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LINGUE, SCRITTURE E SOCIETÀ NELL'ITALIA LONGOBARDA

Un percorso di sociolinguistica storica

a cura di Elisa D'Argenio, Roberto Delle Donne, Rosanna Sornicola



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The Epigraphic Research of Roman Pannonia with a Special Regard to the Late Roman Period

*Péter Kovács**

Abstract: In his paper the author examines the epigraphy of Roman Pannonia, esp. the late Roman period. He also summarizes shortly the history of the province, the epigraphic studies in Hungary following Theodor Mommsen's CIL. He also studies the inscribed stone monuments of the principate, but he focuses his attention on the late Roman period after 260 AD and examines the question of the fall of the epigraphic habit in the 4th century. Special fields of the epigraphic studies in Pannonia are the Christian epigraphy and question of the Greek inscriptions and the author deals shortly with both of them too.

Keywords: Province Pannonia; Latin and Greek epigraphy; Epigraphic habit.

Pannonia belonged to the Danubian provinces of the Roman Empire that was founded by Emperor Augustus and existed until the arrival of the Huns in the first half of 5th century A. D. (fig. 1)¹. Originally, Pannonia together with its southern neighbour, Dalmatia were called province Illyricum that were divided under Tiberius' reign to Illyricum superius (Dalmatia) and inferius (Pannonia). The river Danube formed its natural border in the North and in the East. The name Pannonia is attested first only under Nero's reign (SEG 57, 1408)². Pannonia was again divided around 106 A. D. into Pannonia inferior (with one legion at Aquincum/Budapest) and superior (with three legions at Brigetio/Komárom-Szöny, Carnuntum/Petronell, Vindobona/Vienna). Around 213, the territory of Brigetio was attached to Pannonia inferior. In the late Roman period, the Pannonian provinces were again divided: Pannonia superior: Pannonia prima and Savia, Pannonia inferior: Valeria and Pannonia secunda. With its four legions and numerous auxiliary troops, Pannonia had a very important military role in the point of view of the safety of

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¹ Mócsy (1974); Kovács (2014a; 2016; 2019). On the sources of Pannonia see Kovács (2003-2012; 2014c).

² Kovács (2007).

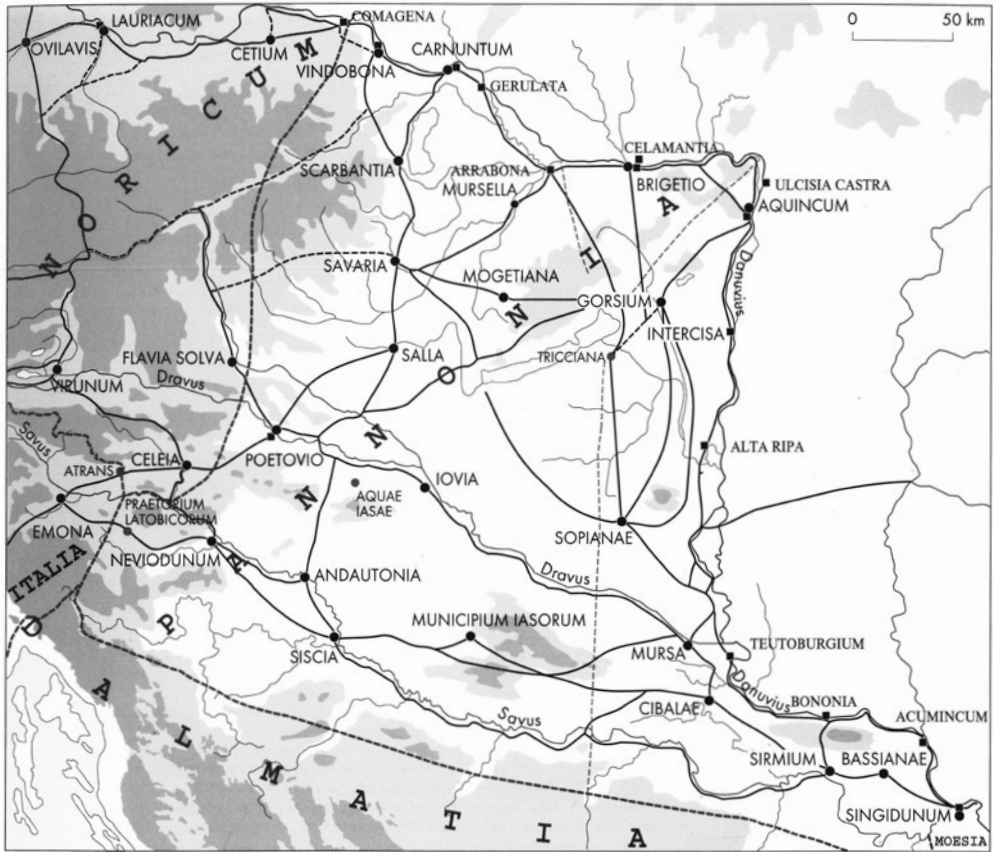


Fig. 1. Map of Roman Pannonia (after Šašel Kos).

2nd century, following the Marcomannic wars, several Oriental troops and their relatives came to Pannonia as e. g. the cohorts I milliaria Hemesenorum that formed a Syrian enclave at Intercisa/Dunaújváros⁵. In this paper, I intend to summarize shortly our knowledge on the epigraphic data concerning the province with a special regard to the late Roman period (after 260 AD).

The year-by-year growing number of inscribed Roman stone monuments clearly shows the use and spread of the Latin language and the Romanization

³ See summarily Kovács (2013a).

⁴ Kovács (2009).

⁵ Fitz (1973).

of the province Pannonia belonged to the Latin provinces of the empire where the number of Greek *tituli* is incredibly low (below 0.5% of the total including all kind of documents, bilingual inscriptions and instrumenta domestica as well)⁶. The number of the Latin inscription in Pannonia is more than 6000 (in Hungary is approx. 3000). The beginnings of the epigraphic culture in Pannonia must be connected to the Roman military. Early stelae (and votive altars) were erected during the entire 1st century in the cemeteries of each military forts and veteran colonies to the deceased soldiers and their relatives⁷ as they did in the case of the legio XV Apollinaris in Carnuntum⁸. Stone-cutter workshops can only be pointed only in these legionary centres. The spread of the epigraphic habit among the native population was a very important step of the Romanization of the province and the use of the Latin language. Especially the members of the tribal leaders of the civitates (with or without Roman citizenship) and native auxiliary veterans who came home after their military service erected first Latin inscriptions, almost only funerary ones⁹. North-Italian settlers, merchants also came to the province mainly from Aquileia in the first two centuries and their epigraphic monuments can be pointed especially along the Amber Road (cf. the altar dedicated to Aecorna from the Flavian period that was erected by *cives Emonienses qui consistunt finibus Savariensium* (RIU 135)¹⁰, but the Caesernii, Canii or Barbii are attested in the entire province¹¹. As the limes system of the province stabilized under the Flavians and the legionary and auxiliary forts received permanent garrisons (in the case of the four legions it must be understood that they garrisoned at the same place for centuries, in the case of the auxiliary troops it could also mean several decades) and they were built into stone during the second century¹². Another type of Roman civilian settlements were formed around these forts, the canabae around the legions and the auxiliary vici where the families of the soldiers and merchants settled down¹³. In all bigger settlements the existence of local stone-cutter workshops can be pointed out in the 2nd-3rd centuries. Hundreds or dozens of all kind of funerary and votive inscriptions are known

⁶ Cf. CIGP.

⁷ Alföldy (2005).

⁸ Mosser (2003).

⁹ Kovács (2014b).

¹⁰ Kovács (1998).

¹¹ Alföldy (1990); Bilkei (1980-1981); Mócsy (1959: 97-100); Šašel (1960; 1966).

¹² Visy (2002).

¹³ Kovács (1999).

from these sites, a greater part of them must be connected to the Severan period. The native civilian *vici* also survived the Roman occupation and the above-mentioned steps of the Romanization can be observed in the case of the epigraphy as well (use of stone buildings and spread of the epigraphic habit)¹⁴. One of the most important new discovery of the last decades was the excavation of the entire area of a civilian *vicus* at Budaörs with sunken, adobe-walled houses and stone buildings in the central are from the 3rd century¹⁵. Here, an altar dedicated to Terra Mater dated to the 240s came to light that was erected by the *pagus Herc* (---) and the *vici Teutonis, Bataionis* and *Anartiorum* (AÉp 2005, 1265 = Tit. Aq. 1733). Most probably, the *pagus* can be identified with the site of Budaörs. The system of the *villae rusticae* developed together *vici* they co-existed besides each other as for instance a boundary stones of the *villa rustica* of a certain Ulpus Karus found at Budaörs clearly shows (AÉp 2005, 1272=Tit. Aq. 1741)¹⁶. One of the best-known *villae* in Pannonia is the building complex at Balácsa North of the lake Balaton where the burial tumulus of the villa owners were completely revealed (Likas-domb) and here the funerary altars of the generations of the wealthy owners, Ti. Claudii who were Romanized natives but some of them belonged to the decurions of Savaria and Aquincum (TRHR 80-92)¹⁷. All kind of funerary inscriptions are attested in the province the difference is type of the stone monuments. Naturally, a greater part of them are stelae with tympanum and picture field showing the deceased person(s) and other scenes (as funerary banquet with tripus, coach scene, hunting scene)¹⁸. There are many funerary tablets as well that belonged to bigger grave monuments. There are areas of the province where ossuaria and later the use of sarcophagi became more and more frequent as in Brigetio or Intercisa¹⁹. Beside offerings, almost all votive inscriptions are altars with the dedications, the name of the dedicator(s). The smaller or bigger altars had base and capital (with acroteria or pulvini) as usually²⁰. In many cases, the dedication can be found in the narrow capital, the consul date or the ending formula VSLM in the base. In the last decades, three bigger groups of votive inscriptions were found where dozens of altars came to light, the *beneficarius*

¹⁴ Bíró (2017).

¹⁵ Ottományi (2012).

¹⁶ Thomas (1964).

¹⁷ Alföldy (2004).

¹⁸ Gáspár (2016); Hampel (1907); South-Western Pannonia.

¹⁹ Pochmarski (2001; 2014).

²⁰ Hampel (1909).

altars of the road-station by Sirmium (AÉp 1994, 1400-1478)²¹, the Iuppiter Optimus Maximus Karnuntinus altars at the Pfaffenberg of Carnuntum²² and the Iuppiter OPTimus Maximus Teutanus altars from Bölcske (originally at the shrine of the former Celtic oppidum at the Gellért Hill of Budapest: Tit. Aq. 165-166, TRH 219, AÉp 2003, 1408-1424)²³. Similarly to the IOM Karnuntinus altars in Carnuntum-Pfaffenberg all altars were erected on the 11th of June even at the end of the 3rd century *pro salute adque incolumitate Augusti et Civitatis Eraviscorum* and one of them was explicitly erected in *finibus Eraviscorum* (AÉp 2003, 1421). The Pannonian building inscriptions belong to another important group of the inscribed stone monuments. Many of them belong to the official sphere (in several cases connected to the imperial family) as the building inscriptions of forts, city walls but some of them *are munera privata*²⁴. Almost all stone monuments are rectangular slabs where the epigraphic field is framed, in most cases decorated with tabulae ansatae or pelts or the typical Pannonian Panno-Norican baroque volutes of the Severan period²⁵. An inscribed stone monument, a building inscription from the age of Caracalla is known from Intercisa where the stone-cutter used gilded bronze letters (*litterae aureae*) (AÉp 2002, 1180=2005, 1246) and some of these letters were found during the excavation of the principia²⁶. Surprisingly, very few *tituli honorarii* are known from the province, almost all of them are statue bases²⁷. In most of the cases the bases consisted of three separate parts (base, capital, and the inscribed shaft), and most of them were erected by the local government (*locus datus ex decreto decurionum*) to the emperors, members of the imperial family or the patrons of the town in the fora or by military troops in the basilica of the headquarters-building (cf. the excavation of the principia of Intercisa where the bases and capitals are also remained of the bases erected to Septimius Severus and his sons before the entrance of the aedes: cf. RIU 1140=Tit. Aq. 2004)²⁸. From the Claudian period hundreds of Roman milestones (approx. 350) are attested in the province²⁹. They were erected main-

²¹ Mirković (1994).

²² Piso (2003).

²³ Bölcske. The restored texts had to be corrected in several cases: Fehér (2016); Kovács (2004).

²⁴ Gabler (1966).

²⁵ Erdélyi (1929; 1974).

²⁶ Mráv (2001-2002), Visy (2005).

²⁷ Fábíán (2021), Mráv (2006-2008).

²⁸ Visy (1983).

²⁹ Lőrincz / Kovács / Weber-Hiden ms.

ly along the limes-road and showed the distance from the nearest legionary fort or bigger town (*capita viae*). The irregular inscriptions in almost all cases are carved into the cylindrical stone monument without any epigraphic field. They were erected mainly along the limes-road and showed the distance from the nearest legionary fort or bigger town (*capita viae*). There are exceptional ones as a fragmentary new find from Savaria (probably from the Claudian period) where the distance between Rome and Savaria is given (MP DCLXXV: AÉp 2000, 1195). The milestones could have been several times re-used, especially in the period of the soldier emperors of the 3rd century as palimpsestus.

It has become a widely known and used topos in the late Antique literature that Pannonia was lost or destroyed in the year 260 A. D. following two usurpations and a devastating Sarmatian and Quadic incursion. The devastation took its toll in human life as well as in the destruction of buildings and material goods (e. g. the disappearance of the imported wares (e. g. the Samian ware from Pfaffenhofen)³⁰, and it is also reflected in the most serious change in the province's epigraphic habit. This decline can be observed in all kind of archaeological material and in the whole life of the province, in the money circulation, in the cemeteries as well. The number of the inscriptions significantly decreased and there are vast areas (esp. the inner regions of the province) where there are no *tituli*. Inscriptions can mostly be found along the limes and in bigger towns. The whole number of the inscriptions of this period is about 4% of the total [about 319 inscriptions (funerary: 32, votive and honorary: 56, milestones: 26, Christian: 205)]. In some areas, restoration work sometimes lasted for several decades and it is possible that some of the construction work during the Tetrarchy can be linked to the earlier devastations (cf. Tit. Aq. 13)³¹. The phenomenon (the decline of the epigraphic culture) can be explained by the decrease of the population and the cultural change as well. Naturally, the spread of Christianity in this period did not help to keep the custom of the erection of altars to Roman gods and gravestones dedicated to *Dii Manes*. On the other hand, the fall does not mean that the earlier workshops of the stone-cutters ceased to exist. These workshops in the bigger urban centers continued as in Brigetio, Aquincum, Intercisa, Siscia, Sirmium. The old customs, motives also can be followed to the reign of Constantine. A great bloom of the late inscriptions can be found in Sirmium because the city became im-

³⁰ Gabler (1978).

³¹ Cf. Kovács (2009).

perial seat from the tetrarchy. The ratio of the inscriptions of this period to the earlier ones is about 59% (163 of the 273 (not including the beneficiarius altars of the road-station: AÉp 1994, 1400-1478) which is much higher than the Pannonian average. If we consider the fact that there are non-Christian and Greek inscriptions (including Christian ones) from Sirmium in this period (e. g. CIL III 3228, 3231, 3249, 3705=10617, 6441, AÉp 1998, 1051-1054, ILJ 271-273, 3020, Greek inscriptions: CIGP CatNos. 129-138), the ratio is much higher than 50%. As we could see almost the half of the late Roman inscriptions was found in this city. The significant change under Constantine was the appearance of the Christian epigraphy which can be followed to the very end of the Roman province. The primitive or very simple execution of the carving is characteristic of the ductus of the letters in this period. Generally, there is no framed inscription filed but sometimes underlines can also be observed (CIL III 6442, RIU 178, TRHR 38).

In the case of the funerary stelae, the earlier forms and motives (e. g. the most popular tympanum stelae with triangular tympanum, relief field with the figures of the deceased persons, scene of sacrifice with tripod, inscription field) continued to exist to the middle of the 4th c. (esp. along the limes) but in most cases they were crudely executed³². Earlier gravestones (sometimes bases: RIU 1261, 1411) were frequently reused as well (RIU 237, 903b, 1205, 1556). In the latest phase the gravestones became simple limestone slabs without any decoration or frame (RIU 1167, 1261, CIL III 13382, AÉp 1998, 1455=RIU S 166, RIU S 38). This phenomenon can be observed in the funerary texts as well, in most cases they ended with the formula *memoriam ponere*. An exceptional case is known from Aquincum where a funerary inscription is placed most probably on a lintel above the entrance of a grave chamber (CIL III 3576=Tit. Aq. 629: cf. Barkóczi 1973: 78-80). The inscription is the latest one from Aquincum (after Constantine's reign) and probably one of the best examples of the Barbarization of the Roman army: *Francus ego civis Romanus miles in armis / egregia virtute tuli bello mea dextera semper*. The use of sarcophagi continued after 260 as well, but the inscribed ones are rare as they were buried. The erection of altars also declined, they were mostly officially erected to Iuppiter or Sol Invictus or a genius as for instance the altars were dedicated to Iuppiter Carnuntinus and Teutanus during the tetrarchy too (Pfaffenberg: Piso 2003, Nr. 45-46 (313, 318 AD), Bölcske: AÉp 2003, 1423

³² Barkóczi (1973).

(287)). The form of the altar types remained the same (with moulded base and capital) but their execution became more simple. In several cases the earlier altars were reused. Most of the building inscriptions in the late Roman period were erected by the emperors and greater part of them was connected to military fortifications: Forts: 305 A. D.: Batina: ILJ 1072, 375: Carnuntum: 14358¹¹, 364-367: Esztergom: RIU 770, bath of the legionary fort of Aquincum (Thermae Maiores): 268 (CIL III 3525=10492=AÉp 1944, 85=1956, 7), burghi: 371 A. D.: Esztergom: RIU 771, Visegrád: RIU 804, 372 A. D.: Visegrád: TRHR 133). The *miliaria* were also found along the limes road following the river Danube and from Constantine's reign only along the imperial roads in South Pannonia (Sirmium, Mursa, Siscia) (Claudius II: CIL III 3702, 3742, 11333, AÉp 1983, 781, Florianus: AÉp 1969-70, 495, 1st tetrarchy: CIL III 3711, 4615, Tacitus: CIL III 11328, AÉp 1974, 529, Maximianus: CIL III 4629, 4632, 4633, tetrarchy: AÉp 1969-70, 499, 2. tetrarchy: CIL III 10625, 11318, InscrIt X/4, 379, Severus: CIL III 15202, Licinius: CIL III 3709, Constantius II: CIL III 3705=10617, 3712, 11317, Iulianus: CIL III 10648, 11315, Valentinianus: RIU 11314, 15200). The latest milestone from Northern Pannonia is of Licinius from Aquincum between 317-323 (CIL III 3709).

Christian inscriptions³³: The number of Christian inscriptions from Pannonia is about 205 which means that they are in absolute majority in this period. It is noteworthy that the 1st Christians were of Greek origin or Greek-speaking on the basis of their names but their inscriptions were written in Latin³⁴. Only in the case of the Greek inscriptions from Sirmium can be supposed that most of them are Christian (CIGP CatNos. 129, 132-138). The best exception is the case of Basilianos, a *πρα[γμα]τευτής* whose Greek gravestone was erected in 352 in Sirmium (ILJ 3021=CIGP CatNo. 129). In other cases despite of their Greek names they erected Latin inscriptions, in the gravestone of Aurelius Iodorus from Savaria (RIU 78) the deceased father was explicitly called *civ(is) Graec(us) ex reg(ione) La(o)dic(ena)*. Almost all of the Pannonian inscriptions are funerary ones and a great part of them was made of marble. The quadrangular tablets had no framed epigraphic field, sometimes they were decorated with Christogram (it occurs 22 times in Pannonian stone inscriptions, mostly with the Greek letters A and W), staurogram (CIL III 10239, ILJ 3068, AÉp 2002, 1177), cross (AÉp 1996, 1256), doves and palm branches. There are re-

³³ Kovács (2008).

³⁴ Kovács (2003).

used Christian gravestones as well (RIU 632-634 from the fort at Leányvár near Brigetio). Among the earliest ones can be the gravestone of Flavia Calvena from Aquincum in the late 3rd-early 4th c. (CIL III 13382=CIGP CatNo. 102=Tit. Aq. 947). After the normal funerary Latin text the formula $\Phi(\omega\varsigma)$ IC Z($\omega\eta$) can be observed. Local formulae can be observed in the case of the inscriptions from Savaria where the formula *bonae memoriae* was used (RIU 76-79, 81, 86. S 26). In Sirmium the formulae *memoriam facere* or *ponere* (CIL III 6448, 10233, 10236, 15136², ILJ 3028, 6046, 3060, 3076), *in pace* (CIL III 10236, 10239, 15136², ILJ 3031), *hic iacet* or *requiescit* (CIL III 6449, ILJ 3036, 3038, 3044) occur relatively frequently. As we could see the burial place or the gravestone can be called *memoria*, *titulus* (CIL III 10230; *memorationis titulus*: ILJ 3026) and *locus* as well (CIL III 14340⁴, 14340⁷). The verb *deponere* was used several times (CIL III 6448, 10240, 10252). The martyrs of Sirmium were mentioned in the inscriptions as well: St. Syneros: CIL III 10232-10233, 14340², Irenaeus: Corso di cultura sull'arte ravennate e bizantina 26, 1979, 83-84, Anastasia: AÉp 2013, 1251): [--- a]d beati[ssimam marty]re(m) Anast[asiam --- in] hoc loco. The cemeteryal basilica of this martyr was mentioned in the latter inscription as well. Another basilica of Mursa (?) was probably also mentioned in a fragmentary gravestone which can be completed as [depositu]s (?) ad basi[licam - - -] (CIL III 4005). There are very few known *clerici* from Pannonia who were mentioned in the inscriptions: Diaconus: CIL III 10235 (Sirmium), Exorcista: AÉp 1996, 1256 (Sirmium), Custos cymeteri: RIU 85 (Savaria), Sanctimonialis: AÉp 1996, 1256 (Sirmium). In a very fragmentary marble plate most probably a *clericus* [eccles]i(a)e Sirmi[ensium] is attested (CIL III 14340³). The most interesting new find is the funerary tablet of a cup-bearer (*pincerna*) of Emperor Constantius II (AÉp 2016, 1280). The latest Christian inscription from Pannonia was found in Sirmium which is a prayer against the Avars inscribed in a tile dated to 582 (CIGP Nr. 138) when nomads sieged and occupied the city.

Summarily, I must add some notes on the epigraphic research of Roman Pannonia. Let's start with the corpora. The ever-growing number of the inscriptions has caused another big problem. In volume III of Theodor Mommsen's CIL (the last fascicule published in 1902), about the half of the inscriptions is edited. In the decades following the World War II the publication of the unedited material has become a great desideratum, that is why the so-called national corpora were published. Each modern country in the territory of the former province founded its own series, as the former Yugoslavia did it first (AIJ, ILJ). In Austria the inscriptions of Carnuntum were separately edited (Vorbeck 1980a, Vorbeck 1980b) and a supplementum to the CIL III

was prepared³⁵. The inscriptions from the auxiliary forts of Gerulata and Izsa that belong to Slovakia were also published (IPSST, TLPS). All inscriptions (including the Christian ones) of the most important colony, Sirmium in the territory of Serbia has recently been published by M. Mirković³⁶. In Hungary, A. Mócsy founded the series *Die römischen Inschriften Ungarns* and six volumes, all Roman inscriptions of the entire territory apart from Aquincum were edited following 1972 (more than 1560). A supplement to these volumes has been published by me with more than 250 new tituli (TRHR). The epigraphic documents from Aquincum with more than 1000 stone inscriptions were edited in our current series the *Tituli Aquincenses* (Tit. Aq. I-II) and a third volume for the instrumenta was also published. This series written in Latin has been founded by me with the aim that these volumes can be used as preliminary works for a future CIL III². In 2003 Géza Alföldy founded and led until his death an international research team in order to publish and re-publish the entire epigraphic material of Pannonia³⁷. He has chosen me the co-editor of the Hungarian fascicules but after his sudden death the works has slowed down. Only the manuscripts of the fascicule of Carnuntum by Ekkehard Weber³⁸ and the milestones volume of CIL XVII 4, 3 by Barnabás Lőrincz and me with approx. 350 milestones have been prepared³⁹. On the other hand, several new corpora were recently edited as the epigraphic material of Savaria, Brigetio, Intercisa or Bölcske⁴⁰ and there are two Hungarian members of the editorial team of the *AÉp* (Zsolt Mráv, Péter Kovács). The epigraphic studies have also been continued in the recent decades in Hungary. The *Fasti of Pannonia* was edited by Jenő Fitz⁴¹. Barnabás Lőrincz continued and finished the volumes of the *OPEL* (the onomastic material of the Latin provinces and Northern Italy) based on Mócsy's work⁴². Based on Tit. Aq. I-II, together Bence Fehér we published a monograph on the palaeography of the inscriptions of Aquincum⁴³. All new inscriptions can be edited in the

³⁵ Hild (1968).

³⁶ Mirković (2017).

³⁷ Kovács (2013b).

³⁸ Weber (2010), Weber ms.

³⁹ Lőrincz / Kovács / Weber-Hiden ms.

⁴⁰ Bölcske; Borhy (2006); Tóth (2011); Visy (2016). The corpus of the hundreds of stone monuments from the later Roman inner fort Heténypuszta is in preparation: Mráv (2009).

⁴¹ Fitz (1993).

⁴² Mócsy (1983). Mócsy and L. Barkóczi dealt with Pannonia first already decades ago: Barkóczi (1964); Mócsy (1959).

⁴³ Fehér / Kovács (2018).

periodical *Studia Epigraphica Pannonica* founded in 2009 (SEP). In the last years two new volumes of *Tit. Aq.* have been published (the northern part of the *ager Aquincensis* and *Intercisa*) and the sixth one is in preparation with the inscriptions of its southern part and the *Barbaricum*.

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CIGP = Kovács, Péter (ed.) (2007), *Corpus Inscriptionum Graecarum Pannonicarum*, *Hungarian Polis Studies*, 15, Debrecen, University of Debrecen, Dept. of Ancient History.

CIL = *Corpus Inscriptionum Latinarum*.

ILJ = Šašel, Anna / Šašel, Jaro (1963), *Inscriptiones Latinae quae in Iugoslavia inter annos MCMXL et MCMLX repertae et editae sunt*, *Situla*, 5, Ljubljana, Narodni muzej v Ljubljani; Id. (1978), *Inscriptiones Latinae quae in Iugoslavia inter annos MCMLX et MCMLXX repertae et editae sunt*, *Situla*, 19, Ljubljana, Narodni muzej v Ljubljani; Id. (1986), *Inscriptiones Latinae quae in Iugoslavia inter annos MCMII et MCMXL repertae et editae sunt*, *Situla*, 25, Ljubljana, Narodni muzej v Ljubljani.

ILSI = Lovenjak, Milan (1998), *Inscriptiones Latinae Sloveniae I. Neviodunum*, Ljubljana, Narodni Muzej Slovenije.

IPSST = Česka, Josef / Hošek, Radoslav (1967), *Inscriptiones Pannoniae Superioris in Slovacia Transdanubiana asservatae*, Brno, Universitas Purkyniana Brunensis.

OPEL = Lörincz, Barnabás (1999-2005), *Onomasticon provinciarum Europae Latinarum*, I-IV, Budapest / Wien, Archaeolingua Alapítvány / Forschungsgesellschaft Wiener Stadtarchäologie.

RIU = Mócsy, András *et alii* (1972-2001), *Die römischen Inschriften Ungarns*, I-VI, Budapest, Akadémiai Kiadó.

SEP = Kovács, Péter / Szabó, Ádám (eds.) (2009-2021), *Studia Epigraphica Pannonica*, I-XIII, Budapest, Történelmi Ismeretterjesztő Társulat Egyesület (some volumes together with Bence Fehér).

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Tit. Aq. = Kovács, Péter / Szabó, Ádám (eds.) (2009-2021), *Tituli Aquincenses*, I-V, Budapest, Pytheas.

TLPS = Hošek, Radoslav (1985), *Tituli Latini Pannoniae Superioris annis 1967-1982 in Slovacia reperti*, Praha, Univerzita Karlova.

TRHR = Kovács, Péter (2005), *Tituli Romani in Hungaria reperti. Supplementum*, Budapest / Bonn, Enciklopédia Kiadó / Dr. Rudolf Habelt GmbH.

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Appendix

Tituli Christiani – Christian inscriptions in Pannonia (all together 205)

- Aquincum: 4: Tit. Aq. 13 (?), 799 (?), 947, 992.
- Brigetio: 3: RIU 632-634
- Carnuntum: 1: CIL III 11206 (?).
- Certissia – Mursa (?): 7: CIL III 4002-4005, ILJ 3107, VHAD 10, 1908-1909, 224 Nr. 366, Cibalae: 7: CIL III 10251-10252, ILJ 283, Migotti 1997, 51, II.c7.a-d.
- AÉp 2002, 1157.
- Savaria: 14: RIU 75-86, 122, TRH 26.
- Sirmium: 163: CIL III 6446=10238-6449, 10231-10240, 14340²⁻⁷, 15136², ILJ 3022-3055, 3057-3068, 3071, 3073-3079, 3081-3089, AÉp 1986, 601-602; 1996, 1256, 1283-1286, 2013, 1251, 2016, 1280, 1286, Kovács 2014c, 125, Greek: CIGP CatNos. 132-138, 208-209, Mirković 2017, Nr. 192, 200, 226, 228, 235, 237, 240, moreover 53 small marble fragments (two Greek ones) from the area of the Ireneus-cemetery: Mirković 2017, 310-311 Pl. XXXV-XXXVI.
- Siscia: 6: CIL III 3996=ILCV 1449, 3996a=ILCV 1686, CIL III 3991, 15181²=ILCV 3659, AIJ 576, CIL III 3986.

