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THE GENERAL CIVIL AND MILITARY
ADMINISTRATION OF NORICUM
AND RAETIA

A DISSERTATION

SUBMITTED TO THE FACULTY OF THE GRADUATE SCHOOL OF ARTS
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(DEPARTMENT OF LATIN)

BY

MARY BRADFORD PEAKS

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THE GENERAL CIVIL AND MILITARY ADMINISTRATION OF NORICUM AND RAETIA.

BY MARY BRADFORD PEAKS.

THE paper here presented was at first intended to form Chapters II and III of a "History of the Provinces of Noricum and Raetia," the material for which has been grouped as follows:

- Chapter I. A General Survey.
 - 1. The Tribal Period.
 - 2. The Period of Government by Procurators.
 - 3. The Period of Military Importance.
 - 4. The Decline of Roman Authority.
- Chapter II. The Governors.
- Chapter III. The Army.
- Chapter IV. The Finances.
- Chapter V. The Roads.
- Chapter VI. Local Affairs.
- Chapter VII. Religion.
- Chapter VIII. Industries and Products.
- Chapter IX. Emigration and Immigration.

As it is hoped that the other chapters may appear later, the original form of this portion has been altered as little as possible in revising it for separate publication. Some peculiarities in the order of topics and in the cross-references are due to this fact. The time of Constantine is adopted as the lower limit in the present article.

The author's choice of subject does not indicate a belief that Noricum and Raetia formed a political or military unit;¹ on the contrary, the study of the two countries was pursued separately until it was discovered that together they afforded an unusually illuminating example of the way in which the Roman system was adapted to varying conditions. In what is local, social, commer-

¹ Cf. pp. 173, n. 7; 192, n. 4.

cial, the two adjacent provinces offer interesting contrasts; in all that has to do with the Empire and especially with their mission as guardians of the Upper Danube frontier, Noricum and Raetia were alike, and from their likeness one may gather much information when the evidence for either alone is fragmentary. The facts with regard to each province, however, have been kept separate within the different chapters and subdivisions. It is believed that this method is likely to yield a truer picture of the Roman world than is obtained when the investigation is arbitrarily limited by the boundaries of a modern state.

The extent of the author's indebtedness to the writings of Cagnat, Cichorius, Hirschfeld, Jung, Liebenam, Mommsen, Ohlenschläger, Schiller, and others will be evident from the footnotes; among her instructors grateful acknowledgment is made especially to Professor Frank Frost Abbott, at whose suggestion this work was begun, and by whose scholarly instruction and unfailing helpfulness its execution was made possible.

REFERENCES AND ABBREVIATIONS.

All dates are A. D. 41/54—"at some date between 41 and 54, inclusive;" 41-54—"from 41 to 54, inclusive."

When no ambiguity would arise, *CIL.* is omitted in references to the Latin *Corpus*. D.=diploma militare (*CIL.* III).

In printing inscriptions, --- means "omitted as irrelevant," means "not extant."

References in the form Noricum 1, Raetia 1 are to the lists of governors beginning p. 170 and p. 185 respectively, or in more condensed form, pp. 182, 194.

The following works are regularly cited by means of abbreviations: Allen=G. H. Allen, *Centurions as Substitute Commanders of Auxiliary Corps, Roman Historical Sources and Institutions* ("Univ. of Mich. Studies," Vol. I). New York, 1904.

Ann. Ep.=*L'année épigraphique*. Paris, 1888-.

Arnold=H. Arnold, "Das römische Heer im bayerischen Rätien," *Beiträge zur Anthropologie und Urgeschichte Bayerns*, XIV, pp. 43-100. Munich, 1902.

Bonn. Jahrb.=*Jahrbücher des Vereins von Alterthumsfreunden im Rheinlande*. Bonn, 1842-.

Cagnat=R. Cagnat, *L'armée romaine d'Afrique*. Paris, 1892.

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- CIRh.*=W. Brambach, *Corpus inscriptionum Rhenanarum*. Elberfeld, 1867.
- Cohen=H. Cohen, *Médailles impériales*. Paris, 1880-92.
- Dessau=H. Dessau, *Inscriptiones Latinae selectae*. Berlin, 1892-.
- Diz. Ep.*=E. De Ruggiero, *Dizionario epigrafico di antichità romane*. Rome, 1895-.
- DS.=Daremberg et Saglio, *Dictionnaire des antiquités grecques et romaines*. Paris, 1873-. (Especially the article by R. Cagnat, s. v. Legio.)
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- Franziss=F. Franziss, *Bayern zur Römerzeit*. Regensburg, 1905.
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- Lieb. *Beitr.*=W. Liebenam, *Beiträge zur Verwaltungsgeschichte des röm. Kaiserreichs: I, Die Laufbahn der Procuratoren*. Jena, 1886.
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- Marq.=J. Marquardt, *Römische Staatsverwaltung*. Leipzig, 1881-84.
- MB.*=*Musée belge*. Paris, 1897-.
- Not. Dign.*=O. Seeck, *Notitia dignitatum accedunt --- laterculi provinciarum*. Berlin, 1876.
- Nowotny=E. Nowotny, "Ein norisches Militärdiplom des Traian," *Festschrift für Otto Benndorf*, pp. 267 ff. Vienna, 1898.

- Ohl. *Prog.*=F. Ohlenschlager, *Die röm. Truppen im rechtsrheinischen Bayern*, Programm des königl. Maximilians-Gymnasiums. Munich, 1883/84.
- Ohl. *Sitz.*=F. Ohlenschlager, "Das Regensburger röm. Militärdiplom," *Sitzungsberichte d. phil.-hist. Classe d. königl. bayer. Akad. d. Wiss. zu München*, IV, pp. 225 ff.
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- Pros.=*Prosopographia imperii Romani*. Berlin, 1897-.
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- Tab. *Peut.*=Scheyb-Mannertus, *Tabula itineraria Peutingeriana*. Leipzig, 1824.
- Urban=K. Urban, *Das alte Rätien und die römischen Inschriften*. Magdeburg, 1889.
- Vaschide=V. Vaschide, *Histoire de la conquête romaine de la Dacie*. Paris, 1903.
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PART I. THE GOVERNORS.

I. Introductory Statement.

PROCURATORES AND PRAEFECTI.¹

Titles.—For a brief period after the Roman conquest, *Raetia* was in charge of a praefectus,² whose province also included Vin-delicia and the Vallis Poenina, with the command of the auxiliaries of the region. From some date prior to 69 A. D.,³ perhaps under Claudius,⁴ until 167/169 A. D.⁵ it was under a procurator Augusti provinciae Raetiae, who, following the outbreak of the Marcomannic war, was given increased power and the title procurator et pro legato;⁶ this, however, was but a temporary expedient, pending the arrival of the legion designed for this province.

That *Noricum* was ever governed by a praefectus is less likely, because its condition when conquered was such that there was no need to fear a revolt against Roman control;⁷ still the title of the first known procurator (procurator in Norico; under Claudius) may perhaps go back to an earlier form like praefectus civitatum in Norico.⁸

Term of office.—The list of procuratores provinciae⁹ Noricae

¹ Jung. *Röm.* pp. 33 ff.

² Raetia 1.

³ Raetia 2; Tac. *Hist.* i. 11: duae Mauritaniae, Raetia, Noricum, Thraecia et quae aliae procuratoribus cohibentur.

⁴ Full references on this point will be given in the completed work.

⁵ Raetia 9, 10; p. 205.

⁶ Raetia 10.

⁷ It was exhausted by recent wars with the Boii and the Getae; see n. 4.

⁸ Noricum 1; Hirschfeld, *Sitz.* p. 425.

⁹ Aschbach, *Sitzungsber. d. Wiener Akad. (phil.-hist. Classe)*, XXXV, p. 5, followed by Mommsen, *CIL*, III, p. 588; Kämmler, pp. 48, 55; Marq. I. 290; Sch. I. 222, and others (cf. also Zippel, pp. 275 ff.), promulgated the doctrine that Noricum during the time that it was governed by procurators was a regnum rather than a provincia. The facts are briefly as follows:

1. The country is called regnum Noricum five times during the period in question (*Vell.* ii. 109, 5; *Suet. Tib.* 16; *CIL*, VI. 1599; VIII. 9363; III. 11543 (Noricum 6, 20, 24)) and four times even after the arrival of an imperial legate (*CIL*, VI. 1546 (Noricum 25); III. 4800; 4797; 4828), the latest case being in 239 A. D. (III. 4800). Now, these last four instances obviously illustrate the retention in popular speech of a familiar, though no longer exact, term; one of them, VI. 1546, is shown to be colloquial in character by the use of quinquagesimal for legatus, and the other three are inscriptions of freedmen revenue officials. Why may not the same explanation apply to the five earlier cases as well? It is certainly unsafe

is unusually complete,¹ especially for the time of Antoninus Pius.² Since seven governors can be dated with certainty as coming within the twenty-three years of his reign, while ten or eleven more probably also belong there, the average term of office at that period was less than a year and a half.

*Duties.*³—The procurator commanded the auxiliary troops stationed in his province,⁴ and had civil,⁵ and, in at least one case,⁶ criminal jurisdiction (*ius gladi*).

Beneficiarii procuratoris Norici.—The procurator of Noricum was assisted by one or more⁷ *beneficiarii*, from twenty-three of whom⁸ we have inscriptions, mostly dedications to I. O. M.,⁹ ranging in date from Trajan to M. Aurelius.¹⁰ The function of these officials is uncertain;¹¹ the older explanation, that they com-

to interpret strictly a mere parenthetical explanation of locality like Suet. *Tib.* 16. while Vell. ii. 109. 5 is offset by Vell. ii. 39. 3. Such a laxity in designation as has been suggested occurred also in the case of regnum Cottium (see *CIL.* V, pp. 808 f.), and can easily be paralleled today, e.g., in the use of the Colonial "shilling," which in the eastern part of the United States still lingers after more than a century.

2. Noricum is called provincia (*παρχία*) four times before M. Aurelius (Vell. ii. 39. 3; Tac. *Ann.* ii. 63; Ptol. ii. 13. 2; *CIL.* IX. 4753 (Noricum 4)). On Aschbach's theory these must be explained as inaccuracies.

3. There is no evidence that the retention of "den alten stolzen Namen Königreich" (Kämmel, p. 48; cf. Sch. I. 222) was accompanied by any greater freedom from Roman control than in the case of any other procuratorial province. Noricum was treated no better than Raetia, which had previously been neither a unified kingdom nor an ally of Rome. The comparison with the regna of Egypt and the Cottian Alps is misleading because these were under praefecti; the history of Raetia shows that government by praefecti was not the same as government by procurators, but was a preliminary stage used for communities not fully organized or trusted.

4. A partial collection of the material does not bear out the supposition that hesitation was felt in applying the term provincia to a district ruled by procurators; see, for example, Raetia 3, 5, 6, 9, 10; accident or custom seems to be the controlling factor in the name.

In view of all these considerations it seems more probable that provincia was the official designation.

¹ Noricum 1-24.

² Noricum 6-22 or 23.

³ Lieb. *Quaest.* pp. 43 ff.

⁴ Noricum 2, 7; Raetia 9; hence the assumption that Sextilius Felix (Noricum 3) and Ti. Iulius Aquilinus (Raetia 4) were procurators.

⁵ Noricum 10.

⁶ Raetia 3.

⁷ Three cases of two (Noricum 7, 12, 16; see pp. 182 f.) and two of three (Noricum 9, 17) *beneficiarii* of the same procurator are recorded, but it is not known whether they served simultaneously.

⁸ For list, see pp. 182 f.

⁹ III. 5176 is to Epona; 11826 is an epitaph; 14362, p. 2328¹⁹⁷ is doubtful (Noricum 17, 9, 22; cf. p. 183, n. 1).

¹⁰ While the province was ruled by legates, similar dedications were made by bf. cos. leg. II Ital., see pp. 200 f.

¹¹ Jung, *Dac.* pp. 177 f.; *EE.* IV, pp. 400 f.; Cagnat, p. 127; *Diz. Ep.* I. 992 ff.; *Westdeutsche Zeitschrift*, XXI. 158 ff.

manded detachments of auxiliaries, seems inapplicable here, for the completeness of the series is entirely out of proportion to the military importance of Noricum at this time;¹ some secretarial or other confidential duty is more probable.

Rank.—The procurator of *Noricum* was a centenarius.² He outranked the procurators of Sicily,³ Lusitania,^{3,4} Thrace,³ Asturia and Gallaecia;⁵ probably also those of Pontus,⁶ Judaea,⁷ Sardinia,⁷ Africa;⁷ he was of less importance than the procurator of Mauretania⁸ or Raetia.⁹ His relation to the procurator Pannoniae superioris and the procurator XX hereditatium is uncertain.¹⁰

The procurator of *Raetia* was probably a ducenarius;¹¹ his office was of the same grade as the procuracy of Mauretaria Caesariensis;¹² lower than that of Belgica et utraque Germania,¹³ or of Lugdunensis,¹⁴ higher than that of Cilicia,¹⁵ Lusitania,¹⁵ Dacia superior,¹⁶ Cappadocia,¹⁶ Pontus¹⁴ mediterraneus et Armenia minor et Lycaonia Antiochiana,¹⁶ Noricum.⁹ As the greater part of the inscriptions is of the time of Pius, the evidence is not sufficient to

¹ Liebenam, *Quaest.* p. 46, in arguing for a military function, says: "ii beneficiarii quorum tempus definire possumus Antoninorum aetati asseribendi videntur cum in provinciis circa Danubium sitis novae neque exiguae barbarorum incursiones aut expectabantur aut factae sunt." In point of fact, however, the series begins under Trajan (Noricum 4, p. 182), i. e., before the need for increased armament was felt (p. 211).

² Hirschfeld, *Verw.* p. 261, n. 1. The time of Pius is meant, unless otherwise indicated.

³ Noricum 4 (under Trajan).

⁴ Cf. Raetia 6; Lieb. *Beitr.* p. 22. In Liebenam's table, *Beitr.* p. 35, Noricum should be above Lusitania, and therefore above Sicily and Cilicia. Hirschfeld, *Sitz.* p. 424, n. 52, rightly objects to placing Noricum below the Alpine states.

⁵ Noricum 6.

⁶ Noricum 8.

⁷ Noricum 22.

⁸ Noricum 23; 20(?) ; cf. n. 10.

⁹ Noricum 23; cf. the restoration of Noricum 8.

¹⁰ Lieb. *Beitr.* p. 62: "Auffällig wenigstens ist, dass die Procuraturen von Lusitanien und Noricum sowohl vor als nach der proc. XX hereditatium verwaltet werden." His authority for Noricum is evidently Noricum 20 (*Beitr.* p. 93); he does not use Noricum 4 in this connection. It is, however, not absolutely clear whether the cursus of Noricum 20 is to be taken in ascending or descending order, a difficulty which Liebenam apparently felt, for on pp. 93 and 35 (by placing Pannonia superior above Noricum) he adopts the descending order, but prefers the reverse in his table for Pannonia, p. 37 (cf. p. 23). If Mauritaniae be supplied with the last item of *CIL.* VIII. 9363 (cited p. 176), the cursus of Noricum 20 is ascending, which would fit in well with the seeming unimportance of Pannonia superior. On the other hand, in the case of Noricum 4 (under Trajan), proc. XX hereditatium precedes proc. prov. Noricae.

¹¹ Hirschfeld, *Verw.* p. 260, n. 5.

¹² Raetia 6; Raetia 8 = Noricum 23; cf. Noricum 20; Lieb. *Beitr.* pp. 27, 35.

¹³ Raetia 6; cf. Noricum 6.

¹⁴ Raetia 5 = Noricum 8.

¹⁵ Raetia 6; cf. Noricum 4

¹⁶ Raetia 9.

show any chronological variations in the grade of Raetia during its rule by procurators, nor indeed is there any reason to suppose that such existed in the case of either Raetia or Noricum, since, after they had once been thoroughly subdued, their commercial and strategic importance must have been fairly constant until M. Aurelius.¹ As both stood near the head of the list of procuracies, they were in general held only by men who had previously been provincial procurators elsewhere; but, in the first century at least, this requirement was not absolute in the case of primipili II.²

LEGATI PRO PRAETORE.

Titles.—From about 170 A. D.³ until the reforms of Diocletian, Noricum and Raetia were ruled by legati Augusti pro praetore,⁴ called informally quinquemascales⁵ (πεντάμασδοι⁶) and praesides,⁷ who were also the legati legionis II Italicae and legionis III Italicae respectively.⁸

Rank.—Until the middle of the third century they were praetorii,⁹ sometimes consules designati,¹⁰ later a previous legionary command, which before had been usual,¹¹ became the only requisite.¹² The legates of Noricum were lower in rank than those of Germany,¹³ Hispania citerior,¹⁴ Asia,¹⁴ and Numidia.¹⁵ The legates of Raetia were lower than those of Upper Germany and Britain,¹⁶ or Pannonia inferior;¹⁷ higher than those of Thrace and Moesia superior.¹⁶

*Duties.*¹⁸—The inscriptions show that the legati in Noricum and Raetia commanded legionary⁸ and auxiliary¹⁹ forces, took part

¹ Lieb. *Beitr.* p. 27, and n. 2; government by a praefectus is an argument for rather than against the early importance of Raetia; cf. pp. 185, n. 3, 214, 211.

² Noricum 1; cf. Raetia 3.

³ Pp. 196, 205.

⁴ Noricum 25-33; Raetia 11-22.

⁵ Noricum 25.

⁶ Raetia 13.

⁷ Noricum 30, p. 179, n. 5.

⁸ Raetia 11, 15; Noricum 26; hence the inclusion of Noricum 31 in a list of the provincial legati.

⁹ Noricum 25-27, 31; Raetia 11, 18, 20; Lieb. *Verw.* p. 461; Jung. *Dac.* p. iv.

¹⁰ Noricum 26; Raetia 11.

¹¹ Noricum 25, 26; Raetia 20.

¹² Raetia 21, 22.

¹³ Noricum 25.

¹⁴ Noricum 27.

¹⁵ Noricum 33.

¹⁶ Raetia 12.

¹⁷ Raetia 20.

¹⁸ Lieb. *Verw.* pp. 449 ff.

¹⁹ Noricum 31; Raetia 16; cf. p. 166 and n. 4.

in active military operations,¹ superintended the construction of fortifications² and roads,³ and shared in the worship of the imperial family⁴ and the genius of the legions.⁵

PRAESIDES AND DUCES LIMITANEI.

Titles.—Under Diocletian, at least as early as 290 A. D.,⁶ the military was separated from the civil administration, the latter being intrusted to praesides provinciae Norici mediterranei,⁷ Norici ripensis,⁸ and Raetiae,⁹ the former to duces limitis Raetici,¹⁰ and duces limitis Pannoniae primae et Norici ripensis.¹¹ In the fourth century Raetia too was divided,¹² and praesides Raetiae primae and Raetiae secundae are mentioned.¹³

Rank.—All the above were viri perfectissimi;¹⁴ in the *Notitia dignitatum* the duces are also called viri spectabiles.^{10, 11}

Duces limitis Raetici.—The mention in the historians of duces limitis Raetici as early as the middle of the third century raises a perplexing question as to the date when duces were instituted.¹⁵ Was the separation of the two branches of the government a gradual one, beginning under Alexander Severus?¹⁶ That is, were there occasionally, in times of extreme peril, duces as well as legati? (One may compare the Republican practice of appointing a dictator to take charge of the military duties of the two consuls.) Or did the Scriptores historiae Augustae employ the terminology of their own time for events of the previous century?¹⁷

¹ Noricum 27; Raetia 18, 20.

² Noricum 32; Raetia 14-16.

³ Noricum 28; Raetia 19.

⁴ Raetia 17.

⁵ Noricum 26.

⁶ Raetia 27.

⁷ Noricum 37-39.

⁸ No inscriptions; *Not. Dign. Occ.* i. 89.

⁹ Raetia 27-31.

¹⁰ No inscriptions; at a later time called also dux Raetiae primae et secundae, *Not. Dign. Occ.* i. 43; v. 139; xxxv. 13.

¹¹ Noricum 34-36; *Not. Dign. Occ.* i. 40; v. 138; xxxiv. 13.

¹² Between 297 A. D. (*Latere. Veron.* 250. x.) and 385 A. D. (*Latere. Pol. Silv.* 255. 15 f.), cf. Sch. II. 47, n. 5; Planta, pp. 183 ff.

¹³ *Not. Dign. Occ.* i. 92 f.

¹⁴ Though no evidence is available for the dux Raetiae, his rank was undoubtedly the same.

¹⁵ Ohl. *Sitz.* p. 223.

¹⁶ Sch. I. 773; Marq. I. 557 and n. 9; according to Arnold, *Roman System of Provincial Administration*, pp. 156 f., the change began under Aurelian.

¹⁷ So Aurelius Victor, *de Caes.* 32 f. (cited p. 192) says "apud Raetias," etc., although Raetia was not divided till long after the date referred to.

The confusion would have been natural, since *dux*¹ (like *praeses*²) had been a loose, general term for military commander long before it acquired a technical meaning. Of these two hypotheses, the second is perhaps the more reasonable.

II. The Governors of Noricum.

PROCURATORES AUGUSTI PROVINCIAE NORICAE.^{3, 4}

1.

Claudius

41/54

C. BAEBIUS P. F. CLA. ATTICUS⁵

CIL. V. 1838, 1839 (Iulium Carnicum): C. Baebio P. f. Cla. Attico, II vir. i. [d]., primopil. leg. V Macedonic., praef. c[i]vitatium Moesia et Treballia[e], praef. c[i]vitat. in Alpib. maritumis, t[r]. mil. coh. VIII pr., primopil. iter., procurator. Ti. Claudi Caesaris Aug. Germanici in Norico,⁶ civitas Saevatum et Laiancorum.

¹ Noricum 27; other citations in Lieb. *Quaestt.* pp. 55 f.

² P. 179, n. 5. A new and puzzling bit of evidence is afforded by a series of milestones erected by praesides p(rovinciae) P(onti), dating in 279 and 282/283 A. D. (*Am. Jour. of Arch.* IX. 328 f., nn. 76, 78, 79; X. 431 ff.; *Am. Jour. of Phil.* XXVII. 449). Does this mean that the change to praesides (in the technical sense) began before Diocletian? The whole question of duces and praesides needs to be thoroughly investigated.

³ In this list and those which follow no attempt is made to attain completeness except in matters which directly concern the term of office in Noricum or Raetia.

⁴ See Seidl, *Sitzungsber. d. Wiener Akad. (phil.-hist. Classe)*, XIII, pp. 62 ff.; Marq. I. 290, n. 6; Lieb. *Quaestt.* pp. 72 f.

C. Antonius Rufus (III. 5117; 5122; cf. *Pros.* I. 104, n. 693; *CIL.* III. 14354^{29, 30, 32-34}) was not proc. (prov. Noricae), but an official of the revenue and postal service; see p. 165, n. 4 and *Röm. Mitt.* VIII, pp. 195 ff., especially p. 200.

⁵ *Pros.* I. 223, n. 7; Dessau, 1349. Liebenam, *Beitr.* p. 28, n. 3, says: "C. Baebius Atticus war wohl nur Verwalter der Domänen des Kaiser Claudius, denn in Noricum gab es zahlreiche kaiserliche Güter (III. 5695: *dominica rura*). Baebius war vorher nur primipilus II, während die andern Procuratoren von Noricum schon ziemlich wichtige Provinzen verwaltet hatten." It is, however, a well-established fact that the primipilate gave its possessor a decided advantage in his later career (Lieb. *Quaestt.* pp. 21 f., 33 f.; cf. also pp. 34-36, and Hirschfeld, *Ferrv.* p. 252, n. 2). Now of the undisputed procurators of Noricum there is only one who is known to have been primipilus II, namely, M. Bassaeus Rufus (Noricum 6); before his term in Noricum, he had been procurator of Asturia and Gallaecia only, the lowest in grade of all procuratorial provinces (*Beitr.* p. 30); moreover, in commenting on the later cursus of this same Bassaeus Rufus, Liebenam (*Beitr.* p. 28) says that the importance and rank of the governor of Noricum had greatly increased since the early empire (but see p. 168). There seems, then, to be no more reason, in this case than in many others, to doubt that procurator means procurator provinciae. It is not surprising that the title at this early date is expressed informally. As for the "*domnica r[ura]*" (sic, cf. III. 11827), it should be borne in mind that the words occur in a fragmentary poetical epitaph of uncertain date, origin, text, and meaning.

⁶ P. 165.

2.

Otho

69, spring

PETRONIUS URBICUS¹

Tac. *Hist.* i. 70: ipse (=Caecina) paulum cunctatus est, num Raeticis iugis in Noricum flecteret adversus Petronium Urbicum (MSS. urbi) procuratorem, qui concitis auxiliis et interruptis fluminum pontibus fidus Othoni putabatur.

CIL. III. 11551 (Virunum): . . . us Urbicus proc. August. . . .

3.

Vespasian

69, late-70

SEXTILIUS FELIX²

Tac. *Hist.* iii. 5: opposita in latus auxilia, infesta Raetia, cui Porcius Septimius³ procurator erat, incorruptae erga Vitellium fidei. igitur Sextilius Felix cum ala Auriana et octo cohortibus ac Noricorum iuventute⁴ ad occupandam ripam Aeni fluminis, quod Raetos Noricosque interfluit, missus, nec his aut illis proelium temptantibus, fortuna partium alibi transacta.

Tac. *Hist.* iv. 70: --- Sextilius Felix cum auxiliariis cohortibus per Raetiam inrupere; accessit ala singularium, excita olim a Vitellio, deinde in partes Vespasiani transgressa. praecerat Iulius Briganticus ---.⁵

As the commission of Petronius Urbicus (Noricum 2) would cease with the defeat and death of Otho,⁶ Sextilius was quite possibly the procurator of Noricum under Vespasian. See p. 166 and n. 4.

4.

Trajan

106/117

[T. ?] PRIFERNIUS P. F. QUI. PAETUS MEMMIUS APOLLINARIS⁷

CIL. IX. 4753 (Reate): [T.] Prifernio P. f. Qui. Paeto Memmio Apollinari, IIII vir. iur. dic. quinq., mag. iu., praef. coh. III Breuc., trib. leg. X gem., praef. alae I Asturum, donis donato exped. Tac. ab Imp. Traiano hasta pura, vexillo, corona murali (probably in 102 A. D.), proc. provinc. Sicil., proc. provinc. Lusitan., proc. XX her., proc. provinc. Thrac.,⁸ proc. provinc. Noricae, P. Memmius P. f. Qui. Apollinaris patri piissimo.

III. 5179 (Celeia): I. O. M. Surus, B Memmi Apoll. proc. Aug., v. s. l. m

¹ *Pros.* III. 31, n. 240.⁵ *P.* 215, n. 19; Sch. I. 504.² *Pros.* III. 235, n. 459.⁶ Lieb. *Quaest.* p. 43.³ Raetia 2.⁷ *Pros.* III. 94, n. 690.⁴ *P.* 211.⁸ *P.* 167, nn. 4, 10.

Since at least five years must have elapsed between Memmius's Dacian campaign and his term of office in Noricum, 106 A. D. is the earliest possible date for the latter; while, as Trajan was living when the inscription was cut, 117 A. D. marks the lower limit.

5.

Trajan or Hadrian

After 105

Q. CAECILIUS REDDITUS¹

III. 5163 (Celeia): I. O. M. Antónius Maximus, ~~B~~ Q. Caecili Redditi proc. Aug., v. s. l. m.

D. XCVIII (105 A. D.): --- cohort. I Britannicae ∞ c. R., cui praest Q. Caecilius Redditus, ---.

The procuratorship, therefore, was after 105, but probably not later than Hadrian.

6.

Antoninus Pius

145 circ./161

M. BASSAEUS M. F. ST[EL.] RUFUS²

CIL. VI. 1599: M. Bassaeo M. f. St[el.] Rufo, pr. pr. [im]peratorum M. Aureli Antonini et [L.] Aureli Veri et L. Aureli Commodi Augg., [c]onsularibus ornamentis honorato [e]t ob victoriis Germanicam et Sarmatic. [A]ntonini et Commodi Augg. --- donato, praef. Aegypti, praef. [ann. aut vig.], proc. a rationibus, proc. Belg[icae et du]larum Germaniarum, proc. regni [Nori]ci, proc. Asturiae et Gallaeciae, trib. [coh. . .] pr., trib. coh. X urb., trib. coh. V vigul., p. p. bis, ---.

III. 5171 (Celeia): I. O. M. . . Liciniu[s] Hilarus, [bf. M. B]assaei Rufi [proc. Au]g., v. s. l. m.³

Bassaeus Rufus was made praefectus praetorio between 161 and 169 A. D.³ His procuratorship in Noricum under a single Augustus,⁴ being prior to that date, was not later than 161. Before governing Noricum, he had filled one administrative and five military positions; still, as late as 177,⁵ he was not too old for active military service, nor for the office of praefectus praetorio. He could scarcely therefore have served in Noricum before about 145.

¹ *Pros.* I. 252, n. 52; *PW.* III. 1231, n. 104; *CIL.* III. 1421423.

² *Pros.* I. 230, n. 57 ("ipse posuit procurator --- III. 5171" is an error); *PW.* III. 103, n. 2. *P.* 170, n. 5.

³ *CIL.* VI. 1599; cf. IX. 2438 (about 168 A. D.)

⁴ III. 5171.

⁵ Commodus is called Aug. in VI. 1599; Hirschfeld, *Verw.* pp. 226 f.

7.

Antoninus Pius

153

ULPIUS VICTOR¹

D. LXIV (153 A. D.): --- in al(is) IV et coh(ortibus) XIV [et sunt in Norico s]ub Ulpio Victore ---.

CIL. III. 5161 (Celeia): I. O. M. Adnamius Flavinus, **B** Ulpi Victoris proc. Aug., v. s. l. m.

III. 5169 (Celeia).

Adnamius Flavinus was beneficiarius also for Usienus Secundus,² who was procurator in 158 A. D. Ulpus then belongs to this same period; hence it is probable that D. LXIV is rightly understood to refer to this command.³

8. (=Raetia 5)

Antoninus Pius

Probably before 155

LATIN(US) (or LATIN(IUS)) PI . . (or PL . .)⁴

XII. 1857 (Vienne): Latin. PI . . . [leg]ato . . . [leg.] Aug. pro pr. [prov. Lugu]dunens., adlecto in[ter praetor.⁵ ab] Imp. Caes. T. Aeli[o Hadriano Antonino Aug.] Pio [p. p., . . . praef. class.] Mi[senat., proc. provinc. Lugu]du[nens., proc. provi]nc. [R]aet[iae, proc. prov.] Nor., pro[c. provinc.] Pon[ti, subpraef. veh]iculor.

If the restoration given is correct,⁷ this man held office in Noricum long enough before 161 for him to fill four other positions during the life of Pius, i. e., probably not later than 155.

¹ Pros. III. 465, n. 578.

² Noricum 9.

³ Nowotny, p. 272, argues from the large number of *alae* and *cohortes* that this fragmentary diploma refers to the auxiliaries in Raetia, not those in Noricum; the place of finding (Castrum Regina) affords some slight confirmation for this view: cf. Urban, p. 19. There is, however, ground for believing that the armament of Noricum was increased between 107 and 153 (p. 211); so, for example, *ala I Aug. Thracum* (p. 216) was transferred from Raetia to Noricum between 107 and 140/144; there is then no difficulty in assuming a similar history for *ala II Fl. p. f. ∞*, especially as it is omitted in the Raetian diplomata dating later than 153 (p. 215). Ulpus Victor, moreover, is known from two other inscriptions to have been procurator of Noricum not far from 158 A. D. It is of course not impossible that *afterwards* (cf. p. 167) in 153 he was procurator in Raetia (cf. Noricum 8 = Raetia 5; Noricum 23 = Raetia 8).

⁴ Pros. II. 287, n. 82.

⁵ Hirschfeld, *Verw.* p. 245, n. 3.

⁶ Cf. p. 165, n. 9.

⁷ The restoration proposed by Hirschfeld in the *Corpus*: --- [proc. provi]nc. [R]aet[iae et regni] Nor. ---, is faulty because it implies that Noricum and Raetia were united under one procurator, an assumption for which there is not a particle of positive evidence, and which, when one bears in mind the early history of the two provinces, their opposition in 69, (Noricum 2, 3; Raetia 2; Jung, *Röm.* p. 35), and their complete separation during and after the period of military occupation, appears extremely improbable. The rank of the two provinces, moreover, was not the same (p. 167).

9.

Antoninus Pius

158

USIENUS (or USENUS) SECUNDUS¹

III. 5166 (Celeia): I. O. M. Q. Káninius Lucánus, **B** Usieni Secundi proc. Aug., v. s. l. m. Tertul. et Sacerd. cos. (158 A. D.)

III. 5162 (Celeia): I. O. M. Adnamius Flavinus,² **B** Useni Secundi proc. Aug., v. s. l. m.

III. 11826 (Lauriacum): Verino Verionis f., **B** Useni Secun. ---.

10-12.

The next three governors can be dated only approximately as having held office during the reign of Antoninus Pius, 138-161 A. D.

10.

CAECILIUS IUVENTIANUS³

III. 5182 (Celeia): [. . . . bf. C]aecili . . v. entiani proc. Aug.

Digest, xlviii. 18. 10, pr.: de minore quattuordecim annis quaestio habenda non est, ut et divus Pius Caecilio Iuventiano rescripsit.

11.

L. CAMMIU[S] SECUNDI[NUS]⁴

CIL. III. 5328 (Solva): M. Gavi[o] Maxim[o] praefec[to] praetor[i]o L. Cammiu[s] Secundi[nus] p. p.,⁵ praef. leg. X . . . , proc. Aug., amico. Gavius Maximus was praefectus praetorio from 138 to 158.⁶

12.

C. CENSORIUS NIGER⁷

III. 5181 (Celeia): I. O. M. M. Ulpius Crescens, **B** C. Censori Nigri proc. Aug., v. s. l. m. Cf. III. 5174 (Celeia).

Niger, after receiving promotion from Pius, lost favor with him. He died while Pius and Gavius Maximus were still alive.⁸

¹ *Pros.* III. 491, n. 689.² Cf. *Noricum* 7.³ *Pros.* I. 249, n. 37; *PW.* III. 1201, n. 59.

⁴ *Pros.* I. 296, n. 304; *PW.* III. 1433. As there is no clear example of a proc. Aug. prov. Noricae (or Raetiae) who had not previously ruled another province or held the primipilate for the second time (p. 183), it is uncertain whether or not Secundinus was a provincial procurator. A similar doubt which is sometimes expressed, e. g., Lieb. *Beitr.* p. 23, n. 3, with regard to other instances of proc. Aug., seems less well grounded in the case of those who are mentioned in the long series of dedications by beneficiarii; all of these about whom we have other information (*Noricum* 4-7, 10) prove to have been governors; in the absence, therefore, of indications to the contrary, the others of similar form (*Noricum* 12-19) would naturally refer to the same officials, especially as inscriptions of other kinds of procurators are not found at Celeia.

⁵ Perhaps of legio XIII gemina, cf. *CIL*. III, p. 1045 ad n. 4660, 5.⁶ *Script. Pius*, 8. 7; *Pros.* II. 112, n. 60.⁷ *Pros.* I. 337, n. 547; *PW.* III. 1910, n. .⁸ Fronto, *ad Pium*, pp. 164 ff. (ed. Naber), especially p. 165.

13-21.

No evidence is known for dating Noricum 13-21. The inscriptions for Noricum 13-19, which are similar in form to the inscriptions of beneficiarii of Noricum 4-7, 9, 10, 12, and which (with the exception of 15) were found like them at Celeia, probably belong to about the same period, namely, the reign of Pius or a little earlier. The title in each case is indicated by *proc. Aug.*, hence they surely precede 161 A. D.

13.

C. ANTISTIUS AUSEPEX¹

III. 5173 (Celeia).

14.

DEBUSIUS PROO[ULUS]²

III. 5170 (Celeia).

15.

EGNATIUS PRISOUS³

III. 11759 (Iuvavum).

16.

FLAVIUS TITIANUS⁴

III. 5164; 5172 (Celeia).

17.

Q. LISINIUS SABINUS⁵

III. 5167; 5168; 5175; 5176 (Celeia).

18.

PLAUTIUS CAESIANUS⁶

III. 5177 (Celeia).

19.

G. RASINIUS SILO⁷

III. 5165 (Celeia).

¹ *Pros.* I. 85, n. 590.² Cf., perhaps, *CIL.* IX. 506; *Pros.* II. 29, n. 171.³ Omitted in *Pros.* and *PW.*⁴ *Pros.* II. 76, n. 253. Several men of the name are known, but there is not sufficient evidence to connect any of them with this procurator. The most likely is the T. Flavius Titianus (*Pros.* II. 77, n. 257), who in 164-168 A. D. was praefectus Aegypti. Cf. the *cursum* of M. Bassaeus Rufus (Noricum 6).⁵ *Pros.* II. 289, n. 196.⁶ *Pros.* III. 45, n. 349.⁷ *Pros.* III. 125, n. 21.

20.

TI. CLAUD(IUS) TI. FIL. FAL. PRISCIANUS¹

VIII. 9363, p. 974 (Caesarea): Ti. Cl. Prisciano, proc. Aug. proc. provinciae Pannoniae superioris, proc. regni Norici, proc. $\overline{XX}$ hereditatium, prov. provinciae ---.

VIII. 9364 (Caesarea).

X. 3849 (Capua): Claud. Ti. fil. Fal. Priscianus proc. $\overline{XX}$ hereditatium.

21.

M. PORCIUS VERUS²

III. 5317 (near Marburg): M. Porcius Verus proc. Aug. me posuit.

22.

M.(?) CLAUDIUS PATERNUS CLEMENTIANUS³

III. 14362, p. 2328¹⁹⁷ (Virunum): G(enio) s[a]crum [bf. ? Cl]audi Paterni Clementiani proc. Aug. [cel]lam col[u]mnas p[avi]menta porticum

III. 5776 (Abudiacum, Raetia): Cl. Pater[nu]s Clement[i]a[n]us, proc. [Aug. provincia[rum] Iud. v. a. l., Sar[din.], Africae, et . . . , praef. eq. [alae] Silianae [torq. c. R.], trib. milit[um] leg. XI Cl[us.], praef. coh. classis. . . .

III. 5775; 5777 (Abudiacum).

It is uncertain whether Noricum or Raetia was the province ruled by this man. The inscription from Noricum (III. 14362), however, is concerned with building operations—probably under the charge of a beneficiarius—in one of the chief cities of the province. The tituli from Raetia all come from a comparatively unimportant town and are of a private nature: III. 5777 is the epitaph of the mother⁴ of Clementianus; 5775 and 5776 give his cursus in a form such as would be suitable to place upon a building erected through his generosity. Hence it would seem slightly more probable that the country governed by Clementianus was Noricum, while his home was in Raetia.⁵ It is of course not sure that he was procurator of either province.

¹ P. 167, n. 10; *Pros.* I. 393, n. 770; *PW.* III. 2845, n. 285.

² *Pros.* III. 89, n. 646.

³ *Ohl. Prog.* p. 24; *Pros.* I. 391, n. 756; *PW.* III. 2840, n. 262. Mommsen's attempted identification of this Clementianus with the Clem . . . of III. 11947 (Abusina) is impossible, that inscription is correctly said to be of the third century.

⁴ *Pros.* I. 406, n. 860.

⁵ The opposite was true of T. Varius Clemens, Raetia 6. Cf. Jung, *Röm.* p. 39 and n. 2.

If the M. Claud. Paternus,¹ who was a friend of T. Desticius Severus, procurator of Raetia in 166,² was the same man, the date cannot be many years earlier than 161,³ the last year when proc. Aug. of III. 14362 would be possible.

23. (=Raetia 8)

Antoninus Pius or M. Aurelius

Before 167

SEX. BAIUS PUDENS⁴

IX. 4964=Dessau, 1363 (Cures): D. [M.] Sex. Bai[o Pudenti] proc. Aug. item Norici, Raetiae Vindelic[iae,⁵ Maur]jetaniae Caesar. ---.

Baius was governor of Mauretania in 167/169, probably in 167.⁶

24.

M. Aurelius and L. Verus

161/169

[A]EL(IUS) MAXIM[US]

III. 11543 (Virunum): ---[p]roc. Augg. n[n]. r. N.

The dates given are the only ones possible for two Augusti before legati replaced procurators.

LEGATI AUGUSTI PRO PRAETORE PROVINCIAE NORICAE.⁷

25.

M. Aurelius or later

After 168

.⁸

VI. 1546, p. 3142: [leg. Aug. pr. pr. prov. . . . i]tem Germ[aniae] ---, [quin]que[f]asc.⁹ reg[ni Norici,¹⁰ leg. leg. V]II Cl. [p.]f., praetor[i].

¹ *Notiz. d. Scavi*, 1885, p. 175 (cited p. 187); *CIL*. III. 13391.

² Raetia 9.

³ Jung, *Dac.* pp. 79 f.; Marq. I. 421, n. 2.

⁴ *Pros.* I. 225, n. 29; *PW*. II. 2781 f.

⁵ It must not be assumed that Baius ruled Noricum and Raetia at the same time; see p. 173, n. 7; Lieb. *Beitr.* p. 27.

⁶ VIII. 20834; 20835; 20961; 21007.

⁷ Marq. I. 291, n. 3; Lieb. *Verw.* pp. 300 ff. For Sabi[us], legate in 198/209, see references given under Raetia 19.

⁸ *Pros.* III. 500, n. 38.

⁹ Marq. I. 550 and n. 5; Lieb. *Verw.* p. 446 and n. 3.

¹⁰ Or reg[ionis Transpad.].

26.

Commodus

191

C. MEMMIUS C. F. QUIR. FIDUS IULIUS ALBIUS¹

III. 15208 (Lauriacum): Genio leg. II Ital. p(iae) M. Gavius Firmus p. p. Vellin. Firmo Picen., dedicante C. Memmio Fido Iul. Albio cos. des., leg. Aug. pr. pr., XIII K. Oct. Aproniano et Bradua cos. (Sept. 18, 191)

VIII. 12442 (Vina): C. Memmio C. f. Quir. Fido Iulio Albio cons., sodali Titio, leg. Aug. pro pr. prov. Noricae, --- leg. Aug. leg. VII Claudiae, ---.

27.

Septimius Severus

194

TIB. CL(AUDIUS) CANDIDUS

II. 4114 (Tarraco):

Tib. Cl. Candido cos.

XV vir. s. f., leg. Augg.

pr. pr. provinc. H(ispaniae) c(terioris),
et inea duci terra marique

5 adversus rebelles h. h. p. p. (=hostes publicos²),

item Asiae, item Noricae,

duci exercitus Illyrici

expeditione Asiana (194 A. D.), item Parthica (195 A. D.),

item Gallica (196/197), logistae civitatis

10 splendidissimae Nicomedensium,

item Ephesiorum, leg. pr. pr. provinc.

Asiae, cur. civitatis Teanensium,

allecto inter praetorios, ---.

Candidus was probably legate of Noricum at the time when he took part in Severus's eastern expedition.³

¹ Pros. II. 363, n. 340; cf., perhaps, IGR. III. 368.

² On the reading in line 5, see PW. cited below in n. 3.

³ Wilmanns, *Exempla inscr. Lat.* 1201 (followed by Sch. I. 714; Dessau, 1140, and in the main by Jung, *Röm.* p. 36, n. 1; PW. III. 2691, n. 96) reads in lines 5 and 6: adversus rebelles H(ispaniae), h(ostes) p(opuli) R(omani), | item Asiae, item Noricae, making the last two genitives depend upon rebelles, and inferring that Noricum supported Clodius Albinus against Septimius Severus. That seems unlikely, however, in view of the fact that the legion in Noricum was honored by Severus in 193 and again before 200 (p. 197). The political sympathies of Noricum were always with Pannonia and the other Danubian provinces rather than with the West. Then, too, this construction as a parallel to Hispaniae and Asiae would require Norici, not Noricae, which is not used alone as the name of the province. The explanation given in the text is that of Liebenam, *Verw.* p. 61, who considers lines 4 and 5 parenthetical and construes item Asiae, item Noricae with legatus in line 2. Noricae is then taken closely with provinc(iae), thus avoiding one difficulty in the older interpretation. The cursus is descending as far as the legateship of Noricum with its accompanying extraordinary command. As the latter naturally suggests the similar purely military commands

28.

Septimius Severus

201

M. IUVENTIUS M. F. FAB. SURUS PROCULUS¹

III. 5712; 5715; 5717; 5746; 11837 (milestones of Noricum, restored in 201 A. D.): --- curante M. Iuventio Suro Proculo leg. pr. pr. ---.

V. 4360 (Brixia): . . . M. f. Fab. Suro Proculo [III] III viro eq. Rom.

29.

Septimius Severus

After 205?

POLLENIUS SEBENNUS²

Dio, lxxvi. 9. 2, 3 (205 A. D. ?): --- Πολληνίῳ Σεβεννῷ δίκη τιμωρὸς ἀπὴντησεν. ἐκδοθεὶς γὰρ ὑπὸ Σαβίνου τοῖς Νωρικοῖς, ὃν ἄρξας οὐδὲν χρηστὸν ἐπεποιήκει, αἰσχίστα πέπονθε. --- καὶ εἰ μὴ διὰ τὸν Ἀσπακα τὸν θεῖον αὐτοῦ φειδοῦς ἔτυχε, κἂν ἀπωλώλει οἰκτρῶς.³

CIL. III. 5537 (Iuvavum): --- b. Pollieno Aemiliano . . .

Possibly this fragmentary inscription refers to the legate mentioned by Dio.

30.

Caracalla

Before 215

M. MUNATIUS SULLA CERIALIS⁴

III. 11743 (Kugelstein): Ereuli et Victoriae Aug. sacr. pro sal. et [a]dv. M. Munati Sullae Ce[r]ialis c. v., op. [pr]es.⁵ et integ., [V]ibena Vibeni et Finitus Corbi maritus l. v. s.

Sulla Cerialis was undoubtedly legatus of Noricum; he was consul in 215 A. D.

which followed it in quick succession, these are loosely added in chronological order until the writer arrives at his starting-point, the struggle with Albinus in Gaul and Spain; finally the descending order is resumed.

Pros. I. 362, n. 668 strangely ignores the words item Asiae, item Noricae.

¹ P. 165, n. 4; *Pros.* II. 256, n. 598.

² *Pros.* III. 60, n. 411. Liebenam, *Verw.* p. 283, wrongly assumes the identity of the Pollenius Sebennus in Dio and the Pollenius Auspex of the coins and acta, although the latter (*Pros.* III. 60, n. 410) is undoubtedly Dio's Ἀσπαξ (cf. Boissvain's note on Dio, *loc. cit.*) and the uncle of the legate of Noricum.

³ Jung, *Röm.* p. 40; Arnold, *Röm. Prov. Admin.* pp. 118 f.

⁴ *Pros.* II. 392, n. 538.

⁵ Praeses at this early date is not technical (cf. *CIL.* V. 8660) and should not be given as the official title, as is done in the *Prosopographia* (see n. 4); *CIL.* III. 5216, n., commits a similar error. See Mommsen, *Staatsrecht*, II. 240 and n. 3; Lieb. *Quaest.* pp. 54-56; *Verw.* pp. 464 f.; Hirschfeld, *Sitz.* pp. 427 f.; *CIL.* III. p. 2463.

31.

Caracalla or Elagabalus

211/222

Q. HERENNIUS SILVIUS MAXIMUS¹

IX. 2213 (Telesia): Q. Herennio Silvio Maximo c. v., legat. leg. II Italicae et alae Antoninianae, iurid. per Calabr. Lucaniam Brittos, pr. - - - .

32.

Probably early in the 3d century

P. COSINIUS FELIX²

III. 15208, (Lauriacum; "litteris non malis"): [Imp. Caes. . . . Aug.] restitui[t cur.] P. Cosinio [Felice ? leg.] Aug. p[r. pr.].

Severus, Caracalla, and Macrinus were the most active in building and restoring roads, etc., in this region.

33.

Valerian and Gallienus

260 or before

C. MACRINIUS DECIANUS³

VIII. 2615 (Lambaesis): - - - C. Macrinus Decianus v. c., leg. Augg. pr. pr. prov. Numidia (260 A. D.⁴) et Norici, - - - .

The legateship of Noricum would naturally precede.⁵

DUCES LIMITIS PANNONIAE PRIMAE ET NORICI RIPENSIS.⁶

34.

Maximinus, Constantine, and Licinius

310

AUR(ELIUS) SENECIO

III. 5565, 11771 (Bedaum): Victoriae Augustae [sac]rum pro salutem [dd.] nn. Maximini et [Con]stantini et Licini [se]mper Augg., Aur. Senecio [v. p.] dux templum numini [e]ius ex voto a novo fieri iussit per instantiam Val. Sambarrae p. p. eqq. Dalm. Aquesianis comit.⁷ I. I. m. ob victoria factâ IV K. Iulias Andronico et Probo cos. (June 28, 310)

¹ Pp. 212, 168 and n. 8. *Pros.* II. 139, n. 94; Jung, *Dac.* p. xxiii, n. 47.

² P. Cosinius Felix was also legate of Pannonia inferior, III. 3421; *Pros.* I. 474, n. 1251; Lieb. *Verw.* p. 334. The date given by Liebenam is too early, because of the occurrence of Augg. in III. 3421.

³ Sch. I. 818; *Pros.* II. 313, n. 17.

⁴ *CIL.* VIII. 2047.

⁵ Lieb. *Verw.* p. 461.

⁶ *Not. Dign. Occ.* i. 40; v. 138; xxxiv. 13.

⁷ P. 214.

35.

Diocletian or later

AURE[L(IUS)] IUSTINIANUS

III. 4039 (Poetovio): templum dei sol. inv. Mit. Aure[1]. Iustinianus v. p. dux labefactatum restituit.

36.

Diocletian or later

URSICINUS

III. 4656-4658, 11350, pp. 2328^{42, 197} (Pann. sup., Carnuntum and vicinity): p. 1059; 11853-11855, 13536, p. 2328⁵⁰ (Noricum, in and near Lauriacum): bricks marked temp(erante)¹ Ursicino v. p. duc(e) leg. II Ital. alar(um) (or pet²), or some similar form.³

PRAESIDES PROVINCIAE NORICI MEDITERRANEI.⁴

37.

Galerius and Maximinus Daza

311

AUR(ELIUS) HERMODORUS

III. 4796 (Virunum): D. I. M. templum vetusta(te) conlabsum quot fuit per annos amplius L desertum Aur. Hermodorus v. p., p. p. N. m. t., a novo restitui fecit. quot edificatum est divo Maximiano VIII et Maximino itr. A(u)gg. con., Quar(tinio) Ursiniano cur.

38.

Constantine

323/337

FAB(IUS) CLAUDIUS

III. 5326 (Solva): d. n. Fl. Val. Constantino Maximo beatissimo ac supra omnes retro principes piissimo et victoriosissimo semper Augusto b. r. p. n. Fab. Claudius v. p., p. p. N. m. t., d. n. m. que eius semper.

39.

Constans

337/350

MARTINIANUS

III. 5209 (Celeia): d. n. Fl. Constanti clementissimo adque victore Augusto Martinianus v. p., praeses provinciae Norici medit., d. n. m. eius.

¹ III, p. 2328¹⁹⁷.² III. 4656, 11350, p. 2328⁴².

³ P. 199. Bricks of another type: of(ficina) arn. Ursicini m(a)g(istri) (III. 4663, 11375, p. 2328¹⁹⁷) are frequent in Pannonia superior; one example, 11856 (to be restored [of. ar]n. Ursicini m(a)g.) was perhaps found in Noricum. A third variety, also from Pannonia superior, mentions legio X g(emina): 11350 e, m, p. 2328¹⁹⁷.

⁴ Marq. I. 291, n. 4.

**Summary of the Governors of Noricum, including a List of Beneficiarii
Procuratoris.**

Emperor and Date	PROCURATORES	Beneficiarii ¹
Claudius		
1. 41/54	C. Baebius Atticus	
Otho		
2. 69, spring	Petronius Urbicus	
Vespasian		
3. 69, late -70	Sextilius Felix	
Trajan		
4. 106/117	[T.] Prifernius Paetus Memmius Apollinaris	Surus (5179) ²
Trajan or Hadrian		
5. After 105	Q. Caecilius Redditus	Antónius Maximus (5163)
Antoninus Pius		
6. 145 circ./161	M. Bassaeus Rufus	Liciniu[s] Hilarus (5171)
7. 153	Ulpius Victor	Adnamius Flavinus (5161) C. Fuscinius Catullus (5169)
8. Probably before 155	Latin. Pi . . (= Raetia 5)	
9. 158	Usienus Secundus	Adnamius Flavinus (Cf. 7) (5162) Q. Káninius Lucánus (5166) Verinus Verionis f. (11826, Lauriacum)
10.	Caecilius Iuventianus	 (5182)
11.	L. Cammiu[s] Secundi[us]	

¹ P. 166. Cauer, *EE*. IV, pp. 388 f., gives six of the nineteen beneficiarii published in the part of the *Corpus* to which he had access; Liebenam, *Quaestt.* pp. 44 ff., adds one name; De Ruggiero, *Diz. Ep.* I. 995, independently of him, adds two others to Cauer's collection. The recent indices to *CIL*, III for the first time give a list which is practically complete.

III. 5689; 11811, p. 2200 are fragments of inscriptions concerning beneficiarii of unknown procurators.

² The numbers of the inscriptions in *CIL*, III are given in parentheses after the names of the beneficiarii. Unless otherwise indicated, the stones were found at Celeia.

Emperoe and Date	PROCURATORES	Beneficiarii
12. Antoninus Pius	C. Censorius Niger	L. Messius Frontinus (5174) M. Ulpius Crescens (5181)
Probably under Pius		
13.	C. Antistius Auspex	Masclinius Successus (5173)
14.	Drusius Proc[ulus]	Gemelliu[s] Adiutor (5170)
15.	Egnatius Priscus	M. Ulp. Philipp[h]us (11759, Iuvavum)
16.	Flavius Titianus	C. Anonius Valens (5164) Lucilius Finitus (5172)
17.	Q. Lisinius Sabinus	Q. Crescentius Marcel- lus (5167) T. Flavius Dubitatus (5168) C. Mustius Tettianus (5175, 5176)
18.	Plautius Caesianus	. . . conius [P]rimus (5177)
19.	G. Rasinius Silo	Augustanus (5165)
20.	Ti. Claud. Priscianus	
21.	M. Porcius Verus	
22.	M. Claudius Paternus Clementianus	 (14362, p. 2328 ¹⁹⁷ , Virunum) ¹
Pius or Marcus		
23. Before 167	Sex. Baius Pudens (= Raetia 8)	
M. Aurelius		
24. 161/169	[A]el. Maxim[us]	
	LEGATI	
Marcus or later		
25. After 168		
Commodus		
26. 191	C. Memmius Fidus Iulius Albius	

¹ Bf. may be restored with some degree of probability in this fragmentary inscription.

	Emperor and Date	LEGATI
	Septimius Severus	
27.	194	Tib. Cl. Candidus
28.	201	M. Iuventius Surus Proculus
29.	After 205	Pollenius Sebennus
	Caracalla	
30.	Before 215	M. Munatius Sulla Cerialis
	Caracalla or Elagabalus	
31.	211/222	Q. Herennius Silvius Maximus
	Uncertain	
32.	Probably early in the 3d century	P. Cosinius Felix
	Valerian and Gallienus	
33.	260 or before	C. Macrinus Decianus DUCES LIMITIS PANNONIAE I ET NORICI RIPENSIS
	Maximinus, Constan- tine, and Licinius	
34.	310	Aur. Senecio
	Diocletian or later	
35.		Aure[?]. Iustinianus
36.		Ursicinus PRAESIDES PROVINCIAE NORICI MEDITERRANEI
	Galerius and Maxi- minus Daza	
37.	311	Aur. Hermodorus
	Constantine	
38.	323/337	Fab. Claudius
	Constans	
39.	337/350	Martinianus

III. The Governors of Raetia.

PRAEFECTUS RAETIS VINDOLICIS VALLIS POENINAE.¹

1.

Augustus or Tiberius

Before 19

[S]EX. PEDIUS SEX. F. AN. LUSIANUS HIRBUTUS²

IX. 3044 (Interpromium): [S]ex. Pedio Sex. f. An. Lusiano Hirruto, prim. pil. leg. XXI, pra[ef].³ Raetis Vindolicis valli[s P]oeninae et levis armatur., ~~HH~~ vir. i. d., praef. Germanic[i] Caesaris, quinquennalici [i]uris ex s. c., ---.

Germanicus died in 19 A. D.

PROCURATORES AUGUSTI PROVINCIAE RAETIAE.¹

2.

Vitellius

69

PORCIUS SEPTIMIUS⁴Tac. *Hist.* iii. 5: see Noricum 3.

3.

Domitian or Nerva

92 or soon after

C. VELIUS SA[L]VI F. RUFUS

Jahresh. d. öst.-arch. Inst. VII, Beibl. 23 ff. (Baalbek): --- C. Velio Sa[l]vi f. Rufo --- donis donato --- bello Marcomannorum Quadorum Sarmatarum, adversus quos expeditionem fecit per regnum Deceballi regis Dacorum, corona murali hastis duabus vexillis duobus, proc. Imp. Caesaris Aug. Germanici provinciae Pannoniae et Delmatiae, item proc. provinciae Raetiae ius gla[d],⁵ ---.

The command in Pannonia and the military exploits are placed by Ritterling⁶ in 90/92; the office in Raetia then falls at least two years later.

¹Cf. Planta, pp. 159 f.; Ohl. *Sitz.* pp. 225 ff.; *Prog.* p. 22 ff.; Marq. I. 289, n. 1; Lieb. *Quaestt.* p. 75; Arnold, pp. 45 f.; Franziss, pp. 54 f.

CIL. XIV. 386,* giving the name of Sex. Oppius Priscus, is forged. L. Domitius Ahenobarbus, M. Aufidius Victorinus, and P. Helvius Pertinax (cf. p. 197, n. 1), once assigned to Raetia on insufficient literary evidence, are now believed to have held commands in Germania superior; see *Pros.*, s. vv. For Ulpian Victor, see Noricum 7, and for Claudius Paternus Clementianus, see Noricum 22.

²*Pros.* III. 21, n. 156; Lieb. *Beitr.* p. 27, n. 2. P. 219 and n. 8.

³Zippel, p. 286; Lieb. *Quaestt.* p. 41; *Beitr.* p. 17, n. 4; Hirschfeld, *Sitz.* p. 425.

⁴*Pros.* III. 89, n. 645.

⁵Marq. I. 557, n. 3; Mispoulet, *Inst. Polit. d. Rom.* II. 98; Hirschfeld, *Sitz.* pp. 438 ff.; Lieb. *Quaestt.* p. 52; *Beitr.* p. 18 and n. 4; Jung, *Dac.* p. vi. This is perhaps the earliest known case of a procurator cum iure gladi; in the third century they become common.

⁶*Op. cit.* 35.

4.

Trajan

107

TI. IULIUS AQUILINUS¹

D. XXXV, pp. 1972, 867 (Weissenburg, 107 A. D.): --- in Raetia sub
Ti. Iulio Aquilino ---.

5. (= Noricum 8)

Antoninus Pius

Probably before 155

LATIN(US) (or LATIN(IUS)) PI . . (or PL . .)

6.

Antoninus Pius

153/161

T. VARIUS T. FIL. CLA. CLEMENS²

CIL. III. 5211 (Celeia): T. Vario T. fil. Clementi Cl. Cel., proc. Aug.
provinciar. Raetiae, Mauretan. Caesarensis, Lusitaniae, Ciliciae, ---.

Cf. III. 5212-5216 (Celeia).

The approximate date is determined as follows: VIII. 2728 (Lambaesis), a letter to Valerius Etruscus,³ who was legate in 152 A. D.,⁴ tells of the completion under the procurator Clemens of an aqueduct begun in 147/149. Clemens therefore was in office in Mauretania Caesariensis in 152, or not long before that year. His term in Raetia followed, but, from the occurrence of proc. Aug. in III. 5211, was not later than 161 A. D.

7.

Not later than Pius

L. TIT[ULENUS ?]⁵

XI. 6221 (Fanum Fortunae): --- [proc.] Aug. Raetiae et [Vindeliciae ?] ---.

8. (= Noricum 23)

Pius or M. Aurelius

Before 168

SEX. BAIUS PUDENS

¹ P. 166, n. 4; Pros. II. 168, n. 110.

² Pros. III. 385, n. 185; Hirschfeld, *Verw.* p. 257, n. 5; Jung, *Dac.* p. x, pp. 78 f.

³ Pros. III. 356, n. 48.

⁴ CIL. VIII. 2543; 17854.

⁵ Pros. III. 326, n. 183.

9.

M. Aurelius

166

T. DESTICIOIUS T. F. CLA. SEVERUS¹

Notiz. d. Scavi, 1885, p. 175 (Concordia): T. Desticio T. f. Cla. Severo, p. p. leg. X gem., subpraef. vigil., proc. Aug. prov. Daciae super., proc. prov. Cappad. item Ponti mediterr. et Armen. minor. et Lycaoniae, proc. Augustor. prov. Raetiae, procur. prov. Belgicae, --- M. Claud. Paternus² amico optimo l. d. d. d. Cf. *CIL*. V. 8660 (Concordia).

D. LXXIII, p. 1991 (166 A. D., Castra Regina): --- in [Rae]tia sub [De]sticio Severo pr[oc.] ---.

10.

M. Aurelius

167/169

Q. CAICILIUS CISIACUS SEPTICIUS PICA CAICILIANUS³

CIL. V. 3936 (Arunsates): Q. Caicilio Cisiaco Septicio Pica Caiciliano procur. Augustor. et pro leg. provinciae Raitiai et Vindelici. et vallis Poenin., auguri, flamine divi Aug. et Romai, C. Ligurius L. f. Vol. Asper O coh. I c. R. ingenuor.

The only time in the reign of two Augusti when Raetia was a procuratorial province was under M. Aurelius and L. Verus, 161-169.⁴ The increase of military force shown by the title procur. et pro leg. probably indicates a date subsequent to that of Raetia 9 (166 A. D.), i. e., during the transition from procurators to legati.⁵

LEGATI AUGUSTI PRO PRAETORE PROVINCIAE RAETIAE.⁶

11.

M. Aurelius or later

APPIUS CL(AUDIUS) LATERANUS⁷

III. 5793 (Augusta): Mercurio cuius sedes a ter(go) sunt Appius Cl. Lateranus, XV vir. sacr. fac., cos. design., leg. Aug. pr. pr. leg. III Ital.,⁸ v. s. l. m.

¹ *Pros.* II. 8, n. 50; Hirschfeld, *Verw.* p. 257, n. 5; Jung, *Dac.* pp. 40 f. ² P. 177.

³ *Pros.* I. 247, n. 25; cf. *Pros.* III. 39, n. 304 (where read "a. 219" for "a. 119").

⁴ P. 168. Cichorius's date under Claudius (PW. IV. 303) is therefore impossible; Zippel, pp. 289 f., wrongly places the inscription under Marcus and Commodus.

⁵ P. 197; Lieb. *Quaest.* p. 53; *Beitr.* p. 18, n. 3; Jung, *Röm.* p. 34, n. 5; Hirschfeld, *Sitz.* pp. 430 f.

⁶ P. 168; Planta, p. 161; Ohl. *Sitz.* pp. 227 ff.; *Prog.* pp. 25 ff.; Marq. I. 289, n. 5; Lieb. *Verw.* p. 352 ff.; Jung, *Dac.* p. xviii, n. 10; Arnold, p. 46; Franziss, pp. 55 f.

The recognition of Iasdius as legate of Raetia rests solely upon an old restoration of *CIL*. VI. 1428; a better text is given in VI. 31651 (cf. *Pros.* II. 151, n. 8). Ohl. *Prog.* pp. 17, 28, gives M. Aurelius Probus as legate of Raetia in 253/259, his authority being *Script. Prob.* 5. But legio tertia felix there assigned to Probus was more probably legio III Gallica; cf. *CIL*. II. 2103. Felix is nowhere used of leg. III Ital.

⁷ *Pros.* I. 383, n. 731. Ohlenschläger, *Sitz.* pp. 227 ff.; *Prog.* p. 14 (followed by Lieb. *Verw.* p. 354; Arnold, p. 46) assigns this man to 196 A. D., but the consul of 197 was T. Sextius Lateranus (Klein, *Fasti consulares*, p. 87). See also Raetia 18.

⁸ Lieb. *Verw.* p. 468.

169/177, 182/196, 212, 214/246, etc., are the only dates possible for a single Augustus during the period of *legati*, except the years when other governors are definitely known.

12.

M. Aurelius or later

[CAERELLIUS]¹

XIII. 6806 (Mainz): [Caerellius . . . leg. Aug.] pr. pr. pro[vi]n[c.] Thrac., Moes. sup., Rae[t.], Germ. sup. et Britt., et Modestiana eius et Caerellii Marcianus et Germanilla filii.

The dates are the same as for Raetia 11.

13.

Marcus, Commodus, or Septimius

167/200 circ.

Ann. Ep. 1890, n. 136 = *IGR.* I. 971 (Gortyna): . . . [ἐπὶ τοῦ] σει[τ]ομετρίου τοῦ Ῥωμαίων ταχθέν[τα], τειμηθέντα ἱερωσύνῃ τῶν ιε' ἀνδρῶ[ν, . . .]ριανῶν τῶν ἐν Ἰταλίᾳ, [πρεσβευτήν] Ἀφρικῆς ἀνθύπατο[ν στρατηγὸν πε]ντάραβδον³ Παιτίας, [Βολουμν]ία Κάληδα⁴ τὸν γλυκύντα[ον καὶ εὖ]σεβέστατον υἱόν.

Ibid. n. 135 = *IGR.* I. 969: M. Ῥώσκιον Κυρεῖνα Λούπον Μου[ρ]ήναν,⁵ M. Μουρήνα στρατηγικοῦ⁶ υἱόν, M. Μουρήνα⁷ ἀνθυπάτου Βειθυνίας ἔγονον, σептiмβepа ἐπoύλων, χελιάρχον λεγεῶνος ἐβδόμης Κλαντίας, προστάτην λεγεῶνος τετάρτης Φλαβίας, ταμίαν καὶ ἀντιστράτηγον ἐπαρχείας Κρήτης καὶ Κυρήνης, Βολουμνία Κάληδα⁴ τὸν ἀνδρα τῆς ἐκγόνου.

Now the grandfather, M. (Roscius) Murena,⁷ must have been proconsul of Bithynia before 165 A. D., by which year at the latest Bithynia had become an imperial province, governed by a leg. Aug. pr. pr.⁸ He would naturally be from thirty to fifty years older than his grandson's father- (or uncle-) in-law, who therefore was not likely to have been *quinquefascalis Raetiae* later than the reign of Septimius Severus.⁹

¹ *Pros.* I. 262, n. 120; *PW.* III. 1283, n. 1. Not the C. Caerellius Sabinus of III, 1074-1076; 1092; 1111; cf. *Ohl. Prog.* p. 27, n. 72.

² *Pros.* III. 500, n. 37.

³ *P.* 168.

⁴ *Pros.* III. 480, n. 644.

⁵ *Ibid.* 135, n. 69.

⁶ *Ibid.* n. 71.

⁷ *Ibid.* n. 70.

⁸ *PW.* III. 529 f.

⁹ As the upper limit is fixed at 167 (p. 165), the date assigned to both inscriptions by Halberr, *Museo ital. di ant. class.* III. 703, is too early by about half a century. The evidence there adduced, the absence of the title *felix* from the name of legio IV Flavia, is not conclusive, see, for example, *CIL.* VIII. 2744, 2745 (176 A. D.); V. 1870 (under Commodus); III. 1201 (after Caracalla).

14.

M. Aurelius-Commodus

179-180

M. HELVIUS [OLE]MENS DEXTRIANUS¹

CIL. III. 11965 (Castra Regina): - - - vallu[m] cum portis et turribus efc. (= fec.?) [. . . curante?] M. Helvio [Cle]mente Dextriano leg. Aufg. pr. pr.]

The titles of M. Aurelius and Commodus which precede the part quoted, although apparently referring to the year 179, are given in a form used only after the death of Marcus.² The stone therefore was probably cut after March 17, 180, and the term of Helvius belonged, in part at least, to the year of transition, 180, though it may have begun in 179.

15.

Commodus

181

SPICIOUS CERIALIS

III. 14370₂ (Böhming): - - - Spicio Ceriale leg. Aug. pr. pr., vex(illarii)³ leg. III Ital. vallum [f]ece(runt) c. a. Iul. Iu[?]lino 7 leg. III Ital., item portas cum turrib. IIII perfec(tas) ab Ael. Forte c. leg. III Ital., praep. c[o]h. I Br.,⁴ Imp. III Bur[ro cos.] (181 A. D.)

16.

Commodus

183/185

[CERI]ALIS OR [FETI]ALIS⁵

III. 11933, pp. 2328⁶², 201 (Pfünz, in castris)⁶: - - - [Com]modo - - - cos. IIII⁷ [coh. I] Breuc.⁴ [dedicante?] Fetiale⁸ [leg. Aug.] pr. pr.

If the name was really Cerialis, the identity of this legatus with Raetia 15 is not improbable, and would be an indication, perhaps, that at this period legati held their commands for a term of years.⁹ But the assumption that such was the case and that the rulers of III. 11933 and III. 14370₂ were the same, seems to have influenced the later observers who report the reading as Ceriale.

¹ Pros. II. 131, n. 47.² *CIL.* not. ad loc.³ Marq. II. 464.⁴ P. 217.⁵ Pros. II. 59, n. 116.⁶ On p. 2328⁶² read 14370₂ instead of 14370₁.⁷ The date is 183/185, not 183/184: cos. V was in 186, Klein, *Fasti cons.* p. 84.⁸ Pp. 2328⁶², 201: [C]erialis.⁹ Cf. Raetia 14; Lieb. *Verw.* pp. 454 f.

17.

Commodus, Elagabalus, or Alexander Probably 182/192, 218/234

[AELIUS ? DIO]NYSIUS¹

III. 5874 (Lauingen): [d]ei Apollinis Granni [pro salute Imp. Caes. M. Au]rel p. p. [. . . Aelius ? Dio]nysius leg. Aug. pr. pr. Kal. Iunias.

170/177, 180/192, 212/216, 218/234 are the years when a single [Au]rel[ius] was Augustus in May within the period during which Raetia was ruled by legati. Other names have been assigned to 180, 181, 213, and perhaps to 182-183/5.² If the letters missing in the imperial titles were intentionally erased, 170/177, 212/216 are not possible.

18.

Septimius Severus

197

P. PORCIUS OPTATUS FLAMMA³

VIII. 7062 (Cirta): --- [P.] Porci Optati Flamma[e] c. v., praetoris --- sacerdot[io] Flaviali Titiali iudicio dom[ini] n. sanctissimi et fortissi[mi] Imp. Caes. L. Septimi Sever[i] Per[ti]naci Aug. Pii exor-[nati], legati ab amplissimo s[enatu] ad eundem dominum [i]mp. in Germaniam et [ad] Antoninum Caes. [im]p. destinatum (197 A. D.)⁴ in Pannoni[am] missi ---.

VIII. 7064 (Cirta): [. . . . leg. pr.] pr. provinciae RLII (=R(a)etiae ?) --- [ei]usdem Porci Optati g.

Possibly Porcius was legatus of Raetia at the time when he was sent to the North in 197.

19.

Septimius Severus

198/209

SABI[NUS]⁵

III. 5727, p. 1050 ad p. 705, III (milestone): --- Sabi[no v. c. le]g. Augg. pr. pr.

¹ Pros. I. 15, n. 130; PW. I. 492, n. 47 (the date under M. Aurelius is a mere assumption).

² Raetia 14, 15, 20, 16.

³ Pros. III. 88, n. 640; IGR. III. 1480.

⁴ Sch. I. 715, n. 1.

⁵ Pros. III. 153, n. 19.

20.

Caracalla

213

C. OCTAVIUS APP(IVS) SUETRIUS SABINUS¹

X. 5398 (Aquinum): C. Octavio App. S[ue]trio Sabino c. v., po[n]tif. et auguri, cos. ordin[ar.] (214 A. D.), legato Aug. pr. pr. Pannon. i[n]f. (217 A. D.), elect. ad corrig. statum Ita[li]ae, praef. aliment., iudici ex dele[g.] cognition. Caesarian., legato [Aug.] pr. pr. prov. Raet., praeposit. vexi[ll.] Germ. expedit., comit. Aug. n. (213 A. D.),² legat. l[eg.] II et vicen-sim. pr[im]ig., --- praet. de liberalib. causis ---.

Cf. X. 5178 (Casinum).

The command in Germany and the legateship in Raetia were undoubtedly contemporaneous.

21.

Gordian

238/244

PETRONIUS POLIANUS³

III. 1017 (Apulum): Genio Imp. Gordiani p. [f.] invict.⁴ Aug. Petronius Polianus v. c., leg. leg. XIII [g.] Gord., leg. Aug. [pr. p]r. Raet., i[te]m Belgicae.⁵

22.

Philip, Trebonian, or Valerian

Probably 246/249, 251/255

OLUS TERENTIUS PUDENS UTTEDIANUS⁶

III. 993 (Apulum): Caelesti⁷ Augustae et Aesculapio⁸ Augusto et genio Carthaginis et genio Daciaram, Oulus Terentius Pudens Uttedianus, leg. Augg. leg. XIII gem.,⁹ leg. Augg. pro praet. [pr]ovinciae Retiae.

The date, from the similarity to III. 1017 (Raetia 21), also from Apulum, is likely to be of about the same period; Augg.

¹ *EE*. I, pp. 130 ff.; Sch. I. 750, n. 3; *Pros*. II. 425, n. 19; to the references there given add *CIL*. VI. 31338*; 31633; XV. 4097; 7546.

² Sch. I. 743, n. 5; 744.

³ *Pros*. III. 29, n. 217; *Jung, Dac.* p. 60.

⁴ *PW*. I. 2623.

⁵ Liebenam's date "um 235" (*Verw.* p. 354) contradicts his remark (p. 80) "dann Legat in Raetien und Belgica unter Gordian." Legio XIII gemina was not stationed in Britain (no inscriptions of this legion found in Britain are indexed in the *Corpus* or the *Ephemeris epigraphica*) but in Dacia, see, for example, *CIL*. III. 990, 1125 from Apulum during the reign of Gordian.

⁶ *Pros*. III. 303, n. 65.

⁷ Eckhel, VII, p. 183.

⁸ Possibly invoked in reference to the plague of 251 A. D.? See Sch. I. 809, n. 2.

⁹ Legio XIII gemina is honored on the coins of Dacia, 247-255 A. D.; Cohen, V. pp. 119, 152, 172, 199, 221, 233, 280, 294, 472.

points therefore either to 246/249 or 251/260;¹ a dedication *genio Daciarum* is hardly likely, however, after the loss of the province in 256.

DUCES LIMITIS RAETICI.²

23.

Trebonian

253

P. LICINIUS VALERIANUS³

Eutrop. ix. 7: hinc Licinius Valerianus in Raetia et Norico⁴ agens ab exercitu imperator et mox Augustus est factus.

Aurel. Vict. *de Caes.* 32: at milites, qui contracti undique apud Raetias ob instans bellum morabantur,⁵ Licinio Valeriano imperium deferunt.

24.

Valerian

258

FULVIUS BOIUS⁶

Script. Aurelian. 13.1: cum consedisset Valerianus Augustus in thermis apud Byzantium, praesente — — et Fulvio Boio duce Retici limitis — — .

25.

Gallienus

267

AUREOLUS⁷

Aurel. Vict. *de Caes.* 33: namque Aureolus, cum per Raetias legionibus⁸ praesesset, excitus, uti mos est, socordia tam ignavi ducis, sumpto imperio Romam contendebat.

CIL. III. 11999 (tegula; Erling, Raetia): Aureolus.

¹It is hard to see why Liebenam (*Verw.* p. 353) says: "In den beiden Augusti sind wohl Marc Aurel und Verus zu erkennen" (168/169 would be the only possible years, for Raetia in 166 and afterwards was still a procuratorial province, cf. Raetia 9, 10). With equal positiveness, Jung, *Dac.* pp. 58 f. (cf. Vaschide, p. 89), concludes: "Wohl aus der Zeit des Septimius Severus und des Caracalla," and Planta, p. 161, n. 3: "am wahrscheinlichsten unter Diocletian."

²Ohl. *Sitz.* p. 228; *Prog.* p. 23; Lieb. *Verw.* p. 354, n. 1; Arnold, p. 46; Franziss, p. 56.

³*Pros.* II. 286, n. 178. The exact title borne is a matter of inference merely; Valerian and Aureolus seem, however, to have exercised a military command of somewhat more general character than that of the leg. leg. III Ital. and accordingly are placed here rather than in the preceding list. But see p. 169.

⁴If Valerian really operated in Noricum, that fact in itself is an evidence of the unsettled state of affairs, for under ordinary circumstances the administration of the provinces was quite distinct; cf. p. 173, n. 7.

⁵Soldiers of leg. III Aug. were among them; see p. 211.

⁶Sch. I. 819; *Pros.* II. 92, n. 362.

⁷Sch. I. 840; 845, n. 6; *Pros.* I. 219, n. 1338; *PW.* II. 2545 f.

⁸Legio III Italica is the only one known to have been in Raetia at this time; cf. p. 211.

According to another tradition, Aureolus revolted after reaching Italy.

Zos. i. 40: - - ἀγγέλλεται Γαλλίην ᾧ τῷ πρὸς Σκύθας ἐγκαρτεροῦντι πολέμῳ τὸν τῆς ἵππου πάσης ἡγούμενον Αὐρίολον, ἐν Μεδιολάνῳ τῇ πόλει τὴν ἐπὶ τὴν Ἰταλίαν παράδον Πιστοῦμον τεταγμένον παραφυλάττειν, εἰς τὸ νεωτερίζειν τετράφθαι καὶ μνᾶσθαι τὴν τῶν ὄλων ἀρχὴν ἐαυτῷ.

26.

Aurelian

270/275

BONOSUS¹

Script. Bonos. 14. 2: - - - dux limitis Reticī fuit.

PRAESIDES PROVINCIAE RAETIAE.²

27.

Diocletian

290

SEPT(IMIUS) [VALE]NTIO³

CIL. III. 5810 (Augusta, 290 A. D.): - - - Sept. [Vale]ntio v. p. p. p. R. - - - .

The next four praesides (28-31) belong in the period between the reforms of Diocletian and the division of Raetia in the fourth century.⁴

28.

AURELIUS MUCIANUS⁵

III. 5785 (Augusta): [Her]culi statuam cum base Aurelius Mucianus v. p. p. p. R. pro salute sua suorumque omnium [po]suit curante Gerontio

29.

VALERIUS VENUSTUS⁶

III. 5862 (Zwiefalten): deo invicto soli templum a solo restituit Valerius Venustus v. p. p. p. R. - - -

30.

III. 5788 (Augusta): [I.] O. M. [aet]erno [con]servatori [ceterisque] dis] deabusque [hui]us loci p. p. Retie [vot]o cum suis [om]nibus [susc.] III Nonas

¹ Sch. I. 880; *Pros. I.* 239, n. 120; *PW. III.* 713f.

² Ohl. *Sitz.* pp. 229 f.; *Prog.* p. 29; *Marq. I.* 289, n. 6; Arnold, p. 45.

³ *CIL. VI.* 1125.

⁴ *P.* 169, n. 12.

⁵ *Pros. I.* 210, n. 1277.

⁶ *Pros. III.* 379, n. 151.

31.

III. 14370¹² (Castra Regina): v. [p.] p. p. R. [et] Secundinus
 praef. leg. eiusdem.

Summary of the Governors of Raetia.

Emperor and Date	PRAEFECTI
Augustus or Tiberius	
1. Before 19	Sex. Pedius Lusianus Hirritus
Vitellius	PROCURATORES
2. 69	Porcius Septimius
Domitian or Nerva	
3. 92 or soon after	C. Velius Rufus
Trajan	
4. 107	Ti. Iulius Aquilinus
Antoninus Pius	
5. Probably before 155	Latin. Pi (=Noricum 8)
6. 153/161	T. Varius Clemens
7. Not later than Pius	L. Tit[ulenus ?]
Pius or M. Aurelius	
8. Before 168	Sex. Baius Pudens (=Noricum 23)
M. Aurelius	
9. 166	T. Desticius Severus
10. 167/169	Q. Caecilius Cisiacus Septicius Pica Caecilianus
	LEGATI
M. Aurelius or later	
11.	Appius Cl. Lateranus
12.	[Caerellius]
Marcus, Commodus, or Septimius Severus	
13. 167/200 circ.	
M. Aurelius- Commodus	
14. 179-180	M. Helvius [Cle]mens Dextrianus
Commodus	
15. 181	Spicius Cerialis
16. 183/185	[Ceri]alis or [Feti]alis
Commodus, Elagaba- lus, or Alexander	
17. Probably 182/192, 218/234	[Aelius ? Dio]nysius

Emperor and Date		LEGATI
Septimius Severus		
18.	197	P. Porcius Optatus Flamma
19.	198/209	Sabi[nus]
Caracalla		
20.	213	C. Octavius App. Suetrius Sabinus
Gordian		
21.	238/244	Petronius Polianus
Philip, Trebonian, or Valerian		
22.	Probably 246/249, 251/255	Olus Terentius Pudens Utteredianus
Trebonian		DUCES LIMITIS RAETICI
23.	253	P. Licinius Valerianus
Valerian		
24.	258	Fulvius Boius
Gallienus		
25.	267	Aureolus
Aurelian		
26.	270/275	Bonosus
Diocletian		PRAESIDES
27.	290	Sept. [Vale]ntio
Diocletian or later		
28.		Aurelius Mucianus
29.		Valerius Venustus
30.		
31.		

PART II. THE ARMY.

I. The Legions of Noricum.

LEGIO II ITALICA: HISTORY.¹

Formation and early history.—The second legion, which eventually garrisoned Noricum, was levied by M. Aurelius² in northern Italy,³ immediately after the outbreak of the Marcomannic war became imminent. The draft, which was put in charge of M. Claudius Fronto, was ordered in 165 or 166 and was presumably completed in about two years.⁴ In 170 A. D. a detachment commanded by a centurion of legio II Traiana helped strengthen the walls of Salona in Dalmatia.⁵ The legion arrived in Noricum probably not later than 171/174 A. D.,⁶ and remained there permanently. Mommsen's view⁷ that it was sent for a time to Pan-

¹ The best account is by Cagnat, *DS.* III. 1078.

² Dio, *lv.* 24. 4; cf. *Script. M. Aur.* 14. 6; *Ver.* 9. 10.

³ This is shown by the name Italica, and by the fact that several officers and soldiers of the early period are known whose homes were in that region: in Ameria, *CIL.* XI. 4371; Dertona, VI. 1636; Firmum, III. 15208; Oeciculum, XI. 4085; Teruentum, IX. 2593; see pp. 199, 178, 202, 201; Arnold, p. 89.

⁴ On *CIL.* VI. 1377, 31640; III. 1457, which give the complete cursus of M. Claudius Fronto, see Dessau, 1097 f.; *Pros.* I. 373, n. 699; *PW.* III. 2722, n. 157. After holding two important commands in the Armenian and Parthian war of 162-165/6 but before receiving the dona militaria at the triumph of 166, Fronto was made consul and curator operum publicorum, and was detailed for recruiting service in Italy (*CIL.* VI. 1377, l. 14: *missus ad inventum per Italiam legendam*; cf. *DS.* II. 219). Certainly this can refer to nothing but the levy of the second and third Italic legions. Fronto was relieved from his duties as dilectator in Italy in time to hold two other offices before the death of Verus in 169. The alarm caused by the siege of Aquileia would naturally hasten all preparations for defense.

⁵ *CIL.* III. 1980.

⁶ Van der Weerd, *MB.* VII. 101-103, using *CIL.* IX. 2593 (p. 201, n. 5), shows that the soldier there named enlisted in legio II Italica in the original levy and served in Noricum at Aelia Ovilava, dying at the age of twenty-three; hence, if he enlisted aged eighteen to twenty, the legion had reached Noricum by 171/174. But enlistment of legionaries earlier or later than the age given is fairly common (e. g., at fourteen, III. 3538; at fifteen, XIII. 6886; at sixteen, III. 12440; XIII. 6853; at seventeen, XI. 4085; Dessau, 2261; 2341; 2348; at twenty-two, III. 5950; Dessau, 2252; 2258; 2265; 2314; 2329; 2352; 2422; at twenty-three, Dessau, 2245; 2284; 2319; older than twenty-three, III. 4857; XIII. 6943; Dessau, 2257; 2270; 2273; cf. *DS.* II. 221), and would be unusually frequent at such a time of peril as 166/169. The arrival of the legion may possibly, therefore, have been as early as 168/170 or as late as 175/177. It was presumably later than 167/169, the date of the last procurator of Raetia.

⁷ *CIL.* III. 1980, note.

nonia does not seem very likely; there is nothing to support it¹ except the fact that Pannonia was Marcus's headquarters,² while on the other hand the attack of 162³ and the invasion of 167/169 had recently shown that the upper Danube frontier and the roads leading south through Noricum and Raetia needed guarding, and that a procuratorial form of government was no longer adequate.⁴

Name and titles.—In 170 A. D. the legion bore the name II pia,⁵ which was still in use as late as 191 A. D.;⁶ legio II Italica was, however, the common designation throughout its history.⁷ In 193 the legion was honored on the silver coinage of Septimius Severus,⁸ whose assumption of the imperial power in the spring of that year it had undoubtedly supported;⁹ before April 11, 200, it had received from him the title fidelis.¹⁰ Antoniniana was added under Caracalla,¹¹ dropped after his death (April 8, 217),¹² and resumed under Elagabalus.¹³ During the reign of Alexander Severus, the cognomen Severiana was used.¹⁴ June 23, 238, allegiance to Gordian III was declared by a votive offering in the name of a bf. cos. leg. II Ital. p. f. Aug. n.¹⁵ It is therefore perhaps a mere accident that no instance of the name Gordiana

¹ Pertinax's defense of Noricum and Raetia by means of leg. I (adi.) (*Script. Pert.* 2. 6, cf. Dio, lxxi. 3. 2: perhaps in 172, see Sch. I. 647) does not necessarily imply that the provinces had not yet received their own legions. *CIL*. III, p. 707.

² Dio, lxxi. 3. 1; Eutrop. viii. 13. 1; Hieron. *Chron. Euseb. a. Abr.* 2194; Oros. vii. 15. 6. Pannonia continued to be the headquarters in the German wars even after the date when legio II Italica is known positively to have been in Noricum.

³ Sch. I. 638 and n. 4.

⁴ Raetia 10; Sch. I. 642-645.

⁵ *CIL*. III. 1980 = Dessau, 2287, where see note.

⁶ III. 15208.

⁷ Dio, lv. 24. 4; *CIL*. VI. 3492; III, *passim*; III. 5567 (182 A. D. or soon after) is perhaps the earliest instance.

⁸ Cohen, IV, p. 31, n. 261; Jung, *Röm.* p. 36, n. 1.

⁹ P. 178, n. 3; Herodian, ii. 9, 10.

¹⁰ *CIL*. XI. 1322; probably before his departure for the East in the autumn of 197 (Sch. I. 719, n. 1).

¹¹ *CIL*. III. 5185 and 11482 (215 A. D.); perhaps not assumed at the beginning of Caracalla's sole reign, for it does not appear in III. 5187 (Dec. 13, 211), although the inscriptions of beneficiarii are usually accurate and complete.

¹² III. 5189 (217 A. D.).

¹³ III. 5580 (May 15, 219). Antoniniana occurs also in the following undated inscriptions: III. 4862; 5757 (leg.).

¹⁴ III. 5575 (May 15, 226); 3270 (226 A. D.); 5690 (May 15, 230); undated, 5449; p. 1046 ad n. 4791, p. 1813; 5663, 11806.

¹⁵ III. 4820 (Virunum). This inscription is used to fix the date of Gordian's accession; cf. P. W. I. 2621 ff. In *CIL*. III, p. 2438 the date is wrongly given as June 24.

occurs.¹ The titles *pia fidelis* were renewed by Valerian and Gallienus in 253² and at intervals thereafter; LEG. II. ITAL. VI. P. VI. F.³ and LEG. II. ITAL. VII. P. VII. F.⁴ appear on the bronze legionary coinage of Gallienus.

Stations.—One of the most important duties of the legion was to guard and keep in repair the road leading east through Celeia to Poetovio in Pannonia superior, which formed the main line of communication between Italy and the Lower Danubian provinces.⁵ Accordingly, bricks made by the legion have been found in large numbers near Celeia, and all the way from that city to Atrans.⁶

The main camp of the legion at Lauriacum was occupied from 191 A. D. at the latest until Noricum ripense was abandoned in the fifth century;⁷ in the fourth century, at least, it had a shield factory (*fabrica scutaria*),⁸ and served as headquarters for a fleet,⁹ and for auxiliaries.¹⁰

Ovilava, twenty-six miles west and south of Lauriacum, at the junction-point of roads leading to Raetia and to the southeast, was garrisoned for a short time in the early history of the legion;¹¹ later it was deserted in favor of Ioviacum¹² and Lentia¹³ on the Danube.

¹ Cf. p. 206 and n. 2.

² Valerian had good reason to honor the legions of the Upper Danube; see Raetia 23.

³ Cohen, V, p. 388, nn. 471-474; Eckhel, VII, p. 402 (symbols: the wolf suckling Romulus and Remus; a capricorn; cf. DS. III. 1074 f.). The earlier renewals are inferred from inscriptions of other legions. CIL. VIII. 2482, 17976 (Gemellae, Oct. 22, 253): --- l(egionis) [III Aug. II p. v. re]stitutae ---; VIII. 2852, p. 954 (Lambaesis): --- leg. III Aug. II pi[ae II vindicis] --- (DS. III. 1079); CIL. III. 875 (Potaissa, 253/260 A. D.): --- leg. V. Mac. III pia fidelis ---; III. 3521 (Aquincum, 270 A. D.): --- leg. II adi. VI p. VI f. --- (But cf. Eckhel, VII, p. 404; Cohen, V, p. 388, n. 469.)

⁴ Cohen, V, p. 388, n. 477; Eckhel, VII, p. 402 (symbol: a stork).

⁵ P. 165, n. 4; work was done on this road as late as 367 A. D. (CIL. III. 5740).

⁶ III. 5757 f, g, p; 11849 a-d; 11850; 11851; 143692.

⁷ *Itin. Ant.* p. 115; *Tab. Peut.* IV a: *Elegio* (?); *Not. Dign. Occ.* xxxiv. 39; tegulae from this neighborhood: CIL. III. 5757; pp. 963 f., nn. 11, 13, 17, 18; p. 1059; 11849; 13535 f.; p. 2287; p. 2328⁵⁰ (cf. 5757 i, x); inscriptions from members of leg. II Ital.: III. 11822-24; 15208 (191 A. D.); 15208¹ (cf. p. 180). The site may have been occupied even before the arrival of the legion: III. 11826 (about 158 A. D.; cf. Noricum 9, p. 174). Work was done on the roads passing through Lauriacum from 195 till after the middle of the third century (p. 165, n. 4).

The later parts of *Der römische Limes in Oesterreich*, Vienna, 1900—will give valuable information about the fortifications along the Danube.

⁸ *Not. Dign. Occ.* ix. 21.

⁹ P. 221.

¹⁰ P. 214; cf. CIL. III. 11872 (teg.) (7).

¹¹ IX. 2593 (p. 196, n. 6); III, p. 2328⁵⁰ (teg.); Ovilava is not mentioned in the *Notitia dignitatum*.

¹² P. 221; III. 5757 b, m (teg.).

¹³ *Not. Dign. Occ.* xxxiv. 38; CIL. III. 5688.

Bricks of leg. II Ital. dating from the period when parts of Noricum and Pannonia were united under one dux, are common in Pannonia superior near Carnuntum and Vindobona.¹

In the fourth century a part of the legion was in Africa,² another detachment at Divitia on the Lower Rhine.³ No other stations are known.⁴

Active service.—An expedition against the Daci⁵ and a war with the Goths⁶ are known from epitaphs but cannot be dated.⁷ For the rest, the inscriptions of Noricum give no information.⁸

LEGIO II ITALICA: OFFICERS AND SOLDIERS.⁹

HIGHER OFFICERS

LEGATI LEGIONIS	See Noricum 25-33
DUCES LIMITANEI	See Noricum 34-36
PRAEFFECTI ¹⁰	
P. Vibius P. f. Marianus ¹¹	VI. 1636
TRIBUNI	
Maccius Severinus	XII. 1356 (Vasio)
Sex. Ticiasenus Sex. f.	XI. 4371 (Ameria)
Sex. n. Sex. pron. Clu.	
Allianus	
[III. 5657]	

¹ Noricum 36.

² *Not. Dign. Occ.* vii. 144 = v. 86 = 235.

³ *CIL.* XI. 4787; VI. 3637; see *PW.* V. 1238 f.; *CIL.* XIII. 6814; 7054, 7750 f.; 7761.

⁴ Isolated bricks found elsewhere are undoubtedly chance importations: III. 10662 (Pann. inf.); 11849 e (Mautern); cf. p. 205. Glandes of this legion are spurious: I¹. 656; IX. 667* f.; *EE.* VI, pp. 88 ff. On *CIL.* III. 4850 (Virunum), see III, p. 597.

⁵ III. 4857; 5218.

⁶ III. 11700.

⁷ III. 4835; 4850 (cf. 5234) also are the epitaphs of soldiers slain in war. III. 3270 (Tentoburgium, Pann. inf., 226 A. D.) and *IGR.* I. 678 (Thrace, north of Serdica) probably show that the legion took part in some Eastern expedition.

⁸ P. 165, n. 4.

⁹ The offices are arranged approximately in the order of rank, the officers alphabetically except in the list of beneficiarii consularis (pp. 200 f.), which is in chronological order. The numbers within brackets which are appended to several of the lists refer to inscriptions containing no indication of the troop to which the soldier belonged. They are included here because of the slight presumption that the legion stationed in the province is meant when no other is named.

¹⁰ *Not. Dign. Occ.* xxxiv. 37-39.

¹¹ D. m. s. P. Vibi P. f. Mariani e. m. v., proc. et praesidi prov. Sardiniae, p. p. bis, trib. coh. X pr., XI urb., III vig., praef. leg. II Ital., p. p. leg. III Gall., 7 frument., oriundo ex Ital. Iul. Dertona, ---; it is not clear why a date under Septimius Severus is assigned (*Lieb. Quaest.* p. 76). *EE.* I, p. 99, n. 28; *Pros.* III. 422, n. 387.

CENTURIONS

PRIMPILARES¹

Val. Cl. Quintus ²		III. 4855 (Virunum)
M. Gavius Firmus ³	Sept. 18, 191	III. 15208 (Lauriacum)
.....		III. 11824 [Lauriacum]
[III. 5341]		

ORDINARI⁴

Florius Baudio ⁵		XI. 4787 (Spoletium)
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CENTURIONES

[M. Petronius Fortuna- tus] ⁶	Under Severus or Caracalla	VIII. 217 (Mausoleum Petroniorum)
Saturninus ⁷		VIII. 17626 (Vazaivi)
L. Sep[t. T]ertinu[s] ⁸	Septimius Se- verus or later	III. 5300 (Kerschbach)
..... nius [Pro]culus ⁹		III. 4861 (Virunum)
[III. 5582, p. 1839]		

PRINCIPALES: SERVING UNDER A PRAEPOSITUS¹⁰BENEFICIARI¹¹ CONSULARIS¹²

Rufi. Senilis	M. Aurelius or Commodus ¹⁴	III. 5188 (Celeia) ¹³
M. Ulpius Acilianus	M. Aurelius or Commodus ¹⁴	III. 5180 (Celeia)

¹ Madvig, *Verf. u. Verw. d. röm. Staates*, II. 565.² "pp. leg. II Ital., duci leg. III Ital., duci et praep. leg. III Aug." Cf. p. 207.³ See Noricum 26.⁴ *EE*, IV, pp. 239 f.⁵ "viro ducentario, protectori ex ordinario leg. II Ital. Divit." Cf. p. 199, n. 3; Marq. II. 609 ff.; *EE*, V, p. 122, n. 14.⁶ Lieb. *Quaestt.* p. 17.⁷ "[bf.] leg. III Au[g. ex]pleta [s]tatione pr[o]motus ad [7] leg. II Italicae."⁸ The rank (7) is restored.⁹ *CIL*, III. 4861: nius [Pro]culus 7 [leg.] II Italicae. fr. Fr. at the end of this inscription is explained fr(atri) in the note, fr(umentarius) in the index, p. 2475. Cf. p. 202 and n. 12.¹⁰ *EE*, IV, pp. 531-537.¹¹ It is generally stated, as by Cauet, *EE*, IV, pp. 379, 385; Marq. II. 549, n. 7, that co(n)-sularis in this title (and by implication, therefore, in str. cos., libr. cos., etc.) designates the holder as the assistant of a man of consular rank. The lists here given are enough to show that in the less important provinces the original meaning of the terms had been extended to include the helpers of the legatus pro praetore, regardless of his rank, which in Noricum and Raetia was praetorian or less (p. 168).¹² The following names (with the exception of the fourth and the last) are learned from a series of dedications to I. O. M., often with the addition of d(is) d(eabus), the imperial house, or a local deity (Celeia, Noreia, or Bedaius). See pp. 166, 182 f. on similar inscriptions by beneficiarii of procurators.¹³ This inscription and that of P. Aelius Verinus below, to judge from the place of finding, the dedications to local deities (Celeia and Noreia), and the similarity in form to others of the series, surely belong to the legion stationed in Noricum.¹⁴ From the circumstances of finding and the simple form, the date is quite certainly early, i. e., before the cognomen pia fidelis was given by Septimius Severus (p. 197).

BENEFICIARIII CONSULARIS

Q. Sextius Pullaenus	192	III. 5178 (Celeia)
..... ¹	After 205 (?)	III. 5537 (Iuvavum)
C. Aemil. Respectus	May 15, 209	III. 14361 (S. Leonhard near Villach)
C. Licinius Bellicianus	Dec. 13, 211	III. 5187 (Celeia)
P. Aelius Verinus	213	III. 5154 (Celeia) ²
Vib. Cassius Victorinus	215	III. 5185 (Celeia)
Restituti[s T]utor	215	III. 11482 (Unterthörl)
M. Aurel. Iustus	217	III. 5189 (Celeia)
Tul. Iuvenis	May 15, 219	III. 5580 (Bedaum)
Vind. Verus	May 15, 226	III. 5575 (Bedaum)
C. Oppius Bebius	226	III. 3270 (Teutoburgium)
M. Rusticus P. [f. I]uni- anus	May 15, 230	III. 5690 (Boiodurum)
.....	June 23, 238	III. 4820 (Virunum)
..... ius Qui[nti][i]a- n[u]s	Date unknown	III. 11676 (Atrans)
[III. 4776; 4860; 5072; 5631; 14366 ₁]		

BENEFICIARIII PRAEFECTI LEGIONIS³

Iul. Apricius	Septimius Se- verus or later	III. 5671 (Fafiana)
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BENEFICIARIII TRIBUNI⁴

P. Florius P. fil. Vol. Praenestinus ⁵	M. Aurelius	IX. 2593 (Terwentum)
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BENEFICIARIII⁶

[III. 4771, 11496; 4833; 4852; 5160; 5221; 5517; 11524]

STRATORES CONSULARIS^{7,8}

M. Aurel. Sa[lvi]anus ⁹	Under Alexan- der Severus	III. 5449 (Semriach)
M. Aurelius Secundinus		III. 4836 (Virunum)

LIBRARIII CONSULARIS^{8,10}

C. Tocernius Maximianus	V. 375 (Neapolis)
[III. 5435; 5631]	

¹ Cf. Noricum 29.² Cf. p. 200, n. 13.³ *EE*. IV, p. 393; I, pp. 81 ff.⁴ *EE*. IV, p. 395.⁵ D. m. s. P. Florio P. fil. Vol. Praenestino, mil. legion. in Norico Ael. Obilab., b. trib. vixit annis XXIII. Florius Praestinus et Magia Spendi . . . filio piissim[o et sibi] v. [f.]. P. 196, n. 6.⁶ *EE*. IV, pp. 399 f.⁷ *EE*. IV, pp. 406 ff.; Marq. II. 548.⁸ P. 200, n. 11.⁹ "vet. leg. II It. p. f. Severiane e[st] stratore cos."¹⁰ *EE*. IV, pp. 425 ff.; Marq. II. 550.

PRINCIPALES: NOT UNDER A PRAEPOSITUS¹OPTIONES²

M. Firmidius Spectatus ³	April 11, 200	XI. 1322 (Luna)
Iul. P		III. 11823 (Lauriacum)
Val. Vario	4th century	XI. 4787 (Spoletium)

TESSERARII⁴

Aur. Saturninus ⁵		VI. 2672
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SIGNIFERI⁶

Aurel. I		III. 11822 (Lauriacum)
Terent. Lucianus		V. 46 (Pola)
Val. Genialis	4th century	VI. 3637

COR(NICINES)⁷

Val. Saturnanus		XI. 4085 (Oericulum)
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FRUMENTARII⁸

Accius Maximus		III. 4830 (Virunum)
M. Aῦρ. Ἀλέξανδρος		IGR. I. 29 = IG. XIV. 958 (Rome)

Aurelius Lucianus ⁹		VI. 3340
M. Firmidius Spectatus ¹⁰	Apr. 11, 200	XI. 1322 (Luna)
. nius [Pro]culus ¹¹		III. 4861 (Virunum)
[III. 5592] ¹²		

CUSTODES ARMORUM¹³

Sacron. Verinus ¹⁴		III. 5106 (S. Veit near Waldegg)
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MEDICI¹⁵

L. Caelius Arrianus		V. 4367 (Brixia)
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DUPLARII¹⁶

Aur. Secundianus ¹⁷		III. 4835 (Virunum)
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IMMUNES¹⁸

Aurelius Ursinianus		III. 11816 (Fafiana)
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¹ P. 200, n. 10; Marq. II. 545.² EE. IV, pp. 441 ff.³ See list of frumentarii below.⁴ EE. IV, pp. 452 ff.; Mispoulet, *Inst. polit.* II. 352.⁵ P. 165, n. 4.⁶ EE. IV, pp. 364 ff.; DS. III. 1057.⁷ EE. IV, pp. 376 f.⁸ EE. IV, pp. 455 ff.; Marq. II. 491 ff.; DS. II. 1348; *Röm. Mitt.* XX. 310 ff.⁹ "frumentarius (sic) [in] legionem II Ital[icam] ad frum[entari]as [res curandas]." ¹⁰ See list of optiones above.¹¹ See list of centurions, p. 200.¹² The abbreviation fr. in this inscription might be explained fr(atri) as well as fr(umentarius); cf. p. 200, n. 9.¹³ EE. IV, pp. 437 ff.; Marq. II. 551.¹⁴ "vet. leg. II Ita., custos armor."¹⁵ Marq. II. 554; DS. III. 1062; 1688 f.¹⁶ Marq. II. 544; DS. II. 415.¹⁷ "militi an. XXX imbello desiderato."¹⁸ EE. IV, pp. 409 ff.; Marq. II. 544; DS. III. 415 f.

PRIVATE SOLDIERS

MILITES¹

Annamatus		III. 11822 (Lauriacum)
Aur. Boniatius	Under Alexander Severus	III, p. 1046 ad n. 4791, p. 1813 (Virunum)
Aur. Iustinus		III. 5218 (Celeia)
Aur. Iustinus		III. 5567 (Bedaum)
Ἀὐρ. Μεστρία[νός]		<i>IGR.</i> I. 678 (Thrace)
Aurel. Tertianus		III. 4836 ^a (Virunum)
Aur. Victor		III. 11700 (Celeia)
[A]urelius . . guto ²		V. 46 (Pola)
Auspiciatus		III. 14369 ² <i>l, m</i> (Lotschitz) (teg.)
Bebius Accipitus	Septimius Severus or later	III. 4837 (Virunum)
Exupereus		III. 5412 (Voitsberg)
Fabianus		III. 14369 ² <i>n</i> (Lotschitz) (teg.)
Firminus	Septimius Severus or later	III. 11553 (Virunum)
Fortunatus		III. 5757, 2; 14369 ² <i>b-d</i> (Lotschitz) (teg.)
T. Gallius Euphros[y]n.		V. 8277 (Aquileia)
Iuvenis		III. 14369 ² <i>o, p</i> (Lotschitz) (teg.)
Lici. Maximinus		III. 15184 ⁶ , p. 2653 (Noricum near Poetovio)
Melissus		III. 14369 ² <i>q</i> (Lotschitz) (teg.)
Nigelio		III. 5448 (Feistritz)
Optatus		III. 11642 (Schratzbach)
Patr.		III. 5757, 3 (Trojanaberg) (teg.)
Pompeianus		III. 11851 <i>a-c</i> (Heilenstein); 14369 ² <i>e-h</i> (Lotschitz) (teg.)
Quintianus		III. 5757, 4; 14369 ² <i>i, k</i> (Lotschitz); 11850 (Heilenstein) (teg.)
Sex. Sarminius	Under Alexander Severus	III. 5663, 11806 (S. Leonhard am Forst)

¹ This list includes eight names occurring on legionary tegulae from the vicinity of Celeia.² V, p. 1105 wrongly gives the name as [A]urelius . . guto instead of [A]urelius . . guto.

MILITES

Severinius Silvinus	Under Alexander Severus	III, p. 1046 ad n. 4791, p. 1813 (Virunum)
Valerius Priscianus	Septimius Severus or later	III. 4856 (Virunum)
Vep(oni)us Quart[inus]	Septimius Severus or later	III. 4857 (Virunum)
Vettius Vita[us]		III. 5614 (Weihmörting)
. . . pitus		III. 5688 (Lentia)
.....	Caracalla or Elagabalus	III. 4862 (Virunum)
[III. 4733; 4841; 13529]		

VETEBANI

Aelius Valen[s]		III. 11816 (Fafiana)
Aur. Maternus		III. 8730 (Salonae)
M. Aur. Secundinus	Septimius Severus or later	III. 5409 (Stallhofen)
Messo[r]j[u]s Matuco		III. 5624 (Lützlberg)
Seccius Secundinus	Septimius Severus or later	III. 5671 (Fafiana)
Tadius Victor		III. 4853 (Virunum)
[III. 4831; 5064; 5142; 5218; 5219; 5335; 5339; 5520; 5631; 5670; 5692]		

LEGIO I NORICORUM.¹

Stations.—The following sites were garrisoned by legio I Noricorum during the fourth century.

1. FAFIANA

Not. Dign. Occ. xxxiv. 41: praefectus legionis liburnariorum² primorum Noricorum, Fafianae.

2. IUENNA

Tegulae (found at Mauer-Oehling in Noricum³ and also in Pannonia superior⁴ and inferior⁵): figulinas Iuensianas leg. I Nor.

Not. Dign. Occ. xxxiv. 40: praefectus legionis primae Noricorum militum liburnariorum² cohortis quintae partis superioris, Adiuvense.

The single extant inscription of the legion was probably erected by a soldier from this division.

CIL. III. 4803 (Virunum): — — Ulpus Valerius specul.⁶ leg. primae Nor. — —.

¹ *DS.* III. 1091.² *P.* 221.³ *CIL.* III. 11848, p. 2328²⁰⁰.⁴ III. 6489; 11349 *a* (Ragendorf); p. 2328^{42, 197} (Purbach; Vienna).⁵ III. 11349 *c* (Mitrovicz).⁶ *EE.* IV, pp. 459 ff.

It is not possible to determine from the presence of bricks alone whether or not a given point was occupied by the legion. The fact, however, that tegulae made at Iuenna were exported to such a distance as the eastern borders of Pannonia inferior¹ makes it slightly more probable that those also which were stamped simply LEG I NOR² were articles of commerce rather than of local manufacture.

OTHER LEGIONS.

There is no reason to believe that any other legions were ever stationed in Noricum.³

II. The Legions of Raetia.

LEGIO III ITALICA: HISTORY.⁴

Formation.—Legio III Italica was formed by M. Aurelius⁵ in 165/169 at the same time as legio II Italica; in 170 it furnished a detail for the repairs at Salona⁶; by 179/180 it had arrived in Raetia and was engaged in fortifying the northern frontier.⁷

Name and titles.—The legion was at first known as III concordia;⁸ for a short time after its arrival in Raetia as III Italica concordia,⁹ then as III Italica alone or, less frequently,

¹ P. 204, n. 5; cf. p. 199, n. 4.

² CIL. III. 11847 (Mauer-Oehling); 4655 a (Schwechat, Pann. sup.).

³ The following inscriptions mentioning other legions are not of such a nature as to indicate their presence in the province:

leg. I adi.	III. 4787	leg. X gem.	III. 5156 a; 5293; 5460;
I Min.	5333		5486; 5510; 5702;
II adi.	5044; 5331; 5417;		14369 ¹
	5430	XIII gem.	5223; 5336; 6525
II Aug.	5476	XIII gem.	5336; 5497
III Aug.	4855; 5630; 11714	XV Ap.	5334; 5636; 5680
V Mac.	4859; 5130	XX V. v.	5184; 5577; 11746
VI ferr.	13524	XXI rap.	4840
VI vict.	11852 (teg.)	XXII pr.	4848
VII Cl.	5202	XXX Ulp. v.	5211; 5212; 5214;
VII gem.	5579		5215; 15205 ¹
VII vict.	Ann. Ep. 1904, 187	incertae	5328; 11667
VIII Aug.	III. 4858; 5220		

See VI. 31871 (cited on p. 211, n. 6).

⁴ DS. III. 1080.

⁵ Cf. CIL. V. 7865 f. (p. 208, n. 3).

⁶ P. 196.

⁷ Raetia 14, 15; cf. III. 14370¹⁰ (Castra Regina; 178 A. D. ?).

⁸ P. 197, n. 5.

⁹ III. 11989 (teg., Abusina). For the title felix see p. 187, n. 6.

with the addition of a cognomen derived from the name of the reigning emperor, Antoniniana¹ or Gordiana.²

Legionary coins.—Like legio II Italica,³ the Raetic legion was named on the coinage of Septimius Severus (193 A. D.)⁴ and of Gallienus.⁵

Stations.—The permanent camp was at Castra Regina.⁶ Detachments sent from there helped fortify and perhaps, in some cases, garrison various other points along the Danube and the limes Raeticus, as Böhming,⁷ Abusina,⁸ Straubing,⁹ etc.¹⁰

A station at Augusta Vindelicum, a place of strategic importance because of its location at the junction of two rivers and several roads, seems not improbable. Moreover, bricks have been found at Westheim, five or six miles west of the city.¹¹ The inscriptions from Augusta and vicinity¹² would not be conclusive in themselves.

By the time of the *Notitia dignitatum* the northern portion of Raetia had been abandoned and the camp at Reginum moved to Vallatum;¹³ other divisions of the legion, each under a praefectus, were located at Submuntorium, at Cambodunum and in the neighboring country from Vimanía to Cassiliacum, and at Foetus and Terioli.¹⁴ Still another part was in Illyricum.¹⁵

¹ Under Caracalla (211–217) or Elagabalus (218–222): III. 1178; 14207⁶.

² Under Gordian III (238–244): III. 5768; Gordiana is omitted in III. 5942 (240 A. D.).

³ Pp. 197 f.

⁴ Cohen, IV, p. 31, nn. 262 f.; Eckhel, VII, p. 168.

⁵ Cohen, V, p. 389, nn. 487–498; Eckhel, VII, p. 402 (symbols: a stork; a bull; cf. DS. III. 1074 f.). VI.P.VI.F. and VII.P.VII.F. are still more puzzling than on the coins of leg. II Ital., because we have no knowledge that leg. III Ital. was ever called pia fidelis before the time of Gallienus.

⁶ Tegulae: *CIL*, III. 6000, pp. 1051, 2328⁵³; 386*; *Ann. Ep.* 1906, 183; milestones giving the distance a l(e)g(ione): III. 5996 (201 A. D.); 5997 (195 and 215 A. D.); a large number of inscriptions from members of the legion, dating from 179–180 (cf. p. 205, n. 7) to the time of Diocletian or after (Raetia 31); *Tab. Peut.* IIIc; *Not. Dign. Occ.* xxxv. 17. Cf. *CIL*, III, p. 730.

⁷ Raetia 15.

⁸ Tegulae: III. 6000; 11986; 11989.

⁹ III. 11988 (teg.).

¹⁰ Bricks have also been found at Abbach and Alkofen near Castra Regina (III. 6000; 12005 (p(ia) f(idelis) ?)); Lietzheim (?) (6000); Ummendorf (p. 2328⁵³). A find of bricks as at Abbach and Alkofen, or of inscriptions like those from Lauingen-Faimingen (5874; 5876) does not prove even a temporary occupation by legionaries; cf. Franziss, pp. 42, 284, 293, 296, 340, 343, *et passim*. Franziss's statement (p. 343) that bricks of the third legion have been discovered at Künzing (Quintianae) has not been verified. With regard to Böhming and Pfünz, see Allen, pp. 359 f.

¹¹ III. 6000, 11987.

¹² III. 5793 (cf. Raetia 11); 5812; 5814; 5816–5818; 5823.

¹³ *Not. Dign. Occ.* xxxv. 17.

¹⁴ *Ibid.* xxxv. 18, 19, 21, 22.

¹⁵ *Ibid.* v. 88 = 237 = vii. 53.

Active service.—The inscriptions prove that the third legion made a successful expedition against the Buri, possibly under Marcus or Commodus,¹ and took part in the German wars of 197² and 213 A. D.;³ after the close of the latter campaign, some Raetic soldiers perhaps accompanied Caracalla to the East.⁴

LEGIO III ITALICA: OFFICERS AND SOLDIERS.⁵

HIGHER OFFICERS

LEGATI LEGIONIS		See Raetia 11-22
DUCEs LIMITANEI		See Raetia 23-26
PRAEFECTI		
Secundinus ⁶	Diocletian or later	III. 14370 ₁₂ (Castra Regina)
TRIBUNI LATIOLAVII		
M. Annaeus Saturninus		VI. 1337
Clodianus Aelianus ⁷		
C. Iulius Ingenuus ⁸		V. 5032 (Tridentum)
L. Marius L. f. Quir. Maximus Perpetuus Aurelianus ⁹	Under Commodus, before 190	VI. 1450
TRIBUNI (ANGUSTICLAVII) ¹⁰		
C. Annius Flavianus ¹¹	Marcus and Commodus	VIII. 17900 (Thamugadi)
Gn. Pompeius Pompeianus		VI. 3529
DUCEs ¹²		
Val. Cl. Quintus ¹³		III. 4855 (Virunum)

¹ *CIL.* III. 5937 (near Kelheim). Cf. p. 208, n. 4; Sch. I. 643, 662.

² Raetia 18.

³ Raetia 20.

⁴ *CIL.* III. 14207⁶ (Perinthus, Thrace).

⁵ P. 199, n. 9; Arnold, p. 62.

⁶ See Raetia 31.

⁷ "v(ir) c(larissimus)." *Pros.* I. 58, n. 456.

⁸ "c(larissimus) i(uvenis)." *Pros.* II. 196, n. 240.

⁹ "duci exerciti Mysiaci apud Byzantium (195/196) et apud Lugudunum (197), leg. leg. I Italic., cur. viae Latinae, item reip. Faventinorum, allecto inter praetorios, trib. pleb. candidato, quaestori urbano, trib. latiel. leg. XXII primig., item III Italicae." *Pros.* II. 346, n. 233; Lieb. *Verw.* pp. 201 f.

¹⁰ That these tribunes were angusticlavii is seen from the words "equo publico" in the inscriptions relating to them.

¹¹ "praefec. cohortis IIII Raetorum, donis militarib. donatus bello Ger[ma]nico II." P. 223; *Pros.* I. 64, n. 486; P.W. I. 2265, n. 44.

¹² P. 170 and n. 1; *Dissertat. Halinens.* IV. 405 ff.; DS. III. 1052.

¹³ See p. 200.

CENTURIONS

CENTURIONES¹

Ael. Fortis ²	181 A. D.	III. 14370 ₂ (Böhming)
Q. Eniboudius Mon- tanus ³	Under M. Aurelius	V. 7865, 7866 (Cemenelum)
Fl. Vetulenus ⁴	Perhaps under Marcus or Commodus	III. 5937 (near Kelheim)
Iul. Iu[?] linus ²	181 A. D.	III. 14370 ₂ (Böhming)
C. Managnius Iustus		III. 5817 (Augusta)
C. Nonius Manlianus ⁵		VIII. 2953 (Lambaesis)
L. Numerius L. f. Felix		II. 4162 (Tarraco)
M. Ulp. Caius ⁶	Caracalla or Elagabalus	III. 1178 (Apulum)
M. Ulpius Secundus ⁷		III. 5876 (Lauingen)
Ulp. Vitalis [III. 5820; 15210.]		III. 7785 (Apulum)

PRINCIPALES: SERVING UNDER A PRAEPOSITUS⁸BENEFICIARIII CONSULARIS⁹

Severius Severianus ¹⁰	Under Gor- dian	III. 5768 (Brigantium)
[III. 5815]		

BENEFICIARIII PRAEFECTI CASTRORUM¹¹

Iul[ius Ca]ndidius	III. 5953
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¹ Cf. also *CIL*. II. 18*.² See Raetia 15.³ "§ leg. III Italicae, ordinatus ex eq. Rom. ab domino Imp. M. Aurel. Antonino Aug." *EE*. IV, p. 240 on n. 67.⁴ "I. O. M. Statori Fl. Vetulenus 7 leg. III Ital. reversus ab expedit. Burica ex voto posuit." P. 207. Allen, pp. 363 f., gives this stone as from Abusina, saying: "It is significant that although there is no evidence leading us to suppose that legionaries were ever stationed at this point [but cf. p. 206, n. 8] the legionary centurion returned here and rendered a vow for the successful issue of the expedition just as though this were his regular place of sojourn." The inscription, however, was found near Kelheim, which is on the Danube. What would be more natural than for the soldier to pay his vow on returning to the frontier of the province in which he was serving?⁵ Cagnat, p. 109.⁶ *CIL*. III. 1201; Jung, *Dac*. p. 95.⁷ There is no evidence for the assumption (Allen, p. 364) that an auxiliary corps was encamped at Lauingen in charge of Ulpius; cf. p. 206, n. 10.⁸ P. 200, n. 10. Unless otherwise indicated, the remaining inscriptions listed for this legion were found at Castra Regina.⁹ P. 200, n. 11.¹⁰ " [bf.] eos."¹¹ P. 201, n. 3.

CORNICULARII TRIBUNI¹

M. Aur. Amandus III. 5974 (Münster)
[III. 14370₉]

LIBRARI CONSULARIS²

Ti. Iulius Aelianus³ III. 5953
Iul. Amandus III. 5814 (Augusta)

EXACTI CONSULARIS⁴

T. Fl. Clemens III. 5812 (Augusta)

PRINCIPALES: NOT UNDER A PRAEPOSITUS⁵OPTIONES⁶

[D]onatus⁷ III. 5958
Iulius Ouvenis^{7, 8} III. 5976 (Eastern Europe
or Asia Minor)
Iul. Saturninus⁹ III. 11969

OPTIONES PRAETORI¹⁰

[III. 5803]

AQUILIFERI¹¹

Iul. Clemen[s] III. 5816 (Augusta)

SIGNIFERI¹²

M. Iuveni[us . . .]io¹³ III. 5956
[M]arcellinius Marce[lli]nus III. 5952
C. Senilius Pervinc[us]¹³ III. 5818 (Augusta)

IMAGINIFERI¹⁴

[III. 13544]

FRUMENTARI¹⁵

T. Cl. Severus V. 6869 (Alpis Poenina)

ADLECTUS ANNONAE

C. Valerius C. f. Pap. Marianus¹⁶ V. 5036 (Tridentum)

¹ *EE*. IV, pp. 412 ff.; Marq. II. 546; PW. IV. 1603 f.; DS. I. 1509.

² P. 200, n. 11; p. 201, n. 10.

³ "libr. [cos.]."

⁴ P. 200, n. 11; *EE*. IV, pp. 431 f.; Marq. II. 551; DS. II. 873.

⁵ P. 200, n. 10.

⁶ Cauer, *EE*. IV, pp. 441 ff.; Marq. II. 545.

⁷ Omitted by Cauer (*loc. cit.*), although indexed in *CIL*. III, p. 1140.

⁸ Omitted in the index of names in the *Corpus*.

⁹ We know of no legion encamped at Castra Regina except III Italica, which is mentioned previously in this inscription.

¹⁰ *EE*. IV, p. 445.

¹¹ *EE*. IV, pp. 371 f.; *Diz. Ep.* I. 588.

¹² P. 202, n. 6.

¹³ This man was a veteranus ex signifero.

¹⁴ *EE*. IV, pp. 372 ff.

¹⁵ P. 202, n. 8.

¹⁶ *CIL*. III, p. 1171: "non miles, sed civis Tridentinus equestris dignitatis."

CUSTODES ARMORUM¹

Aur. Sabinus	III. 6571
Aur. Statianus	III. 5951

POLLIONES²

Fl. Amabil.	III. 5949
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TUBICINES³

Sep. Impetratus ⁴	III. 5957
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MEDICI ORDINarii⁵

.....	III. 6532
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[III. 5959]

DUPLarii

[III. 5909]

IMMUNES⁶

Iul. Cattanus	III. 11969
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PRIVATE SOLDIERS⁷

MILITES

M. Antoninus	III. 6000 c (teg.) ⁸
Aur. Patruinus	III. 6571
Aurel. Victorinus	III. 11966
Equester Paulus	Caracalla or Elagabalus III. 14207 ₆ (Perinthus)

Fl. Decoratus⁹ III. 5823 (Augusta)

Fl. Marcellinus III. 5950

M(arcus) Ursus III. 3309 (Sopianae)

. . . . ant. Potens⁹ III. 6531M. Speratus III. 6000 d (teg.)⁸. . . . is Val[en]⁹ III. 11970[III. 5954;⁹ 11957;⁹ 11967; 11978]VETERANI¹⁰

Cl. Reticus	III. 11968
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[III. 5813; 5883; 5889, p. 1050]

EQUITES

Aur. Pervincian.	July 25, 240	III. 5942
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Cl. Donatus	III. 5947
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[III. 5946; 11956]

VETERANI EX EQUITE

M. Aur. Militio	III. 5955
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[III. 5948]

¹ P. 202, n. 13.² DS. III. 1057.³ EE. IV, pp. 374 ff.; Marq. II. 552.⁴ "vet. ex leg. III Ital. m. h. m. ex t.bc."⁵ P. 202, n. 15.⁶ P. 202, n. 18.⁷ Cf., perhaps, *CIL*. III. 5944.⁸ Perhaps not genuine.⁹ The rank is unknown, owing to the mutilation of the stone. ¹⁰ Cf. III. 14370² (Baetia 16).

LEGIO III AUGUSTA.

Former soldiers of legio III Augusta were among those assembled in Raetia in the summer of 253 who proclaimed Valerian emperor.¹ They had returned to Africa by Oct. 22 of the same year.²

OTHER LEGIONS.³

Veterans of leg. I (Germanica) and leg. XX (Valeria victrix) in Lower Germany were sent into Raetia in 14 A. D.⁴ Similar vexillationes may well have been temporarily quartered in the province during any active campaign, as for example, that of Caracalla in 213;⁵ there is one probable reference to such an occurrence under M. Aurelius.⁶

The bricks of LEG IIII M⁷ and LEG VIII AUG⁸ which have been found in Raetia were probably brought from Germany.

III. The Auxiliaries in Noricum.

The army of Noricum in 69 A. D. consisted of one ala (I Hispanorum Auriana), eight cohorts (including I Montanorum and perhaps I Asturum), and some native troops.⁹ Before 106 A. D. ala I Hispanorum Auriana was withdrawn, but ala I Commagenorum was added, so that the total force in the province remained practically unchanged (three alae, six cohorts).¹⁰ A great increase (to four alae and fourteen cohorts) had taken place by 153,¹¹ an increase which, as it surely began under either Trajan or Hadrian, and, as far as we know, affected the northeastern part of the province, may best be connected with Hadrian's policy of strengthening the

¹ Raetia 23.

² VIII. 2482; 2852, p. 954; see Sch. I. 811; Cagnat, p. 171.

³ Inscriptions mentioning legions camped in other provinces are rare: leg. XI Cl.: III. 5775 f.; leg. . . . gem.: III. 5778.

⁴ Tac. Ann. i. 44. 6 (cf. i. 39. 2). Ohlenschläger's suggestion (*Prog.* p. 7 and n. 3) that the 7 leg. XX of CIL. III. 5577 (Rott) was one of this detachment is improbable; the omission of the legionary cognomen and the province Britain is not conclusive proof that the inscription is early, while the use of ligatures, the orthography (e. g. Nice/oru[s]), and the infrequency in this region of monuments of the early empire, all militate against his hypothesis.

⁵ VI, p. 551, lines 20 ff.

⁶ VI. 31871: --- praeposit. v[exillationum per Ital.] et Raet. et Noric. [bello Germanico ---].

⁷ III. 11990 [Neuburg].

⁸ III. 11991 (Aalen; Stuttgart); 380* (Salzbrunn).

⁹ Tac. Hist. iii. 5; see pp. 171, 213 ff.

¹⁰ P. 212; D. CIV.

¹¹ P. 173, n. 3; D. LXIV.

Danubian fortresses of Pannonia superior.¹ That Hadrian visited Noricum is proved by senatorial coins marked EXERCITVS NORICVS which represent him in the act of addressing troops.² The arrival of a legion³ soon reduced the auxiliaries to a position of secondary importance; still there is some slight indication of a later (third century?) addition to their strength.⁴

ALAE IN NORICUM.

Ala Antoniniana in 211/222 was under the command of the legatus leg. II Ital.⁵

Ala Augusta was at Virunum in the third century;⁶ it is perhaps the same as ala I Augusta Thracum.⁷

Ala celerum may have been at Virunum at a late date.⁸

Ala I Commagenorum, which in 106 A. D. was in Noricum,⁹ must at some time have garrisoned Comagena.

Ala II Flavia pia fidelis miliaria: see p. 215.

*Ala I Hispanorum Auriana*¹⁰ is known to have served in Noricum in 69 A. D.¹¹ and from 107 to 166 in Raetia¹² in or near Weissenburg.¹³

Ala I Augusta Thracum: see p. 216.

Alae stationed in the Danube provinces, Britain, Upper Germany, and Mauretania, are mentioned in the inscriptions of Noricum.¹⁴

¹Sch. I. 610 f.

²Eckhel, VI, pp. 499 f.; Cohen, II, p. 155, nn. 565-567.

³P. 196.

⁴P. 213. Kammel, pp. 57 ff., gives a useful summary of the fortified sites in Noricum in the third century.

⁵Noricum 31; PW. I. 1229, cf. 1225, 4; *Diz. Ep.* I. 498.

⁶*CIL*. III. 4812 (238 A. D.); 4834; PW. I. 1232 c.

⁷P. 216.

⁸*CIL*. III. 4832, 11506: Aggaeo, exarcho alae celerum, viro sagittandi peritissimo, vi militum interemto, Monna marito amantissimo. PW. I. 1236 f.; *Diz. Ep.* II. 150.

⁹D. CIV; *CIL*. III. 5224 (Celeia); 5091 (Wolfsberg); 14363²⁴ (Seitz); PW. I. 1238 f.; *Diz. Ep.* II. 535; Nowotny, p. 211.

¹⁰Ohl. *Prog.* pp. 40-42; PW. I. 1248; *CIL*. V. 4095.

¹¹Noricum 3; *CIL*. III. 11749 (near Semriach, "litt. saec. primi") (omitted in PW.).

¹²D. XXXV (107 A. D.); D. LII (under Hadrian?); *CIL*. III. 11911 (Emmezheim, 153 A. D.); [D. CXI] (162 A. D.); D. LXXXIII and *CIL*. V. 8660 (Concordia) (166 A. D.); VI. 3654.

¹³III. 11994 (teg.); 5925 (T); D. XXXV (Weissenburg); *CIL*. III. 11911 (Emmezheim); 5899 (Nassenfels).

¹⁴*Ala* II Asturum: III. 15205³; I Batavor. ∞: 5331; I (Fl. Aug.) Britannica ∞ (c. R. bis torq. ob. virt.): 5211; 5212; 5214; 5215; I (Vesp.) Dardanor.: 5044; I (Hispanor.) Arvaco-
rum:

COHORTS IN NORICUM.

Cohors I Aelia (Severiana) sagittariorum miliaria equitata during the reign of Alexander Severus,¹ and perhaps considerably later,² garrisoned the frontier fortress of Astura.³

*Cohors I Asturum*⁴ was in Noricum from 106 A. D.⁵ until the third century at least,⁶ giving its name to Astura.⁷

The *co[h(ors) . . .] Breuc(or)um* which was in Noricum during the reign of Philip (244/249)⁸ may be identical with the *cohort* V Breucorum serving in Pannonia in 80 A. D.,⁹ although neither of the inscriptions of the latter found in Noricum¹⁰ in itself necessarily implies the presence of the cohort in that province.

Cohors I Aelia Brittonum miliaria was located in Noricum in the third century.¹¹

Cohors I Flavia Brittonum came into Noricum from Dalmatia¹² before or during the third century.¹³

Cohors I Montanorum, at Virunum in the early empire,¹⁴ towards the end of the first century was sent to Pannonia.¹⁵

5629; I (Pannonior.) Tamp(iana): 5531; 5632; II Pannonior.: 5211; 5212; [5214;] 5215; III Thrac(um): 5332; I Tung(rorum) Frontonian(a): 5331 (III, p. 2489, read "felices Tungri, 12030, 5" for "12030, 3"); alae prov. Mauretan. Caes.: 5211. Cf. p. 165, n. 4.

Equites of unknown troops are referred to in III. 4753; 5057; 5308; 5652; 11791.

¹ III. 5647 (230 A. D.).

² *Not. Dign. Occ.* xxxiv. 45.

³ *CIL*. III. 5645-47; 11857 (teg.). It had formerly been stationed in Pannonia superior, PW. IV. 329 f.

⁴ PW. IV. 245 f.; Nowotny, pp. 271 ff.

⁵ D. CIV.

⁶ *CIL*. VI. 3583: L. Cuspius L. f. Cla. Iuvai Lautus Norico, mil. coh. I Asturum *ἑ.* Maeriana (217/218 ?) -- --. (Cichorius's conjecture as to the date (69/70?) is incorrect, if Maeriana is here an honorary cognomen.) Other inscriptions of the cohort are: III. 5539 (Iuvavum); 4839; 11508 (Virunum); 5330 (Solva); 11708 (S. Martin); 10507 (Aquincum); XI. 6337 (Pisaurum). The restoration of the numeral in the last one (cf. PW. IV. 247) is fairly certain, both on account of the spacing and because the officer mentioned served next in coh. I Fl. Britton. which was in Noricum at this period. Jung, *Dac.* p. xv.

⁷ Nowotny, p. 273.

⁸ *CIL*. III. 5613, 11781 (Weihmörtling).

⁹ D. XIII; PW. IV. 259.

¹⁰ *CIL*. III. 5086 (Vall. Lavantina); 5472 (Knittelfeld). The cohort is also mentioned in X. 6102.

¹¹ III. 4812 (Virunum, 238 A. D.); IX. 5357 (Firmum). See n. 13.

¹² PW. IV. 263: *Diz. Ep.* I, 1042 f.; Jung, *Dac.* p. 114.

¹³ *CIL*. III. 4811, 11504 (Virunum, 267 A. D.); 5668 (Namara-Arlapa); XI. 6337 (Pisaurum). III. 5455 (Pfannberg) may belong here or with the preceding cohort.

¹⁴ III. 4844; 4846; 4847; 4849; 11554; 4838 (?).

¹⁵ PW. IV. 316 f. *Ann. Ep.* 1903, 289 (Ravna) may refer to any one of the cohorts of this name.

At the time of the *Notitia dignitatum* a cohort was stationed at Boiodurum and another at Cannabiaca.¹

Some cohorts belonging in other provinces are named in Norican inscriptions.²

LOCAL MILITIA OF NORICUM.

Besides the regular auxiliary forces just enumerated, a body of local militia (*Noricorum iuventus*) was in existence in 69 A. D.³

OTHER AUXILIARIES OF THE LATER EMPIRE.

The *Notitia dignitatum* gives the names of six bodies of equites stationed at various points on the northern frontier.⁴ Equites Dalmatae Aquesiani comitatenses won a victory in Noricum in 310.⁵ The latest dated inscription of the province⁶ (370 A. D.) records the completion of a fortress at Ips by milites auxiliares Lauriacenses.

IV. The Auxiliaries in Raetia.⁷

Very little is known of the army of Raetia before the end of the first century; light-armed native troops were there from the time of Augustus,⁸ and other auxiliary forces by 69,⁹ the total presumably being about equal to that of Noricum.¹⁰ Between 82 and 107, on at least two different occasions (82/90, 90/107), troops were brought from Germany, Pannonia, and even Africa,¹¹ so that the diploma of 107,¹² fortunately preserved entire, assigns to Raetia four *alae* and eleven cohorts. The next half-century or so (Trajan to Marcus) shows no appreciable change in the strength of the army—three *alae* and thirteen cohorts are named in the diploma of 166¹³—although there is considerable shifting of soldiers from Germany to Raetia and from Raetia to Noricum

¹ *Occ.* xxxiv. 44 f.

² *Coh.* I B(a)etas(iorum) c. R.: *CIL.* III. 5331; II Gallorum: 5211; 5212; 5214; 5215; III Hispan(orum): 15205¹; I Thrac(um eq.): 11541; I Ub(iorum): 13539 (teg.). III. 4859 is uncertain.

³ *Tac. Hist.* iii. 5 (p. 171); see p. 219, n. 7 and *MB.* VII. 302 f.

⁴ *Occ.* xxxiv. 31-36: equites promoti, Ad Mauros and Comagena; eqq. sagittarii, Lentia and Lacufelix; eqq. Dalmatae, Arlapa and Augustana (=Trigisamum); cf., perhaps, *CIL.* III. 5821.

⁵ III. 5565, 11771 (Bedaum); cf. Noricum 34.

⁶ III. 5670 a. ⁷ Arnold, pp. 47 ff.

⁸ P. 219, n. 8; Jung, *Dac.* p. 127, n. 1.

⁹ Pp. 215, 217.

¹⁰ P. 211.

¹¹ Pp. 215 f., 218 f.

¹² D. XXXV.

¹³ D. LXXIII; for the *alae*, cf. also *CIL.* V. 8660. D.CXI (162) seems to give the same list as D. LXXIII; D. LXXIX (after 145) is too fragmentary to be of value.

and Pannonia.¹ EXERCITVS RAETICVS occurs on bronze coins of Hadrian.² After the arrival of legio III Italica,³ some auxiliaries were removed from the province.⁴

ALAE IN RAETIA.⁵

Ala I Flavia Commagenorum may have been in the north of Raetia for a short time in the middle of the second century.⁶

*Ala I Flavia fidelis Gemelliana miliaria*⁷ was in Raetia 162–166 A. D.⁸ and was stationed in the north, perhaps at Kösching.⁹

*Ala II Flavia pia fidelis miliaria*¹⁰ served at Aalen¹¹ in Raetia from the latter part of the first century until some date between 107¹² and 153,¹³ when it moved to Noricum. It is probably identical with ala II Flavia gemina, which was in Germany until 82/90;¹⁴ hence the title pia fidelis may have been won in 88 during the revolt of Saturninus.

Ala I Hispanorum Auriana: see p. 212.

Ala I Flavia Raetorum was at Quint[?]anae (Künzing) in the late empire.¹⁵

Ala II Valeria Sequanorum in the early part of the fifth century garrisoned Vimania.¹⁶

*Ala I Flavia singularium civium Romanorum pia fidelis*¹⁷ formed a part of Vitellius's army,¹⁸ probably stationed in Raetia.¹⁹

¹ Pp. 215 f. ² Eckhel, VI, p. 500; Cohen, II, p. 156, nn. 578–582. ³ P. 205. ⁴ Pp. 218, 225.

⁵ Ala I Siliana torq. c. R.: CIL. III. 5775 f. (Abudiacum), served in Dacia (PW. I. 1261).

⁶ CIL. III. 5906, 11907 (Kösching, 141 A. D.); 11901 (Faimingen); not mentioned in the Raetian diplomata of 107, 162, or 166.

⁷ V. 538 names a decurion and Ann. Ep. 1901, 101 (Oldenburg) a veteran. of ala I Fl. fid. who possibly belonged to this ala.

⁸ D. CXI; D. LXXIII; CIL. V. 8660; it is generally stated, e. g., in Urban, p. 19; PW. I. 1247, that this ala served in Raetia from 64 on; it is, however, omitted in D. XXXV of the year 107, while the diploma of 64 (D. III) was found in Noricum (at Geiselbrechting), not in Raetia, and does not state the location of the troop.

⁹ CIL. III. 11908; cf. 11936 (Pfünz).

¹⁰ PW. I. 1241 f.; Diz. Ep. III. 154 f.; add Ann. Ep. 1905, 128.

¹¹ ORL. Abt. B, no. 66; CIL. III. 14371¹, ² (teg.).

¹² CIL. VI. 3255; D. XXXV (107 A. D.); CIL. III. 5822; 5823 (Augusta, not before M. Aurelius).

¹³ D. LXIV; p. 173, n. 3. ¹⁴ D. XIV; D. XXI. ¹⁵ Not. Dign. Occ. xxxv. 23. ¹⁶ Ibid. 33.

¹⁷ PW. I. 1261 f.; Ann. Ep. 1890, 151 (Concordia, under M. Aurelius).

¹⁸ Tac. Hist. iv. 70; p. 171.

¹⁹ The Raetic auxiliaries had supported Vitellius (Tac. Hist. iii. 5; i. 70, where the fact comes out that Caecina anticipated no opposition in Raetia), but by 70 must have transferred their allegiance to Vespasian, for Sextilius Felix apparently met no resistance in his march through Raetia (see n. 18). Now this ala appears first in history under the command

It afterwards supported Vespasian,¹ from whom it secured the name Flavia. After fighting in Germany in 70 against the Treveri and the Batavi,² the ala stayed in Germania superior until after 90 A. D.³ winning the title *pia fidelis*; then before 107 it returned to Raetia⁴ where it remained until the third century.⁵ Its camp in that province was probably at Pföding.⁶

Ala II Valeria singularis occupied Vallatum under the later empire.⁷

Ala I Augusta Thracum, which was in existence in 97/98 A. D.,⁸ was in Raetia by 107,⁹ and was sent to Trigisamum in Noricum before 140/144.¹⁰ It gave the name Augustana to Trigisamum.¹¹

COHORTS IN RAETIA.¹²

*Cohors II Aquitanorum equitata*¹³ between 107¹⁴ and 162¹⁵ moved from Germania superior¹⁶ to Raetia, where it was located at Castra Regina.¹⁷

Cohors III Batavorum miliaria (equitata?), in Raetia in 107 A. D.,¹⁴ was ordered to Pannonia inferior by Trajan or Hadrian.¹⁸

of Iulius Briganticus, whose surname seems to be connected with the name of the Raetic tribe Brigantes (p. 165, n. 4), and it apparently joined the German army at the same time as Sextilius Felix, though it was not with him in Noricum. May it not therefore have been in Raetia and come with him from there?

¹ *CIL*. V. 875; cf. p. 215, n. 18.

² Tac. *Hist.* v. 20, 21; cf. p. 215, n. 18.

³ Not (as Cichorius says) sent to Raetia at the same time as ala II Fl. gemina; see p. 215 and D. XXI.

⁴ D. XXXV (107 A. D.); D. CXI (162 A. D.); D. LXXIII and *CIL*. V. 8660 (166 A. D.).

⁵ III. 5938, 11943 (Untersaal, 231 A. D.).

⁶ III. 11909; 5912 (141 A. D.). Cf. n. 5 and III. 11995 (teg., Castra Regina).

⁷ Not. *Dign. Occ.* xxxv. 26.

⁸ *CIL*. V. 7425, under Nerva, not Trajan, as Cichorius asserts in PW. I. 1263.

⁹ D. XXXV; cf., perhaps, *CIL*. III. 5819 (Augusta).

¹⁰ III. 5654; 11796; also 4806; 4839 (Virunum); 5340 (Solva); IX. 5357 (the cursus of a prefect who had formerly been trib. coh. I Aeliae Britton., see p. 213); Jung, *Dac.* p. xv. Cf. ala Augusta. p. 212.

¹¹ Not. *Dign. Occ.* xxxiv. 35.

¹² Cohors classica, *CIL*. III. 5775, 5776 (Abudiacum), did not belong in the province.

¹³ PW. IV. 243; *Diz. Ep.* I. 593 f. (where read "nel 166 in Raetia").

¹⁴ D. XXXV.

¹⁵ D. CXI.

¹⁶ D. XXI; *Ann. Ep.* 1903, 93 (teg., Arnsburg).

¹⁷ D. LXXIII (166 A. D.); *CIL*. III. 6537, 11993 (teg.); 11972 (?).

¹⁸ PW. IV. 252 f.; *Diz. Ep.* I. 982.

*Cohors IX Batavorum miliaria equitata expl(oratorum)*¹ came into Raetia between 107² and 162;³ it was encamped at Weissenburg,⁴ and later at Passau (Batava Castra).⁵

*Cohors III*⁶ and *cohors V*⁷ *Bracaraugustanorum* served in Raetia in the second century;⁸ the latter perhaps gave its name to Quintianae (Künzing).

*Cohors I Breucorum quingenaria Valeria victrix bis torquata ob virtutem appellata (equitata)*⁹:⁹ in Raetia from 107¹⁰ to 211¹¹ or longer; from the reign of Pius in camp at Pfünz;¹² under the charge of a 7 leg. III Ital. helped fortify Böhming in 181 A. D.¹³

*Cohors III Britannorum*¹⁴ was in Raetia throughout the empire, being stationed at Abusina.¹⁵ Traces have been discovered also at Theilenhofen¹⁶ and near Castra Regina.¹⁷ At some time during the first century,¹⁸ perhaps in 69/70,¹⁹ it was encamped in North Italy.

¹ Cf. p. 216, n. 18. *IG. XIV. 2433* (Massilia).

² D. XXXV.

³ [D. CXI]; cf. D. LXXIII.

⁴ *ORL. Abt. B*, no. 72, p. 45; *Taf. XIII. 4=CIL. III. 11918*. Line 4 was formerly read *exp(rovincia) B(ritannia)*, for a discussion of which see *Class. Rev.* XVIII. 459; XIX. 58 (the early date proposed in the latter article is unlikely in view of the absence of the cohort in D. XXXV).

⁵ *Not. Dign. Occ.* xxxv. 24.

⁶ Cf. n. 16.

⁷ Perhaps previously in Germany, *CIL. VI. 3539*.

⁸ D. XXXV; D. LXXIII; *CIL. VI. 1822; 322E*; other inscriptions of uncertain reference are enumerated in *PW. IV. 256 f.*; *Diz. Ep. I. 1024*.

⁹ *PW. IV. 257 f.*; *Diz. Ep. I. 1026*.

¹⁰ D. XXXV; [D. CXI]; D. LXXIII.

¹¹ *CIL. III. 11934; 11935*.

¹² III. 11930; 11931 (138/161 A. D.); 11933, p. 2328⁵² (183/185) (Raetia 16); 11934, 11935 (211 A. D.); 11929; 11932; [11936]. 11937-11939, p. 2328²⁰¹; 11940 a; 15210, may be placed here with some degree of probability.

¹³ III. 14370²; cf. pp. 208, 189.

¹⁴ Much confusion in the notes and indices to *CIL. III* and elsewhere, is caused by the absence of system in expanding abbreviations for *Britannorum*, *Brittonum*, *Britannica*, and *Breucorum*; see *PW. III. 861 f.*; IV. 261 f.; *Diz. Ep. I. 1042*.

¹⁵ D. XXXV; D. LXXIX; D. LXXIII; *CIL. III. 5935* (211 A. D.); [11950, p. 2288] (212, not 213 A. D., as in the Corpus); [11944] (219 A. D. ?); 11996 (teg.); 14111 g; *Not. Dign. Occ.* xxxv. 25; *Jung, Dac.* p. 115.

¹⁶ *CIL. III. 13546* (teg.): C III BR. See *PW. IV. 261*; *ORL. Abt. B*, no. 71 a, pp. 11, 17 on the possibility of understanding a reference to coh. III Br(acaraugustanorum) or Br(ittorum) instead of Br(itanorum).

¹⁷ *CIL. III. 14119* (Kumpfmühl).

¹⁸ V. 7717 (Augusta Bagienorum); see also *PW. IV. 325* on Pais, *CIL. V, Addit. 610, 611*.

¹⁹ *Tac. Hist.* i. 70.

*Cohors I Flavia Canathenorum miliaria*¹ served in Raetia 162–166 A. D.² Tegulae have been found at Kösching, Pföding, Abusina, Castra Regina, and Straubing.³

Co[h(ors) . . . c]ivium Romano[r(um)] was located in Raetia, perhaps in the latter part of the first century; its identification is quite uncertain.⁴

Cohors IIII Gallorum was in Raetia 107–166 A. D.⁵

Cohors VI Lusitanorum, otherwise unknown, is placed in Raetia by a newly discovered Greek inscription⁶ of the second century.⁷ As it is not included in the Raetian diplomata, it was probably brought to the province after 166 to take the place of coh. VII Lusit. eq.

*Cohors VII Lusitanorum equitata*⁸ towards the end of the first century was transferred to Raetia from Numidia;⁹ it returned to Africa after 166 A. D.¹⁰

Cohors IIII Herculea Pannoniorum was at Caelium in the time of the *Notitia dignitatum*.¹¹

Cohors Herculea Pannoniorum occupied Arbor Felix¹² in the late empire.¹³

Cohors V Valeria Phrygum in the fifth century held Phiniana.¹⁴

*Cohors I Raetorum*¹⁵ was in Raetia 107–166 A. D., perhaps at Schierenhof.¹⁶ It is not known whether this was the same as the cohors I Herculea Raetorum which was at Parrodunum in the later empire.¹⁷

¹ *CIL*. VIII. 2394, 2395; 17904; *PW*. IV. 267; *Diz. Ep.* II. 64.

² *D. CXI*; *CIL*. III. 5973, 11976 (Straubing); *D. LXXIII*; *CIL*. III. 5911 (?) (Otting).

³ III. 6001, 11992, p. 2328⁵³ ad n. 11999², p. 2328²⁰².

⁴ IX. 5362; *PW*. IV. 303.

⁵ *D. XXXV*; [*D. LXXIX*]; *D. LXXIII*; *CIL*. VIII. 9374. Of the various praefecti coh. IIII Gall. who are enumerated in *PW*. IV. 290 f., *CIL*. IX. 5357 gives one who may be placed here with some degree of probability, inasmuch as his entire remaining career was spent in North Italy, Noricum, and Raetia, see pp. 213, 216.

⁶ *IGR*. III. 56=1414 (Prusias, Bithynia). The note on III. 56 is in error with regard to the number of the cohort.

⁷ *Bull. Corr. Hell.* XXV. 83, n. 214.

⁸ *PW*. IV. 313 f.; Cagnat, pp. 250 f.

⁹ *D. XXXV* (107 A. D.).

¹⁰ *D. LXXIII*.

¹¹ *Occ. xxxv*. 30; *PW*. IV. 323.

¹² A Roman camp at Arbor Felix is assured for the year 377 by Ammian. xxxi. 10. 20.

¹³ *Not. Dign. Occ. xxxv*. 34.

¹⁴ *Ibid.* 29.

¹⁵ *PW*. IV. 326. *CIL*. VI. 1625; VIII. 9990; XII. 4232 may refer either to this cohort or to coh. I Raet. (eq.), p. 223. *D. LXXIX* has either [I] or [II] Raet. *CIL*. III. 11924 is quite uncertain.

¹⁶ *CIL*. III. 13547, p. 2328²⁰² (tag.). Cf. p. 219, n. 2.

¹⁷ *Not. Dign. Occ. xxxv*. 28.

Cohors II Raetorum:¹ in the province 107–166 A. D.;² camp apparently at Straubing.³

Cohors VI Valeria Raetorum occupied Venaxamodurum at the time of the *Notitia dignitatum*.⁴

Cohors III Thracum veterana and *cohors III Thracum civium Romanorum* were in Raetia, 107–166 A. D.⁵ One of these came from Pannonia between 84⁶ and 107.

LOCAL MILITIA OF RAETIA.⁷

Light-armed native troops during the first century supplemented the regularly organized auxiliaries.⁸

OTHER AUXILIARIES OF THE LATE PERIOD.

The following entries in the *Notitia dignitatum* give information about other troops in Raetia:

- (Occ. xxxv. 14) equites stabilesiani seniores, Augustanis.
- (15) equites stabilesiani iuniores, Ponte A[e]ni, nunc Febian[i]s.
- (16) equites stabilesiani iuniores, Submuntorio.
- (20) praefectus militum Ursariensium, Guntiae.
- (31) tribunus gentis per Raetias deputatae, Teriolis.

Summary: The Defenses of Raetia, 150–200 A. D.

In the following table covering the latter half of the second century an attempt is made to present a concise statement of the location of troops in Raetia, such as is given for a later date by the *Notitia dignitatum*. The period chosen, from Antoninus Pius to Septimius Severus, is the one of greatest importance in the military history of the Upper Danube—the period of construction, at least in stone, of the majority of the castles along the limes Raeticus. The evidence is unfortunately too scanty to permit of a similar schedule for the army in Noricum.

¹ PW. IV. 327. *CIL*. V. 3358 gives the name of a praefectus either of this cohort or of coh. II Raet. c. R., p. 223.

² D. XXXV; D. CXI; D. LXXIII. ³ *CIL*. III. 11997 (teg.). ⁴ Occ. xxxv. 27; cf. p. 224.

⁵ D. XXXV; D. LXXIII; *CIL*. III. 5880 (Haunsheim); perhaps V. 2341. PW. IV. 339 f.

⁶ D. XVI.

⁷ See *Hermes*, XIX. 219 ff., especially p. 222, n. 4; XXII. 547 ff.; *MB*. VII. 326 ff.; Allen, pp. 369 ff.

⁸ *CIL*. XIII. 1041: --- evocat[o] gesatorum DC Raetorum castello Ircavio --- (Augustan age); IX. 3044, see Raetia 1 (before 19 A. D.); V. 536; Tac. *Hist.* i. 68: --- Raetorum iuventus, sueta armis et more militiae exercita (69 A. D.).

ON THE LIMES RAETIAE AND THE UPPER DANUBE.

CASTLE		ORL. LIEF.	AREA IN SQUARE METERS ¹	GARRISON	NOTES
No.	Name				
64	Schierenhof	7	20,410	coh. I Raet.	Till 107/153
65	Unterböbingen	1	20,043	coh. ?	
66	Aalen	23	60,740	ala II Fl. p. f. ∞	
66a	Urspring	24	17,874	coh. ?	
66b	Heidenheim	13	52,845	?	Till 141/162; cf. Kösching
66c	Faimingen		59,532	? ala I Fl. Comm.	
67	Buch	10	20,950	coh. ?	
67a	Halheim	15	6,724	vexillatio ?	
68	Ruffenhofen	4	37,528	?	Cf. Abusina
69	Dambach	15	21,505	coh. ?	
70	Gnotzheim		22,475	coh. ?	
71	Gunzenhausen		6,800	vexillatio ?	
71a	Theilenhofen	24	27,440	coh. III Br(?).	Cf. Böhming After 181
72	Weissenburg	26	30,964	ala I Hisp. Aur.	
73	Pfünz	14	27,390	coh. I Breuc.	
73a	Böhming		7,410	vexil. leg. III Ital.	
74	Kösching		50,000	vexil. coh. I Breuc.	Till 141/162; cf. Faimingen After 107/162
				? ala I Fl. Comm.	
75	Pföding	16	38,774	ala I Fl. fid. Gem. ∞	
76	Abusina		18,000	ala I Fl. sing. c. R. coh. III Britannor. ? leg. III Ital.	

ON THE DANUBE BELOW ABUSINA.

CASTLE	AREA IN SQUARE METERS	GARRISON	NOTES
Castra Regina	237,000	leg. III Ital. coh. II Aq. eq. ? coh. III Br(?).	Cf. Abusina Cf. Pföding
Straubing		? ala I Fl. sing. c. R.	
Künzing	23,265	coh. II. Raet. ? leg. III Ital.	Previously at Weissenburg
Passau		coh. V Bracar. coh. IX Bat. ∞ eq. expl.	

¹The maximum size of a garrison is of course determined by the size of the camp, one designed for a cohort (approximately 500 men) being about 20,000 square meters. See ORL. and Franziss, pp. 132 ff.

IN CENTRAL RAETIA.

CASTLE	GARRISON
Augusta	? leg. III Ital.

LOCATION UNKNOWN.

GARRISON	NOTES
Coh. III Bracar. Coh. I Fl. Canath.	Cf. Theilenhofen Tegulae at Kösching, Pfö- ring, Abusina, Castra Regina, Straubing
Coh. IIII Gall. Coh. VII (later VI) Lusit. Coh. III Thr. vet. Coh. III Thr. c. R. Local militia	

V. The Fleet.

THE FLEET ON THE DANUBE.

The Upper Danube frontier was patrolled by the classis Panonica,¹ which was created before 50 A. D.² and had its headquarters at Carnuntum. Under the later empire, two subdivisions of this fleet, classis Lauriacensis and classis Arlapensis et Maginensis, were stationed, each under a praefectus, at Lauriacum and at Arlapa and Comagena respectively.³ Marines (milites liburnarii) belonging to legio II Italica at Ioviacum and legio I Noricorum at Fafiana and at Iuenna near the Drave, co-operated with them.⁴

THE FLEET ON LAKE CONSTANCE.⁵

Tiberius won a naval victory on Lake Constance while engaged in conquering the Vindelici (August 1, 15 B. C.).⁶ There is no further record of a fleet on the lake until the "praefectus numeri⁷ bar[bari]cariorum, Confluentibus sive Brecentia" of the *Notitia dignitatum*,⁸ nor is there any reason to believe that such existed while the Roman authority in southern Raetia remained undisputed.

¹ PW. III. 2646 ff.; *Diz. Ep.* II. 274.² Tac. *Ann.* xii. 30.³ *Not. Dign. Occ.* xxxiv. 42 f.⁴ *Ibid.* 37, 40 f.; pp. 193, 204.⁵ PW. III. 2648.⁶ Strabo, vii. 1. 5; Dio, liv. 22. 4; Hor. *Carm.* iv. 14. 34; Sch. I. 215.⁷ *Hermes*, XIX. 221, n. 3.⁸ *Occ.* xxxv. 32.

VI. Auxiliaries Raised in Noricum and Raetia.

From the earliest times the tribes inhabiting Noricum and Raetia had a reputation for fierceness and bravery in war.¹ Noric equites fought under the Roman standard, even during the republic;² one cohors and one ala Noricorum are known in the first century of the empire and later. Norici more commonly, however, served in praetorian and urban cohorts, as equites singulares, or as legionaries.³

Raetic alae, five or more in number, are mentioned in the *Notitia dignitatum*, and at least seventeen cohorts of Raeti and Vindelici are certain; some were organized by Augustus or Tiberius,⁴ and all about which we have information were in existence before the time of the Antonines. Two or three of these cohorts served in Raetia,⁴ two or three others in Asia Minor,⁴ five in Germania superior,⁵ and four in Pannonia or on the lower Danube.⁶

ALAE FROM NORICUM.

*Ala Noricorum*⁷ in the first century was in Mainz,⁸ but before 74⁹ was sent to Cologne,¹⁰ and later to Calcar.¹¹ Traces elsewhere are quite uncertain.¹²

COHORTS FROM NORICUM.

*Cohors I Noricorum equitata*¹³ was located in Pannonia¹⁴ (after the division of the province, in Pannonia inferior¹⁵) from 80 to 167 certainly, and probably as late as the reign of Caracalla.¹³

¹ See, for example, Hor. *Carm.* iv. 14; Strabo, iv. 6. 8; Vell. ii. 95. 2; App. *Ilyr.* 15; Flor. ii. 22 (iv. 12); Dio, l. 28. 4; liv. 22; Priscian, *Perih.* 314.

² Caes. *B. C.* i. 18. 5.

³ P. 165, n. 4; *Hermes*, XIX. 51 f.

⁴ Pp. 223 f.

⁵ Pp. 223-225.

⁶ (cf. n. 5; p. 165, n. 4.

⁷ PW. I. 1252.

⁸ *CIL*. XIII. 7029; 7030.

⁹ It is omitted in the diplomata of Upper Germany beginning with D. XI of the year named.

¹⁰ *Bonn. Jahrb.* LXXXI. 102; LXXXII. 21; *CIRh.* 285 (Durnomagus); *Ann. Ep.* 1904, 104; 1906, 99.

¹¹ *CIRh.* 168; 170; 175; 176; 179; 187; 191.

¹² *CIL*. III. 237 (Zela, Pontus); 10791 (Seisenberg, Pann. sup.).

¹³ III. 10279 (Mohács, Pann. inf.); PW. IV. 319 f.

¹⁴ D. XIII (80 A. D.); D. XVI (84 A. D.); D. XVII (85 A. D.); *CIL*. IX. 5363, 5364.

¹⁵ D. LVIII (under Pius); LXXIV (167 A. D.). None of the inscriptions from Pannonia which has been referred to this cohort is certain (cf. *CIL*. III. 3300; on III. 3398 see PW. IV. 315); the fragment from Raetia, *CIL*. III. 14370¹³ (Castra Regina) is equally doubtful.

LOCAL MILITIA FROM NORICUM.

See p. 214 for troops stationed in Noricum.

It is possible that a vexil(latio) Raetor(um) et Noricor(um) which served at Mancunium in Britain was organized as local militia.¹

ALAE FROM RAETIA.

Ala I Flavia Raetorum saw service in Raetia, see p. 215.

[*Alae II, III, IIII Raetorum*] are known only from the existence of ala V Raetorum.

Ala V Raetorum was at Scenae Veteranorum in Egypt during the late empire.²

COHORTS FROM RAETIA.³

Cohors I Raetorum was stationed in Raetia, see p. 218.

Cohors I Raetorum equitata served in Cappadocia under Hadrian.⁴

Cohors II Raetorum: in Raetia; cf. p. 219.

Cohors II Raetorum civium Romanorum was in Germania⁵ superior⁶ throughout the empire; it probably was one of the cohorts which fought at Idistaviso in 16 A. D.;⁷ its station was at Aquae Mattiacorum (Wiesbaden)⁸ until about the time of Hadrian, when it moved to Saalburg.⁹

[*Cohortes IIII Raetorum*] are known only from the existence of the cohorts with higher numbers.

*Cohors IIII Raetorum*¹⁰ formed part of the army of Moesia superior in 93 A. D.;¹¹ it also fought in the second German war of M. Aurelius and Commodus.¹²

¹ VII. 212; cf. *MB*. VII. 303.

² *Not. Dign. Or.* xxviii. 30.

³ *Hermes*, XIX. 215 f.; *PW*. IV. 326 ff., 350 f.

⁴ *Arrian*, *Ect.* i; cf. p. 224.

⁵ D. XIV. (82 A. D.).

⁶ D. XXI (90 A. D.); D. XL (116 A. D.); D. L (134 A. D.); *CIL*. XIII. 7246; cf. p. 219, n. 1.

⁷ *Tac. Ann.* ii. 17. 6; cf. p. 224.

⁸ *CIL*. XIII. 7583; 7594; p. 469 (teg.); D. XL (116 A. D.). *CIL*. XIII. 7047 (Mainz); 6240 (Worms) also perhaps refer to soldiers of this cohort.

⁹ XIII. 7462 (139 A. D.); 7465 (212 A. D.); [7466] (222/235 A. D.); 7444; [7445; 7452]; 7457; 7460; [7468]; 7469; 7470; *CIRh*. 1431 d (teg.); L. Jacobi, *Das Römerkastell Saalburg*, p. 290. Tegulae have also been found at Butzbach: *CIL*. XIII, p. 447.

¹⁰ X. 6976.

¹¹ D. CIII.

¹² *CIL*. VIII. 17900, cf. p. 207.

*Cohors IIII Raetorum equitata*¹ was encamped in Cappadocia from the time of Hadrian on,² in the later empire being at Analiba in Armenia.³

Cohors V Raetorum was in existence under Hadrian.⁴

Cohors VI Raetorum served at Vindonissa in Germania superior,⁵ and was in existence by 103/111.⁶ It may or may not be the same as *cohortes VI Valeria Raetorum*; cf. p. 219.

*Cohors VII Raetorum equitata*⁷ was in Germania⁸ superior⁹ from the first century; it was located at Vindonissa,¹⁰ and later, in the early part of the third century, at Niederberg near Coblenz.¹¹

Cohors VIII Raetorum civium Romanorum served in Pannonia under Domitian.¹² It won the title *civium Romanorum* in Trajan's Dacian war, afterwards remaining in Dacia.¹³

Cohors Raetorum et Vindellicorum in the first century formed a part of the army in Germania superior;¹⁴ it perhaps fought under Germanicus in 16 A. D.¹⁵

Cohors Raetorum. In some cases it is quite impossible to decide which of the above is meant,¹⁶ or indeed whether there is a reference to *cohortes Raetorum* at all.¹⁷

*Cohors I Vindellicorum (miliaria)*¹⁸ probably took part in Hadrian's Jewish war,¹⁹ and in 157 was in Dacia superior.²⁰

¹ X. 6976. The number is restored with a fair degree of probability in XI. 3101, the cursus of a prefect whose remaining military career was in the East.

² Arrian, *Ect.* 1; p. 223.

³ *Not. Dign. Or.* xxxviii. 28.

⁴ *CIL*. VIII. 8934.

⁵ Mommsen, *Inscr. Helv.* 344. 8, 9 (teg.); *CIL*. XIII. 5382 (Vesontio).

⁶ III. 5202.

⁷ XI. 5669.

⁸ D. XI (74 A. D.); D. XIV (82 A. D.); *CIL*. II. 3237.

⁹ D. XXI (90 A. D.); D. XL (116 A. D.); D. L (134 A. D.).

¹⁰ Mommsen, *Inscr. Helv.* 344. 10.

¹¹ *CIL*. XIII. 7735; 7736 (under Caracalla or Elagabalus); 7736 a; p. 497 (teg.); also 7684 (Andernach); p. 496 (Höhr); p. 499 on n. 7765 (Niederbieber).

¹² D. XIII (80 A. D.); D. XVI (84 A. D.); D. XVII (85 A. D.).

¹³ D. XXXVII (110 A. D.); Jung, *Dac.* p. 121; Vaschide, p. 172.

¹⁴ *CIL*. XIII. 7048 (Mainz); 6242 (Worms).

¹⁵ P. 223.

¹⁶ XI. 5387.

¹⁷ *CIRh.* 3.

¹⁸ *CIL*. X. 4873; *Ann. Ep.* 1904, 24; with less certainty, *CIL*. III. 3562; 11906.

¹⁹ So Cichorius (PW. IV. 350) infers from the name of the soldier for whom D. LXVI was issued.

²⁰ D. LXVI; *CIL*. III. 1343; perhaps also III. 8074. 25 (teg.), cf. 8075. 1 b, c (teg.). Jung, *Dac.* p. 122; Vaschide, p. 173.

Cohors II Vi(ndelicorum) was perhaps located at Carnuntum in Pannonia superior.¹

[*Cohors III Vindellicorum*]: no inscriptions are preserved.

Cohors IIII Vindellicorum garrisoned Grosskrotzenburg² in Germania³ superior⁴ and there manufactured bricks for use along the whole German limes.⁵

LOCAL MILITIA FROM RAETIA.

In the early empire the Raetic militia remained in the province;⁶ after the arrival of the legion it could be spared for service abroad.⁷ So during the second and third centuries a vexillatio Raetorum gaesatorum was stationed in the north of Britain⁸ under the command of a trib(unus) coh(ortis) I Vang(ionum),⁹ and a [n(umerus)] g(a)esatoru[m] garrisoned Atuatuca in Belgic Gaul.¹⁰

In the period following Diocletian, Raeti formed a part of the guard of the comes Illyrici,¹¹ and Raetobarii (?) attended the magister equitum praesentalis of the East.¹²

¹ III. 15204⁶.

² XIII. 7410; 7411 (191 or 211 A. D.); 7415; 7418; 7419; p. 443 (teg.).

³ D. XI (74 A. D.).

⁴ D. XXI (90 A. D.); [D. XL] (116 A. D.); D. L (134 A. D.); CIL. XIII. 7331 (Hedderheim).

⁵ Tegulae have been found at the following points: Alteburg bei Walldürn, Miltenberg, Obernburg, Niedernberg, Stockstadt, Wiesbaden, Mainz, Friedberg, Elz, Arnburg, Langenhain, Saalburg (CIL. XIII. pp. 264, 279, 281, 286 f., 289, 469, 302, 440, 445-447, 449), Feldberg (ORL. Abt. B. no. 10, p. 54); am Maisel, Alteburg-Heftich (CIL. XIII. p. 455), Holzhausen (ORL. Abt. B. no. 6, p. 42), Arzbach, Niedernberg, Heddesdorf, Niederbieber (CIL. XIII. pp. 496-499); Neuenheim near Heidelberg (CIL. XIII. p. 224). The bricks in Raetia (CIL. III. 381*, Salzbrunn near Cambodunum) were brought from Frankfurt.

⁶ P. 219.

⁷ If VIII. 2728 has been correctly interpreted, (Raeti) gaesates were employed at Saldae in Mauretania Caesariensis even under Pius (147/152 A. D.).

⁸ VII. 731 (Aesica, 162/169 A. D.); 987; 988; 1002 (211/217 A. D.) (Habitancium); EE. VII, n. 1092 (Jedburgh near Edinburgh). See also p. 223.

⁹ P. W. IV. 346 f.

¹¹ Not. Dign. Occ. v. 43 = 191 = vii. 44.

¹⁰ CIL. XIII. 3593.

¹² Not. Dign. Or. v. 17 = 58.

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