterces during the Severan rulers and 6.000 sesterces in Maximinus Thrax's time (Speidel 1992: 101, Table 4). There is a certain, though possibly accidental, concordance between the facts that the cohort soldier was at the bottom of the military pay scale, while the price of 800 sesterces is the lowest recorded on a funerary monument in Pannonia at the turn of the 2nd and 3rd centuries. Otherwise, the presumed low price of the tombstone under discussion corresponds with the main parameters of the cost of stone monuments in the Roman Empire. Although the stonemason's work was its most important component, the total cost increased with the use of imported stone that was generally expensive in itself, and even more so because of the transportation expenses (Migotti 2018: 176, with literature in fn. 308). On balance, if indeed the price of the tombstone from Kusunje was 200 denarii, such low cost was based on both the local stone and the employment of a local workshop of modest expertise.

On account of formal-structural, iconographic, epigraphic and historical arguments, the tombstone from Kusunje can be dated to the turn of the 2nd and 3rd centuries. Despite the fact that the name formula lacking the first name (*praenomen*) and a low quality of the carving allow its dating in the entire 3rd century, such date must necessarily be narrowed down on account of historical reasons concerning the deceased's military service. Cassius Sextus could have been recruited immediately before AD 180, the year of the departure of his cohort from Pannonia Superior, where the recruitment took place. Even if this was so, he could not have died later than the early 3rd century because at the time of death he was still an active soldier and the duration of military service in the Imperial period was set at 25 years (Derks & Rojmans 2006: 121; Gilliver 2011: 186). On balance, the early 3rd century is the most plausible date for his tombstone.

Concluding remarks

The relevance of the tombstone from Kusunje surpasses its immediate south-Pannonian surroundings, because the Cohort of the 500 Mauri has left only two or three additional inscriptions. The first one is the epitaph of a stela found in Györköny in the mid-south Hungary (*CIL* III 3324 = *EDCS*-26600620; Lőrincz 2010b: 183–188), while the second one is a milestone from an unknown site in Pannonia Inferior, inscribed with an honorary inscription for (presumably) Marcus Aurelius (*CIL* XVII /4, 813; Lőrincz 2010b: 189). The third inscription, also honorary, was found in the African province of Byzacena, but its affiliation with the Cohort of the 500 Mauri is debatable (*CIL* VIII 12066 = *EDCS*-24400196; Lőrincz 2010b: 188). This cohort was either created from African and Moorish horsemen (*equites Afrorum et Maurorum*) in Pannonia Superior during the Marcomannic Wars, or it came to Pannonia as already established cohort to fight in those wars. When the wars ended in AD 180, the cohort was transferred to Pannonia Inferior and settled in the fort of Alta Ripa (modern-day Tolna, HU) on the Danube *limes* (Cichorius 1900; Wagner 1938: 167–168, 268; Lőrincz 2001: 39, 272, nos 391–393; Kovács 2009: 261; Lőrincz 2010b).

The movements of the Cohort of the 500 Mauri, which can be used only as a broad indicator for the chronology of the tombstone from Kusunje, can be also used in a tentative reconstruction of the cohort's activities that resulted in the erection of that monument. Cassius Sextus could have been killed during the Marcomannic Wars somewhere in Pannonia Superior, but sooner in the battle area on the *limes* than at the place of his burial, as the mid-southern Pannonia was mostly spared war activities (Migotti 2012: 11–12). On the other hand, Sextus could have been a victim of any casualty or he could have died in any possible way when his cohort was already settled in Alta Ripa; this could have happened in any place within the province of Pannonia. For instance, he could have died in his camp in Alta Ripa, to be transferred by his brothers to his native place. Also, Sextus could have died or perished in an accident while on duty in Pannonia Superior after the Marcomannic Wars, presuming that a vexillation of his cohort was sent to the area of Aquae Balissae on a special errand, for instance to supervise and protect road transportation of army supplies or any other commercial activity related to the military. This was rightly suggested by M. Bulat (2001: 62–63), and engagingly discussed by S. Njegovan Stárek (2009: 130). Indeed, there was no obstacle for a military unit to be sent on a civilian duty from one province to another, in this case from

Pannonia Inferior to Pannonia Superior (cf. Wagner 1938: 234–235; Saxer 1967: 3, *passim*; Ćentea 2012: 99; Glavaš 2016: 257). Of the three possibilities adduced, more realistic seem to be those that suggest Sextus' death in the period after the Marcomannic wars, although all of them still remain hypothetical.

The presumption was put forward that the Roman settlement of Menneianae, situated on the diagonal secondary road connecting Siscia (*Pannonia Superior*) and Mursa (*Pannonia Inferior*), should be looked for on the current site of Pakrac or its immediate surroundings (Bulat 2001: 62; Schejbal 2003: 102–103; Njegovan Stárek 2009: 129–130; Gračanin 2010: 33, 35, 52). As this area has yielded only very modest Roman finds, some of the commentators discussed the tombstone from Kusonje as an additional argument for the presumed location of Menneianae in Pakrac (Bulat 2001: 62–63; Njegovan Stárek 2009: 129–131). One or two⁵ graves cannot clarify the nature of the Roman settlement at their find-spot, neither can they prove the presumed location of Menneianae. On the other hand, Cassius Sextus' tombstone can be considered as a further contribution towards the insufficiently researched issue of the military presence in the wider surroundings of Aquae Balissae (cf. Migotti 2017: 110–111, *passim*; Radman-Livaja 2018: 234–238).

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Abbreviations

BAR	<i>British Archaeological Reports</i> , International Series, Oxford
CIL	<i>Corpus Inscriptionum Latinarum</i> , Berlin
CSIR	<i>Corpus Signorum Imperii Romani</i>
EDCS	<i>Epigraphik-Datenbank Clauss / Slaby</i>
Lupa	http://lupa.at (Friederike und Ortoft Harl, <i>Bilddatenbank zu antiken Steindenkmälern</i>).

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⁵ According to a personal communication by S. Njegovan Stárek, a similar tombstone is reported to have been found in the vicinity, but was destroyed without being documented in any way.

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