The General Civil and Military Administration of Noricum and Raetia

A Dissertation

Submitted to the Faculty of the Graduate School of Arts and Literature in Candidacy for the Degree of Doctor of Philosophy

(Department of Latin)

By

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Chicago
The University of Chicago Press
1907
THE GENERAL CIVIL AND MILITARY ADMINISTRATION OF NORICUM AND RAETIA.

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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; 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-

1Cf. 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, Ohlen- schlager, 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:

CIL. = Corpus inscriptionum Latinarum. Berlin, 1863–.
CIRh. = W. Brambach, Corpus inscriptionum Rhenanarum. Elberfeld, 1867.
Dessau = H. Dessau, Inscriptio Latinae selectae. Berlin, 1892–.
DS. = Darenberg et Saglio, Dictionnaire des antiquités grecques et romaines. Paris, 1873–. (Especially the article by R. Cagnat, s. v. Legio.)
Eckhel = J. Eckhel, Doctrina numorum veterum. Vienna, 1792–.
EE. = Ephemeris epigraphica. Berlin, 1872–.
IG. = Inscriptiones Graecae. Berlin, 1873–.
IGR. = Inscriptiones Graecae ad res Romanas pertinentes. Paris, 1904–.
MB. = Musée belge. Paris, 1897–.


ORL.=Der obergermanisch-raetische Limes des Römerreiches. Heidelberg, 1894-.


Pros.=Prosopographia imperii Romani. Berlin, 1897-.

PW.=Pauly-Wissowa, Real-Encyclopädie der classischen Altertums-wissenschaft. Stuttgart, 1894- (Especially the articles by Cichorius, s. vv. Ala, Cohors.)


PART I. THE GOVERNORS.

I. Introductory Statement.

PROCURATORES AND PRAEFFECTI.¹

*Titles.*—For a brief period after the Roman conquest, *Raetia* was in charge of a praefectus,² whose province also included Vindelicia 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

² Raetia 1.
³ Raetia 2; Tac. Hist. i. 11: duae Mauritaniae, Raetia, Noricum, Thraecia et quae aliae procuratoribus cohíbentur.
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; Kämmel, pp. 48, 53; Marq. I, 290; Sch. I, 222, and others (cf. also Zippel, pp. 273 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. 8863; 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 quinquafascalis 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, especially for the time of Antoninus Pius. 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. – The procurator commanded the auxiliary troops stationed in his province, and had civil, and, in at least one case, criminal jurisdiction (ius gladii).

Beneficiarii procuratoris Norici. – The procurator of Noricum was assisted by one or more beneficiarii, from twenty-three of whom we have inscriptions, mostly dedications to I. O. M., ranging in date from Trajan to M. Aurelius. The function of these officials is uncertain; the older explanation, that they came to interpret strictly a mere parenthetical explanation of locality like Suet. Tib. 16, while Vell. ii. 108. 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. 508 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 (τεραπολία) 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. Quaestt. pp. 43 ff.

4 Noricum 2, 7; Raetia 9; hence the assumption that Sextius Felix (Noricum 3) and Ti. Iulius Aquillinus (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; 11825 is an epitaph; 14362, p. 222197 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.

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 duenarius;¹¹ his office was of the same grade as the procuracy of Mauretania 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,¹⁵ Cappadocia,¹⁶ Pontus¹⁶ 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 possimus Antoninorum aestati asseriendi videatur cum in provincis 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. 231, n. 1. The time of Pius is meant, unless otherwise indicated.
³ Noricum 4 (under Trajan).
⁹ Noricum 23; cf. the restoration of Noricum 6.
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. 83); 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. 33 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. 9983 (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. 200, 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. 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.

LEGATI PRO PRAETORE.

*Tiles.*—From about 170 A.D. until the reforms of Diocletian, Noricum and Raetia were ruled by legati Augusti pro praetore, called informally quinquæfascales\(^8\) (πεντάραβδοι\(^8\)) and praesides, 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,\(^15\) 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.*—The inscriptions show that the legati in Noricum and Raetia commanded legionary\(^8\) and auxiliary\(^10\) forces, took part

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\(^1\) 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.


\(^10\) 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.

in active military operations, superintended the construction of fortifications and roads, and shared in the worship of the imperial family and the genius of the legions.

PRAESIDES AND DUCES LIMITANCI.

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

Rank.—All the above were viri perfectissimi; in the Notitia dignitatum the duces are also called viri spectabiles.

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. Was the separation of the two branches of the government a gradual one, beginning under Alexander Severus? 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?

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1 Noricum 27; Raetia 18, 20.  
2 Noricum 32; Raetia 14-16.  
3 Noricum 28; Raetia 19.  
4 Raetia 17.  
5 Noricum 25.  
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.  
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. 228.  
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 (like praeses) 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 PROVINCIARUM NORICARUM.

1. Claudius

C. BAEBIUS P. F. CLA. ATTICUS


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

2 P. 179, n. 5. A new and puzzling bit of evidence is afforded by a series of milestones erected by praes(ides) p(rovinciae) P(onti), dating in 239 and 228/223 A. D. (Am. Jour. of Arch. IX. 326 f., nn. 75, 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.


C. Antonius Rufus (III. 5117; 5122; cf. Pros. I. 104, n. 692; CIL. III. 1435429, 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. 23, 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 verwalteten." 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., 32 f.; cf. also pp. 34-36, and Hirschfeld, Verae. 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 "dominica rura" (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

PETRONIUS URBICUS

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

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

3.

Vespasian

SEXTILIUS FELIX

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

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

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

4.

Trajan

[T. ?] PRIBERNIUS P. F. QUI. PÆTUS MEMMIUS APOLLINARIS


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

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1 Pros. III. 31, n. 240.
3 Raetia 2.
4 P. 211.
5 P. 215, n. 19; Sch. I. 504.
6 Lieb. Quaestt. p. 43.
7 Pros. III. 94, n. 690.
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

Q. CAECILIUS REDDITUS¹

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


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

6.

Antoninus Pius

145 circ./161

M. BASSAEUS M. P. ST[EL.] RUFUS²


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. 1421433.
² Pros. I. 239, 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 108 A. D.).⁴ III. 5171.
⁵ Commodus is called Aug. in VI. 1599; Hirschfeld, Verw. pp. 226 f.
Antoninus Pius

ULPIUS VICTOR

D. LXIV (153 A.D.): — — in al(is) IV et coh(ortibus) XIV [et sunt in Norico sub Ulpio Victore — —].
CIL III. 5161 (Celeia): I. O. M. Adnamius Flavinus, Ulpi Victoris proc. Aug., v. s. l. m.
III. 5169 (Celeia).

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

8. (=Raetia 5)

Antoninus Pius

PROBABLY BEFORE 155

LATIN (US) (OR LATIN (IUS)) PI . . . (OR PL . . .)!


If the restoration given is correct, 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 (Castra 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). Ulpius 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 § = Raetia 5; Noricum 25 = Raetia 8).
4 Pros. II. 261, 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).
Antoninus Pius

USIENUS (or USENUS) SECUNDUS


III. 5162 (Celesia): I. O. M. Adnanius Flavinius, 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.

CAECILIUS IUVENTIANUS


11.

L. CAMMIU[ S ] SECUNDI[ NUS]


12.

C. CENSORIUS NIGER


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

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4 Pros. I. 226, 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. 158), 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 Celesia.
5 Perhaps of legio XIII gemina, c. f. CIL. III. p. 1045 ad n. 4600, 5.
6 Script. Pius, 8; Pros. II. 112, n. 60. 7 Pros. I. 337, n. 547; PW. III. 1910, n. 1.
8 Fronto, ad Piam, 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 AUSPEX

III. 5173 (Celeia).

14.

DBUSIUS PROC[ULUS]

III. 5170 (Celeia).

15.

EGNATIUS PRISCUS

III. 11759 (Iuvavum).

16.

FLAVIUS TITIANUS

III. 5164; 5172 (Celeia).

17.

Q. LISINIUS SABINUS

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

18.

PLAUTIUS CAESIANUS

III. 5177 (Celeia).

19.

G. RASINIUS SILO

III. 5165 (Celeia).

1 Prose. I. 85, n. 590.
2 Cf., perhaps, CIL. IX. 506; Prose. II. 29, n. 171. Omitted in Prose. and PW.
4 Prose. 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 (Prose. II. 77, n. 237), who in 164-166 A. D. was praefectus Aegypti. Cf. the cursus of M. Bassius Rufus (Noricum 6).
5 Prose. II. 289, n. 195.
6 Prose. III. 45, n. 349.
7 Prose. III. 125, n. 21.
20.

TI. CLAUD(ius) TI. FIL. FAL. PRISCIANUS


VIII. 9364 (Caesarea).

21.

M. PORCIUS VERUS


22.

M. (?) CLAUDIUS PATERNUS CLEMENTIANUS

cum . . . . .

alae Silianae [torq. c. R.], trib. milit[um] leg. XI C[1.], pra[ef. coh. clas-
sic.] . . . .

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. 396, n. 770; PW. III. 2845, n. 285.
2 Pros. III. 89, n. 646.
3 Oth. Prop. p. 24; Pros. I. 391, n. 750; PW. III. 2840, n. 262. Mommsen's attempted iden-
tification of this Clementianus with the Clem . . . . of III. 11947 (Abusina) is impossible, that inscription is correctly said to be of the third century.
5 The opposite was true of T. Varius Clemens, Raetia 6. Cf. Jung, Röm. p. 39 and n. 2.
ADMINISTRATION OF NORICUM AND RAETIA

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
SEX. BAIUS PUDENS⁴
IX. 4964=Dessau, 1363 (Cures): D. [M.] Sex. Bai[o Pudenti . . . . ]
proc. Aug. . . . . item . . . . Norici, Raetiae Vindelic[iae,⁵ Maur]etaniae
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]
The dates given are the only ones possible for two Augusti
before legati replaced procurators.

LEGATI AUGUSTI PRO PRAETORE PROVINCIÆ NORICÆ.⁷

25.
M. Aurelius or later
After 168
..............................⁸
VI. 1546, p. 3142: . . . . [leg. Aug. pr. pr. prov. . . . . i]tem Ger-
praetor[i].

¹Notiz. d. Scavi, 1885, p. 175 (cited p. 187); CIL. III. 13391.
²Raetia 9.
³Jung, Dac. pp. 79 f.; Marq. I. 421, n. 2.
⁴Pros. I. 225, n. 29; PW. II. 2781 f.
⁵It must not be assumed that Baius ruled Noricum and Raetia at the same time; see
p. 173, n. 7; Lieb. Beitr. p. 27.
⁶VIII. 20834; 20835; 20961; 21007.
⁷Marq. I. 291, n. 3; Lieb. Verw. pp. 300 ff. For Sabinus, legate in 198/209, see refer-
ences given under Raetia 19.
⁸Pros. III. 500, n. 38.
⁹Marq. I. 550 and n. 5; Lieb. Verw. p. 446 and n. 3.
¹⁰Or reg[ionis Transpad.].
26.

C. MEMMIUS C. F. QUIR. PIDUS IULIUS ALBIUS


27.

Septimius Severus

TIB. CL(AUDIUS) CANDIDUS

II. 4114 (Tarraco):

Tib. Cl. Candido cos.

XV vir. s. f., leg. Augg.
pr. pr. provinc. H(ispaniae) e(terioris),
et inea duci terra marique
5 adversus rebelles h. h. p. p. (=hostes publicos),
item Asiae, item Noriciæ,
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,
alleto inter praetorios, ---.

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

---

¹ Prosp. II. 363, n. 349; cf., perhaps, IGR. III. 388.
² On the reading in line 5, see PW. cited below in n. 3.
³ Wilmanns, Exempla inacr. Lat. 1201 (followed by Sch. I. 714; Dessau, 1146, and in the main by Jung, Röm. p. 35, n. 1; PW. III. 2691, n. 36) reads in lines 5 and 6: adversus rebelles H(ispaniae), b(ostes) p(opuli) R(omanii), | item Asiae, item Noriciæ, 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 Hispania and Asiae would require Norici, not Noriciæ, 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 Noriciæ with legatus in line 2. Noriciæ is then taken closely with province(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

M. IUVENTIUS M. F. FAB. SUBUS PROCULUS

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


29.

Septimius Severus

POLLENIUS SEBENNUS

Dio, lxxvi. 9, 2, 3 (205 A.D. 1): —— Πολληνίως Σεβεννίω δίκη τιμωρῶς ἀπήντησεν. ἕκαστις γάρ ὑπὸ Ζεβενίου τοῦ Νωρικοῦ, δὲν ἄρας οὐδὲν χρηστῶν ἔπευξε, αἰτίωσα πέπονθε. —— καὶ εἰ μὴ διὰ τὸν Ἀσπακα τὸν θιῶν αὐτοῦ φεδοῦν ἑτυχε, καὶ ἀπωλῶλει οἰκτρῶς.


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

30.

Caracalla

M. MUNATUS SULLA CERIALIS


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 Noricæ.

1 P. 163, n. 4; Pros. II. 256, n. 595.

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


4 Pros. II. 392, n. 538.

5 Praës 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, Staatrecht, 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

Q. HERENNIUS SILVIUS MAXIMUS

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

32.

Probably early in the 3d century

P. COSINIUS FELIX

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

C. MACRINIUS DECIANUS


The legateship of Noricum would naturally precede.  

DUCES LIMITIS PANNONIAE PRIMAE ET NORICI RIPENSIS.

34.

Maximinus, Constantine, and Licinius

AUR. ELIUS SENEcio


1 Pp. 212, 168 and n. 8. Pros. II. 139, n. 94; Jung, Duc. 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


36. Diocletian or later

URSICINUS

III. 4656–4658, 11350, pp. 2328\textsuperscript{41,197} (Pann. sup., Carnuntum and vicinity): p. 1059; 11853–11855, 13536, p. 2328\textsuperscript{50} (Noricum, in and near Lauriacum): bricks marked temp(erante)\textsuperscript{1} Ursicino v. p. duc(e) leg. II Ital. alar(um) (or pet\textsuperscript{2}), or some similar form.\textsuperscript{3}

PRAESIDES PROVINCIAE NORICI MEDITERRANEI.\textsuperscript{4}

37. Galerius and Maximinus Daza

AUR(ELIUS) HERMODORUS


38. Constantine

FAB(IUS) CLAUDIUS


39. Constans

MARTINIANUS

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

\textsuperscript{1} III. p. 2328\textsuperscript{197}.  
\textsuperscript{2} III. 4656, 11350, p. 2328\textsuperscript{42}.  
\textsuperscript{3} P. 199. Bricks of another type: of(f)icina) arn. Ursicini m(a)g(istani) (III. 4668, 11375, p. 2328\textsuperscript{197}) 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. 2328\textsuperscript{197}.  
\textsuperscript{4} Marq. I. 291, n. 4.
Summary of the Governors of Noricum, including a List of Beneficiarii Procuratoris.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Emperor and Date</th>
<th>PROCURATORES</th>
<th>Beneficiarii</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Claudius</td>
<td>C. Baebius Atticus</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1. 41/54</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Otho</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. 69, spring</td>
<td>Petronius Urbicus</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Vespasian</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3. 69, late -70</td>
<td>Sextilius Felix</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Trajan</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Trajan or Hadrian</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5. After 105</td>
<td>Q. Caecilius Redditus</td>
<td>Antónius Maximus (5163)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Antoninus Pius</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6. 145 circ./161</td>
<td>M. Bassaeus Rufus</td>
<td>Licinius[s] Hilarus (5171)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7. 153</td>
<td>Ulpius Victor</td>
<td>Adnamius Flavinus (5161)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>C. Fuscinius Catullus (5169)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8. Probably</td>
<td>Latin. Pi . .</td>
<td>Adnamius Flavinus (Cf. 7) (5162)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>before 155</td>
<td>(= Raetia 5)</td>
<td>Q. Káninius Lucánus (5166)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9. 158</td>
<td>Usienus Secundus</td>
<td>Verinus Veronis f. (11826, Lauriacum)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10.</td>
<td>Caecilius Iuventianus</td>
<td>. . . . . . . (5182)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11.</td>
<td>L. Cammiu[s] Secundi[nus]</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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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, *Dis. 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. 2300 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.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Emperor and Date</th>
<th>PROCURATORES</th>
<th>Beneficiarii</th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>12. Antoninus Pius</td>
<td>C. Censorius Niger</td>
<td>L. Messius Frontinus</td>
<td>(5174)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>M. Ulpius Crescens</td>
<td>(5181)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td><strong>Probably under Pius</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>13.</td>
<td>C. Antistius Auspex</td>
<td>Mascelinius Successus</td>
<td>(5173)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>15.</td>
<td>Egnatius Priscus</td>
<td>M. Ulp. Philipp[hus]</td>
<td>(11759, Iuvavum)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>16.</td>
<td>Flavius Titianus</td>
<td>C. Anonius Valens</td>
<td>(5164)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Lucilius Finitus</td>
<td>(5172)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>17.</td>
<td>Q. Lisinius Sabinus</td>
<td>Q. Crescentius Marcel-lus</td>
<td>(5167)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>T. Flavius Dubitatus</td>
<td>(5168)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>C. Mustius Tettianus</td>
<td>(5175, 5176)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>18.</td>
<td>Plautius Caesianus</td>
<td>conius [P]rimus</td>
<td>(5177)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>19.</td>
<td>G. Rasinius Silo</td>
<td>Augustanus</td>
<td>(5165)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>20.</td>
<td>Ti. Claud. Priscianus</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>21.</td>
<td>M. Porcius Verus</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>22.</td>
<td>M. Claudius Paternus</td>
<td>. . . . . . (14362, p. 2328 107, Virunum)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Clementianus</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Pius or Marcus</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>23.</td>
<td>Before 167</td>
<td>Sex. Bais Pudens</td>
<td>(= Raetia 8)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>M. Aurelius</td>
<td></td>
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</table>

**LEGATI**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Marcus or later</th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>25.</td>
<td>After 168</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Commodus</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>26.</td>
<td>191</td>
<td>C. Memmius Fidus Iulius Albius</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

1 Bf. may be restored with some degree of probability in this fragmentary inscription.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>No.</th>
<th>Emperor and Date</th>
<th>LEGATI</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>27.</td>
<td>Septimius Severus</td>
<td>Tib. Cl. Candidus</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>194</td>
<td>M. Iuventius Surus Proculus</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>28.</td>
<td>After 205</td>
<td>Pollenius Sebennus</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>29.</td>
<td>Caracalla</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>30.</td>
<td>Before 215</td>
<td>M. Munatius Sulla Cerialis</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>31.</td>
<td>Caracalla or Elagabalus</td>
<td>Q. Herennius Silvius Maximus</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>211/222</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>32.</td>
<td>Uncertain</td>
<td>P. Cosinius Felix</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Probably early in the 3d century</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>33.</td>
<td>Valerian and Gallienus</td>
<td>C. Macrinius Decianus</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>260 or before</td>
<td>DUCES LIMITIS PANNONIAE I ET NORICI RIPENSIS</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Maximinus, Constantine, and Licinius</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>34.</td>
<td>310</td>
<td>Aur. Senecio</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>35.</td>
<td>Diocletian or later</td>
<td>Aure[1]. Iustinianus</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>36.</td>
<td>Ursicinus</td>
<td>PRAESIDES PROVINCIÆ NORICI MEDITERRANEI</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Galerius and Maximinus Daza</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>37.</td>
<td>311</td>
<td>Aur. Hermódorus</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>38.</td>
<td>Constantine</td>
<td>Fab. Claudius</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>39.</td>
<td>323/337</td>
<td>Martinianus</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Constans</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>337/350</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
III. The Governors of Raetia.

PRAEFECTUS RAETIS VINDOLICIS VALLIS POENINAE.¹

1.

Augustus or Tiberius

Before 19

[S]ex. Pedi[us Sex. F. An. Lusianus Hirrutos²


Germanicus died in 19 A.D.

PROCURATORES AUGUSTI PROVINCIÆ RÆTIAE.⁴

2.

Vitellius

POBCIUS SEPTIMIUS⁴

Tac. Hist. iii. 5: see Noricum 3.

3.

Domitian or Nerva

C. VELIUS SA[L]VI F. RUFUS


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.


CIL. XIV. 336, giving the name of Sex. Oppius Priscus, is forged. L. Domitius Ahenobarbus, M. Aufius 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. ev. For Ulpius Victor, see Noricum 7, and for Claudius Paternus Clementianus, see Noricum 22.


⁴Pros. III. 89, n. 645.

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

4.

Trajan

TI. IULIUS AQUILINUS

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

T. VARIUS T. FIL. CLA. CLEMENS


Cf. III. 5212–5216 (Celeia).

The approximate date is determined as follows: VIII. 2728 (Lambaesis), a letter to Valerius Etruscus, who was legate in 152 A.D., 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 ?]

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

8. (= Noricum 23)

Pius or M. Aurelius

SEX. BAIUS PUDENS

---

1 P. 166, n. 4; Pros. II. 168, n. 110.
2 Pros. III. 385, n. 183; 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.
M. Aurelius

T. DESTICIUS T. F. CLA. SEVERUS


167/169

M. Aurelius

Q. CAICILIUS CISIACUS SEPTICIUS PICA CAICILIANUS


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 PROVINCIARIE RAEITAE.\(^6\)

11.

M. Aurelius or later

APPIUS CL(AUDIUS) LATERANUS

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.


The recognition of Iasculus as legate of Raetia rests solely upon an old restoration of CIL. VI. 1428; a better text is given in VI. 3135 (cf. Pros. II. 151, n. 8). Oth. Prop. pp. 17, 26, 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.


\(^8\) 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

\[\text{CAESELLIUS}\]¹


The dates are the same as for Raetia 11.

13.

Marcus, Commodus, or Septimius 167/200 circ.

\[\ldots\ldots\ldots\ldots\ldots\ldots\ldots\ldots\ldots\ldots\ldots\ldots\ldots\]

Ann. Ep. 1890, n. 136 = IGR. I. 971 (Gortyna): \[\ldots\ldots\ldots\ldots\ldots\ldots\ldots\ldots\ldots\ldots\ldots\ldots\ldots\] ²

\[\text{se}i[t]\text{em}et\text{ri}ou\text{t}o\text{u} \text{R}ω\text{ma}i\text{on} \text{t}a\text{kh}θ\text{a}n\text{[ta]}, \text{te}m\text{m}\text{h}\text{t}\text{a} \text{e}r\text{w}\text{s}\text{u}n\text{h} \text{t}o\text{n} \text{e} \text{t} \text{d}\text{rd}\text{o}[v, \ldots] \text{p}\text{n}á\text{n} \text{t}o\text{n} \text{e} \text{i} \text{T}i\text{l}a, \text{[p}r\text{e}o\text{s}e\text{b}e\text{u}t\text{i}n] \text{A}f\text{f}r\text{k}i\text{d}i\text{s} \text{d}\text{r}\text{te}p\text{v}a\text{t}o[v \text{e} \text{r} \text{t} \text{a} \text{r} \text{a} \text{v} \text{d}o[v,} \text{R}a\text{t}i\text{a}, \text{[B}o\text{l}o\text{n}u}m\text{]i} \text{a} \text{Ka}l\text{r}d\text{a} \text{t} \text{o} \text{g} \text{u}k\text{w}t\text{a} [\text{on} \text{kai} \text{eu]} \text{r} \text{e} \text{b} \text{s} \text{t} \text{a} \text{t} \text{a} \text{v} \text{i} \text{w}o.}

\[\text{Ibid.} \text{n. 135} = \text{IGR. I. 969: M. R}\text{w}\text{s}k\text{i} \text{K}u\text{r}e\text{i}\text{n}a \text{D}o\text{u}p\text{n} \text{M}o\text{u}[\rho]\text{[n]}; \text{M. M}o\text{u}r\text{h}n\text{a} \text{s}\text{t}\text{r}a\text{t}g\text{h}k\text{o}v \text{v} \text{w}o, \text{M. M}o\text{u}r\text{h}n\text{a} \text{d}\text{r}nt\text{a} \text{B}e\text{a}\text{t}n\text{i}a, \text{K}e\text{g}\text{o}, \text{s}\text{e}t\text{t} \text{m}d\text{h}r\text{k} \text{e} \text{p}\text{o}u\text{l}w, \text{c}h\text{e}l\text{i}\text{a}r\text{x}\text{h} \text{g}\text{e}w\text{n} \text{v} \text{i} \text{b}\text{d}\text{m}\text{s} \text{K}l\text{a}\text{n}d\text{i}a, \text{p}\text{r}o\text{s}t\text{t} \text{r} \text{g}\text{n} \text{g} \text{e}w\text{n} \text{t} \text{t} \text{r} \text{t} \text{h} \text{F}l\text{a}b\text{i}a, \text{t} \text{m} \text{h} \text{a}, \text{d} \text{r} \text{n} \text{t} \text{t} \text{t} \text{r} \text{t} \text{g} \text{f} \text{g} \text{h} \text{e} \text{i} \text{f} \text{k} \text{r} \text{t} \text{i}a, \text{kai} \text{K}u\text{r}i\text{n}h, \text{B}o\text{l}o\text{n}u\text{n}i} \text{a} \text{K}a\text{l}r\text{d}a} \text{t} \text{t} \text{e} \text{d} \text{r} \text{t} \text{s} \text{e} \text{k} \text{g} \text{n} \text{w}o.

Now the grandfather, M. (Roscius) Murena, 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.³ 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.⁴

¹ Pros. I. 262, n. 120; PW. III. 1283, n. 1. Not the C. Caerellius Sabinus of III. 1074–1076; 1092; 1111; cf. Obl. Prog. p. 27, n. 72.
² Pros. III. 500, n. 37. ³ P. 168. ⁴ Pros. III. 480, n. 644. ⁵ Ibid. 125, 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 Halbherr, 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 Agio 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

M. HELVIUS [CLE]MENS DEXTRIANUS

CIL. III. 11965 (Castra Regina): — — vallu[m] cum portis et turribus etc. (= fec.?) [ . . . curante?] M. Helvio [Cle]mente Dextriano leg. Au[gg. 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

SPICIUS CERIALIS


16.

Commodus

[CERT]ALIS OR [PETI]ALIS⁵


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. 14370, were the same, seems to have influenced the later observers who report the reading as Cerialis.

---

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

[AElius ? Dio]NYSIUS

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

P. PORCIUS OPTATUS FLAMMA


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

SABI[NUS]


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. 1430.
⁴ Sch. I. 715, n. 1.
⁵ Pros. III. 153, n. 19.
20.

Caracalla

C. OCTAVIUS APP(ius) SUETIUS SABINUS


Cf. X. 5178 (Casinn). The command in Germany and the legateship in Raetia were undoubtedly contemporaneous.

21.

Gordian

PETRONIUS POLIANUS


22.

Philip, Trebonian, or Valerian

OLUS TERENTIUS PUDENS UTTEDIANUS


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. 31538; 31533; XV. 4097; 7546.

2 Sch. I. 743, n. 5; 744.


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.  

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

**DUCES LIMITIS RAETICI.**

23.

Trebonian

P. LICINIUS VALERIANUS

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


24.

Valerian

FULVIUS BOIUS

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

25.

Gallienus

AUREOLUS

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

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

1 It is hard to see why Liebenam (*Verw.* p. 353) says: "In den beiden Augusti sind wohl Marc Aurel und Verus zu erkennen" (165/169 would be the only possible years, for Raetia in 165 and afterwards was still a procuratorial province, cf. Raetia 9, 10). With equal positiveness, Jung, *Dac.* pp. 55 f. (cf. Vasside, p. 89), concludes: "Wohl aus der Zeit des Septimius Severus und des Caracalla," and Planta, p. 161, n. 3: "am wahrscheinlichsten unter Diocletian."  
2 Ohl. *Sitz.* p. 228; *Prop.* p. 28; Lieb. *Verw.* p. 354, n. 1; Arnold, p. 46; Franzies, 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 1tal. and accordingly are placed here rather than in the preceding list. But see p. 169.  
4 If 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. 178, n. 7.  
5 Soldiers of leg. III Aug. were among them; see p. 211.  
6 Sch. I. 819; *Pros.* II. 92, n. 352.  
7 Sch. I. 840; 845, n. 6; *Pros.* I. 219, n. 138; *PW.* II. 254 f.  
8 Legio 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 Γαλλεργῷ τῷ πρὸς Σκύθας ἐγκατερεύνη
tολέμῳ τὸν τῆς ἢππον πάσης ἡγούμενον Αὐρώλον, ἐν Μεδιλάνῳ τῷ πάλει τὴν
ἐπὶ τῆν Ἰταλιᾶν πάροδον Ποστούμον τεταγμένον παραφυλάττειν, εἰς τὸ νεώτερίζειν
tετράφθαι καὶ μνάσχαι τὴν τῶν ὅλων ἀρχὴν ἵνα τρίῳ.

26. Aurelian 270/275

BONOSUS


PRAESIDES PROVINCIAE RAETIAE.

27. Diocletian

SEPT(IMIUS) VALENTIO

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.¹

28. AURELIUS MUCIANUS

III. 5785 (Augusta): [Her]culi statuam cum base Aurelius Mucianus
Gerontio . . . .

29. VALERIUS VENUSTUS

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

30.

. . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . .

[susce.] III Nonas . . . .

¹ Sch. I. 880; Pros. I. 239, n. 120; PW. III. 713 f.
² Obh. Sitz. pp. 229 f.; Prog. p. 29; Marq. I. 289, n. 6; Arnold, p. 45.
³ CIL. VI. 1135. 
⁴ P. 169, n. 12. 
⁵ Pros. I. 210, n. 1277. 
⁶ Pros. III. 379, n. 151.

**Summary of the Governors of Raetia.**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Emperor and Date</th>
<th>PROAFFECTI</th>
<th>PROCURATORES</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Augustus or Tiberius</td>
<td>Sex. Pedius Lusianus Hirrutus</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1. Before 19</td>
<td></td>
<td>Porcius Septimius</td>
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<td>Vitellius</td>
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<td>2. 69</td>
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<tr>
<td>Domitian or Nerva</td>
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<td>3. 92 or soon after</td>
<td>C. Velius Rufus</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>Trajan</td>
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<td>4. 107</td>
<td>Ti. Iulius Aquilinus</td>
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<tr>
<td>Antoninus Pius</td>
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<tr>
<td>5. Probably before 155</td>
<td>Latin. Pi . .</td>
<td>(=Noricum 8)</td>
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<tr>
<td>6. 153/161</td>
<td>T. Varius Clemens</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>7. Not later than Pius</td>
<td>L. Tit[uleus ?]</td>
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<tr>
<td>Pius or M. Aurelius</td>
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<tr>
<td>8. Before 168</td>
<td>Sex. Baius Pudens</td>
<td>(=Noricum 23)</td>
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<tr>
<td>M. Aurelius</td>
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<tr>
<td>9. 166</td>
<td>T. Desticius Severus</td>
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<tr>
<td>10. 167/169</td>
<td>Q. Caecilius Cisicicus Septicius</td>
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<td>Pica Caecilianus</td>
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<td>LEGATI</td>
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<td>M. Aurelius or later</td>
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<td>11.</td>
<td>Appius Cl. Lateranus</td>
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<td>12.</td>
<td>[Caerellius]</td>
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<tr>
<td>Marcus, Commodus, or Septimius Severus</td>
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<tr>
<td>13. 167/200 circ.</td>
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<tr>
<td>M. Aurelius-Commodus</td>
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<td>14. 179-180</td>
<td>M. Helvius [Cle]mens Dextrianus</td>
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<tr>
<td>Commodus</td>
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<td>15. 181</td>
<td>Spicius Cerialis</td>
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<tr>
<td>16. 183/185</td>
<td>[Ceri]alis or [Feti]alis</td>
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<tr>
<td>Commodus, Elagabalus, or Alexander</td>
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<tr>
<td>17. Probably 182/192, 218/234</td>
<td>[Aelius † Dio]nysius</td>
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<tr>
<td>Emperor and Date</td>
<td>LEGATI</td>
<td>DUCES LIMITIS RAETICI</td>
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<tr>
<td>18. Septimius Severus</td>
<td>197 P. Porcius Optatus Flamma</td>
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<tr>
<td>19. Caracalla</td>
<td>198/209 Sabi[nus]</td>
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<tr>
<td>Philip, Trebonian, or Valerian</td>
<td>238/244 Petronius Polianus</td>
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<tr>
<td>22. Probably 246/249, 251/255</td>
<td>Olus Terentius Pudens Uttedianus</td>
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<td>23. Trebonian</td>
<td>253 P. Licinius Valerianus</td>
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<td>24. Valerian</td>
<td>258 Fulvius Boius</td>
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<td>25. Gallienus</td>
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<td>26. Aurelian</td>
<td>270/275 Bonosus</td>
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<td>27. Diocletian</td>
<td>290 Sept. [Vale]ntio</td>
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<tr>
<td>28. Diocletian or later</td>
<td>Aurelius Mucianus</td>
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<tr>
<td>29.</td>
<td>Valerius Venustus</td>
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<td>30.</td>
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<td>31.</td>
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</table>
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 Salonae 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.
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. 1228; Orciulium, XI. 4985; Terventum, IX. 2993; see pp. 199, 178, 202, 201; Arnold, p. 89.
⁴ On CIL. VI. 1377, 31640; III. 1457, which give the complete curses of M. Claudius Fronto, see Dessau, 1067 f.; Prox. 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 165, Fronto was made consul and curator operum publicorum, and was detailed for recruiting service in Italy (CIL. VI. 1377, l. 14: missó ad inuentátum per Italianam legendam; cf. DS. II. 219). Certainly this can refer to nothing but the levy of the second and third Italian legions. Fronto was relieved from his duties as dictator 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. 3338; at fifteen, XIII. 6586; at sixteen, III. 12440; XII. 6553; at seventeen, XI. 4985; Dessau, 2261: 2541: 2545; at twenty-two, III. 5950; Dessau, 2252; 2258; 2265; 2314; 2339; 2352; 2422; at twenty-three, Dessau, 2245; 2284; 2319; older than twenty-three, III. 4857; XII. 6943; Dessau, 2257; 2270; 2373; cf. DS. II. 221), and would be unusually frequent at such a time of peril as 165/169. 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 it except the fact that Pannonia was Marcus's headquarters, while on the other hand the attack of 162 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.

Name and titles.—In 170 A.D. the legion bore the name II pia, which was still in use as late as 191 A.D.; legio II Italica was, however, the common designation throughout its history. In 193 the legion was honored on the silver coinage of Septimius Severus, whose assumption of the imperial power in the spring of that year it had undoubtedly supported; before April 11, 200, it had received from him the title fidelis. Antoniniana was added under Caracalla, dropped after his death (April 8, 217), and resumed under Elagabalus. During the reign of Alexander Severus, the cognomen Severiana was used. 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. 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 (adj.) (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. 15508.
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. 4781, p. 1812; 5688, 41895.
15 III. 4820 (Virunum). This inscription is used to fix the date of Gordian’s accession; cf. PW. I. 2621 ff. In CIL. III, p. 4638 the date is wrongly given as June 24.
occurs. The titles pia fidelis were renewed by Valerian and Gallienus in 253 and at intervals thereafter; LEG. II. ITAL. VI. P. VI. F. and LEG. II. ITAL. VII. P. VII. F. 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. Accordingly, bricks made by the legion have been found in large numbers near Celeia, and all the way from that city to Atrane.

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; in the fourth century, at least, it had a shield factory (fabrica scutaria), and served as headquarters for a fleet, and for auxiliaries.

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; later it was deserted in favor of Ioviacum and Lentia on the Danube.

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1 Cf. p. 206 and n. 2.
2 Valerian had good reason to honor the legions of the Upper Danube; see Raetia 23.
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; 13533 f.; p. 2287; p. 2328 (cf. 5757 f, z); inscriptions from members of leg. II Ital.: III. 11822-24; 15208 (191 A.D.); 15238 (cf. p. 130). The site may have been occupied even before the arrival of the legion: III. 11528 (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).
9 P. 221.
10 P. 214; cf. *CIL.* III. 11872 (teg.) (1).
11 IX. 2593 (p. 196, n. 6); III. 2328 (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 Daci\(^5\) and a war with the Goths\(^6\) 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]

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\(^1\) *Noricum* 36.


\(^3\) *CIL. XI.* 4787; VI. 3557; see *PW. V.* 1238 f.; *CIL. XIII.* 6814; 7604, 7760 f.; 7761.

\(^4\) Isolated bricks found elsewhere are undoubtedly chance importations: III. 10662 (Pann. inf.); 11849 e (Mautern); cf. p. 205. Glades of this legion are spurious: I. 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. 4885; 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 officers 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.


**PRIMIPILARES**

Val. Cl. Quintus
M. Gavius Firmus

[^III. 5341]

**ORDINARI**
Florius Baudio

**CENTURIONES**

[M. Petronius Fortunatus]
Saturninus
L. Sep[ t. T]ertiu[n[s]

[^III. 5582, p. 1839]

**CENTURIONES UNDER SEVERUS OR CARACALLA**

Under Severus or Caracalla

[VIII. 217 (Mausoleum Petroniourum)]
[VIII. 17626 (Vazaivi)]
[III. 5300 (Kerschbach)]

**PRINCIPALES: SERVING UNDER A PRAEPOSITUS**

**BENEFICIARI Consularis**

Rufi. Senilis
M. Aurelius or Commodus

[^III. 5188 (Celeia)]

M. Ulpius Acilianus
M. Aurelius or Commodus

[^III. 5180 (Celeia)]

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3 See Noricum 26.
4 *EE. IV.* pp. 239 f.
6 Lieb. *Quaestr.* p. 17.
8 The rank (7) is restored.
10 *EE. IV.* pp. 531-537.
11 It is generally stated, as by Cauer, *EE. IV.*, pp. 339, 385; Marq. II. 549, n. 7, that co(n)s(ularis) 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 praetore, regardless of his rank, which in Noricum and Raetia was praetorian or less (p. 188).
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(ebus), the imperial house, or a local deity (Celeia, Norcia, or Bedania). 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 Norcia), 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).
Beneficiarii Consularis

Q. Sextius Pullaenius 192
  ...  ...  ...  ...  ...  ...  I. 5178 (Celeia)
C. Aemil. Respectus May 15, 209
  ...  ...  ...  ...  ...  ...  I. 5537 (Iuvavum)
C. Licinius Bellicianus Dec. 13, 211
  ...  ...  ...  ...  ...  ...  I. 5187 (Celeia)
P. Aelius Verinus 213
  ...  ...  ...  ...  ...  ...  I. 5154 (Celeia)
Vib. Cassius Victorinus 215
  ...  ...  ...  ...  ...  ...  I. 5185 (Celeia)
Restituti[s T]utor 215
  ...  ...  ...  ...  ...  ...  I. 11482 (Unterthörli)
M. Aurel. Iustus 217
  ...  ...  ...  ...  ...  ...  I. 5189 (Celeia)
Tul. Juvenis May 15, 219
  ...  ...  ...  ...  ...  ...  I. 5580 (Bedaium)
Vind. Verus May 15, 226
  ...  ...  ...  ...  ...  ...  I. 5575 (Bedaium)
C. Oppius Bebius 226
  ...  ...  ...  ...  ...  ...  I. 3270 (Teutoburgium)
M. Rusticus P. [f. I]uni- May 15, 230
  ...  ...  ...  ...  ...  ...  I. 5590 (Boiodurum)
  ...  ...  ...  ...  ...  ...  I. 4820 (Virunum)
  ...  ...  ...  ...  ...  ...  I. 11676 (Atrans)

[III. 4776; 4860; 5072; 5631; 14366,]

Beneficiarii Praefecti Legionis

Iul. Apricius Septimius Ser- III. 5671 (Fafiana)
us or later

Beneficiarii Tribuni

P. Florius P. fil. Vol. M. Aurelius IX. 2593 (Terventum)
Praenestinus

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

Stratores Consularis

M. Aurel. Sa[ivi]anus Under Alexander Severus
  ...  ...  ...  ...  ...  ...  I. 5449 (Semriach)
M. Aurelius Secundinus
  ...  ...  ...  ...  ...  ...  I. 4836 (Virunum)

Librarii Consularis

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

---

1 Cf. Noricum 29.
3 EE. IV, p. 393; I, pp. 81 ff.
4 EE. IV, p. 395.
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. Severianae ex stratore cos."
10 EE. IV, pp. 425 ff.; Marq. II. 550.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>PRINCIPALES: NOT UNDER A PRAEPOSITUS¹</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Optiones²</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>M. Firmidius Spectatus³ April 11, 200</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Iul. P . . . . . . . .  . . . . . . . .</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Val. Vario 4th century XI. 1322 (Luna)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tesserarii⁴</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Aur. Saturninus⁵ VI. 2672</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Signiferi⁶</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Aurel. I . . . . . III. 11822 (Lauriacum)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Terent. Lucianus V. 46 (Pola)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Val. Genialis 4th century VI. 3637</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cor(nicines)⁷</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Val. Saturnanus XI. 4085 (Oriculum)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Frumentarii⁸</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Accius Maximus III. 4830 (Virunum)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>M. Aµr. Ἀλκέαρδρος IGR. I. 29 = IG. XIV. 358 (Rome)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Aurelius Lucianus⁹ VI. 3340</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>M. Firmidius Spectatus¹⁰ Apr. 11, 200</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>. . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . .</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>[III. 5592]¹²</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Custodes Armorum¹³ III. 5106 (S. Veit near Waldegg)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sacron. Verinus¹⁴ III. 4835 (Virunum)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Medici¹⁵</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>L. Caelius Arrianus V. 4367 (Brixia)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Duplarii¹⁶</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Aur. Secundian.¹⁷ III. 11816 (Fafiana)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Immunes¹⁸</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Aurelius Ursinianus</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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. 332.
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. 551; DS. II. 1348; Röhm. Mitt. XX. 310 ff.
⁹ "frumentarius (sic) [in] legionem II Itali[cam ad] frum[entarii]" ¹⁰ "frumentarius (sic) [in] legionem II Itali[cam ad] frum[entarii] [res curandas]."
¹¹ See list of centurions, p. 200. ¹² See list of optiones above.
¹³ "veter. leg. II Italicum, custos armor." ¹⁴ See list of centurions, p. 200.
¹⁵ EE. IV, pp. 457 ff.; Marq. II. 551. ¹⁶ Marq. II. 544; DS. II. 415.
¹⁷ "militi an. XXX immello desiderato." ¹⁸ EE. IV, pp. 409 ff.; Marq. II. 514; DS. III. 415 f.
PRIVATE SOLDIERS

MILITES

Annematus
Aur. Boniatus
Aur. Iustinus
Aur. Iustinus
Aur. Tertianus
Aur. Victor
[A]urelius . .guto
Auspicatus
Bebius Acceptus
Septimius Severus or later
Exupereus
Fabianus
Firminus
Septimius Severus or later
Fortunatus
T. Gallius Euphrosyn
Juvenis
Lici. Maximinus
Melissus
Nigelo
Optatus
Patr.
Pompeianus
Quintianus
Sex. Sarminius

Under Alexander Severus

III. 11822 (Lauriacum)
III, p. 1046 ad n. 4791, p. 1813 (Virunum)
III. 5218 (Celeia)
III. 5567 (Bedaium)
IGL I. 678 (Thrace)
III. 4836 a (Virunum)
III. 11700 (Celeia)
V. 46 (Pola)
III. 14369² l, m (Lotschitz)
(teg.)
III. 4837 (Virunum)
III. 5412 (Voitsberg)
III. 14369² n (Lotschitz)
(teg.)
III. 11553 (Virunum)
III. 5757, 2; 14369² b–d (Lotschitz) (teg.)
V. 8277 (Aquileia)
III. 14369² o, p (Lotschitz)
(teg.)
III. 15184⁶, p. 2653 (Noricum near Poetovio)
III. 14369² q (Lotschitz)
(teg.)
III. 5448 (Feistritz)
III. 11642 (Schratzbach)
III. 5757, 3 (Trojanaberg)
(teg.)
III. 11851 a–c (Heilenstein); 14369² e–h (Lotschitz) (teg.)
III. 5757, 4; 14369² i, k (Lotschitz); 11850 (Heilenstein) (teg.)
III. 5663, 11806 (S. Leonhard am Forst)

¹This list includes eight names occurring on legionary tegulae from the vicinity of Celeia.
STUDIES IN CLASSICAL PHILOLOGY

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(onius) Quart[inus] Septimius Severus or later III. 4857 (Virunum)
Vettius Vitalis . . . . . . . . . Caracalla or Elagabalus III. 5614 (Weihmörting)
. . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . III. 5688 (Lentia)
[III. 4733; 4841; 13529]

VETERANI

Aelius Valens[A] III. 11816 (Fafiana)
Aur. Maternus III. 8730 (Salonae)
M. Aurelius Secundinus Septimius Severus or later III. 5409 (Stallhofen)
Messo[r][us] Matuco III. 5624 (Lützlbarg)
Secius 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


2. Iuenna

Tegulae (found at Mauer-Oehling in Noricum³ and also in Pannonia superior¹ and inferior¹): figulinas Iuensianas leg. I Nor.


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

CIL. III. 4803 (Virunum): — — Ulpius Valerius specul.⁵ leg. primæ Nor. — — .

¹ D. III. 1091. ² P. 221. ³ CIL. III. 11848, p. 2328²⁰⁰. ⁴ III. 6189; 11349 a (Ragendorf); p. 2328²⁴⁸, ¹⁹⁷ (Purbach; Vienna).
⁵ III. 11349 e (Mitrovica). ⁶ E.E. 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 Inessa were exported to such a distance as the eastern borders of Pannonia inferior\(^1\) makes it slightly more probable that those also which were stamped simply LEG I NOR\(^2\) 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. Aurelius\(^5\) in 165/169 at the same time as legio II Italica; in 170 it furnished a detail for the repairs at Salona;\(^6\) 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,

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\(^1\) 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:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>leg. I adi.</th>
<th>III. 4787</th>
<th>leg. X gem.</th>
<th>III. 5156 a; 5288; 5460;</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>I Min.</td>
<td>5383</td>
<td></td>
<td>5488; 5510; 5702;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>II adi.</td>
<td>5004; 5331; 5417;</td>
<td></td>
<td>14891;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>II Aug.</td>
<td>5476</td>
<td>XIII gem.</td>
<td>5233; 5236; 6525</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

|            |             | XIIII gem.  | 5336; 5497             |
| III Aug.   | 4855; 5630; 11714 |         |                        |
| V Mac.     | 4859; 5130 | XX V. v.    | 5184; 5577; 11746     |
| VI ferr.   | 13534     | XXI rap.    | 4840                   |
| VI vict.   | 11852 (tag.) | XXX II pr.  | 4843                   |
| VII Cl.    | 5202      | XXX Ulp. v. | 5211; 5212; 5214;      |
| VII gem.   | 5570      |              | 5215; 15205\(^1\)      |
| VIII Aug.  | III. 4858; 5220 |             |                        |

See VI. 31571 (cited on p. 211, n. 6).

\(^4\) DS. III. 1069.

\(^5\) Cf. CIL. V. 7865 f. (p. 208, n. 3).

\(^6\) P. 198.

\(^7\) Raetia 14, 15; cf. III. 14370\(^1\) (Castra Regina; 178 A.D. 7).

\(^8\) P. 191, n. 5.

with the addition of a cognomen derived from the name of the reigning emperor, Antoniniana\(^1\) or Gordiana.\(^2\)

*Legionary coins.*—Like legio II Italic,\(^3\) 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 vicinity\(^{12}\) 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 Viamania to Cassilicum, and at Foetus and Terioli.\(^{14}\) Still another part was in Illyricum.\(^{15}\)

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\(^1\) Under Caracalla (211-217) or Elagabalus (218-222): III. 1178; 14207.\(^6\)

\(^2\) 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.; Eckhol, VII, p. 168.

\(^5\) Cohen, V, p. 389, nn. 487-498; Eckhol, VII, p. 402 (symbols: a stork; a bull; cf. DS. III. 1074 f.). VI P.V. 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.

\(^6\) Tegulæ: *CIL.* III. 6000, pp. 1051, 2328\(^5\); 365*; *Ann. Ep.* 1906, 183; milestones giving the distance a l(e)g(ione): III. 3996 (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.* III c; *Not. Dign. Occ.* xxxv 17. Cf. *CIL.* III, p. 730.

\(^7\) Raetia 15. \(^8\) Tegulæ: III. 6000; 11988; 11989.

\(^8\) III. 11988 (tag.).

\(^9\) Bricks have also been found at Abbach and Alkofen near Castra Regina (III. 6000; 12005 (pia fidelis)); Lietzheim (F) (6000); Ummendorf (p. 2328\(^5\)). A find of bricks as at Abbach and Alkofen, or of inscriptions like those from Lautening-Faimingen (5874; 5875) does not prove even a temporary occupation by legionaries; cf. Franzis, pp. 42, 284, 293, 296, 340, 343, *et passim.* Franzis’s statement (p. 343) that bricks of the third legion have been discovered at Künsting (Quintianae) has not been verified. With regard to Böhming and Pfünz, see Allen, pp. 359 f.

\(^10\) III. 6000, 11987.

\(^11\) III. 5793 (cf. Raetia 11); 5812, 5814; 5816-5818; 5823.

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

PRAEFFECTI

Secundinus⁶

Diocletian or

III. 14370₁₂ (Castra Re-

later

gina)

TRIBUNI LATICLAVI

M. Annaeus Saturninus

VI. 1337

Clodianus Aelianus⁷

C. Iulius Ingenuus⁸

V. 5032 (Tridentum)

L. Marius L. f. Quir.

VI. 1450

Maximus Perpetuus

Under Com-

Aurelianus⁹

modus, be-

fore 190

TRIBUNI (ANGUSTICLAVI)¹⁰

C. Annius Flavianus¹¹

Marcus and

VIII. 17900 (Thamugadi)

Commodus

Gn. Pompeius Pompe-

ianus

VI. 3529

DUCES¹²

Val. Cl. Quintus¹³

III. 4855 (Virunum)

¹ CIL. III. 5937 (near Kelheim). Cf. p. 208, n. 4; Sch. I. 643, 662. ² Raetia 18.
³ P. 190, n. 9; Arnold, p. 62. ⁴ CIL. III. 14207 (Perinthus, Thrace).
⁵ Raetia 20. ⁶ See Raetia 31.
⁷ “r’(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, allocut inter praeetorios, trib. pleb. can-
didato, quaestori urbano, trib. laticl. leg. XXII primig., item III Italicae,” Pros. II. 346,
no. 233; Lieb. Verr. 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 III Rectorum, donis militarib. donatus bello Ger[ma]nico II.”
P. 223; Pros. I. 64, n. 486; PW. I. 2365, n. 44.
¹² P. 110 and n. 1; Dissertat. Halinens. IV. 405 ff.; DS. III. 1052. ¹³ See p. 309.
### CENTURIONS

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Name</th>
<th>Date</th>
<th>Location</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Ael. Fortis</td>
<td>181 A.D.</td>
<td>III. 14370 (Böhming)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Q. Eniboudius Montanius</td>
<td>Under M. Aurelius</td>
<td>V. 7865, 7866 (Cemenelum)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Fl. Vetulenus</td>
<td>Perhaps under Marcus or Commodus</td>
<td>III. 5937 (near Kelheim)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Iul. Iul[ius](^2)linus</td>
<td>181 A.D.</td>
<td>III. 14372 (Böhming)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>C. Managnius Iustus</td>
<td>III. 5817 (Augusta)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>C. Nonius Manilianus</td>
<td>VIII. 2953 (Lambaesis)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>L. Numerius L. f. Felix</td>
<td>II. 4162 (Tarraco)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>M. Ulp. Caius</td>
<td>Caracalla or Elagabalus</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>M. Ulpius Secundus(^7)</td>
<td>III. 5876 (Lauingen)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ulp. Vitalis</td>
<td>III. 7785 (Apulum)</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>[III. 5820; 15210(_r)]</td>
<td>III. 5815</td>
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</table>

### PRINCIPALES: SERVING UNDER A PRAEPOSITUS\(^8\)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Name</th>
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<th>Location</th>
</tr>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Beneficiarii Consularis(^9)</td>
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<tr>
<td>Severius Severianus(^10)</td>
<td>Under Gordian</td>
<td>III. 5768 (Brigantium)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>[III. 5815]</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Beneficiarii Praefecti Castrorum(^11)</td>
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<td>III. 5953</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Iul[ius Ca]ndidius</td>
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<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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\(^1\) Cf. also CIL II. 18\(^a\).

\(^2\) See Raetia 15.

\(^3\) "Leg. III Italicæ, ordinatus ex eq. Rom. ab domino Imp. M. Aurel. Antonino Ang."

\(^4\) E. IV., p. 240 on n. 67.

\(^5\) "M. Statore Fl. Vetulenus 7 leg. III Ital. reversus ab expedit. Burica ex voto posuit." P. 297. Allen, pp. 363 f., gives this stone as from Abusum, 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?

\(^6\) Cagnat, p. 109.

\(^7\) CIL III. 1201; Jung, Doc. p. 95.

\(^8\) 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.

\(^9\) P. 200, n. 10. Unless otherwise indicated, the remaining inscriptions listed for this legion were found at Castra Regina.

\(^10\) "[bf.] cos."

\(^11\) P. 201, n. 3.
ADMINISTRATION OF NORICUM AND RAETIA 209

CORNICULARII TRIBUNI 1
M. Aur. Amandus III. 5974 (Münster)
[III. 14370 6]

LIBRARII CONSULARIS 8
Ti. Iulius Aelianus III. 5953
Iul. Amandus

EXACTI CONSULARIS 4
T. Fl. Clemens

III. 5814 (Augusta)

PRINCIPALES: NOT UNDER A PRAEPOSITUS 5

OPTIONES 8
[Dr]onatus 7
Iulius Ouvenis 7 8
III. 5958
III. 5976 (Eastern Europe
or Asia Minor)

Iul. Saturninus 8

OPTIONES PRAETORI 10
[III. 5808]

Aquiliferi 11
Iul. Clemens[s]
III. 5816 (Augusta)

SIGNIFERI 12
M. Iuvenalis . . . ]io 13
[Marcellinus Marcellinus
Iulius Pervincus][us] 13
III. 5956
III. 5952
III. 5818 (Augusta)

IMAGINIFERI 14
[III. 13544]

FRUMENTARI 15
T. Cl. Severus V. 6869 (Alpis Poenina)

ADLECTUS ANNONAE
C. Valerius C. f. Pap. Marianus 18
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 men-
tioned previously in this inscription.
10 EE. IV, p. 445.
13 This man was a veteranus ex signifero.
16 CIL. III, p. 1171: “non miles, sed civis Tridentinus equestris dignitatis.”
### Custodes Armorum

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Name</th>
<th>III. 6571</th>
<th>III. 5951</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Aur. Sabinus</td>
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<tr>
<td>Aur. Statianus</td>
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### Polliones

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Name</th>
<th>III. 5949</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Fl. Amabil.</td>
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### Tubicines

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Name</th>
<th>III. 5957</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Sep. Impetratus</td>
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</table>

### Medici Ordinarii

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<thead>
<tr>
<th>Name</th>
<th>III. 6532</th>
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### Duplari

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<tr>
<th>Name</th>
<th>III. 5909</th>
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### Immunes

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Name</th>
<th>III. 11969</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Iul. Cattanus</td>
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### Private Soldiers

**Milites**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Name</th>
<th>III. 6000 c (teg.)</th>
<th>III. 5954; 11957; 11967; 11978</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>M. Antoninus</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Aur. Patruninus</td>
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<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Aurel. Victorinus</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>Equester Paulus</td>
<td>Caracalla or Elagabalus</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>Fl. Decoratus</td>
<td>III. 5823 (Augusta)</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>Fl. Marcellinus</td>
<td>III. 5950</td>
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<tr>
<td>M(arcius) Ursus</td>
<td>III. 3309 (Sopianae)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>. . . ant. Potens</td>
<td>III. 6531</td>
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<tr>
<td>M. Speratus</td>
<td>III. 6000 d (teg.)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>. . . is Val[en . . .]</td>
<td>III. 11970</td>
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**Veterani**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Name</th>
<th>III. 11968</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Cl. Reticus</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>III. 5813; 5883; 5889, p. 1050</td>
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### Equites

<table>
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<tr>
<th>Name</th>
<th>III. 5942</th>
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<tr>
<td>Cl. Donatus</td>
<td>III. 5947</td>
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### Veterani ex Equite

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Name</th>
<th>III. 5955</th>
</tr>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>M. Aur. Militio</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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1 P. 202, n. 13. **DS. III. 1057.**
2 EE. IV, pp. 374 ff.; Marq. II. 532. **‘v. ex leg. III Ital. m. h. m. ex t.b.c.”**
3 P. 202, n. 15. 4 P. 202, n. 18. **Cf., perhaps, CIL. III. 5944.**
5 Perhaps not genuine.
6 The rank is unknown, owing to the mutilation of the stone. **10 Cf. III. 143702 (Rastia 16).**
ADMINISTRATION OF NORICUM AND RAETIA

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 III 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. 2182; 2852, p. 594; 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). Othlenschlager’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/or[us]), and the infrequency in this region of monuments of the early empire, all militate against his hypothesis.
⁵VI, p. 551, lines 20 ff.
⁶VI. 31571: --- praeposit. v[exillationum per Ital.] et Raet. et Noric. [bello Germanico -- -- -
⁷III. 11999 [Neuburg].
⁸III. 11991 (Aalen; Stuttgart); 389 (Salzbrunn).
⁹Tac. Hist. iii. 5; see pp. 171, 213 ff. ¹⁰P. 212; D. CIV. ¹¹P. 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

¹ Sch. I. 610 f.
⁴ P. 213.  Kämmel, pp. 57 ff., gives a useful summary of the fortified sites in Noricum in the third century.
⁵ Noricum 31; PW. I. 1229, cf. 1225, 4; *Diz. Ep.* I. 498.
⁶ *CIL.* III. 4812 (238 A. D.); 4834; PW. I. 1222 c. ⁷ P. 216.
⁸ D. CIV; *CIL.* III. 5224 (Celeia); 5091 (Wolfsberg); 142884 (Seitz); PW. I. 1238 f.; *Diz. Ep.* II. 536; Nowotny, p. 271.
¹⁰ Ohl. Prop. pp. 40-42; PW. I. 1248; *CIL.* V. 4095.
¹¹ Noricum 3; *CIL.* III. 11749 (near Semriach, "litt. saec. primi") (omitted in PW.).
¹² D. XXXV (107 A. D.); D. LII (under Hadrian); *CIL.* III. 11911 (Emmezhaim, 153 A. D.);
[D. CXI] (162 A. D.); D. LXXXIII and *CIL.* V. 8660 (Concordia) (166 A. D.); VI. 3654.
¹³ III. 11904 (tag.); 5925 (?); D. XXXV (Weissenburg); *CIL.* III. 11911 (Emmezhaim); 5999 (Nassenfels).
¹⁴ *Ala II Asturum:* III. 15303; I Batavor. ∞: 5331; I (Fl. Aug.) Britannica ∞ (c. R. bis torq. ob. virt.): 5211; 5312; 5314; 5315; I (Vesp.) Dardanor.: 5044; I (Hispanor.) Arvavorum:
COHORTS IN NORICUM.

*Cohors I Aelia (Severiana) sagittaria 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[hors] . . . Breuc(orum)* which was in Noricum during the reign of Philip (244/249)⁸ may be identical with the cohors 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

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. Brittonum, which was in Noricum at this period. Jung, *Gac.* p. xiv.


⁴ *CIL.* III. 5086 (Vall. Lavantina); 5472 (Knittelfeld). The cohort is also mentioned in X. 6102.

¹ III. 4812 (Virunum, 238 A. D.); IX. 5357 (Firmum). See n. 13.
³ *CIL.* III. 4811, 11504 (Virunum, 267 A. D.); 5668 (Namara-Arlapa); XI. 6337 (Pisaurum).
⁴ 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 province\(^6\) (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 166\(^13\)—although there is considerable shifting of soldiers from Germany to Raetia and from Raetia to Noricum.

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\(^1\) *Occ.* xxxiv. 44 f.

\(^2\) Coh. I B(a)etas/ionum) c. R.: *CIL* III. 5331; II Gallorum: 5211; 5212; 5214; 5215; III Hispan/ionum): 15205; I Thracium eq.: 11541; I Ub/ium): 1359 (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, Airla and Augustana (=Trigisamum); cf., perhaps, *CIL* III. 5021.

\(^5\) *III. 5565, 1171* (Bedalum); 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.*


\(^12\) *D. XXXV.*

\(^13\) D. LXXIII; for the alae, cf. also *CIL* V. 8880. D. CXI (162) seems to give the same list as D. LXXXIII; D. LXXIX (after 145) is too fragmentary to be of value.
and Pannonia. EXERCITVS RAETICVS occurs on bronze coins of Hadrian. After the arrival of legio III Italica, some auxiliaries were removed from the province.

ALAE IN RAETIA.

Ala I Flavia Commagenorum may have been in the north of Raetia for a short time in the middle of the second century. Ala I Flavia fidelis Gemelliana miliaria was in Raetia 162–166 A.D. and was stationed in the north, perhaps at Kösching. Ala II Flavia pia fidelis miliaria served at Aalen in Raetia from the latter part of the first century until some date between 107 and 153, when it moved to Noricum. It is probably identical with ala II Flavia gemina, which was in Germany until 82/90; 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[i]anae (Künzing) in the late empire.

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

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

---

1 Pp. 215 f. 2 Eckhel, VI, p. 500; Cohen, II, p. 156, nn. 378-382. 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 diploma 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. LXXXIII; CIL. V. 8660; it is generally stated, e.g., in Urban, p. 19; PW. I. 1241, that this ala served in Raetia from 64 on; it is, however, omitted in D. XXXV of the year 107, while the diploma of 61 (D. III) was found in Noricum (at Geisbrechtung), not in Raetia, and does not state the location of the troop. 9 CIL. III. 11908; cf. 11908 (Pfanz). 10 PW. I. 1241 f.; Diz. Ep. III. 154 f.; add Ann. Ep. 1905, 128. 11 ORL. Abt. B, no. 66; CIL. III. 14371 1, 2 (teg.). 12 CIL. VI. 3255; D. XXXV (107 A.D.); CIL. III. 5822; 5823 (Augusta, not before M. Aurelius). 13 D. LXIV; v. 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.

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,\textsuperscript{1} from whom it secured the name Flavia. After fighting in Germany in 70 against the Treveri and the Batavi,\textsuperscript{2} the ala stayed in Germania superior until after 90 A. D.\textsuperscript{3} winning the title pia fidelis; then before 107 it returned to Raetia\textsuperscript{4} where it remained until the third century.\textsuperscript{5} Its camp in that province was probably at Pföring.\textsuperscript{6}

\textit{Ala II Valeria singularis} occupied Vallatum under the later empire.\textsuperscript{7}

\textit{Ala I Augusta Thracum}, which was in existence in 97/98 A. D.,\textsuperscript{8} was in Raetia by 107,\textsuperscript{9} and was sent to Trigisamum in Noricum before 140/144.\textsuperscript{10} It gave the name Augustana to Trigisamum.\textsuperscript{11}

**COHORTS IN RAETIA.\textsuperscript{12}**

\textit{Cohors II Aquitanorum equitata}\textsuperscript{13} between 107\textsuperscript{14} and 162\textsuperscript{15} moved from Germania superior\textsuperscript{16} to Raetia, where it was located at Castra Regina.\textsuperscript{17}

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

of Julianos Brigantiacus, 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 Sestilius Felix, though it was not with him in Noricum. May it not therefore have been in Raetia and come with him from there?

\textsuperscript{1} \textit{CIL.} V. 875; cf. p. 215, n. 18.  \textsuperscript{2} \textit{Tac. Hist.} v. 20, 21; cf. p. 215, n. 18.

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

\textsuperscript{4} D. XXXV (107 A. D.); D. CXI (162 A. D.); D. LXXXIII and \textit{CIL.} V. 8660 (166 A. D.).

\textsuperscript{5} III. 5538, 11943 (Untersaal, 231 A. D.).

\textsuperscript{6} III. 11999; 5912 (114 A. D.). Cf. n. 5 and III. 11995 (teg., Castra Regina).

\textsuperscript{7} \textit{Not. Dign. Occ.} xxxiv. 25.

\textsuperscript{8} \textit{CIL.} V. 7425, under Nerva, not Trajan, as Cichorius asserts in \textit{PW.} I. 1293.

\textsuperscript{9} D. XXXV; cf., perhaps, \textit{CIL.} III. 5819 (Augusta).

\textsuperscript{10} III. 5654; 11796; also 4806; 4839 (Virunum); 5940 (Solva); IX. 3557 (the cursus of a prefect who had formerly been trib. coh. I Aeliae Britton., see p. 213); Jung, \textit{Doc. p. xv.} Cf. ala Augusta, p. 212.

\textsuperscript{11} \textit{Not. Dign. Occ.} xxxiv. 25.

\textsuperscript{12} Cohors classicca, \textit{CIL.} III. 5775, 5776 (Abudiacum), did not belong in the province.

\textsuperscript{13} \textit{PW.} IV. 243; \textit{Diss. Ep.} I. 583 f. (where read "nel 166 in Raetia").

\textsuperscript{14} D. XXXV.  \textsuperscript{15} D. CXI.

\textsuperscript{16} D. XXI; \textit{Ann. Ep.} 1903, 93 (teg., Arnsburg).

\textsuperscript{17} D. LXXXIII (166 A. D.); \textit{CIL.} III. 6537, 11993 (teg.); 11972 (?).

\textsuperscript{18} \textit{PW.} IV. 252 f.; \textit{Diss. Ep.} I. 982.
Cohors IX Batavorum miliaria equitata expl(orationis) came into Raetia between 107 and 162; it was encamped at Weissenburg, and later at Passau (Batava Castra).

Cohors III and cohors V Bracaraugustorum served in Raetia in the second century; the latter perhaps gave its name to Quintianae (Künzing).

Cohors I Brucorum quingenaria Valeria victrix bis torquata ob virtutem appellata (equitata) in Raetia from 107 to 211 or longer; from the reign of Pius in camp at Pfünz; under the charge of a 7 leg. III Ital. helped fortify Böhming in 181 A.D.

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

1 Cf. p. 216, n. 18. IG. XIV. 2483 (Massilia). 2 D. XXXV.
3 D. CXI; cf. D. LXXIII.
4 O.R.I. A.B. E. no. 57, p. 45; Taf. XIII. 4 = C.I.L. III. 11918. Line 4 was formerly read exp (provincia) Britannia, 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, C.I.L. VI. 3539.
8 D. XXXV; D. LXXIII; C.I.L. VI. 1822; 3226; other inscriptions of uncertain reference are enumerated in P.W. IV. 256 f.; Diz. I. 1024.
10 D. XXXV; D. CXI; D. LXXIII.
11 C.I.L. III. 11934; 11935.
12 C.I.L. III. 11930; 11931 (138/161 A.D.); 11932, p. 2328 (183/185) (Raetia 16); 11934, 11935 (211 A.D.); 11929; 11932; (11936). 11937-11939, p. 2328 201; 11940 a; 15210. may be placed here with some degree of probability.
14 Much confusion in the notes and indices to C.I.L. III and elsewhere, is caused by the absence of system in expanding abbreviations for Britannorum, Brittonum, Britannica, and Britonneum; see P.W. III. 861 f.; IV. 261 f.; Diz. I. 1042.
15 D. XXXV; D. LXXIX; D. LXXXIII; C.I.L. III. 5685 (211 A.D.); [11950, p. 2228 (212, not 213 A.D.); as in the Corpus); [11944] (219 A.D. 7); 11996 (targ.); 14111 g; Not. Dign. Occ. xxxv. 25; Jung, Dac. p. 115.
16 C.I.L. III. 13546 (targ.); C III BR. See P.W. IV. 261; O.R.I. A.B. E. no. 71 a, pp. 11, 17 on the possibility of understanding a reference to coh. III Br(acaraugustorum) or Br(ittonum) instead of Br(tinorum).
17 C.I.L. III. 14119 (Kumpfmühl).
18 V. 717 (Augusta Bagiennorum); see also P.W. IV. 325 on Puis, C.I.L. V, Addit. 610, 611.
19 Tae. Hist. i. 70.
Cohors I Flavia Canathenorum miliaria\(^1\) served in Raetia 162–166 A. D.\(^2\) Tegulae have been found at Kösching, Pföring, Abusina, Castra Regina, and Straubing.\(^3\) 

Co\([h(ors)\ldots c]i\)vium Romano\([r(um)\ldots c]i\)vium Romano\([^\text{v}um\ldots c]i\)vium Romano\(\ldots c\)ivium Romano\(\ldots c\)ivium Romano was located in Raetia, perhaps in the latter part of the first century; its identification is quite uncertain.\(^4\)

Cohors III Gallorum was in Raetia 107–166 A. D.\(^5\)

Cohors VI Lusitanorum, otherwise unknown, is placed in Raetia by a newly discovered Greek inscription\(^6\) of the second century.\(^7\) As it is not included in the Raetian diplodeta, 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 III Herculea Pannoniorum was at Caelium in the time of the Notitia dignitatum.\(^11\)

Cohors Herculea Pannoniorum occupied Arbor Felix\(^12\) in the late empire.\(^13\)

Cohors V Valeria Phrygium 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. LXXXIII; *CIL. III.* 5911 (Otting).

\(^3\) III. 6001, 11992, p. 2225\(^3\) ad n. 11992\(^2\), p. 2225\(^2\).

\(^4\) IX. 5338; *PW. IV.* 302.

\(^5\) D. XXXV; (D. LXXIX); D. LXXXIII; *CIL. VIII.* 9374. Of the various praefecti coh. IIII Gall. who are enumerated in *PW. IV.* 290 f., *CIL. IX.* 5337 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.


\(^8\) *PW. IV.* 313 f.; Cagnat, pp. 230 f.

\(^9\) D. XXXV (107 A. D.).

\(^10\) D. LXXXIII.

\(^11\) *Occ. xxxv.* 30; *PW. IV.* 323.

\(^12\) A Roman camp at Arbor Felix is assured for the year 371 by Ammian. *xxxi.* 10. 20.

\(^13\) *Not. Dign.* *Occ.* xxxv. 34.


\(^15\) *PW. IV.* 326. *CIL. VI.* 1625; *VIII.* 9990; XII. 4322 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.* 15347, p. 2225\(^2\) (tag.). Cf. p. 219, n. 2.

\(^17\) *Not. Dign.* *Occ.* xxxv. 28.
Cohors II Raetorum: in the province 107–166 A. D.; camp apparently at Straubing.

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

Cohors III Thracum veterana and cohors III Thracum civium Romanorum were in Raetia, 107–166 A. D. One of these came from Pannonia between 84 and 107.

LOCAL MILITIA OF RAETIA.

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

OTHER AUXILIARIES OF THE LATE PERIOD.

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

(14) equites stablesiani seniores, Augustanis.
(16) equites stablesiani juniores, Submuntorio.
(20) praefectus militum Ursariensium, Guntiae.
(31) tribunus gentis per Raetias deputatae, Teroliis.

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. 3353 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. LXXII.
3 CIL. III. 11997 (teg.). 4 Occ. XXXV. 27; cf. p. 224.
5 D. XXXV; D. LXXII; CIL. III. 5880 (Haunshelm); perhaps V. 2341. PW. IV. 339 f.
6 D. XVI.
8 CIL. XIII. 1041: ---- evocat[or]us castrorum DC Raetorum castello Ircario ---- (Augustan age); IX. 3044, see Raetia 1 (before 19 A. D.); V. 536; Tac. Hist. i. 68: ---- Raetorum iuventus, sueta armis et mero militiae exercita (99 A. D.).
ON THE LIMES RAETIAE AND THE UPPER DANUBE.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Castle</th>
<th>ORL. Lyr.</th>
<th>Area in Square Meters</th>
<th>Garrison</th>
<th>Notes</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>64 Schierenhof</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>20,410</td>
<td>coh. I Raet.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>65 Unterböbingen</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>20,043</td>
<td>coh. ?</td>
<td>Till 107/153</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>66 Aalen</td>
<td>23</td>
<td>60,740</td>
<td>sla II Fl. p. f. ∞</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>66a Urspring</td>
<td>24</td>
<td>17,874</td>
<td>coh. ?</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>66b Heidenheim</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>52,845</td>
<td>?</td>
<td>Till 141/162; cf. Kösching</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>67 Buch</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>20,950</td>
<td>coh. ?</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>67a Halheim</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>6,724</td>
<td>vexillatio ?</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>68 Ruffenhofen</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>37,528</td>
<td>?</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>69 Dambach</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>21,505</td>
<td>coh. ?</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>70 Gnotzheim</td>
<td></td>
<td>22,475</td>
<td>coh. ?</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>71 Gunzenhausen</td>
<td></td>
<td>6,800</td>
<td>vexillatio ?</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>71a Thellenhofen</td>
<td>24</td>
<td>27,440</td>
<td>coh. III Br(?)</td>
<td>Cf. Abusina</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>72 Weissenburg</td>
<td>26</td>
<td>30,964</td>
<td>sla I Hisp. Aur.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>73 Pfünz</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>27,930</td>
<td>coh. I Breuc.</td>
<td>Cf. Bohming</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>73a Böhmung</td>
<td></td>
<td>7,410</td>
<td>vexil. leg. III Ital.</td>
<td>After 181</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>74 Kösching</td>
<td></td>
<td>50,000</td>
<td>? sla I Fl. Comm.</td>
<td>Till 141/162; cf. Faimingen After 107/162</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>75 Pföring</td>
<td>16</td>
<td>38,774</td>
<td>sla I Fl. sing. c. R.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>76 Abusina</td>
<td></td>
<td>18,000</td>
<td>coh. III Britannor.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

ON THE DANUBE BELOW ABUSINA.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Castle</th>
<th>Area in Square Meters</th>
<th>Garrison</th>
<th>Notes</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Castra Regina</td>
<td>237,000</td>
<td>leg. III Ital.</td>
<td>Cf. Abusina</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>coh. II Aq. eq.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>? coh. III Br(?)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>? sla I Fl. sing. c. R.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Straubing</td>
<td>23,265</td>
<td>coh. II. Raet.</td>
<td>Cf. Pföring</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>coh. III Ital.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Künzing</td>
<td>23,265</td>
<td>coh. V Bracar.</td>
<td>Previously at</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Passau</td>
<td></td>
<td>coh. IX Bat. ∞ eq. expl.</td>
<td>Weissenburg</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>CASTLE</th>
<th>GARRISON</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Augusta</td>
<td>? leg. III Ital.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

LOCATION UNKNOWN.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>GARRISON</th>
<th>NOTES</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Coh. III Bracar.</td>
<td>Cf. Theilenhofen</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Coh. I Fl. Canath.</td>
<td>Tegulae at Kösching, Pföring, Abusina, Castra Regina, Straubing</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Coh. IIII Gall.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Coh. VII (later VI) Lusit.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Coh. III Thr. vet.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Coh. III Thr. c. R.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Local militia</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

V. The Fleet.

THE FLEET ON THE DANUBE.

The Upper Danube frontier was patroled by the classis Pannonica,\(^1\) 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 Iovicum and legio I Noricorum at Faiana 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 numeri bar[bari] cariorum, Confluentibus sive Brecantia" of the Notitia dignitatum,\(^7\) nor is there any reason to believe that such existed while the Roman authority in southern Raetia remained undisputed.

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\(^1\) PW. III. 2646 ff.; \textit{Diz. Ep. II.} 274.  
\(^2\) Tac. Ann. xii. 30.  
\(^3\) \textit{Not. Dign. Occ.} xxxiv. 42 f.  
\(^4\) \textit{Ibid.} 37, 40 f.; pp. 198, 204.  
\(^5\) PW. III. 2648.  
\(^6\) Strabo, vii. 1. 5; Dio, liv. 22. 4; \textit{Hor. Carm. iv.} 14. 34; Sch. 1. 215.  
\(^7\) \textit{Hermes}, XIX. 221, n. 3.  
\(^8\) \textit{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 Noricorum⁷ 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 equitata¹³ 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

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¹ See, for example, Hor. Carm. iv. 14; Strabo, iv. 6.8; Vell. ii. 95.2; App. II.pra. 15; Flor. ii. 22 (iv. 12); Dio, l. 28.4; liv. 22; Friscian, Perieges. 314.
² Caes. B. C. i. 15.5.
³ P. 165, n. 4; Hermes, XIX. 51 f.
⁴ Pp. 223-225.
⁵ Cf. n. 5; p. 165, n. 4.
⁶ PW. I. 1232.
⁷ CIL. XIII. 7029; 7020.
⁸ It is omitted in the diplomata of Upper Germany beginning with D. XI of the year named.
¹⁰ CIRh. 168; 170; 175; 176; 179; 187; 191.
¹¹ CIL. III. 237 (Zela, Fontua); 10791 (Seisenberg, Pann. sup.).
¹² III. 10279 (Mohacs, Pann. inf.); PW. IV. 319 f.
¹³ D. XIII (80 A. D.); D. XVI (84 A. D.); D. XVII (88 A. D.); CIL. IX. 5363, 5364.
¹⁴ 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. 3388 see PW. IV. 315); the fragment from Raetia, CIL. III. 14370 ¹³ (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 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 III Raetorum] are known only from the existence of the cohorts with higher numbers.

Cohors IIII Raetorum¹⁰ formed part of the army of Moesia superior in 98 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. xxvii. 30. ³ Hermes, XIX. 215 f.; PW. IV. 326 ff., 350 f. ⁴ Arrian, Exc. 1; 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; 7584; p. 469 (teg.); D. XL (116 A. D.). CIL. XIII. 7047 (Mainz); 6240 (Worms) also perhaps refer to soldiers of this cohort. ⁹ XII. 7462 (139 A. D.); 7465 (212 A. D.); [7465] (222/235 A. D.); 7444; [7445; 7452]; 7457; 7460; [7468]; 7469; 7470; CIL. 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 III 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 cohors VI Valeria Raetorum; cf. p. 219.

Cohors VII Raetorum equitata\(^7\) was in Germania\(^8\) superior\(^9\) 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 Vindelicorum 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 Vindelicorum (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. 301, the cursus of a prefect whose remaining military career was in the East.

\(^2\) Arcian, Ect. 1; p. 223.  

\(^4\) CIL. VIII. 8934.

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

\(^6\) III. 532/2.  
\(^7\) XI. 5069.

\(^8\) 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); 8342 (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 Vin-delicorum]: no inscriptions are preserved.

Cohors III Vin-delicorum 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)esat oru[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. 15204.
² Xlll. 7410; 7411 (191 or 211 A. D.); 7415; 7418; 7419; p. 445 (tag.).
³ D. XI (74 A. D.).
⁴ D. XXI (99 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 Waldkraiburg, Millen-berg, Obersaasen, Niedernberg, Stockstadt, Wiesbaden, Mainz, Friedrichsruh, Echzell, Arnsburg, Langenhain, Saalburg (CIL XIII. pp. 284, 279, 281, 286 f., 259, 469, 322, 440, 445-447, 449), Feld-berg (ORL. Abt. B. no. 10, p. 54); am Maisel, Alteburg-Heitsch (CIL XIII. p. 435), Holz hausen (ORL. Abt. B. no. 6, p. 42), Arzbach, Niederberg, Heddesdorf, Niederbieber (CIL XIII. pp. 496-499); Neuenheim near Heidelberg (CIL XIII. p. 224). The bricks in Raetia (CIL III. 3814, Salzburg near Cambodunum) were brought from Frankfurt.
⁶ P. 219.
⁷ If VIII. 2729 has been correctly interpreted, (Raeti) gaesates were employed at Saldae in Mauretania Caesariensis even under Titus (147/152 A. D.).
⁸ VII. 731 (Assicia, 162/169 A. D.); 987; 988; 1032 (211/217 A. D.) (Habitancium); EE. VII, n. 1092 ( Jedburgh near Edinburgh). See also p. 223.
⁹ P. W. IV. 346 f. ¹⁰ CIL. XIII. 3593.
¹¹ Not. Dign. Occ. v. 43 = 191 = vii. 44.
¹² Not. Dign. Or. v. 17 = 58.
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