



# The Roman Army in Moesia Inferior

Florian Matei-Popescu

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**THE ROMAN ARMY  
IN MOESIA INFERIOR**



“VASILE PÂRVAN” INSTITUTE OF ARCHAEOLOGY  
NATIONAL MUSEUM OF ROMANIAN HISTORY

THE CENTRE FOR ROMAN MILITARY STUDIES

7

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FLORIAN MATEI-POPESCU

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# THE ROMAN ARMY IN MOESIA INFERIOR

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*To Valentina and Ilinca*



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## FOREWORD

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A decade ago, I proposed Florian Matei-Popescu, young graduate of the Faculty of History with the University of Bucharest, to prepare an advanced studies (MA) thesis on the auxiliary units from Moesia Inferior. The author agreed that the history of the Roman army is a research field that clearly would never be exhausted, as new discoveries and studies of military history would persistently come to its completion. The result was an excellent study, which I immediately proposed for issue to *SCIVA* journal (52–53, 2001–2002, p. 173–242). Almost concurrently, I edited a book on the auxiliary units from Roman Dacia (*Auxilia Daciae. Contribuție la istoria militară a Daciei romane*, Bucharest, 2002).

The sudden large amount of military diplomas, many coming from the Danubian provinces, aided to a constant update of troops' repertoire from Dacia and Moesia. The scientific expertise of the young researcher encouraged me to propose the draft of a doctoral thesis on the Roman army from Moesia Inferior.

Additionally, the amplex and subject tackled by Fl. Matei-Popescu were novel. The historical specialty literature included insofar partial approaches. Thus, the Bulgarian scholar Bogdan Filow published a book entitled *Die Legionen der Provinz Moesia von Augustus bis auf Diokletian* (Klio, Beiheft VI, Leipzig, 1906). After seven decades, a new synthesis would be drawn up: Andrei Aricescu, *Armata în Dobrogea romană* (Bucharest, 1977); as per the title, the book discussed the military forces – legions and auxiliaries – from a certain area, in truth, the most important of the *limes* (the Romanian sector of the Danube), including however significant references to the history of the entire province; moreover, the book presents the history of the military defence of this territory in late Roman period, when the region formed the province of *Scythia*, resulted following the division of Moesia Inferior. Obviously, epigraphic finds and general studies of Roman military history went beyond this book.

On July 6, 2009, Fl. Matei-Popescu defended his thesis with the Faculty of History, in the presence of a demanding board formed of professors Alexandru Barnea, Ioan Piso and Alexandru Suceveanu. Upon commendatory appreciations in both my evaluation, drafted as scientific supervisor and that of the three reviewers, the candidate was awarded the title of doctor in history, *summa cum laude*.

Parallel to the thesis preparation, Fl. Matei Popescu attended the courses of the Department of Classical Languages with the University of Bucharest, which confers him an unfortunately unenviable standing of *rara avis* in a world dominated by shallowness and desire for easy success.

I shall not detail herein the content of this book, as the author himself does at length and better. It is absolutely notable that this book is published in an international language, thus concurring to its large dissemination within scholar environments.

Additionally to the author, I believe this book contributes to a Military History of Moesia; such title extension encloses the hope that another researcher, maybe even Fl. Matei Popescu, shall prepare a history of the Roman army from Moesia Superior. However, the military history in question should comprise other considerations as well: organization of the defensive system (*limes*) by the Lower Danube; the weaponry of the Roman soldiers from Moesia; the religion of the soldiers from the two provinces of Moesia; the monetary circulation in the forts from the Moesian *limes*; the wares in the Roman forts on the *limes*; the daily life in the forts on the Moesian *limes* etc.

Fl. Matei-Popescu's book would hopefully inaugurate such a series. Its forthcoming compels us to leave aside other concerns and proceed with the draft of a Roman army history from Dacia.

I express no doubts that the book will be welcomed by the researchers of the Roman military history. Nevertheless, upon the book issue, the author must recognize he is only at the beginning of a road, of a life dedicated to science. His work is like a monumental edifice, whose construction the architect alludes himself to finish even if by the end of his life.

On various occasions, I was glad to hear my colleagues some, ones of the most demanding professionals, saying that Fl. Matei-Popescu is one of the most remarkable representatives of his generation. I am happy that some of them were my students, some drafting doctoral thesis to my suggestion and supervision. I believe their involvement in historical research shall endure more than my few historical opera.

Fl. Matei-Popescu has many reasons to be happy. Even in difficult times like these, he earned a respected place in a prestigious institution like the Institute of Archaeology in Bucharest. His joy grew this spring, when his adorable daughter Ilinca was born. Let him remember that his accomplishments are due to the Divine Grace and let him ask everyday our Lord for health and efficiency.

CONSTANTIN C. PETOLESCU

## AUTHOR'S PREFACE

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This book is the adapted version of my doctoral thesis of same title, which I defended with the Faculty of History of the University of Bucharest on July 6, 2009. It is a paper of Roman military history based on a historical and prosopographic study of the Roman army by the Lower Danube, where the Roman province of Moesia was established under Augustus; during Domitian's rule, the province would be divided into Moesia Superior and Moesia Inferior. Archaeological matters were only partially tackled therein. Where existing, archaeological data on the discussed period were mentioned, however I did not wish to produce a separate chapter for the military archaeology of the province.

The theme was suggested to me by Professor Constantin C. Petolescu. Firstly, I prepared a monographic study on the province *auxilia* within the MA programme of the same Faculty, later issued by SCIIVA journal (52–53, 2001–2002, p. 173–242). I was then advised to extend the research to the entire Roman army of the province, in the form of a doctoral thesis. The result is this book.

The book has also been one of my research themes with “Vasile Pârvan” Institute of Archaeology, the oldest relevant institution in Romania, where I am glad to be a part. I wish to thank the entire to my friends and colleagues from the Institute and for the still existing environment of true scientific emulation.

The translation into English was provided by Gabriela Safta, to whom I would like to thank for a very fruitful collaboration during the past year.

I wish to thank the members of my doctoral panel, Professors Alexandru Barnea, Ioan Piso and Alexandru Suceveanu, for their remarks and suggestions.

My acknowledgments also go to Professor Mircea Babeş, who, within “Vasile Pârvan” Archaeology Seminar, has financed a research stay with the University of Cologne, in 2002. The award in 2007 of a Jacobi Foundation research scholarship with the Commission for Ancient History and Epigraphy of the German Archaeological Institute, Munich, represented another important step for me. Accordingly, I wish to thank Professors Michael Wörrle, Christof Schuler and Rudolf Haensch.

My special thanks go to Professor Werner Eck, with the University of Cologne and Paul Holder PhD, with the University of Manchester, for their constant support and for providing me information on several Roman military diplomas under study and other bibliographical references.

Special thanks go to my friend Ovidiu Țentea PhD with the National History Museum of Romania. Our cooperation, which took shape over time in the form of several joint articles, led to the establishment of the Centre for Roman Military Studies with “Antiquitas” Association

and the Centre's series of issues, where this book has been included. Meanwhile, of unfailing help over the last few years were also my friends Adrian Robu PhD (Neuchâtel-Paris) and Dan Dana PhD (Paris). For a very careful final proofreading I am very much in debt to my friend Iulian Bîrzescu PhD from "Vasile Pârvan" Institute of Archaeology.

My greatest gratitude goes to the two Professors who influenced my scientific career: Alexandru Avram, supervisor of my licence paper on Rome's relations with the western Pontic Greek cities from Augustus to Vespasian and Constantin C. Petolescu, my MA and PhD supervisor.

Last but not least, my gratitude, thanks and warmest thoughts go to my family and firstly to my dearest wife Valentina and our adorable daughter, Ilinca. Without Valentina's constant support, love and unbroken encouragement my career in this field would not have existed. Furthermore, when Ilinca came into our lives, she bestowed on me that peacefulness and joy of life needed for any pursuit of the type. This book is for them.

## LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

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The abbreviations used within the book are the ones of SCIVA review (M. Babeş, SCIVA 46/3–4, 1995, p. 356–370), *Année Épigraphique* and *Année Philologique*. In the following list only the most used inscriptions corpora and papers are included.

AÉ. *L'Année Épigraphique*. Revue des publications épigraphiques relatives à l'antiquité romaine, Paris, 1888–.

CIL III. Th. Mommsen, *Corpus Inscriptionum Latinarum. III. Inscriptiones Asiae provinciarum Europae Graecarum Illyrii Latinae*, I–II, Berlin, 1873; O. Hirschfeld, A. von Domaszewski, *Corpus Inscriptionum Latinarum, III. Supplementum*, I–II, Berlin, 1902.

CIL XVI. H. Nesselhauf, *Corpus Inscriptionum Latinarum. XVI. Diplomata militaria*, Berlin, 1936; Supplementum, Berlin, 1955.

CGLBI. E. Schallmayer, K. Eibl, J. Ott, G. Preuss, E. Wittkopf, *Der römische Weihebezirk von Osterburken I. Corpus der griechischen und lateinischen Beneficiärer-Inschriften des Römischen Reiches*, Stuttgart, 1990.

Howald, Meyer, *Die römische Schweiz*. E. Howald, E. Meyer, *Die römische Schweiz. Texte und Inschriften mit Übersetzung*, Zürich, 1940.

IDR I. I. I. Russu, *Inscripțiile Daciei Romane. I. Introducere istorică și epigrafică. Diplomele militare. Tablițele cerate*, Bucharest, 1975.

IDR II. Gr. Florescu, C. C. Petolescu, *Inscripțiile Daciei Romane. II. Oltenia și Muntenia*, Bucharest, 1977.

IDRE. C. C. Petolescu, *Inscriptions de la Dacie romaine. Inscriptions externes concernant l'histoire de la Dacie romaine (I<sup>er</sup> – III<sup>eme</sup> siècles)*, I–II, Bucharest, 1996–2000.

IGB. G. Mihailov, *Inscriptiones Graecae in Bulgaria repertae*, Sofia, I<sup>2</sup>, 1970; II, 1958; III, 1–2, 1961–1964; IV, 1966; V, 1997.

IGLN. J. Kolendo, V. Božilova (eds.), *Inscriptions grecques et latines de Novae (Mésie Inférieure)*, Bordeaux, 1997.

IGLR. Em. Popescu, *Inscripțiile grecești și latine din secolele IV–XIII descoperite în România*, Bucharest, 1976.

ILB. B. Gerov, *Inscriptiones Latinae in Bulgaria repertae. Inscriptiones inter Oescum et Iatrum repertae*, Sofia, 1989.

ILD. C. C. Petolescu, *Inscripții latine din Dacia*, Bucharest, 2005.

ILN. V. Božilova, J. Kolendo, L. Mrozewicz, *Inscriptions latines de Novae*, Poznań, 1992.

ILS. H. Dessau, *Inscriptiones Latinae Selectae*, I–III, Berlin, 1954–1955 (reprinted).



IPD<sup>4</sup>. A. Dobó, *Inscriptiones extra fines Pannoniae Daciaeque repertae ad res earundem provinciarum pertinente*, editio quarta, Budapest, 1975.

ISM I. D. M. Pippidi, *Inscripțiile din Scythia Minor. I. Histria și împrejurimile*, Bucharest, 1983.

ISM II. I. Stoian, *Inscripțiile din Scythia Minor. II. Tomis și teritoriul său*, Bucharest 1987.

ISM V. Em. Doruțiu-Boilă, *Inscripțiile din Scythia Minor. V. Capidava – Troesmis – Noviodunum*, Bucharest, 1980.

IOSPE. B. Latyschew, *Inscriptiones antiquae Orae Septentrionalis Ponti Euxini graecae et latinae*, I–II, Hildesheim, 1965 (reprinted).

*Montana*, I. *Montana*, I, Sofia, 1987.

*Montana*, II. V. Velkov, G. Alexandrov, *Epigrafski pametnici ot Montana i rařona*, Montana, 1994.

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Riese, *Rheinische Germanien*. A. Riese, *Das rheinische Germanien in den antiken Inschriften*, Leipzig-Berlin, 1914 (reprinted Groningen, 1968).

RGZM. B. Pferdehirt, *Römische Militärdiplome und Entlassungsurkunden in der Sammlung des Römisch-Germanischen Zentralmuseums*, Mainz, 2004.

RMD. M. M. Roxan, P. A. Holder, *Roman Military Diplomas*, London, I, 1978; II, 1985; III, 1994; IV, 2004; V, 2006.

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Alföldy, *Konsulat*. G. Alföldy, *Konsulat und Senatorenstand unter den Antoninen. Prosopographische Untersuchungen zur senatorischen Führungsschicht*, Antiquitas. Reihe 1. Abhandlungen zur Alten Geschichte, Band 27, Bonn, 1977.

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## INTRODUCTION

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In the context of the general history of Roman civilisation, the history of the Roman army is privileged. The importance that the Roman state granted to the army and the soldiers' and veterans' significant contribution in the social, economic and political life of the Empire explain the special interest of the Modern historiography in the matter. Concurrently, one should not forget the influence exerted on the subject both by the European imperialism by the end of the 19th C (see the classical case of R. Cagnat and his book on the Roman army from Africa<sup>1</sup>) and the massive militarisation of the Great Powers in the 20th C (see the value granted to the study of Roman military structures and especially E. N. Luttwak's work, which has nothing to do with the Roman army and military strategy of the Roman Empire, rather with the issues of the Cold War<sup>2</sup>). In addition, the development of new states and nations in the east and south-east of Europe by the end of the 19th C or immediately after World War I, also included the rewriting of history and, especially in Romania's case, the highlight of the direct relation with the Roman civilisation.

This whole context gave for a long time the impression that the Roman army was a modern army, which at least generally, was no different from European or US armies of the time. To our regret, such view is well spread even today. We must emphasize that the Roman army has by no means any connection with the organization and structure of modern armies and that only excessive vulgarisation make us believe that the Roman army, very well organized for Antiquity standards, carried the germs of modern type organization. As already noted, one of the fundamental differences is the lack of distinction among the ones holding political power and those running the army<sup>3</sup>. A province governor was *dux* and *praeses* at the same time, division between the two offices occurring only later, during the reforms of Diocletian and Constantine. Therefore, from a modern standpoint, we may argue that all imperial provinces were in fact provinces under military administration regime, which evidently deeply contrasts with the Roman way of understanding the *provincia*, as competence field of magistrates. Moreover, following career studies of the two order representatives of the Roman state, it is clear that military offices blended with civil offices, while the regular concept was not consistent with a Roman *cursus honorum*. As previously argued, it is possible that the so-called *virii militares*, whose experience at the command of quintessential military provinces was superior to their

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<sup>1</sup> R. Cagnat, *L'armée romaine d'Afrique*<sup>2</sup>, Paris, 1912.

<sup>2</sup> E. N. Luttwak, *The Grand Strategy of the Roman Empire from the First Century AD to the Third*, Baltimore, 1976.

<sup>3</sup> R. Alston, *Soldier and Society in Roman Egypt. A Social History*, London–New York, 1995, p. 7.



Senate peers<sup>4</sup> existed, however this does not mean they were regulars. The only regulars were the proper soldiers, headed by their centurions and the single resemblance with a modern organization of the army is the fact the one starting with Augustus, the head of the state is also head of the army, prerogatives that were commissioned in modern times by the head of state, however which in Roman times, could be both commissioned and directly assumed.

In my view, the importance of the Roman army study rests in the significant quantity of available sources and the opportunity to produce various models and histories, studying them from different perspectives. Such approaches are also possible given the special category of sources referring to the soldiers' daily lives, like the papyri from Egypt<sup>5</sup> or Dura Europos, on the Euphrates, the recently edited *ostraka* from the *praesidia* of the Egyptian eastern desert or the wooden tablets discovered at Vindolanda and Vindonissa, that change the image of the Roman army by stressing its non-rigid structure, incredible mobility and conformation ability to new challenges and the fact it did not consist of a fluid and depersonalised mass, but of human beings, with different reactions to different circumstances. Furthermore, only a careful research of the relation between the Roman army and the various social layers may lead to more accurate understanding of the history of the Roman civilisation. In our view, this is the only way that the study of the Roman army may aid the appreciation of Roman provincial societies function, the final goal of any historical approach of the Roman army from a province or another. This does not mean that traditional matters discussed by the historians of the Roman army, like structure, rank order and displacement from one region to another should be neglected, however they should be interconnected with the study of Roman societies from various provinces.

In the specific case of Moesia Inferior, the role of the Roman army in various trans-Danubian campaigns and the connector function between the Roman world and the *barbaricum* is noteworthy. Additionally, its extremely important role in the defence of the northern area of the Black Sea or its involvement in the resolution of various issues of certain *provinciae inermes* from Asia Minor<sup>6</sup>, like Asia, Cilicia or the province of Lycia et Pamphylia (the single *cohortes* recorded in these provinces come from the army of Moesia Inferior: *I Raetorum* and possible *I Sugambrorum veterana*, Asia; *III Gallorum*, Cilicia; *I Flavia Numidarum*, Lycia et Pamphylia). Next, the way that the army from Moesia Inferior related to the three civil provincial environments, Roman, Greek and indigenous, is also remarkable. It may be noticed that army veterans pursue civil careers, either in Roman or Greek cities. It is practically the only location in the Empire where the Roman army directly interacts, within the same province, with Roman and Greek type cities, except for the veteran colonies from the East, which are true Latin oases in a Greek environment par excellence. Furthermore, compared to other provinces, there are an extremely large number of rural settlements that included many veterans, together with Roman citizens and indigenous peoples or even exclusively formed, at a certain point, of veterans (see the case of a *vicus classicorum*, close to the Roman fortification at Halmyris<sup>7</sup>).

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<sup>4</sup> See the study of B. Campbell, JRS 65, 1975, p. 11–31 and syntheses of discussions in Susan P. Mattern, *Rome and the Enemy. Imperial Strategy in the Principate*, Berkeley-Los Angeles-London, 1999, p. 16–18.

<sup>5</sup> Alston, *op. cit.*, p. 8–10.

<sup>6</sup> Vulpe, DID II, p. 124, stressed this interesting reality.

<sup>7</sup> Al. Suceveanu, M. Zahariade, Dacia, N. S. 30, 1986, p. 109–120.

## 1. STATE OF RESEARCH

The first wide scope volume dealing with the history of the legions displaced, over time, on the territory of Moesia and subsequently of Moesia Superior and Inferior, belongs to the Bulgarian scholar B. Filow and was published in 1906<sup>8</sup>. In a chronological description, the author presents all information available to that point concerning the legions.

The following work was published a year later by a Belgian scholar, H. van de Weerd, focusing on the three legions of Moesia Inferior<sup>9</sup>.

The most important contribution in the history of the legions stationed on the territory of the province of Moesia Inferior belongs to E. Ritterling, in the form of his famous article issued in RE<sup>10</sup>. Except for recent documents adding to the file, Ritterling's contributions remain fundamental, basis of any future approaches.

Almost a century later, the publication of another dictionary of Roman epigraphy and antiquities occasions the issue of a new ample differently – structured study on Roman army legions, by the Italian scholar A. Passerini<sup>11</sup>.

Similarly important to the issue of Ritterling's article is year 1953, when another reputed Italian scholar, G. Forni, edits his book on the recruitment system of the legions in the Roman Empire, a fundamental study ever since<sup>12</sup>. Any subsequent approach of this extremely important aspect of the military life of the Empire took into account and still has to take into account Forni's work.

The issue of the Roman army on the territory of Moesia Inferior was not overlooked by the Romanian historiography either. A. Aricescu drafted an important work, disadvantaged tough in the context of the national-Communist policy promoted by Romanian leaders of the time, dealing with the history of the Roman army on the current territory of Romanian Dobrudja only, which is partly justified for the period of the Late Empire, however entirely inappropriate for the Principate, when Dobrudja was a mere part of the province of Moesia Inferior<sup>13</sup>.

Al. Suceveanu also discusses the Roman army on the territory of Dobrudja within a part of an ample work on Roman Dobrudja during the Principate<sup>14</sup>; however, the nature of the issued work did not allow for a detailed discussion of the epigraphic material.

Recently, a new work on Roman Dobrudja, more precisely the Roman military presence on the west Pontic coast, was edited<sup>15</sup>. If Aricescu's reasons for limiting his approach to Romanian Dobrudja are apparent, we cannot understand why such an analysis, like the one mentioned, stops with Vama Veche, as it would have been more interesting to also cover the southern limit of Moesia Inferior; otherwise, we risk an incomplete, if not flawed picture. In addition, the work falls short concerning the auxilia, whereas a mere survey of my article in SCIVA<sup>16</sup> might have helped the authors renew their references.

<sup>8</sup> B. Filow, *Die Legionen der Provinz Moesia von Augustus bis auf Diokletian*, Leipzig, 1906.

<sup>9</sup> H. Van de Weerd, *Études historiques sur trois légions romaines du Bas-Danube (V Macedonica, XI Claudia, I Italica)*, Leuven-Paris, 1907.

<sup>10</sup> E. Ritterling, RE XII, 1925, col. 1572–1586 (V Macedonica); col. 1407–1417 (I Italica); col. 1690–1705 (legion XI Claudia). For the importance of Ritterling's work see R. Wiegels's remarks, in Le Bohec, *Les légions de Rome*, p. 9–20.

<sup>11</sup> A. Passerini, *Legio*, DE IV, Rome, 1949, p. 549–624.

<sup>12</sup> G. Forni, *Il reclutamento delle legioni da Augusto a Diocleziano*, Milan – Rome, 1953.

<sup>13</sup> A. Aricescu, *Armata în Dobrogea romană*, Bucharest, 1977.

<sup>14</sup> Al. Suceveanu, in Al. Suceveanu, Al. Barnea, *La Dobroudja romaine*, Bucharest, 1990, p. 57–61.

<sup>15</sup> M. Ionescu, Gh. Papuc, *Sistemul de apărare a litoralului Dobrogei romane (sec. I–VII p. Chr.)*, Constanța, 2005.

<sup>16</sup> Fl. Matei-Popescu, SCIVA 52–53, 2001–2002 (2004), p. 173–242.

A much debated monograph, yet which preserves an approachable chronological scheme, pertains to T. Sarnowski and was issued in 1988, in Polish<sup>17</sup>. Sarnowski's work is rather of military strategy and is not based on the three legions and auxiliary units of Moesia Inferior monographs. For instance, the legions staff is not examined, it being listed within tables by the end of the work or the so-called military districts, incorporating a legion with its auxilia are debated, fact which is hardly consistent with Moesia Inferior. Thus, Sarnowski believed the two military diplomas of August 14, 99<sup>18</sup> mirrored a division of the auxilia among the legions, a part forming the auxilia of legion V Macedonica, while the other, the auxilia of legion I Italica<sup>19</sup>. In the meantime, other military diplomas emerged so that such theory might be either detailed or even disregarded. Thus, the diploma of June 14, 92 discovered at Cataloi, indicates many more troops than those present in 99<sup>20</sup>. Another three known military diplomas, copies of three different imperial constitutions, date from May 13, 105, however none of the mentioned troop lists is identical with any from the two diplomas of 99<sup>21</sup>, again similar to the troops on another diploma, that of September 25, 111<sup>22</sup>; this proves that the registration of the troops that included staff supposed to receive *honesta missio* was made based on other criteria than the troop inclusion in a military district or another. Still, Sarnowski's work remains the most important reference on the Roman army from Moesia Inferior after Ritterling's article.

In 1998, in occasion of the Congress organized at Lyon by Y. Le Bohec, the history of Roman army legions was appropriately amended and supplemented after more than 70 years from Ritterling's article issue<sup>23</sup>.

Thus, the very early history of legion V Macedonica was approached by K. Strobel<sup>24</sup>, while I. Piso discussed the legions in the area during the Dacian period<sup>25</sup>. The interval when the legion was stationed on the territory of Moesia Inferior was ignored.

The history of legion I Italica is covered by M. Absil's contribution, however the nature of this colloquium allowed for only a short review and update of the list of known legion members subsequent Ritterling's article of 1925<sup>26</sup>.

History of legion XI Claudia pia fidelis is covered by R. Fellmann's contribution, still, its aim is to provide a short review of the literature issued after 1925<sup>27</sup>.

The Bulgarian historiography studied also the history of the Roman army, in 1999 being published a monograph in Bulgarian, practically a more extended version of a study issued in BerRGK in 1997, in German<sup>28</sup>, under the signature of R. Ivanov<sup>29</sup>. Also suggested

<sup>17</sup> T. Sarnowski, *Wojsko rzymskie w Mezji Dolnej i na północnym wybrzeżu Morza Czarnego (L'armée romaine en Mésie Inférieure et sur la côte Nord du Pont Euxin)*, Warsaw, 1988.

<sup>18</sup> CIL XVI 44; 45.

<sup>19</sup> Sarnowski, *Wojsko rzymskie*, p. 215.

<sup>20</sup> C. C. Petolescu, A. T. Popescu, ZPE 148, 2004, p. 269–276.

<sup>21</sup> CIL XVI 50; RGZM, no. 10; 11; R. Petrovszky, Mitteilungen des historischen Vereins der Pfalz 102, 2004, p. 10–17.

<sup>22</sup> RMD IV 222.

<sup>23</sup> Y. Le Bohec (ed.), *Les légions de Rome sous le Haut-Empire. Actes du Congrès de Lyon (17–19 septembre 1998)*, Lyon, 2000.

<sup>24</sup> K. Strobel, in Le Bohec, *Les légions de Rome*, p. 515–527.

<sup>25</sup> I. Piso, in Le Bohec, *Les légions de Rome*, p. 205–225 (especially p. 213–218)

<sup>26</sup> M. Absil, in Le Bohec, *Les légions de Rome*, p. 227–238.

<sup>27</sup> R. Fellmann, in Le Bohec, *Les légions de Rome*, p. 127–131.

<sup>28</sup> R. Ivanov, 78. BerRGK, 1997, p. 467–640.

<sup>29</sup> R. Ivanov, *Dolnodunavskata otbranitelna sistema meždú Dortikum i Durostorum ot Avgust do Maurikii (The Defence System along the Lower Danube between Dorticum and Durostorum from Augustus to Mauricius)*, Sofia, 1999.

by its title, the work suffers, unfortunately, from limitation of the theme to current Bulgarian borders, disregarding the fact that Ancient geographic and administrative borders had nothing in common with those marked in Modern times. In addition, it is based especially on enumerating fortifications, being rather an archaeological and not a military history and archaeology work.

In 2007, a doctoral thesis on the religion of the Roman army from Moesia Inferior, drafted by O. Alexandrov, was defended at Veliko Tărnovo<sup>30</sup>. The paper is forthcoming; however the author was kind enough to send me large part of it. It is of excellent quality and records all aspects of the spiritual life of the soldiers from Moesia Inferior, a very useful working instrument, considering that we shall little discuss religious cults, which may be object of a work per se, as proven by this doctoral thesis.

There are many works that touched the history of one or other legions stationed over time on the territory of Moesia Inferior.

Given that V Macedonica was quartered in Dacia beginning with 168, M. Bărbulescu published a monograph for the period it was garrisoned at Potaissa<sup>31</sup>, whose first pages also provide a sketch of the legion history prior its displacement under Marcus Aurelius<sup>32</sup>.

The first work dealing with the history of legion I Italica belongs to a Romanian, G. Mitrescu, who in 1889 edited at Bucharest a book, titled *Istoria legiunei I Italica și a orașului Novae*. By the beginning of the 20th C, at Leipzig, within the series of doctoral theses dedicated to Roman army legions defended in that period, Felix Beuchel's work, *De legione Romanorum I Italica* was issued in 1903<sup>33</sup>.

The first paper covering the history of XI Claudia pia fidelis belongs to Ion Dianu and was published at Bucharest, in 1888<sup>34</sup>.

The history of Roman auxilia was firstly researched by C. Cichorius<sup>35</sup>. A first attempt to discuss various aspects related to the place and role of the auxilia within the Roman army belongs to G. L. Cheesman<sup>36</sup>. Many of his conclusions are either still valid or were confirmed over time. For instance, regarding the auxiliaries from Moesia Inferior, Cheesman expressed doubts in connection with the view according to which the two diplomas from August 14, 99<sup>37</sup>, copies of different constitutions, indicate a division of the auxiliaries from Moesia Inferior upon the inclusion in the defensive system of the two legions, V Macedonica and I Italica, stationed at the time in the province territory<sup>38</sup>. The recent discovery of three diplomas of 105, copies of three different constitutions, whose troop lists under no circumstance intermingle with any list in the two already mentioned constitutions, as well as the discovery of the diploma from Cataloi, of June 14, 92<sup>39</sup> are both strong arguments favouring Cheesman's assumptions<sup>40</sup>. In fact, as we shall determine, it is possible that a third constitution from same date, August 14,

<sup>30</sup> O. A. Alexandrov, *Religijata v rimskata armija v Dolna Mizija*, avtoreferat, Veliko Tărnovo, 2007.

<sup>31</sup> M. Bărbulescu, *Din istoria militară a Daciei romane. Legiunea V Macedonica și castrul de la Potaissa*, Cluj-Napoca, 1987.

<sup>32</sup> *Ibidem*, p. 16–22.

<sup>33</sup> F. Beuchel, *De legione Romanorum I Italica*, Dissertatio inauguralis, Leipzig, 1903.

<sup>34</sup> Ion Dianu, *Istoria legiunei a XI-a Claudia*, Bucharest, 1888 (*non vidi*).

<sup>35</sup> C. Cichorius, *Ala*, RE I, 1894, col. 1224–1277; idem, *Cohors*, RE IV, 1901, col. 231–356.

<sup>36</sup> G. L. Cheesman, *The Auxilia of the Roman Imperial Army*, Oxford, 1914 (reprinted in Chicago, 1975).

<sup>37</sup> CIL XVI 44; 45.

<sup>38</sup> Cheesman, *Auxilia*, p. 50–52.

<sup>39</sup> C. C. Petolescu, A. T. Popescu, ZPE 148, 2004, p. 269–276.

<sup>40</sup> CIL XVI 50; RGZM 10, 11; R. Petrovszky, Mitteilungen des historischen Vereins der Pfalz 102, 2004, p. 10–17.



99 existed, as there are many troops, definitely present in the province, which do not appear on the lists of the two known constitutions.

For the subject herein, highly significant are the studies of W. Wagner<sup>41</sup> and K. Kraft<sup>42</sup> covering, among other, the troops also active on the territory of Moesia Inferior. J. Beneš dealt with the auxilia of the two Moesia and the Dacian provinces, firstly in a study of 1970 and then in a monograph from 1978<sup>43</sup>. We should also mention two special studies drafted by V. Gerasimova, debating a few aspects of the history of auxilia from Moesia and Dacia<sup>44</sup>.

In 1980, P. A. Holder published a reference work in the study of Roman auxiliaries, concerning the history of auxilia from the Roman empire in the 1st C CE when records, partially supported after mid century by military diplomas, are not very numerous and if they exist, are difficult to interpret and relate with the history of an auxilia later known to be stationed in one province or another<sup>45</sup>.

In recent years, J. E. H. Spaul has dealt with the history of the Roman auxilia. His efforts materialized in two works, intended as second edition to Cichorius's articles, however which, at least in connection with the troops from Moesia Inferior, abound in inaccuracies and confusions that we signalled whenever necessary within our work<sup>46</sup>.

Several studies of Romanian authors who mainly dealt with the history of the Roman army on the territory of Dacia and who, inevitably, investigated the history of troops displaced from the territory of Moesia Inferior, are also worth mentioning: V. Christescu<sup>47</sup>, D. Tudor, with his last edition of *Oltenia romană*<sup>48</sup>, I. I. Russu, in an article aimed at reviewing the first version of J. Beneš's study<sup>49</sup>; Cr. M. Vlădescu, who wrote a book on the Roman army from Dacia Inferior<sup>50</sup> and another on the Roman military fortifications from the same province<sup>51</sup>. Recently, the history of the Roman army and especially of the auxilia on the territory of Dacia was debated by C. C. Petolescu<sup>52</sup>. Not many years ago, I also published an article in the attempt to update information on the presence of auxilia on the territory of Moesia Inferior<sup>53</sup>.

<sup>41</sup> W. Wagner, *Die Dislokation der römischen Auxiliarformationen in den Provinzen Noricum, Pannonien, Moesien, und Dakien von Augustus bis Gallienus*, Berlin, 1938.

<sup>42</sup> K. Kraft, *Zur Rekrutierung der Alen und Kohorten an Rhein und Donau*, Bern, 1951.

<sup>43</sup> J. Beneš, Sbornik Brno, E-15, 1970, p. 159–209; idem, *Auxilia romana in Moesia atque in Dacia. Zu den Fragen des römischen Verteidigungssystems im unteren Donaauraum und in den angrenzenden Gebieten*, Prague, 1978. Since the text of 1978 resumes the one from 1970, references shall be made to it. For the text of 1970, see the review of I. I. Russu, SCIV 23, 1972, 2, p. 63–77.

<sup>44</sup> V. Gerasimova, Arheologija Sofia 11, 1969, 4, p. 5–11; eadem, Arheologija Sofia 12, 1970, 4, p. 22–33.

<sup>45</sup> P. A. Holder, *Studies in the Auxilia of the Roman Army from Augustus to Trajan*, BAR Int. Ser. 70, Oxford, 1980.

<sup>46</sup> J. E. H. Spaul, *Ala<sup>2</sup>. The Auxiliary Cavalry Units of the Pre-Diocletianic Imperial Roman Army*, Andover, 1994; idem, *Cohors<sup>2</sup>. The Evidence for and a Short History of the Auxiliary Infantry Units of the Imperial Roman Army*, BAR Int. Ser. 841, 2000. See the review I published together with O. Țentea, ActaMN 39–40/I, 2002–2003, p. 259–296.

<sup>47</sup> V. Christescu, *Istoria militară a Daciei romane*, Bucharest, 1937.

<sup>48</sup> D. Tudor, *Oltenia romană<sup>4</sup>*, Bucharest, 1978.

<sup>49</sup> I. I. Russu, SCIV 23, 1972, 2, p. 63–77.

<sup>50</sup> Cr. M. Vlădescu, *Armata romană în Dacia Inferior*, Bucharest, 1983.

<sup>51</sup> Idem, *Fortificațiile romane din Dacia Inferior*, Craiova, 1986.

<sup>52</sup> C. C. Petolescu, SCIVA 46, 1995, 1, p. 35–49; idem, SCIVA 46, 1995, 3–4, p. 237–275; idem, SCIVA 47, 1996, 1, p. 21–38; idem, ActaMN 34/I, 1997, p. 75–149; idem, *Auxilia Daciae. Contribuție la istoria militară a Daciei romane*, Bucharest, 2002. Considering the latter resumes studies quoted previously and adds latest bibliographical information, we shall quote only this contribution.

<sup>53</sup> Fl. Matei-Popescu, SCIVA 52–53, 2001–2002 (2004), p. 173–242.

Among general history works, we should mention K. Strobel's book on the Dacian wars of emperor Trajan, from 1984, which amply presents the history of the Roman army units involved in military operations<sup>54</sup>. In addition, when synthesising various aspects of the history of Roman Dobrudja, Al. Suceveanu deals with the Roman army units active in this region<sup>55</sup>.

The chapter dedicated to auxilia is an update compared to 2002, when I finished drafting the above mentioned study, which occasionally includes new interpretation or reconsideration, the more so as necessary as latest years were, for me, a period of a continuous, both quantitative and qualitative, growth. In recent years, the documentary basis enlarged noticeably, especially due to the discovery of a record number of military diplomas in the Balkans area, of which some reached Western Europe by Antiquities trade<sup>56</sup>.

## 2. ESTABLISHMENT OF THE PROVINCE OF MOESIA INFERIOR

In the winter of 84/85 or the spring of 85<sup>57</sup>, the Dacians attacked Moesia and *C. Oppius Sabinus*, the governor of the province himself lost his life with that occasion<sup>58</sup>. Domitian arrived in the area accompanied by the Praetorian prefect, *Cornelius Fuscus*<sup>59</sup>. After the invaders were rejected beyond the Danube, Domitian took radical administrative measures. Taking into consideration that Moesia border was much extended, running from eastern boundaries of Pannonia to the Danube flow into the Black Sea, the emperor decided to divide it into two provinces, Moesia Superior and Moesia Inferior, named, according to the Roman custom, dependent on the river flow. The fortress at Novae, together with legion I Italica, came to Moesia Inferior, alike the fortress at Oescus, where legion V Macedonica was quartered. Such division took place precisely in 86, when the first governor of Moesia Superior, *L. Funisulanus Vettonianus*, former governor of Pannonia is recorded<sup>60</sup>. Unfortunately, the name of the first

<sup>54</sup> K. Strobel, *Untersuchungen zu den Dakerkriegen Trajans. Studien zur Geschichte des mittleren und unteren Donaauraumes in der hohen Kaisezeit*, Bonn, 1984.

<sup>55</sup> Al. Suceveanu, in Al. Suceveanu, Al. Barnea, *La Dobroudja romaine*, Bucharest, 1990.

<sup>56</sup> See the Table V. A list of military diplomas for Moesia Inferior is provided by W. Eck, A. Pangerl, *Chiron* 39, 2009, p. 578–580.

<sup>57</sup> As noted by G. Alföldy, H. Halfmann, *Chiron* 3, 1973, p. 358–359, discussing the career of *M. Cornelius Nigrinus Curvatus Maternus* (*vide infra*), Domitian imperial acclamations rose from VIII to XI, in the second half of 85.

<sup>58</sup> Iordanes, *Getica*, 76: *Longum namque post intervallum Domitiano imperatore regnante eiusque avaritia metuentes foedus, quod dudum cum aliis principibus pepingerat, Gothi solventes, ripam Danubii iam longe possessam ab imperio Romano deletis militibus cum eorum ducibus vastaverunt. Cui provinciae tunc post Agrippam Oppius praeerat Savinus, Gothi autem Dorpaneus principatum agebat, quando bello comisso Gothi, Romanos devictos, Oppii Savini caput abscisum, multa castella et civitates invadentes de parte imperatoris publice depraedarent;* C. Patsch, *Der Kampf um den Donaauraum unter Domitian und Trajan. Beiträge zur Völkerkunde von Südosteuropa* V/2, Vienna – Leipzig, 1937, p. 5–9; Strobel, *Donaukriege*, p. 35–43. On *C. Oppius Sabinus*, ordinary consul in 84, beside Domitian, see: Degrassi, *Fasti consolari*, p. 25; PIR<sup>2</sup> O 122; E. Groag, *RE* XVII, 1, 1939, col. 744–745; legate of Moesia between 85/86, Stein, *Legaten*, p. 34; Thomasson, *Laterculi*, col. 125, no. 27; Strobel, *Donaukriege*, p. 39, argues that *Sabinus* had been sent to Moesia as early as 84: “Die moesische Statthaltherschaft hatt Oppius Sabinus sicher noch im Jahre 84 n. Chr. angetreten”.

<sup>59</sup> Cassius Dio, LXVII, 6, 3: ὁ Δομιτιανὸς μὲν οὖν ἐξεστρατεύσατο ἐπ’ αὐτοῦς; Iordanes, *Getica*, 77: *Qua necessitate suorum Domitianus cum omni virtute sua Illyricum properavit et totius pene rei publicae militibus ductore Fusco praelato cum lectissimis viris amnem Danubii consertis navibus ad instar pontis transmeare coegit super exercitum Dorpaneii;* on *Cornelius Fuscus* see PIR<sup>2</sup>, p. 324–325, no. 1365; Pflaum, *Carrières*, p. 77–80, no. 34.

<sup>60</sup> Governor of Pannonia as early as September 5, 85, CIL XVI 31: *et sunt in Pannonia sub L. Funisulano Vettoniano*; his career is relayed by an inscription from Andautonia (Pannonia), CIL III 4013 = ILS 1005 = IDRE II 271; PIR<sup>2</sup>, F 570; Stein, *Legaten*, p. 35–38; Thomasson, *Laterculi*, col. 125, no. 29.



governor of Moesia Inferior is still unknown, although a few hypotheses were made (*M. Cornelius Nigrinus Curiatius Maternus*, between 86–89; likely, governor of Moesia upon the death of *Oppius Sabinus* and the province separation, when he would remain governor of only Moesia Inferior, while *Vettonianus* became governor of Moesia Superior)<sup>61</sup>. The presence of a Moesia Superior governor suggests that, mandatorily, a governor of Moesia Inferior must have already been appointed. The two *consulares* of the two Moesia succeed in defeating the Dacians still on the province territory and Domitian received another three imperial acclamations (XII–XIV) towards the end of 86, while, the two *consulares* received *dona militaria*<sup>62</sup>.

Subsequent these measures, in the following year, the emperor sent *Cornelius Fuscus* in an *expeditio Dacica* that would prove disastrous<sup>63</sup>, *Fuscus* losing both his life and part of the army. Consequent this disaster, the troops command passes to *L. Tettius Iulianus*, most likely already governor of Moesia Superior or possibly as *imperium extra ordinem*, since we know that *Funisulanus Vettonianus* was also decorated in the Dacian war, unless decoration was awarded following the first expedition of *Fuscus* or possibly precisely in 86, when he pushed the Dacians back over the Danube. Following *Iulianus'* campaign, this time victorious and also due to complications on mid Danube border, peace is closed between the new Dacian king, *Decebalus*, and Domitian, confirmed by a *foedus*. Except that instead of *Decebalus*, his brother, *Diegis* was present. From this moment on, from a Roman legal point of view, one may speak of a kingdom of *Decebalus* (*regnum Decibali*)<sup>64</sup>. It seems that the governor of Moesia Inferior was also involved in this war stage, since the above inscription, from Liria Edetanorum, infers he received *dona militaria* twice during the Dacian war<sup>65</sup>.

It seems that centurion *L. Valerius Proclus*, former soldier, then *beneficiarius legati* of V Macedonica legion and subsequently *optio* of the same legion, received *dona militaria* and was subsequently transferred (promoted) as another rank centurion in legion I Italica<sup>66</sup>, also participated in Domitian's war with the Dacians. It is well known that centurions transfers from one legion to another was equivalent to a promotion to an upper rank than the previous, all the more that the centurion of V Macedonica had distinguished himself during military operations.

<sup>61</sup> Thomasson, *Laterculi*, col. 125, no. 28; col. 148, no. 162; idem, *Laterculi*<sup>2</sup>, p. 56, no. 20:162, resuming G. Alföldy's idea, H. Halfmann, *Chiron* 3, 1973, p. 356–361 (the inscription text from *Liria Edetanorum* at p. 345; AÉ 1973, 283 = IPD<sup>4</sup> 775b = IDRE I 176; PME, C 242). See also CIL II 6013, *Liria Edetanorum: M. Cornelio / M. f. G[al.] Nigri/no Curiatio / Materno cos. / leg. Aug. pro pr. provinc. Moes. / provinc. Syriae*, and CIL II 3783.

<sup>62</sup> G. Alföldy, H. Halfmann, *Chiron* 3, 1973, p. 360.

<sup>63</sup> *Suetonius, Domit.*, VI, 1: *in Dacos duas (scil. expeditiones) primam Oppio Sabino consulari oppresso*; Cassius Dio, LXVII, 6, 5: ἐφ'οὐ ἔπεμψε Δομτιανὸς Φοῦσκον μετὰ πολλῆς δυνάμεως; Orosius, VII, 10, 4: *nam quanta fuerint Diurpanei Dacorum regis cum Fusco duce proelia quantaque Romanorum clades, longo textu evolverem, nici Cornelius Tacitus, qui hanc historiam diligentissime contextuit*; Jordanes, *Getica*, 78: *Tum Gothi haud segnes reperti arma capessunt primogene conflictu mox Romanos devincunt, Fuscoque duce extinto divitias decastri militum spoliant magnaue potiti per loca victoria iam proceres suos, quorum quasi fortuna vincebant, non puros homines, sed semideos id est vocaverunt*.

<sup>64</sup> As it appears in *C. Velius Rufus* career: *bello Marcomannorum Quadorum Sarmatarum adversus quos expeditionem fecit per regnum Decibali regis Dacorum*; the inscription was discovered in Syria, at Heliopolis (IGLS VI 2796 = ILS 9200 = IPD<sup>4</sup> 502 = 774a = IDRE 406); Saxer, *Vexillationen*, p. 22–23; Dobson, *Primipilares*, p. 216–217, no. 94; K. Strobel, *ZPE* 64, 1986, p. 265–286.

<sup>65</sup> G. Alföldy, H. Halfmann, *Chiron* 3, 1973, p. 361.

<sup>66</sup> CIL III 12411 = ILS 2666b = IPD<sup>4</sup> 771 = ILB 432 = CGLBI 648 = Mrozewicz, *Legioniści*, 123 = IDRE II 328 (Butovo-Nedan, Pavlikeni); Maxfield, *Military Decorations*, p. 191–192; K. Strobel, *Tyche* 2, 1987, p. 208–209.

### 3. MILITARY ORGANIZATION OF MOESIA INFERIOR

Thus, starting with 86, the territory between the Danube and the Balkans, east of river *Ciabrus* and up to the Danube mouths, became a self-contained province, of consular rank, which held two legions and, in the Dacian war aftermath, even three legions. Its capital was most likely at Tomis<sup>67</sup>, however militarily, the most important sites were Oescus, Novae, Durostorum and Troesmis, all, in certain periods, legion headquarters.

Within the province, militarily important was Montana region, probably an important mining area and road junction<sup>68</sup> and the Balkan Mountains passes from Melta (Loveč) and Sostra (Lomec). They are the single areas of the province, except for the Danube limes area and its extension from north the Black Sea, where are recorded significant military units, either legion *vexillationes* or only auxiliaries.

The situation of the coast line defence is still unclear. The existence of a so-called maritime limes, supported on various occasions by Al. Suceveanu<sup>69</sup> and more recently, by M. Ionescu and Gh. Papuc, does not have direct evidence still<sup>70</sup>. Evidently, inscriptions record, especially at Tomis, the presence of an important number of soldiers, however by no means, in the proportion of those on the Danube limes. Rather, the soldiers in the area dealt with policing and surveillance<sup>71</sup>, while in case of ample attacks, *vexillationes* could have been sent by inner roads linking the Danube with

<sup>67</sup> R. Haensch, *Capita provinciarum. Statthaltersitze und Provinzialverwaltung in der römischen Kaiserzeit*, Mainz, 1997, p. 333–335. One of the strongest arguments is the presence at Tomis of *Titius Crispus, cornicularius* of governor *T. Flavius Longinus Q. Marcius Turbo*, CIL III 7542 = ISM II 56. Additionally, another strong argument is the inscription placed by *Fl. Severianus, decurio alae I Aetorum Severianae, candidatus* of legate *L. Annius L. f. Quir. Italicus Honoratus*, around 224, CIL III 6154 = ILS 1174 = ISM II 93. Moreover, in the Histria horrothesia, *Tullius Geminus*, governor of Moesia between 47–50, receives the Histrian representatives at Tomis, ISM I 68, l. 52–53: οἱ πρέσβεις ὑμῶν...ἐντυχόντες μοι ἐν Τόμει τὸ ψήφισμα ὑμῶν ἐπέδοσαν (D. M. Pippidi, in *Contribuții la istoria veche a României*<sup>2</sup>, Bucharest, 1967, p. 371–372).

<sup>68</sup> V. Velkov, *Roman Cities in Bulgaria. Collected Studies*, Amsterdam, 1980, p. 85–101; B. Rankov, in A. G. Poulter (ed.), *Ancient Bulgaria. Papers presented to the International Symposium on the Ancient History and Archaeology of Bulgaria, University of Nottingham, 1981*, Part 2, Nottingham, 1982, p. 40–73. See also B. Gerov, ANRW VII/1, 1979, p. 217–218: “Die strategische Lage des Ortes als Knotenpunkt der Wege, die über die Pässe Sveti Nikola und Petrohan von Westen und Süden her ins Innere Untermösians führten, wie auch das Bedürfnis, den Bergwerksbezirk zu überwachen, in dem Silber, Blei und Gold gewonnen wurden, haben die Römer schon früh veranlaßt, hier Truppen zu stationieren. Nachweislich standen römische Truppen in der Festung von Montana und auf seinem Territorium bis auf Gallienus”.

<sup>69</sup> Al. Suceveanu, RRH13, 1974, p. 217–238; idem, in *Opuscula Scythica. Grecs et Romains au Bas-Danube*, Bucharest, 2009, p. 225–273 (= BJ 192, 1992, p. 195–223).

<sup>70</sup> At present, the epigraphic records count an approximate number of 53 inscriptions or inscription fragments from the Greek cities in Moesia Inferior, mentioning soldiers or veterans. Thus, at Odessus 2 (IGB I<sup>2</sup> 175 bis; CIL III 14458 = IGB I<sup>2</sup> 218), both on active service; at Dionysopolis 1 (IGB I<sup>2</sup> 24 bis), on active service; at Histria 8 (ISM I 273; 276; 278; 281; 292; 297; 302; 336) 5 on active service and 4 veterans (ISM I 278 are recorded 2, father and son); at Tomis ca. 43 (ISM II 327; 466; 458; 452; 442; 383; 374; 348; 345; 296; 267; 266; 264; 263; 262; 260; 250; 249; 247; 226; 225; 221; 212; 213; 214; 218; 199; 180; 184; 198; 190; 193; 196; 192; 172; 176; 177; 10; 15; 80; 93; 140; 169; 170) ca. 24 on active service, 13 veterans and 10 impossibly to establish due to the fragmentary state of the documents; at Callatis 3 (ISM III 74; 56?; 30) 2 on active service.

<sup>71</sup> See the case of a *speculator Ponticus*, in a Greek inscription from the 3rd C, ISM II 327 = Conrad, *Grabstelen*, p. 170, no. 167 (BÉ 1959, 260): Οὐειβίω Σευήρω / σπεκλατόρι που/τικῶ ἐτῶν κς' / οἱ ἀδελφοὶ Ἀλέξαν/δρος καὶ Ἰπαρχος / μνήμης χάριν. See the study of C. C. Petolescu, in *Contribuții la istoria Daciei romane I*, Bucharest, 2007, p. 131–132, on the career of chief centurion *T. Aurelius Flavinus*, from an unknown legion, probably I Italica, mentioned on an inscription from Oescus (ILB 18 = IDRE II 320).

the west coast of the Black Sea<sup>72</sup>. Possibly, this was the purpose of the administrative unit *regio Histriae*<sup>73</sup>, which by no means may be equalled to city *chora* (= *territorium*), integral part of the city<sup>74</sup>. Most likely, by analogy with *regio Montanensium*<sup>75</sup>, this may have been a district under the supervision of *regionarii*, possibly attested in Histria horothesia<sup>76</sup>, maybe under the command of a *centurio regionarius*<sup>77</sup> or of only *beneficarii consularis*<sup>78</sup>. *Beneficarii consularis* are well recorded at Callatis as well<sup>79</sup>, but especially at Tomis<sup>80</sup> and last but not least, at Dionysopolis<sup>81</sup>. They are the effective Roman military presence in this area. Evidently, Tomis's case seems special, and if we agree that the province governor resided there, then the significant number of soldiers in this city may be explained. It is worth mentioning, in this context, that the governor of Moesia Inferior, *P. Calpurnius Macer*<sup>82</sup>, sent to Byzantium, upon emperor's orders, a *centurio regionarius*, as reported by a letter of Pliny the Younger, at the time governor of Pontus et Bithynia. Trajan's refusal to do the same for the city of Iuliopolis, confronted with security issues, shows that the emperor intervened only where immediate and strategic interests required it<sup>83</sup>. Therefore, the need for a *regio Histriae* is hard to explain, however the proximity of the Danube mouths may justify its reason of being. Or, possibly, the *regio Histriae* did not have a military purpose,

<sup>72</sup> Like the case of a *vexillatio* of *ala I Vespasiana Dardanorum*, stationed at Arrubium that may be recorded in Histria around 170, Fl. Matei-Popescu, SCIVA 54–56, 2003–2005, p. 308–310.

<sup>73</sup> CIL III 12489 = ILS 7182 = ISM I 373 (see also D. M. Pippidi, in *Studii de istorie și epigrafie*, Bucharest, 1988, p. 193–196 = StCl 14, 1972, p. 210–213, on the expression *muneraque fecit Histro in oppido*): *L. Pompeius Valens natus Fabia Anquira consist(it) r(egione) Hist(ri)*; ISM I 329: *pro sal. Imp. Aug. civit(at)is et reg(ionis) Hist(riae)*; ISM V 123; ISM V 124 (both found at Cius, however which come from Histrian territory); in ISM I 343, dated under the joint reign of Septimius Severus and Caracalla, uncertain reading: *c(ives) R(omani) et Lai consistentes reg(ione) Si(...?) vico Secundini*. For *regio Histriae* see Al. Avram, Dacoromania. Jahrbuch für östliche Latinität 6, 1981–1982, p. 113–120; Bărbulescu, *Viața rurală*, p. 34–35.

<sup>74</sup> See to this end Suceveanu, *Viața economică*, p. 38; idem, *Dobroudja*, p. 46; idem, *Fântânele. Contribuții la studiul vieții rurale în Dobrogea romană*, Bucharest, 1998, p. 159–160; Al. Avram, in R. Compatangelo-Soussignan, Ch.-G. Schwentzel, *Étrangers dans la cité romaine. Actes du Colloque de Valenciennes (14–15 octobre 2005) „Habiter une autre patrie”: des incolae de la République aux peuples fédérés du Bas-Empire*, Presses Universitaires de Rennes, 2007, p. 99.

<sup>75</sup> Rankov, *op. cit.*, p. 52–58: “the term *regio Montanensium* regularly refers to an under special military control and possibly even to a region of imperial estates; this excludes its use for a municipal territory” (p. 58).

<sup>76</sup> T. Sarnowski, *Eos* 76, 1988, p. 101–102, no. 5, underlining r. 74 from Histria horothesia (ISM I 67), where one may read: *[r]egionarii V*. See also D. M. Pippidi, in *Studii de istorie și epigrafie*, Bucharest, 1988, p. 183–189 (StCl 6, 1964, p. 331–339), the one who attributed this fragment to Histria horothesia.

<sup>77</sup> Usually, such units were headed by centurions, C. Brélaz, *La sécurité publique en Asie Mineure sous le Principat (I<sup>er</sup>–III<sup>ème</sup> s. ap. J.-C.). Institutions municipales et institutions impériales dans l'Orient romain*, SBA 32, Basel, 2005, p. 264.

<sup>78</sup> ISM I 302 = CGLBI 634; ISM I 137; D. M. Pippidi, in M. B. de Boer, T. A. Edridge, *Hommages à Maarten J. Vermaseren*, III, Leiden, 1978, p. 967–973. For both *regiones* from Moesia Inferior see L. Mrozewicz, *Rozwój ustroju municypalnego a postępy romanizacji w Mezji Dolnej*, Poznań, 1982, p. 73–75.

<sup>79</sup> AÉ 1972, 545 = ISM III 74, under Gordian III.

<sup>80</sup> AÉ 1957, 191 = ISM II 192; CIL III 7550 = ISM II 193; CIL III 14214<sup>30</sup> = ISM II 221; unclear is the situation of *C. Antonius Fronto, veteranus legionis XIII Geminae, ex beneficiario consularis*, who might have retired at Tomis upon the completion of the military service in Dacia, however who could have served as *beneficiarius* in Moesia Inferior (CIL III 7545 = ISM II 190).

<sup>81</sup> IGB I<sup>2</sup> 24 bis = AÉ 1972, 505 = BÉ 1971, 436 = CCID 71 = CGLBI 614, from where we find he was a Council member of cities Dionysopolis, Marcianopolis and Callatis; Wesch-Klein, *Soziale Aspekte*, p. 128–129.

<sup>82</sup> Stein, *Legaten*, p. 63; Fitz, *Laufbahn*, p. 54; Vulpe, DID II, p. 125–126; Thomasson, *Laterculi<sup>2</sup>*, p. 48, no. 20:072. He is recorded governor of Moesia Inferior in 112–113.

<sup>83</sup> Plinius, *Epist.*, X, 77, 1: *Providentissime, domine, fecisti quod praecepisti Calpurnio Macro, clarissimo viro, ut <r>egionarium centurionem Byzantium mitteret*; Brélaz, *La sécurité*, p. 265–266. See also M. P. Speidel, ZPE 57, 1984, p. 185, note 3; R. Merkelbach, *Epigraphica Anatolica* 30, 1998, p. 114, on the new reading <l>egionarium – <r>egionarium. For a previous comment of this passage see Vulpe, DID II, p. 123–125.

being a rather civil district, city- independent, according to the model of those *regiones* recorded all over the province of Thracia<sup>84</sup>. Such view is strongly supported by the mention within two inscriptions, one most likely from the 2nd C and the other from Philippus I Arabs, of certain *archontes regionis Histriae*<sup>85</sup>. Without attempting to argue the essential military nature of *regio Histriae*, the analogy with *regio Montanensium* and the possible mention in the Histrian horrothesia of certain [*r*]egionarii may be important arguments in support of the idea that this organism might have been under Roman military control. Moreover, until the discovery of new epigraphic documents<sup>86</sup>, the singularity of such organism along the west coast of the Black Sea must be underlined and explained.

The Danube frontier of Moesia Inferior was controlled by *classis Flavia Moesica* as well. The first direct record dates from year 73, a military diploma, copy of an imperial constitution issued for its *trierarchi* and *remiges*<sup>87</sup>. Still, as I shall emphasize in the chapter dedicated especially to this issue, the fleet organization must date no later than Claudius's time.

The presence of the Roman military fleet by the Lower Danube was examined among others by Em. Condurachi<sup>88</sup>, A. Aricescu<sup>89</sup> and by O. Bounegru and M. Zahariade<sup>90</sup>. A definitely quality work, yet including many mistakes like the interpretation of *Sex. Octavius Fronto* function, recorded by the diploma found at Brețcu (CIL XVI 37), as *praefectus classis*<sup>91</sup>, when obviously, as member of the senatorial order, he could not have held a position reserved to the equestrian order. As proven in fact, by an inscription from Chersonesus, he was at that moment *legatus Augusti pro praetore provinciae Moesiae Inferioris*<sup>92</sup>.

#### 4. LIMES MOESIAE INFERIORIS

The Latin term *limes*, defined by dictionaries as border line between two farm lands, fortified frontier line or even having the general meaning of road, pathway, track<sup>93</sup>, is used by

<sup>84</sup> This is the almost unanimous view of the researchers dealing with the problem, Al. Avram, *Dacoromania. Jahrbuch für östliche Latinität* 6, 1981–1982, p. 113–120; Suceveanu, *Viața economică*, p. 38; idem, *Dobroudja*, p. 46; Bărbulescu, *Viața rurală*, p. 34–35. On the realities of the province of Thracia, see B. Gerov, *Klio* 52, 1970, p. 123–132.

<sup>85</sup> As possibly inferred by the text of two inscriptions, both found at Cius (ISM V 123), however which evidently come from the Histrian territory *pro salu(te) imp(eratoris) Aug(usti) civit(at)is et reg(ionis) His(triae)... arch(ontibus) reg(ionis)* and ISM V 124: *a(r)contes r(egionis) His(triae)*.

<sup>86</sup> Al. Suceveanu, *SCIIVA* 51–52, 2001–2002, p. 170, considers that a *regio Tomitana*, which included κώμη Ἰαπολλωνίου must have existed (M. Bărbulescu, A. Rădulescu, *Pontica* 27, 1994, p. 168–170, no. 6).

<sup>87</sup> W. Eck, A. Pangerl, *Dacia*, N. S. 50, 2006, p. 93–97, no. 1.

<sup>88</sup> Em. Condurachi, in *Limes IX Mamaia*, p. 83–90.

<sup>89</sup> Aricescu, *Armata*, p. 70–78.

<sup>90</sup> O. Bounegru, M. Zahariade, *Les forces navales du Bas Danube et de la Mer Noire aux I<sup>er</sup>–VI<sup>e</sup> siècles*, Colloquia Pontica 2, Oxford, 1996.

<sup>91</sup> In the list of Moesian fleet prefects overtaken by N. Gudea, *JRGZM* 52, 2005, p. 398, *Sex. Octavius Fronto* is also mentioned; he was also mentioned by Aricescu, *Armata*, p. 70 and 73. We deal with a classical model of continuation of inaccuracies, which quoted endlessly become axiomatic.

<sup>92</sup> IOSPE I<sup>2</sup> 422. He was recently recorded on the diploma of Cataloi, copy of a parallel constitution with that for the fleet, C. C. Petolescu, A.-T. Popescu, *ZPE* 148, 2004, p. 269–276.

<sup>93</sup> *Oxford Latin Dictionary*, Oxford, 1968, s. v. *limes* (p. 1031): a strip of uncultivated ground used to mark the division of a land; an object set up to mark the boundary; the boundary of a plot of land; also, a piece of land enclosed within boundaries; a national boundary, frontier; also, the patrolled and fortified line marking this; a lane, path, track, course, route; a line left by the passage of something. The derived word expressing the action itself, *limitatio*, has rather the meaning of space organization and not of border setting, C. R. Whittaker, *CAH* XI, p. 295.



the specialty literature dedicated to military realities of the Roman world in order to designate the road and separation line between *orbis Romanus* and *barbaricum*<sup>94</sup>. Without being a proper frontier, according to nowadays understanding of the 19th – 20th C realities<sup>95</sup>, *limes imperii Romani* is an ideological delimitation between the Roman civilisation and everything outside it, as until the Antonines, it was believed that Rome's power was infinite, both over time and especially over space (*imperium sine fine*)<sup>96</sup>. The use of the *limes* term as land frontier appears for the first time in 98 in Tacitus: “*nec iam de limite imperii et ripa, sed de hibernis legionum et de possessione dubitatum*”<sup>97</sup>, however its definitive establishment in the Roman military and political vocabulary seems to date under emperor Hadrian (year 122): “*per ea tempora et alia frequenter in plurimis locis, in quibus barbari non fluminibus sed limitibus dividuntur, stipitibus magnis in modum muralis saepis funditus iactis atque conexis barbaros separavit*”<sup>98</sup>. The first epigraphic attestation dates back from 213, when in the *Acta fratrum Arvalium*, in the context of Caracalla's campaign against the *Alamanni*, *limes Raetiae* is mentioned (*per limitem Raetiae*)<sup>99</sup>. By far, the most complete approach of the *limes* concept and its territorial expression is carried out in E. Fabricius's article, published in RE<sup>100</sup>, completed by the recent contribution of G. Forni from DE<sup>101</sup>.

From this standpoint, the frontier of Moesia Inferior should be rather defined as *ripa Moesiae inferioris*, since the Danube, *ripa Danuvii*, as in fact named by the inscriptions from the second half of the 1st C and a well known passage from Tacitus: “*ripamquem Danuvii legionum duae in Pannonia, duae in Moesia attinebant*”, constituted large part of the northern border of the province<sup>102</sup>. The choice of a river as settlement site of military units had, in Roman times, supply grounds rather than natural border reasons<sup>103</sup>. The image of an Empire trying to set up natural limits, especially rivers, is evidently still a creation of the 19th C, related to realities specific to the Europe of that time. If by *limes* we understand not necessarily a fortified border, but rather the separation line between the Roman world and the *barbaricum*, which at least ideologically, was not deemed definitive, since, as we have seen above, *imperium Romanum* was infinite, we may use the term of Danube *limes*, in a similar way to that of

<sup>94</sup> E. Schallmayer, *Der Limes. Geschichte einer Grenze*, Munich, 2006, p. 11: “In militärische Sinne stellt *Limes* eine Bahn dar, die zur Erschließung strategisch wichtiger Gebiete von römischer Seite aus in Feindesland, d. h., sowohl in offene Landschaften als auch besonders in Wälder und Gebirgsgegenden vorgetrieben wird”. See also the concept evolution, p. 14: “Die Bedeutung von *limes* im Sinne von Reichsgrenze bildet sich demnach erst später heraus”. On the mental opposition, Romans/barbarians see the discussions synthesis in B. D. Shaw, CAH XI, p. 373–382.

<sup>95</sup> C. R. Whittaker, CAH XI, p. 293–294 and p. 295, where agrees that only in the 3rd C, the *limes* is mistaken with the border of the Roman world. For a short review see also Ph. Freeman, *Britannia* 27, 1996, p. 465–470.

<sup>96</sup> C. R. Whittaker, CAH XI, p. 296–299.

<sup>97</sup> Tacitus, *De vita et moribus Iulii Agricolae*, 41, 2–3. See also the comment of Schallmayer, *op. cit.*, p. 14: “Aus dieser Textstelle wird deutlich, dass die Römer gegen die Ende des 1. Jahrhunderts n. Chr. mit *ripa et limes* tatsächlich die Abgrenzung ihres Machtbereiches über Land und am Flussufer im Sinne einer regelrechten Grenze zu bezeichnen begannen”.

<sup>98</sup> SHA, *De vita Hadriani*, XII, 6; Schallmayer, *op. cit.*, p. 15: “Hier kann *limes* nur als Anlage im Sinne einer völkerrechtlich verbindlichen Demarkationslinie interpretiert werden”. C. R. Whittaker, CAH XI, p. 314, drew attention on a possible anachronism, the author referencing realities datable rather in the 4th C.

<sup>99</sup> CIL VI 2086 = 32380 = ILS 451; G. Forni, in *Limes IX Mamaia*, p. 285.

<sup>100</sup> E. Fabricius, *Limes*, RE XXV, 1926, col. 572–671 (on the Danubian provinces col. 634–650).

<sup>101</sup> G. Forni, *Limes*, E. de Ruggiero (ed.), *Dizionario epigrafico di antichità romana IV*, Rome, 1958–1962, p. 1074–1280.

<sup>102</sup> Tacitus, *Ann.*, IV, 5, 3.

<sup>103</sup> C. R. Whittaker, CAH XI, p. 317. This fact explains why subsequently the conquest of Dacia, most important military sites from Moesia Superior, province which was no longer a border province, continue to be on Danube.

Germania Inferior limes, the Roman frontier on the Rhine or Germania Superior and Raetia limes. For approximately two decades (102–118), the northern frontier of the province was moved north the Danube to the line of the Southern Carpathians and south Moldova, without clear definition of a possible separation line.

The set up of the Moesian limes, as *ripa Danuvii* frontier, began once with the establishment of the province of Moesia by the end of Augustus's reign and the beginning of Tiberius's rule. First information on the Roman presence on the Moesian limes comes from west the province, where later the province of Moesia Superior would function<sup>104</sup>, gradually extending eastwards, to the future province Moesia Inferior. The first information on the Roman fortress at Oescus comes from 44<sup>105</sup>, although its construction was also placed as early as Tiberius's rule<sup>106</sup>.

An issue still incompletely resolved in the specialty literature, remains the location of the 1st C fortress in relation to the other two known fortifications from Oescus: Oescus I (*colonia Ulpia Oescensium*) and Oescus II (Late Roman period). However, it is not my intention to further discuss the matter, yet one may notice that recently, a few important arguments were put forward (sizes and shape of fortification Oescus I, archaeological finds datable in the 1st C, like *terra sigillata* and *militaria*), which allow the support of the supposition according to which *colonia Ulpia Oescensium* overlaid the former fortress<sup>107</sup>.

The fortress at Novae was erected in the same period, approximately 45–46, when the Thracian kingdom was transformed into Roman province, firstly quartering legion VIII Augusta<sup>108</sup> and then in 69, I Italica.

Most likely, Novae was for a long time, possibly until the beginning of Trajan's rule, the last fortified site eastwards the Danube. Eastward this point, information on Roman presence is scarce<sup>109</sup>, evidently leaving aside the records on the western coast of the Black Sea and its northern shore. However, this might be only a state of research. The limes from Dobrudja (*limes*

<sup>104</sup> CIL III 1698 = CIL III 13813b = ILJug 57 (Gospodin vir); CIL III, p. 1024 = ILS 2281 = ILJug 60 (Boljetin, Lepenska Stena); E. Swoboda, *Forschungen aus obermoesischen Limes*. Schriften der Balkan Kommission. Antiquarische Abteilung 10, Vienna – Leipzig, 1939, p. 69 and 74; M. Mirković, in P. Petrović (ed.), *Roman Limes on the Middle and Lower Danube*, Belgrade, 1996, p. 30.

<sup>105</sup> AÉ 1957, 286 = ILB 1.

<sup>106</sup> AÉ 1927, 51 = ILB 47 (s.I.p. ineuntis).

<sup>107</sup> R. Ivanov, 78. BerRGK 1997, p. 597–599; Idem, *Dolnodunavskata otbranjitelna sistema meždu Dortikum i Durostorum ot August do Maurikii (The Defence System along the Lower Danube between Dordicum and Durostorum from Augustus to Mauricius)*, Sofia, 1999, p. 259–267. See also the series of articles and site reports dedicated by G. Kabakchieva to the issue: G. Kabakchieva, *Germania* 74, 1996, p. 115–116: “Diese ältesten Gebäudereste und das Fundmaterial bestätigen die Überlegung, dass sich unter der traianischen Colonia frühromischer Militärlager befunden haben müssen”; G. Kabakchieva, in *Roman Frontier Studies 1995. Proceedings of the XVIth International Congress of Roman Frontier Studies*, Oxbow Monograph 91, 1997, p. 387–392; G. Kabakchieva, *Gesellschaft Pro Vindonissa Jahresbericht 2000*, p. 4, note 7: “Ich habe archäologisch bereits bewiesen, dass die Reste vom ständigen Legionslager der Legio V Macedonica aus dem 1. Jh. n. Chr. unter denen der Colonia Ulpia Oescensium liegen”.

<sup>108</sup> AÉ 1914, 93 = ILB 300

<sup>109</sup> A single inscription discovered at Appiaria (Rjahovo) records the presence of two *praefecti*, probably commanders of auxilia units in 76, V. Beševliev, *Epigrafski prinosi*, Sofia, 1952, p. 71–72, no. 122 = AÉ 1957, 357: *[Imp(erator)] C(a)esar Vespasian[us] Aug(ustus) pont(ifex) max(imus) tr(ibunicia) pot(estate) VII imp(erator) XV co(n)s(ul) VII p(ater) p(atriciae) PGEE vel P. Gel[ . . . ] / [le]g(atus) Aug(usti) p(r)o pr(aetore) coh(ortes) [Matti]acorum(?) et Gall[orum] qu(i)bus pra[esunt] . . . / e(t) Q(uintus) Varius Secundus [ . . . ]*. Also, we could mention the dedication in the honour of emperor Titus, found at Aegyssus, CIL III 6221 = ISM V 286: *Imp(eratori) T(ito) Caes(ari) / pontif(ici) max(imo) trib(unicia) pot(estate) / p(atri) p(atriciae)*. Still, its presence at *Aegyssus* is suggestive for the understanding of the extremely important role of the fleet in the years prior the effective settlement of Roman auxiliaries along Lower Danube.



*Scythiae*) was extensively investigated as early as the last years of the 19th C. We should mention within this context, Gr. Tocilescu and his tireless collaborator, P. Polonic. Next, the limes drew the attention of V. Pârvan. After World War II, important archaeological sites were opened at Sacidava<sup>110</sup>, Capidava<sup>111</sup>, Carsium, Dinogetia, Noviodunum, Halmyris (Murighiol)<sup>112</sup> and other<sup>113</sup>. Still, there is much to be done in order to have a rather good image on the place and role of this limes segment in the history of the Roman Empire limes, in general and for the Moesia Inferior limes history, in particular. This limes was erected, according to available archaeological and epigraphic sources (the founding inscription of the fort at Carsium, Hârşova, Constanţa county and the milestone found at Sacidava, Muzait), under emperor Trajan, most likely in the period between the two Dacian expeditions (102–105, when even legion V Macedonica was moved from Oescus to Troesmis, in north-west Dobrudja, becoming the focus point of the entire Roman defensive system in this part of Moesia Inferior) and was functional until the Slav invasion by the beginning of the 7th C.

Admittedly, the fortifications on the limes from Dobrudja of Moesia Inferior, although researched for more than one century, are for early Roman times little known. Two are the causes of this situation. One is of purely objective nature, i.e. the impossibility to research early Roman layers due to Late Roman constructions and fortifications (4th – 6th C)<sup>114</sup>. The second regards the nature of the limes research practiced in Romania until recent days, carried out by limited archaeological teams, defined by small-scale use of modern technical means and narrow approaches in the fulfilment of minimal goals, like for instance, highlighting the constructional phases of a certain building or research focus on a certain direction, according to the interests of site supervisors. These two realities, one objective, the other subjective, shaped the limited state of our present knowledge.

The best known military archaeological site in this province for the early period is evidently the fortress at Novae (Svištov, Bulgaria). Excavations carried out in the fortress perimeter allowed the identification, on several portions, of pre-Trajanic phase elements of the fortification. Thus, underneath the *principia*, *thermae*, the soldiers barracks from *retentura* and especially under *tabernae* and *scamnum tribunorum*, north *via principalis*, were uncovered prints of an earth and timber fortress that may date as early as the presence here of VIII Augusta. Arretian, north Italic and south Gallic terra sigillata, as well as glass ware, all coming from workshops dated under Claudius-Nero, were identified<sup>115</sup>. The traces of the so-called “Holzlager” account for two distinct construction phases, with the second period datable, based on imported material, by the beginning of Vespasian’s rule. This second earth and timber phase was destroyed by heavy fire, most likely following the Dacian attacks of 84/85. It was overlaid by the first stone phase and its start could date even prior the beginning of the 2nd C. It is thus

<sup>110</sup> C. Scorpan, *Limes Scythiae. Topographical and Stratigraphical Research on the Late Roman Fortifications on the Lower Danube*, BAR Int. Ser. 88, 1980.

<sup>111</sup> Gr. Florescu, R. Florescu, P. Diaconu, *Capidava. Monografie arheologică*, Bucharest, 1958; R. Florescu, *Pontica* 7, 1974, p. 417–436; Gr. Florescu, *Dacia* 3–4, 1932, p. 485–515 and idem, *Dacia* 7–8, 1937–1940, p. 345–350. See also <http://www.capidava.ro/biblio.php>.

<sup>112</sup> Al. Suceveanu, M. Zahariade, Fl. Topoleanu, Gh. Poenaru-Bordea, *Halmyris I. Monografie arheologică*, Cluj-Napoca, 2003.

<sup>113</sup> M. Zahariade, N. Gudea, *The Fortifications of Lower Moesia (AD 86–275)*, Amsterdam, 1997 and in N. Gudea, *JRGZM* 52, 2005, p. 319–566.

<sup>114</sup> See M. Zahariade, *Moesia secunda, Scythia și notitia dignitatum*, Bucharest, 1988, p. 117–142.

<sup>115</sup> Al. Miltscheva, E. Gentscheva, *Archeologia* 2, 1991, p. 24–35; eadem, in P. Petrović (ed.), *The Roman Limes on the Middle and Lower Danube*, Belgrad, 1996, p. 187–189, Pl. I–II. See also A. Dimitrova-Milčeva, in *Roman Frontier Studies 1989. Proceedings of the XVth International Congress of Roman Frontier Studies*, University of Exeter Press, 1991, p. 271–275.

possible that the construction of the stone fortress of legion I Italica began by the end of the Dacian war of Domitian<sup>116</sup>. The oldest stone building is the headquarters (*principia*), its prints being identified under *principia* constructed under Septimius Severus, which functioned until the third quarter of the 4th C<sup>117</sup>. Very early traces were also discovered under the *valetudinarium* (in *praetentura*, west *via praetoria*), where the so-called military baths (*thermae militares*) were found. Hypocaust, flooring and mosaic fragments were discovered<sup>118</sup>. The construction of a 1600 sqm building (“Stadtvilla”), identified as *scamnum tribunorum* dates by the beginning of the 2nd C as well<sup>119</sup>.

Excavations carried out in the fortress enclosure led to the discovery, on the eastern and southern sides as well as the south-eastern corner, of five towers from the earth and timber phase of the fortress. The towers are surfaced 6 × 6 m and are located at a distance of 41 meters one from another. Thus, one may estimate that the east and west sides were provided with 8 towers each, without those in the gates and corners area. Excavations carried out at *porta principalis dextra* led to the identification of two timber-made towers, placed at an interval of 41 meters between each other, accounting for a 7 meters span of the gate. During same excavations, north and south *porta principalis dextra*, were identified prints of the earth rampart made of unfired bricks, horizontally separated by yellow strips of clay. Its base was approximately 4 meters thick. Two *fossae*, evidenced following digs performed in *porta decumana* area, were put in relation with the earth and timber phase of the fortress. The inner *fossa* had 6 m span, while the outer one could have been of 8 meters, both being 3 m deep<sup>120</sup>. In conclusion, we may argue that the earth and timber fortress sizes were of 370 × 500 m approximately (in fact the distance between the *fossae* on the E–W and N–S sides), the fortress being approximately 17 ha in surface<sup>121</sup>.

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<sup>116</sup> T. Sarnowski, *Balcanica Posnaniensia* 1, 1984, p. 143–169.

<sup>117</sup> Idem, in *Roman Frontier Studies 1989. Proceedings of the XVth International Congress of Roman Frontier Studies*, University of Exeter Press, 1991, p. 303–307 (especially p. 304).

<sup>118</sup> P. Dyczek, *Novensia* 6, 1993, p. 54–64; Al. Miltscheva, E. Gentscheva, in P. Petrović (ed.), *The Roman Limes on the Middle and Lower Danube*, Belgrade, 1996, p. 190.

<sup>119</sup> Al. Miltscheva, E. Gentscheva, in P. Petrović (ed.), *The Roman Limes on the Middle and Lower Danube*, Belgrade, 1996, p. 191

<sup>120</sup> P. Donevski, in P. Petrović (ed.), *The Roman Limes on the Middle and Lower Danube*, Belgrad, 1996, p. 201–203; Idem, in *Roman Frontier Studies 1995. Proceedings of the XVth International Congress of Roman Frontier Studies*, Oxbow Monograph 91, 1997, p. 331–334; St. Parnicki-Pudęłko, *The Fortifications in the Western Sector of Novae*, Poznań, 1990, p. 9–56.

<sup>121</sup> Parnicki-Pudęłko, *op. cit.*, p. 13.



# I

## LEGIO V MACEDONICA

### 1. LEGION HISTORY PRIOR THE ESTABLISHMENT OF THE PROVINCE OF MOESIA INFERIOR

Earliest record on the legion mentions *M. Vipsanius Agrippa* who settled colonists at Berytus in 15–14 BCE<sup>122</sup>. Since city coins dating from Claudius and Nerva reference legions *V* and *VIII*, we may assume they are *V Macedonica* and *VIII Augusta*<sup>123</sup>. The first province where the legion stationed was Macedonia. Sometime prior the establishment of the province of Moesia, it was involved in an eastern campaign, which would explain information on a mysterious legion *V Scythica*, although it could also be a mere confusion with legion *III Scythica*<sup>124</sup>.

The date when it was created is unknown<sup>125</sup>, however it might have occurred during the Roman civil wars, given that veterans established at Berytus had been recruited no later than 40 BCE. The first province where the legion was stationed seems to have been Macedonia, wherefrom, subsequent the creation of Moesia, was sent on the Danube line. Legion *V Macedonica* is not identical, as supposed, with legion *V Gallica*, whose history rather unclear, may still be traced independently from that of legion *V Macedonica*<sup>126</sup>.

K. Strobel has recently argued that the legion was identical with *V Urbana* legion raised in 43 BCE by consul *C. Vibius Pansa*, whose veterans were settled later on at Ateste<sup>127</sup> and which

<sup>122</sup> Strabon, XVI, 2, 19: δεξαμένη δύο τάγματα ἃ ἴδυσεν Ἀγρίππας ἐνταῦθα; Ritterling, RE XII, 1925, col. 1242 and col.1573. On Roman colonies in the Middle East see F. Millar's study, in *Rome, the Greek World and the East*, III, The University of North Carolina Press, 2006, p. 164–222 (on Berytus see p. 168–177). For Berytus see also B. Isaac, *The Limits of Empire: The Roman Army in the East*, Oxford, 1990, p. 318–321.

<sup>123</sup> Ritterling, *loc. cit.*; L. Keppie, in *Legions and Veterans. Roman Army Papers 1971–2000*, Mavors 12, Stuttgart, 2000, p. 183, with the remark that it is tempting to consider the two legions as part of Syria or other neighbouring province garrisons in 15–14 BCE, when the veterans were settled at Berytus; Millar, *op. cit.*, p. 170.

<sup>124</sup> CIL IX 3427; Ritterling, RE XII, col. 1586.

<sup>125</sup> Ritterling, RE XII, 1925, col. 1572: “Die Anfänge der L. liegen im Dunkeln”.

<sup>126</sup> K. Strobel, in Le Bohec, *Les légions de Rome*, p. 522–523 and p. 518. It seems to be formed by Caesar in Gaul during his campaign and was seemingly destroyed in 16 BCE by the Germans while under the command of *M. Lollius* (Cassius Dio 54, 20, 4–6; Velleius Paterculus II, 97, 1: *accepta in Germania clades sub legato M. Lollio, homine in omnia pecuniae quam recte faciendi cupidiore et inter summam vitiorum dissimulatione vitiosissimo, amissaque legionis quintae aquila vocavit ab Urbe in Gallias Caesarem*). Part of legion veterans were settled at Antiochia (Pisidia) around 20 BCE (Strobel, *op. cit.*, p. 520–522, with all epigraphical records). See contra L. Keppie's statement, in *Legions and Veterans. Roman Army Papers 1971–2000*, Mavors 12, Stuttgart, 2000, p. 183: “Legion *V Gallica* is almost certainly the later *V Macedonica*”.

<sup>127</sup> ILS 2236.

would come under Octavianus's authority after he took control of Rome in the same year, as reported by Appianus (*BC*, III, 91–92). This legion would have been subsequently moved to Macedonia during the civil war between Octavianus and Marcus Antonius, where it remained and renamed legion V Macedonica. This would explain the settlement of colonists from a V legion at Berytus. According to K. Strobel, the legion could have arrived in the East together with Tiberius around 20 BCE<sup>128</sup> and return in 13 BCE on the occasion of the Illyrian war<sup>129</sup>.

St. Mitchell argued sometime ago, that legion V Macedonica would be identical with V legion recorded in Galatia together with VII legion that later become VII Claudia pia fidelis. The two legions would have been stationed until around 6, when they were moved, one in Dalmatia and one in Moesia. It would have earned the name Macedonica for its role in the suppression of the Bessi uprising from 13–11 BCE, where it took part under legate *L. Calpurnius Piso*<sup>130</sup>. L. Keppie also believes that the legion was transferred to the Balkans on the occasion of the Pannonian revolt of 6–9<sup>131</sup>.

To conclude, it is difficult to retrace the legion history prior its certain records within inscriptions under the name Macedonica, dating, as we shall see below, from Tiberius's last reign years. All attempts insofar, the majority mentioned above, are simple work hypotheses and by no means, definite conclusions. We may assume however, due to current state of research, that the legion was stationed for a while in Macedonia, perhaps together with XX legion, mentioned on an Augustan inscription discovered at Reselec<sup>132</sup> and with legion X Fretensis, attested at Amphipolis around 16 BCE<sup>133</sup>. Otherwise, one could not explain the name and the fact that most likely the legion came under the command of legates once they took over the control of the Macedonian Roman army from proconsuls. As R. Syme proved, it represented a turning point in the creation of new territorial competence for the legates, i.e. Moesia<sup>134</sup>.

Oldest information on the legion by the Lower Danube comes from an inscription dated 33–34, recording the construction of a road along the Danube<sup>135</sup>. Very likely, one of the legions which Tacitus reported to have been displaced to Moesia in 23 is V Macedonica<sup>136</sup>. The information on the construction of the mentioned road led to the assumption that the legion's early fortress in Moesia should be identified between Viminacium and Ratiaria. Around 44–45, the legion was recorded by an inscription dedicated to the province governor of the time, *L. Martius Macer*<sup>137</sup>. Approximately in the same period, dates the inscription placed

<sup>128</sup> Suetonius, *Tiberius*, 14, 3; Horatius, *Ep.*, I, 3, 3.

<sup>129</sup> K. Strobel, in Ph. Freeman et alii (eds.), *Limes XVIII. Proceedings of the XVIII<sup>th</sup> International Congress of Roman Frontier Studies held in Amman, Jordan (September 2000)*, BAR Int. Ser. 1084, Oxford, 2002, p. 51–66 (p. 53, 56–58). This solution had been suggested as early as 1928 by H. M. D. Parker, *The Roman Legions*<sup>2</sup>, Cambridge, 1958 (first edition 1928), p. 266–267.

<sup>130</sup> St. Mitchell, *Classical Quarterly*, N. S. 26, 1976, p. 298–308 = *AÉ* 1975, 807.

<sup>131</sup> L. Keppie, in *Legions and Veterans. Roman Army Papers 1971–2000*, *Mavors* 12, Stuttgart, 2000, p. 184: “As legions V *Macedonica*, VII, and VIII *Augusta* are not found in the East later, we should suppose that they moved west in AD 6–9, at the latest”. This assumption is based on the observation that in 7, five legions come to support Tiberius at *Siscia ex transmarinis provinciis*, according to Velleius Paterculus's account, II, 112, 4.

<sup>132</sup> CIL III 7452 = ILS 2270 = ILB 179: *L. Plinius Sex. f. / Fab. domo Trumplia / mil. leg. XX / annorum XLV / stipendiorum XVII / hic situs est. / Testamento fieri / iussit. / Secundus / L. Plini et P. Mestri / libertus fecit*. On an inscription comment see R. Syme, *Danubian Papers*, Bucharest, 1971, p. 61–64.

<sup>133</sup> *AÉ* 1936, 18: *Imp. Caesare / divi f. Aug. / L. Tario Ruf(o) pro / pr(aetore) / leg. X Fret. / pontem fecit*; B. E. Thomasson, *Legatus. Beiträge zur römischen Verwaltungsgeschichte*, Stockholm, 1991, p. 40–41, considered him (*legatus Augusti*) *pro praetore*.

<sup>134</sup> R. Syme, *Danubian Papers*, Bucharest, 1971, p. 40–72.

<sup>135</sup> CIL III 1698 = CIL III 13813b.

<sup>136</sup> Tacitus, *Ann.* IV 5, 3: *ripamque Danuvii legionum duae in Pannonia, duae in Moesia attinebant*; Gerov, *Beiträge*, I, p. 148: “Diesen waren zweifellos *legio V Macedonica* und *legio IV Scythica*”.

<sup>137</sup> CIL XI 1835 = ILS 1835 (Arretium); Filow, *Legionen*, p. 7.



in the honour of *C. Baebius Atticus*, legion *primus pilus* and *praefectus civitatium Moesiae et Treballiae*<sup>138</sup>. Soldiers of the same legion are released by governor *P. Memmius Regulus* sometime between 36 and 43<sup>139</sup>, the same inscription also recording a chief centurion, who later become legion *praefectus castrorum*, *L. Praecilius Clemens Iulianus*<sup>140</sup>. Still under Claudius or possibly even under Tiberius/Caligula served a certain *T. Pontinius*, recorded legion chief centurion by one inscription from Ameria (Umbria)<sup>141</sup>. Beginning with 45/46, legion *vexillationes* participate to various operations of the Moesian army, one being involved in an expedition to Thracia under the command of a certain *Q. Cornelius Valerianus*<sup>142</sup>. B. Gerov suggested based on two inscriptions<sup>143</sup> that its garrison was at Oescus under Claudius, possibly even earlier.

An inscription, unfortunately very fragmentary, found at Tergeste (Trieste, Regio X) mentions a certain *Pro[...]* from the *Pupinia* tribe attested at Tergeste, who after being either a military tribune or chief centurion of legion XXI Primigenia, became *praefectus gaes[atorum] et [civitati]um? Helvetiorum*. Subsequently, he exercised command with legion V Macedonica<sup>144</sup>. Such career development undoubtedly indicates that the inscription or at least the career of this unknown character dated under emperor Claudius.

Possibly in this period dates the stela of a *signifer legionis*, *Q. Philippicus* from Edessa (Macedonia), discovered at Sucidava (Celei), but which undeniably comes from Oescus. Earlier dating was also proposed in this case<sup>145</sup>. Still from this period, unless even earlier<sup>146</sup>

<sup>138</sup> CIL V 1838; 1839 = ILS 1349 (Iulium Carnicum); Dobson, *Primipilares*, p. 190, no. 55.

<sup>139</sup> PIR<sup>2</sup> M 468.

<sup>140</sup> CIL III 8753 = 2028 + p. 1030 = Mrozewicz, *Legioniści*, 16 = 28 = 95 = Dobson, *Primipilares*, p. 187, no. 51 = Ferjančić, *Settlement of Legionary Veterans*, p. 270, no. 239 (Salonae): *veterani qui militaver(unt) sub P(ublio) Me[mm]io Regulo legato Aug(usti) [pro pr(aetore)] et missi sunt Q. [L]ut[a]tio Lusio Saturnino M. Seio Verano cos.* See also D. B. Saddington, *Historia* 45, 1996, 2, p. 245 and p. 248, no. 16, observes that he is the first who appears chronologically with the title *praefectus castrorum legionis*

<sup>141</sup> CIL XI 4368 (p. 1369) = Mrozewicz, *Legioniści*, 93 a; Domaszewski, *RO*<sup>2</sup>, p. 249; Dobson, *Primipilares*, p. 181, no. 134; Holder, *Auxilia*, E 53, p. 247; PME, P 85.

<sup>142</sup> CIL II 3272; Filow, *Legionen*, p. 10–11; Ritterling, *RE* XII, 1925, col. 1573–1574; Saxer, *Vexillationen*, p. 10–11, no. 7; Holder, *Auxilia*, p. 80, E 71B. The same individual is mentioned by an inscription from Illiberis (Baetica), CIL II 2079 = ILS 2713; PME, C 250.

<sup>143</sup> *AE* 1927, 51 = ILB 47 = Mrozewicz, *Legioniści*, 99; Ritterling, *RE* XII, col. 1575–1576 = *AE* 1957, 298 = ILB 48 = Mrozewicz, *Legioniści*, 109; Gerov, *op. cit.*, p. 149–152, who goes even further considering that it is possible that the legion was stationed at Oescus as early as the last reigning years of Augustus: “So sehe ich in dieser Inschrift (ILB 47) ein Dokument für die Anwesenheit der *legio V Macedonica* in Oescus schon in den letzten Jahren des Augustus” (p. 152).

<sup>144</sup> CIL V 536, the reading being only *praef(ectus) gaesa[torum] ...um Helvetiorum* and the completion belongs to me by analogy with inscription *C. Baebius Atticus*. H. Devijver, *PME*, P 132bis, proposes the reading *[pr]aef(ectus) gaesa[torum] Raetor[um] Helvetiorum*.

<sup>145</sup> CIL III 14492 = IDR II 203 = ILB 49. On complete discussion about this monument see M. Alexandrescu-Vianu, in *Epigraphica. Travaux dédiés au VII<sup>e</sup> Congrès d'épigraphie grecque et latine (Constantza, 9–15 septembre 1977)*, Bucharest, 1977, p. 65–68, who is tempted to date it “...vers la fin du règne de Claude” (p. 68), yet which Gerov, *op. cit.*, p. 150, following O. Cuntz, *Österjahr* 25, 1929, p. 76, dates between 26–29: “Trifft dies zu, so soll der Soldat zwischen den Jahren 26 und 29 gestorben sein, also soll die Legion zu dieser Zeit schon zu Oescus stationiert haben”. The dating proposed by M. Alexandrescu-Vianu is resumed by Conrad, *Grabstellen*, p. 248, no. 458. Forni, *Reclutamento*, p. 165, note 1, proved without a doubt it is Edessa from Macedonia: “In favore dell’origine del soldato da Edessa di Macedonia depongono la tribù *Maecia*, in cui egli era iscritto (tribù che si riscontra, fuori d’Italia, solo per città macedoni: v. Kubitschek, *op. cit.*, p. 271), il suo nome *Philippicus* e la presenza di altri Macedoni nella stessa legione pressochè nel medesimo periodo dell tempo”. Forni considered the inscription cannot be later than Claudius’s reign. See also Cr.-G. Alexandrescu, *Blasmusiker und Standartenträger im römischen Heer. Untersuchungen zur Benennung, Funktion und Ikonographie*, Cluj-Napoca, 2010, p. 318, no. G 12.

<sup>146</sup> Ritterling, *RE* XII, col. 1575–1576 = *AE* 1957, 298 = ILB 48 = Mrozewicz, *Legioniści*, 109 = Ferjančić, *Settlement of Legionary Veterans*, p. 294–295, no. 403.



could date an inscription discovered at Oescus recording a certain *L. Septimius C. f. miles legionis*.

*C. Vibius C. f. Cor(nelia tribu) Quartus* had an interesting career as well. Retired at Philippi, Macedonia, where his funerary inscription was discovered, he had served as legion soldier, then became *decurio* of *ala Scubulorum* and subsequently prefect of a cohort *III (Augusta) Cyrenaica, tribunus militum legionis II Augustae* and prefect of an *ala Gallorum*, sometime by mid 1st C<sup>147</sup>. Between the military charges, he is also attested as *strategus strategiae* [...] in the province of Thrace. Approximately in the same period could date the activity of another soldier, also a Philippi native: *M(arcus) Caius Longin(i) f(iilius) mil(es) leg(ionis) V Maced(onicae) coh(orte) III (centuria) prior(is) annos vixit XXXXVI milit(avit) an(nos) XI h(ic) e(st) s(epultus)*<sup>148</sup>.

From the last part of Claudius reign or first reigning years of Nero seems to date the tribunate of a certain *C. Iulius Montanus*, recorded by an inscription from Rignani<sup>149</sup>. Prior legion IV Scythica's (56/57) transfer to the East, seems to have served *M. Clodius M. f. Fab(ia tribu) Ma[...]* from Brixia, who after being prefect of a cohort *Cantabrorum*, on which we know it had stationed on the territory of Moesia in the 1st C<sup>150</sup>, fulfilled the office of legion IV Scythica tribune and *praefectus vexillationis V Macedonicae*, without specific details on his mission<sup>151</sup>. Around 60, among veterans colonised at Tarentum appears a certain *L. Allius L. f. Scap(tia tribu)*, native of Stobera, Macedonia<sup>152</sup>. *C. Annius C. f. Ani(ensi tribu) Milo* soldier of Italian origin, more precisely from Luca (Regio VII) had also served in the same period, under Claudius or Nero, who after the completion of his military service remained at Oescus<sup>153</sup>. Another Italic soldier, *C. Vibius C. f. Fab(ia tribu) Fronto*, native of Brixia, remained at Oescus; the inscription seems to date again under Claudius/Nero<sup>154</sup>. By the end of Nero's reign, prior the eastern dislocation

<sup>147</sup> CIL III 647 = 7337 = ILS 2538 = Mrozewicz, *Legioniści*, 135 (Philippi); A. Rizakis, MEFRA 115, 2003, p. 533–548 = AÉ 2003, 1591 (Thessaloniki) and AÉ 2003, 1606, new restitution of the inscription from Philippi; PME, p. 869–870; Pflaum, *Carrières*, p. 82; Wagner, *Dislokation*, p. 64–67 (on *ala Scubulorum*) and 128–129 (on *cohors III Augusta Cyrenaica*, the author believed the cohort was stationed in Moesia, sent to the East once with legion V Macedonica, being found in Cappadocia in the 2nd C); Kraft, *Rekrutierung*, p. 158; Holder, *Auxilia*, p. 288, no. 742 E 101; Gerov, *Beiträge*, I, p. 157–162. The decurionate of *Vibius Quartus* cannot be later than 49, when *ala Scubulorum* was sent to Pannonia: “Folglich können wir annehmen, daß die Verlegung der *ala Scubulorum* von Mösien nach Pannonien im Zeitraum 46–49 erfolgt ist (p. 161)”. B. Gerov's theory is based on the presence within a diploma of 74 (CIL XVI 20), awarded to a troop horseman who had served in Germania Superior, but who was of Pannonian origin and had been raised around 49 from this area.

<sup>148</sup> P. Pilhofer, *Philippi, Band 2: Katalog der Inschriften von Philippi*, Tübingen, 2009, no. 692; recruited at rather advanced age, however there are additional cases of enrolments at the age of 34–36, see Forni, *Reclutamento*, p. 141.

<sup>149</sup> CIL XI 5884 = ILS 978. The same individual could be mentioned by Tacitus, *Ann.* XIII, 25: *Iuliusque Montanus senatorii ordinis, sed qui nondum honorem capessisset, congressus forte per tenebras cum principe, deinde adgnitum oraverat, quasi exprobasset, mori adactus est*; in H. Dessau's view: “Videtur Iulius Montanus quem, honoribus destinatum, mori adactum esse a Nerone a. 56 narrat Tacitus 13, 25 cf. Suet. Ner. 26, Dio, 61, 9.

<sup>150</sup> CIL XVI 22; Spaul, *Cohors<sup>2</sup>*, p. 99–100.

<sup>151</sup> InscrIt X, V/2, 737; CIL V 4326 = InscrIt X, V/1, 113; PME, C 202.

<sup>152</sup> CIL IX 6155 = Mrozewicz, *Legioniści*, 6; see also the comment from CIL IX: “Hunc titulum et sequentes duos probabile est pertinere ad veteranos a. p. C. 60 deductos Tarentum” and Todisco, *Veterani*, p. 37 and 42, no. 17, on the legionary in question and p. 37–43; p. 226, for ampler discussion on the veterans settling at Tarentum under Nero.

<sup>153</sup> CIL III 14415 = ILB 53 = Mrozewicz, *Legioniści*, 8 = Ferjančić, *Settlement of Legionary Veterans*, p. 294, no. 402. Forni, *Reclutamento*, p. 176 and 224, dates this soldier service in the period Vespasian/Trajan; see also Todisco, *Veterani*, p. 94.

<sup>154</sup> CIL III 12348 (p. 2316<sup>45</sup>) = ILB 51 = Mrozewicz, *Legioniści*, 134 = Ferjančić, *Settlement of Legionary Veterans*, p. 294, no. 401 and p. 88; Forni, *Reclutamento*, p. 178 and 224, considers that this veteran had also served

or during the eastern campaign must have served *T. Iunius Montanus*, on whom we learn from an inscription discovered at Alexandria Troas (Turkmenli), that he fulfilled the office of legion laticlave tribune<sup>155</sup>. *Montanus* pursued a senatorial career and become consul in 81<sup>156</sup>. Still from this period or from its eastern movement dates the tribunate of *T. Rutilius Varus*, who after being legion tribune becomes prefect of ala *I Bosporanorum* stationed in Moesia<sup>157</sup>.

Probably prior the legion's displacement in the expedition from Armenia, had also served a centurion whose name did not preserve, recorded by an inscription discovered in Britannia, at Deua, fortress of legion XX Valeria Victrix beginning with Vespasian's reign. The inscription mentions he was centurion of legions V Macedonica and then VIII Augusta, both in Moesia at that time, being transferred under Vespasian as centurion of legions II Augusta and XX Valeria Victrix. He very likely left for Germania together with legion VIII Augusta and was transferred from there to Britannia<sup>158</sup>.

During Nero's reign, the legion was sent to Armenia, where it took part into the disastrous expedition of *L. Caesennius Paetus*<sup>159</sup> beginning with 61 and further under *Cn. Domitius Corbulo*<sup>160</sup>. In 63, the legion was under the command of *Annius Vinicianus*, *Corbulo's* son-in-law, as reported by Tacitus. He retained this office probably until the summer of 65<sup>161</sup>. The eastern deployment of the legion is attested also by the Tiburtine eulogy of *Ti. Plautius Silvanus Aelianus*, which, recording his military deeds in the north of Pontus Euxinus, reminds they occurred while good part of the province army was campaigning in Armenia<sup>162</sup>. A Greek

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under Vespasian/Trajan. See also G. Forni, in *Atti del Convegno internazionale per il XIX centenario della dedicazione del «Capitolium» e per il 150° anniversario della sua scoperta. Brescia 27–30 settembre 1973*, Brescia, 1974, p. 229, no. 11 (“epoca flavia”).

<sup>155</sup> AÉ 1973, 500; M. Riel, *The Inscriptions of Alexandria Troas*, Bonn, 1997, no. 37. He was probably the grandson of *T. Iunius Montanus*, from the time of Augustus, attested by an inscription discovered at Ljubljana (Emona), AÉ 1938, 173, as H. Devijver, *AncSoc* 23, 1992, p. 61–70, demonstrated.

<sup>156</sup> Degrassi, *Fasti consolari*, p. 81, between May 1 and June 29, as appears in the documents of Arvali brothers (CIL VI 328 = ILS 3434).

<sup>157</sup> CIL X 1258 (p. 969, 1008), the inscription was discovered in Italy, in Latium at Nola; PME, R 21; Holder, *Auxilia*, p. 250, no. E 84. On the relations between *ala Bosporanorum* and legion see Gerov, *Beiträge*, I, p. 163–164, note 94, who dates this moment of *Varus's* career under Nero: “Die Beförderung des *T. Rutilius Varus* vom *tribunus leg. V Mac.* zum Praefekten der *ala Bosporanorum*, die RITTERLING (RE XII (1925), 1583) unter Vespasian ansetzt, könnte sowohl unter Nero in Mösien wie auch während des Aufenthaltes der Legion im Osten (etwa 62–70) stattgefunden haben”.

<sup>158</sup> Richier, *Centuriones ad Rhenum*, p. 218, no. 113.

<sup>159</sup> Tacitus, *Ann.* XV, 6: *quarta et duodecima addita quinta, quae recens e Moesia excita erat*; Filow, *Legionen*, p. 20; Ritterling, RE XII, 1925, col. 1574; Parker, *Roman Legions*<sup>2</sup>, Cambridge, 1958, p. 135–137. On *Paetus's* office in the East see R. K. Sherck, *The Legates of Galatia from Augustus to Diocletian*, Baltimore, 1951, p. 34–35, considered also a legate of Galatia and Cappadocia, continuing *Corbulo's* office: “The arrangement made with *Corbulo*, however, may have been continued with *Paetus*, who then would have been *legatus Augusti pro praetore* of Galatia and Cappadocia combined” (p. 35); Thomasson, *Laterculi*, col. 263–264, no. 4. On a general view over the entire career see E. Dabrowa, *The Governors of Roman Syria from Augustus to Septimius Severus*, Antiquitas Reihe 1. Abhandlungen zur Alten Geschichte, Band 45, Bonn, 1998, p. 60–62. See also M. Heil, *Die orientalische Außenpolitik des Kaisers Nero*, Quellen und Forschungen zur Antiken Welt. Band 26, Munich, 1997, p. 109–111, on the conflict development.

<sup>160</sup> Ritterling, RE XII, 1925, col. 1574. On the entire activity of *Cn. Domitius Corbulo*, of those years, see the study of F. J. Vervaeet, *Historia* 52, 2003, 4, p. 437–442.

<sup>161</sup> Tacitus, *Ann.* XV, 28, 3: *et Vinicianus Annius, gener Corbulonis, nondum senatoria aetate et pro legato quintae legionis impositus, in castra Tiridatis venire*; PIR<sup>2</sup> A 700; Franke, *Legionslegaten*, p. 110, no. 54; F. J. Vervaeet, *Historia* 52, 2003, 4, p. 444, no. 2.

<sup>162</sup> CIL XIV 3608 = ILS 986 = IDRE I 113, r. 13–15: *motum orientem Sarmatar(um) / compressit quamvis parte magna exercitus / ad expeditionem in Armeniam missiset*; D. M. Pippidi, in *Contribuții la istoria veche a României*<sup>2</sup>, Bucharest, 1967, p. 311–314; P. Conole, R. D. Milns, *Historia* 32, 1983, 2, p. 183–200.

tombstone mentioning *Ti. Claudius Crescens, beneficiarius consularis* dead at the age of 28, after 11 years of service, was discovered at Amasia. Given the soldier name, the inscription may evidently date under Nero<sup>163</sup>. Little prior 66, it appears together with other two legions in the East, under the command of *T. Flavius Vespasianus*, garrisoned at Ptolemais, in Iudaea<sup>164</sup>. From 67 or even immediately after the legation of *Annius Vicinianus*, the legion was led by *Sex. Vettulenus Cerialis*<sup>165</sup>. The legion participated to several actions during the Jewish war and in 68 was quartered in the fortress at Emmaus<sup>166</sup>. It seems to have been stationed there until 70, according to Flavius Josephus<sup>167</sup>. In this period date several inscriptions discovered there<sup>168</sup>. It might have also taken part in the Jerusalem conquest, as reported by Josephus who mentions an *aquilifer* from legion V Macedonica<sup>169</sup>. Two centurions, *L. Lepidius Proculus*<sup>170</sup> and *M. Blossius Pudens*<sup>171</sup> were decorated for war bravery.

In the Jewish war aftermath, the legion follows Titus at Zeugma together with XV legion (Apollinaris) in order to meet the Parthian king Vologaeses and then southwards, to Alexandria<sup>172</sup>. From there it was sent back to Moesia<sup>173</sup> by sea, no sooner than the summer of 71<sup>174</sup>.

Upon return to Moesia, after almost one decade, the legion is again accommodated within its former fortress at Oescus, where, in its absence, other legions and auxiliaries had been stationed<sup>175</sup>. Several inscriptions recording veterans from Oescus date from the Flavian-Trajanic period<sup>176</sup>, except one which dates prior 62<sup>177</sup>. Hence, from the Vespasian/Domitian

<sup>163</sup> D. H. French, in *Deuxième Congrès International d'histoire de la côte de la Mer Noire 1<sup>er</sup>-3 Juin 1988* (AÉ 1991, 1461), Samsun, 1990, p. 558, no. 2 = AÉ 1991, 1473.

<sup>164</sup> Flavius Josephus, *BJ* III, 4, 2.

<sup>165</sup> Flavius Josephus, *BJ* III, 309-310; VII, 163; Franke, *Legionslegaten*, p. 111-113, no. 55; F. J. Vervaet, *Historia* 52, 2003, 4, p. 449.

<sup>166</sup> Flavius Josephus, *BJ* IV, 8, 1: εἰς Ἀμμαοῦντα ἀφικνέεται...στρατόπεδόν τε τειχίζει καὶ τὸ πεμπτόν ἐν αὐτῷ τάγμα καταλιπὼν πρόσεισι μετὰ τῆς ἄλλης δυνάμεως.

<sup>167</sup> Flavius Josephus, *BJ* V, 1, 6: τὸ πεμπτόν ἀπὸ Ἀμμαοῦντος ἐκέλευσεν αὐτῷ συναντᾶν; V 2, 3: Καίσαρ δὲ ὡς αὐτῷ συνέμιξε διὰ νυκτὸς τὸ ἀπὸ Ἀμμαοῦντες τάγμα.

<sup>168</sup> CIL III 6647; 14155<sup>11</sup>; 14155<sup>12</sup>; L. Keppie, in *Legions and Veterans. Roman Army Papers 1971-2000*, Mavors 12, Stuttgart, 2000, p. 191.

<sup>169</sup> Flavius Josephus, *BJ* V, 2,3; 11, 4; VI, 1, 7; 4, 3: τὸν τοῦ πέμπτου τάγματος σηματοφόρον.

<sup>170</sup> CIL XI 390 = AÉ 1964, 202 = Mrozewicz, *Legioniści*, 68, (Ariminum, Regio VIII); Ritterling, RE XII, 1925, col. 1584; 1751; Forni, *Reclutamento*, p. 152, no. 9; Dobson, *Principilares*, p. 214, no. 91; Maxfield, *Military Decorations*, p. 189-190; Richier, *Centuriones ad Rhenum*, p. 245-246, no. 157.

<sup>171</sup> CIL VI 3580 a, b = ILS 2641; Dobson, *Principilares*, p. 214-215, no. 92; Maxfield, *Military Decorations*, p. 189-190: "There is no reason to doubt the association of decoration in the Jewish war with the specified centurionate in *V Macedonica*".

<sup>172</sup> Flavius Josephus, *BJ* VII, 1, 3; L. Keppie, in *Legions and Veterans. Roman Army Papers 1971-2000*, Mavors 12, Stuttgart, 2000, p. 190 and p. 192.

<sup>173</sup> Flavius Josephus, *BJ* VII, 5, 3: ὄθεν περ ἀφῆκτο, πάλιν ἀπέστελειν, εἰς μὲν τὴν Μυσίαν τὸ πέμπτον.

<sup>174</sup> Ritterling, RE XII, col. 1575.

<sup>175</sup> AÉ 1957, 299 = ILB 64, *cohors II Flavia Bessorum*; CIL III 14417<sup>1</sup> = ILB 61, mentioning a veteran of cohort *IV Gallorum*, whose full name did not preserve, but a certain Flavius; and possibly ala *I Flavia Gaetulorum*, AÉ 1961, 318 = ILB 57; Filow, *Legionen*, p. 35; Ritterling, RE XII, 1925, col. 1271 and 1575. Between 67-69 the fortress was also occupied by legion III Gallica which supported Vespasian in the civil war, Filow, *Legionen*, p. 23-25; Ritterling, RE XII, 1925, col. 1521-1523; on mentioned auxilia see Fl. Matei-Popescu, SCIVA 52-53, 2001-2002, p. 179-183, no. 3 (ala *I Flavia Gaetulorum*); p. 192-193, no. 11 (*cohors II Flavia Bessorum*); p. 208-210, no. 23 (*cohors IV Gallorum*).

<sup>176</sup> CIL III 7428 = ILB 56 = Mrozewicz, *Legioniści*, 55; CIL III 12348+p. 2316<sup>45</sup> = ILB 51 = Mrozewicz, *Legioniści*, 134; CIL III 14415 = ILB 53 = Mrozewicz, 1995, 8; AÉ 1912, 189 = ILB 58 = Mrozewicz, *Legioniści*, 102.

<sup>177</sup> AÉ 1912, 188; Ritterling, RE XII, 1925, col. 1576, as centurion *Atilius Verus*, named within the inscription, would die in Bedriacum (Tacitus, *Hist.* III, 22).

period dates the angusticlav tribunate of *L. Clodius P. f. Cl(udia tribu) Ingenuus*, who, after being prefect of cohort *Mattiacorum*, became tribune of legions V Macedonica, I Italica and VII Claudia, all stationed in Moesia<sup>178</sup>. Moreover, still from Vespasian's reign dates the tribunate of *C. Nonius C. f. Vel(ina tribu) Flaccus*, who was *tribunus militum bis legionis V Macedonicae et legionis VII Claudiae piae fidelis* and then *praefectus equitum alae I Pannoniorum*<sup>179</sup>.

Although serving most likely as early as Nero, *L. Apuleius L. f. Scaptia (tribu) Valens* seems to have been discharged under Vespasian. He was a native from Beroia (Macedonia), who settled at Scupi (colonia Flavia Scupinorum)<sup>180</sup>. Another veteran, *M. Octavius M. f. Valens*, from Stobi, again a Macedonian native is colonised at Scupi as well, pursuing subsequently an interesting municipal career<sup>181</sup>. At Brăşljanica, approximately 15 km SE from Oescus, the veteran *Ti. Plautius Crispus* has retired most likely under Vespasian. The inscription was placed by his son, *Ti. Plautius Longinus, miles*; however the legion name is not specified, but we may assume it was V Macedonica<sup>182</sup>. At Oescus was discovered the tombstone of *C. Iulius C. f. Menenia Longinus*, a native of Heraclea, yet we do not know which of them, possibly Heraclea Lyncestis from Macedonia. The inscription dates, following the analysis of internal dating elements, from a rather early period: the formula *dis manibus* is lacking, the deceased name's is rendered in Nominative and the formula *hic situs est* is displayed<sup>183</sup>. In this period, prior Domitian's Dacian war, also served centurion *Ti. Claudius T. f. Vitalis*<sup>184</sup>, who would be promoted to legion I Italica, where he received *dona militaria* during the Dacian war. Such reconstruction begins with the premise that decorations were awarded by Domitian and not Trajan<sup>185</sup>. The conclusion was reached based on the lack of emperor's name on the inscription, hence only Domitian may be taken into account. Other authors considered decorations would date under Trajan and brought sound arguments<sup>186</sup>. Approximately between 74–78 or 78–81

<sup>178</sup> AÉ 1906, 104 = CIL VI 37274, in one inscription from Praeneste; PME, C 201. On the issue of Mattiaci cohorts from Moesia and then Moesia Inferior see Fl. Matei-Popescu, SCIVA 52–53, 2001–2002 (2004), p. 219–221, no. 30, with cohort *II Mattiacorum*.

<sup>179</sup> AÉ 1975, 353 (Firmum Picenum, Regio V); G. W. Houston, Classical Philology 72, 1977, p. 232–238; Holder, *Auxilia*, p. 250, considers that his militias would rather date under Claudius or Nero; Y. Le Bohec, *Les unites auxiliaires de l'armée romaine en Afrique Proconsulaire et Numidie sous le Haut-Empire*, Paris, 1989, p. 38, under Vespasian. It is insufficiently clear if the *ala* prefect office was carried out in Moesia or Africa, since there are at least two *alae Pannoniorum* recorded. See complete discussion with Fl. Matei-Popescu, SCIVA 52–53, 2001–2002, p. 191–192, no. 10.

<sup>180</sup> AÉ 1961, 125 = ILJug 29 = IMS VI 43 = AÉ. 1984, 761 = Ferjančić, *Settlement of Legionary Veterans*, p. 283, no. 322 and p. 73.

<sup>181</sup> AÉ 1910, 173 = IMS VI 42 = Mrozewicz, *Legioniści*, 83.

<sup>182</sup> AÉ 1976, 614 = ILB 220 (“Sub Flaviiis. Tiberius Plautius Crispus a Tiberio Silvano Aeliano, legato Augusti pro praetore provinciae Moesiae a. 60–67 civitate Roman donatus est”) = Conrad, *Grabstelen*, p. 251–252, no. 472 (“Spätflavisch”; “Der Fundort des demnach in ungefähr spätflavischer Zeit gesetzten Grabsteins spricht für eine *missio agraria* und eine Ansiedlung im südlich an Oescus anschließenden ländlichen Gebiet”).

<sup>183</sup> AÉ 1960, 128 = ILB 55 = Ferjančić, *Settlement of Legionary Veterans*, p. 295, no. 404 = Conrad, *Grabstelen*, p. 242, no. 433. G. Forni, ANRW II/1, 1974, p. 370, considers him a Heraclea native, Regio III, and argues he was enrolled in the Flavian/Trajanic period. The Italian origin is supported also by Todisco, *Veterani*, p. 60.

<sup>184</sup> CIL VI 3584 = ILS 2656 = IPD<sup>4</sup> 794 = IDRE I 3 (Roma); Domaszewski, RO<sup>2</sup>, p. 94–96; 232–233; K. Strobel, Tyche 2, 1987, p. 203–209; Richier, *Centuriones ad Rhenum*, p. 310–312, no. 256.

<sup>185</sup> Mrozewicz, *Legioniści*, p. 94–99, no. 31.

<sup>186</sup> K. Strobel, Tyche 2, 1987, p. 209: “Da wir bei dem *ex equite Romano* direktberufenen Vitalis auch für seinen ersten Centurionat bei der Legio V Macedonica wohl von einer relativ kurzen Dauer ausgehen können, läßt sich in etwa der folgende Zeitrahmen für seine Karriere etnwerfen: Eintritt in die V Macedonica ca. 100/101 n. Chr., Dienst in den Legionen V Macedonica, I Italica, I Minervia bis 106 n. Chr., ca. 107–110/111 n. Chr. Rasche Versetzungen und Beförderungen des hoch dekorierten Offiziers zu den Legionen XX Valeria Victrix und IX Hispana (alle drei Posten in Nimwegen?) bis zum ersten Centurionat bei der VII Claudia. Sein zweiter



(PIR<sup>2</sup>), without being able to establish a specific moment, the legion was commanded by *C. Salvius C. f. Vel. Liberalis Nonius Bassus*, as mentioned by an inscription from Italy, at Urbs Salvia (Picenum)<sup>187</sup>. Probably during his legation had served as tribune his son *C. Salvius Vitellianus*, mentioned by an inscription found in the same Italian city<sup>188</sup>. Under same emperor, a certain *M. Valerius M. f. Gal. Propinquus Grattius Cerealis* was angusticlav tribune (or slightly later in 84/85, nevertheless *post* 79–81, when he was accepted in the equestrian order by Titus: *adlecto in equite a T(ito) imp.*)<sup>189</sup>.

By the end of the 1st C a *lixa legionis*, *L. Freius L. l(ibertus) Faustus*, is also in Oescus attested<sup>190</sup>. The *lixae* followed the Roman army and they lived around the forts or fortresses and they were under the supervision of the *praefectus castrorum*. The *lixae* were especially small traders or handicraftsmen.

Before approaching the legion history after the establishment of Moesia Inferior, we wish to overview a few conclusions on the legion history until around 86<sup>191</sup> which rise from above.

Legion V Macedonica was displaced together with legion IV Scythica in Moesia under Augustus. Both legions appear in the Iron Gates area by the end of Tiberius's reign (33–34). The moment when the legion was stationed at Oescus is still a mystery, although it might have been quartered there prior Claudius's reign. However there is no direct evidence to this effect, the first inscription dating around 44. It would be logical that the legionary fortress from Oescus to have been in place prior Claudius, as under same emperor, another very important location on the Danube was already occupied. Namely, the legionary fortress from Novae was set up east of Oescus, where legion VIII Augusta was dislocated approximately beginning with 45/46<sup>192</sup>. Due to disturbances in Armenia, the legion was dispatched there, while after the Jewish uprising, it was redislocated to the new conflict zone. The legion would return to Moesia only in 71, reoccupying its former fortress at Oescus. It remained there until the end of Trajan's Dacian war when it was sent north Dobrudja, at Troesmis. We subsequently attempted to restore the legion prosopography while stationed at Oescus. We have reviewed the inscriptions chronologically to the extent it was possible. Hereinafter, we wish to present the list of legion officers directly recorded in this period together with the supposed date of the moment when they fulfilled one or another office with the legion:

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Centurionat bei dieser Truppe wäre demnach in die Jahre ca. 111–121/122 n. Chr. zu datieren". See also Strobel, *Dakerkriege*, p. 86, note 9. Indeed, the centurion was decorated for the second time for a Dacian war after he had been promoted centurion of legion I Minervia, which was quartered precisely in the fort at Novae during Trajan's Dacian wars. Thus, the transfer from legion I Italia to legion I Minervia could be made easily. See to same effect Richier, *Centuriones ad Rhenum*, p. 311.

<sup>187</sup> CIL IX 5533 = ILS 1011; PIR<sup>2</sup> S no. 138. On his complete career see A. R. Birley, *The fasti of the Roman Britain*, Oxford, 1981, p. 211–213, especially p. 212; Franke, *Legionslegaten*, p. 113–116, no. 56; M. Zyromski, J. Hatlas, *Balkanica Posnaniensia* 7, 1995, p. 209, no. 4; Birley, *Roman Government of Britain*, p. 268–270, no. 1. After being *legatus legionis*, is named *iuridicus Britanniae* between 78–81 and then proconsul of Macedonia between 82 and 83.

<sup>188</sup> CIL IX 5534 = ILS 1012; PIR<sup>2</sup> VII, 2, p. 58–59, S no. 154.

<sup>189</sup> CIL II 4251 = ILS 2711 (Tarraco, Hispania Citerior, native from Liria Edetanorum); G. Alföldy, H. Halfmann, *Chiron* 3, 1973, p. 369–373; PME, V 59; Holder, *Auxilia*, p. 256, no. 129 (his tribunate could date also under Vespasian).

<sup>190</sup> R. Ivanov, *ZPE* 80, 1990, p. 131–136; *AE* 1990, 862.

<sup>191</sup> See Fl. Matei-Popescu, in L. Mihailescu-Bîrliba, O. Bounegru (eds.), *Studia historiae et religionis Daco-Romanae. In honorem Silvii Sanie*, Bucharest, 2006, p. 379–399.

<sup>192</sup> ILB 300; J. Kolendo, *ArchWarszawa* 50, 1999, 20–22, no. 1; M. Reddé, in Le Bohec, *Les légions de Rome*, p. 121–122.



*legati legionis*

*Annus Vinicianus* (Tacitus, *Ann.* XV 28); in Armenia, year 63;  
*Sex. Vettulenus Cerialis* (Flavius Josephus, BJ III, 7, 32; VI, 4, 3); in Iudaea, 67–70;

*praefectus castrorum*

*L. Praecilius Clemens Iulianus* (CIL III 8753 = 2028 + p. 1030); 36–43;

*primipili legionis*

*C. Baebius Atticus* (CIL V 1838; 1839 = ILS 1349), Claudius;  
*T. Pontinius* (CIL XI 4368 (p. 1369); Claudius?  
*L. Praecilius Clemens Iulianus* (CIL III 8753 = 2028 + p. 1030); 36–43;

*tribuni legionis*

[*A*]prensas Clemens (*angusticlavius*)<sup>193</sup>;  
*L. Clodius P. f. Cl(udia) Ingenuus (angusticlavius)*; (AÉ 1906, 104 = CIL VI 37274);  
Vespasian/Domitian;  
*C. Iulius Montanus (laticlavius)*; (CIL XI 5884 = ILS 978; after Tacitus, *Ann.* XIII, 25); ante 56;  
*T. Iunius Montanus (laticlavius)*; (AnnÉp 1973, 500); Nero;  
*C. Nonius C. f. Vel(ina) Flaccus (angusticlavius)*; (AÉ 1975, 353); Vespasian?  
*C. Set[tidius] C. f. Pup(inia) Fir[mus] (angusticlavius)*; (InscrIt X,1 67)<sup>194</sup>; 67–70  
*T. Rutilius Varus (angusticlavius)*; (CIL X 1258 (p. 969, 1008)); Nero;  
*M. Valerius M. f. Gal. Propinquus Grattius Cerialis (angusticlavius)*; (CIL II 4251 = ILS 2711);  
84/85 ?  
*L. Volcaci Primus (angusticlavius)*; (CIL IX 5363 = ILS 2737); Claudius-Nero;  
*Ignotus (angusticlavius)*; (CIL X 6442, PME, Inc 183); Claudius.  
*Ignotus (angusticlavius)*; (CIL XI 4789, Spolegium, Regio VI, PME, Inc 204); Claudius/Nero.

*centuriones legionis*

*Atilius Verus* (AÉ 1912, 188 = ILB 52); prior 62;  
*M. Blossius Q. f. Aniensis Pudens* (CIL VI 3580 a, b = ILS 2641); 67–70;  
*Ti. Claudius T. f. Vitalis* (CIL VI 3584 = ILS 2656 = IPD<sup>4</sup> 794 = IDRE I 3); 81–85;  
*M. Iulius V(o)ltnia* (CIL III 7397 = 12325 (p. 2316, 45) = IDRE II 359); Domitian, after 85;  
*Resius Albanus* (AÉ 1927, 51 = ILB 47); Tiberius?  
*L. Lepidius L. f. An(iensi) Proculus* (CIL XI 390 = AÉ 1964, 202); Ariminum, Italy; 67–70;  
*Valerius Crispus*<sup>195</sup>; 71–101;  
*L. Valerius L. f. Proculus* (CIL III 12411 = ILS 2666 b = IPD<sup>4</sup> 771 = ILB 432 = IDRE II 328); Domitian after 85;  
*Pollio* (CIL III 14155<sup>12</sup>); 66–71;  
*Stiminius* (CIL III 14155<sup>11</sup>); 66–71;

*praefecti vexillationum*

*Q. Cornelius M. f. Gal(eria tribu) Valerianus* (CIL II 3272; after CIL II 2079 = ILS 2713);  
*praefectus vexillationarum in Thracia*; Claudius;  
*M. Clodius M. f. Fab(ia tribu) Ma[...]* (InscrIt X, 5 737; CIL V 4326 = InscrIt X, 5 113);  
Brixia, Italia; prior 56/57.

<sup>193</sup> CIL XI 4119 (Narnia, Regio VI); PME, A 171. The inscription seems to date prior the Flavian dynasty.

<sup>194</sup> PME, S 45 (Pola, Regio X).

<sup>195</sup> E. Peeva, N. Sharankov, *Archaeologia Bulgarica* 10, 2006, 1, p. 25–33, A-C.

Additionally, according to the list below, the following legions soldiers are directly recorded for this period, specifying the origin, if known, inscription date and possible recruitment date, especially in the veterans' cases:

*L. Allius L. f. Scap(tia), veteranus* (CIL IX 6155), Stobera, Macedonia; around 60, enrolled around 34–35 (possibly once with the release of 36–43?);

*C. Annius C. f. Aniensis Milo, veteranus* (CIL III 14415 = ILB 53); Luca, Italy; prior 61, recruited under Tiberius?

*L. Apuleius L. f. Scaptia Valens* (AÉ. 1961, 125 = ILJug 29 = IMS VI 43 = AÉ 1984, 761); Beroia, Macedonia or Berua, Italy; Vespasian, recruited 44–45?

*M. Caius Longin(i) f.* (Philippi 692); Philippi, Macedonia? Claudius?, recruited under Tiberius or Claudius (*vixit annis XXXVI* possibly an error? *militavit annis XI*);

*C. Fullonius?* (ILB 138); prior 49; recruited under Augustus;

*L. Lepidius L. f. An(iensis) Proculus* (CIL XI 390 = AÉ 1964, 202); Ariminum, Italy; *miles legionis V Macedonicae* prior 62; recruited under Tiberius-Caligula?

*C. Iulius C. f. Menenia Longinus, veteranus* (AÉ 1960, 128 = ILB 55); Heraclea Lyncestis, Macedonia?; Vespasian/Domitian, recruited in the last reign years of Claudius, first years of Nero.

*M. Octavius M. f. Valens* (AÉ 1910, 173 = IMS VI 42); Stobi, Macedonia; Vespasian; recruited around 45;

*Ti. Plautius Crispus* (AÉ 1976, 614 = ILB 220); Vespasian/Domitian;

*Ti. Plautius Longinus* (AÉ 1976, 614 = ILB 220); Vespasian/Domitian;

*Q. Philippicus Q. f. Maecia, signifer* (CIL III 14492 = IDR II 203 = ILB 49); Edessa, Macedonia; Tiberius vel Claudius? Recruited under Augustus (*vixit annis XXXX, meruit annis XX*);

*P. Sabinus Marrus*<sup>196</sup>; Italy; 71–101;

*L. Septimius C. f.* (AÉ 1957, 298 = ILB 48); Claudius?; recruited under Augustus;

*C. Roscius C. f. Aniensi Capito, veteranus*; Augusta Troas, Asia (AÉ 1912, 188 = ILB 52)<sup>197</sup>; prior 61, recruited around 15–25? (*militavit annis XXIV, vixit annis LV*);

*C. Valerius Pudens* (AÉ 1912, 188 = ILB 52); prior 61; recruited under Claudius?

*L. Valerius L. f. Proclus, miles, beneficiarius legati legionis, optio* (CIL III 12411 = ILS 2666 b = IPD<sup>4</sup> 771 = ILB 432 = IDRE II 328); Vespasian-Domitian; recruited under Nero-Vespasian;

*L. Varronius Felix* (ILB 215)<sup>198</sup>; Vespasian-Domitian; recruited under Nero-Vespasian;

*C. Vibius Firmus, beneficiarius* (CIL III 14155<sup>12</sup>); 67–70; recruited under 48–52 (*militavit annis XIIX, vixit annis XXXX*);

*C. Vibius C. f. Fab(ia) Fronto, veteranus* (CIL III 12348 (p. 2316<sup>45</sup>) = ILB 51); Brixia, Italy; Claudius/Nero?, recruited under Augustus?

*C. Vibius C. f. Cor(nelia) Quartus* (CIL III 647 = 7337 = ILS 2538); Thessalonic (Macedonia)?; prior 49 *decurio alae Scubulorum*, meaning he served as soldier possibly even under Tiberius; recruited under Augustus?

*P. Vibius*<sup>199</sup>; 71–101;

[...] *Col(ina) Sabinus*, (CIL III 14155<sup>11</sup>); Amasia (Pontus et Bithynia); 67–70; recruited under Nero, possibly precisely by the beginning of the Eastern campaign given his age (*ann(orum) XXV*).

<sup>196</sup> E. Peeva, N. Sharankov, *Archaeologia Bulgarica* 10, 2006, 1, p. 26–31, B.

<sup>197</sup> Ferjančić, *Settlement of Legionary Veterans*, p. 294, no. 400.

<sup>198</sup> Ferjančić, *Settlement of Legionary Veterans*, p. 295, no. 405.

<sup>199</sup> E. Peeva, N. Sharankov, *Archaeologia Bulgarica* 10, 2006, 1, p. 25–26, A.

Considering the nature of the material presented in above text and list, most interesting discussions focus on the recruitment of legion staff and their origin<sup>200</sup>. It is most interesting that most known soldiers, seven (or six), were raised mainly from Macedonia. They are followed by three (or four) soldiers from Italy, two from Asia Minor and nine soldiers whose origin is unknown. One may obviously object that the fact mirrors only a state of finds; however the evident prevalence of Macedonian origin soldiers, without absolute statistical value, may substantiate an interesting trend. Examining G. Forni's compiled lists, one may observe that for the Claudian/Neronian period, the nine Macedonian soldiers had served either in legions of Dalmatia, VII Claudia and XI Claudia, in legion VIII Augusta stationed at Oescus during 45–69<sup>201</sup> or the legion in question<sup>202</sup>. The case of the previous period Augustus/Tiberius is similar, when noticeably, Macedonian soldiers served mostly in legions of Moesia and Dalmatia<sup>203</sup>, except for three soldiers who had been active in legion XV Apollinaris stationed until around 63 in north Illyricum, the future territory of Pannonia<sup>204</sup> and a single soldier who served in legion IX Hispana, stationed in the future Pannonia as well<sup>205</sup>. Hence, a certain trend becomes apparent, as soldiers raised in the 1st C from Macedonia served in legions dispatched in the area of Balkan provinces. Obviously, in this period, Augustus-Vespasian, Italian elements must have dominated within legions of this area as well<sup>206</sup>, however, this may be not the case of legion V Macedonica. Circumstances would change consequent Nero's Eastern campaign when mostly eastern origin soldiers were enrolled, later discharged under Domitian or by the beginning of Trajan's reign<sup>207</sup>. In our attempt to integrate Macedonia in one of the two recruitment areas defined by G. Forni<sup>208</sup>, it became clear that it is hard to say if it belonged to the western (soldiers recruited in legions from Dalmatia, Pannonia) or eastern (soldiers raised in legions from Moesia) part, as in this period Macedonia is rather a "Danubian-Balkan" recruitment area.

## 2. LEGION HISTORY BETWEEN 86 AND 167

The military unrests subsequent the winter Dacian attack of 85/86 find legion V Macedonica encamped at Oescus. It would be involved, together with the other troops of the province, in all armed conflicts consequent this moment. Should we agree that *M. Cornelius Nigrinus Curiatius Maternus* was indeed governor of Moesia Inferior, and then an important part of the legion must have been involved in the conflict under governor's direct supervision, since his career records decorations on such occasion<sup>209</sup>. Among decorated officers involved in

<sup>200</sup> Forni, *Reclutamento*, 51, justly observed that we are best informed on legion soldiers origin: "Il dato su cui noi siamo meglio informati è senza dubbio quello della *origo*, cioè della provenienza dei legionari: fonti letterarie, iscrizioni e papiri concorrono infatti in modo diverso ed in diversa misura a darci notizie ed indicazioni sulla loro patria".

<sup>201</sup> M. Reddé, in Le Bohec, *Les légions de Rome*, p. 121.

<sup>202</sup> Forni, *Reclutamento*, p. 175.

<sup>203</sup> Forni, *Reclutamento*, p. 165.

<sup>204</sup> E. L. Wheeler, in Le Bohec, *Les légions de Rome*, p. 270.

<sup>205</sup> L. Keppie, in Le Bohec, *Les légions de Rome*, p. 26.

<sup>206</sup> Forni, *Reclutamento*, p. 159–163, the list of Italian origin soldiers under Augustus-Caligula; 169–172, list of soldiers enrolled under Claudius-Nero.

<sup>207</sup> Forni, *Reclutamento*, p. 79; see also list from page 224.

<sup>208</sup> Forni, *Reclutamento*, p. 76–78.

<sup>209</sup> The career of this individual is known due to several inscriptions discovered at Liria Edetanorum (Hispania Citerior), CIL II 3783; 6013; AÉ 1973, 283 = IPD<sup>4</sup> 775b = IDRE I 176. The last quoted epigraph also makes reference to *dona militaria*, r. 7–10: *leg(ato) pro pr(aetore) M[oesiae, donato bello Da]lcico co[ro]nis mura[l]ibus*

Domitian's wars against the Dacians count the laticlave tribune *T. Iulius Maximus Manlianus Brocchus Servilianus*, whose career was preserved within an inscription from Nemausus (Gallia Narbonensis)<sup>210</sup>, centurion *M. Iulius Avitus*<sup>211</sup> and centurion *L. Valerius Proclus*, former soldier, *beneficiarius legati legionis* and then *optio* of the same legion<sup>212</sup>. According to K. Strobel, his decorations would rather date during Domitian's wars, while the decoration of *Ti. Claudius Vitalis* may date during Trajan's wars<sup>213</sup>.

In Domitian's last reigning years, possibly precisely the last (*extremis Domitianis temporibus*) dates the laticlave tribunate of future emperor Hadrian in legion V Macedonica, as shown by his career preserved on the famous inscription from Athens<sup>214</sup>.

Most likely, the tombstone of veteran *L. Varronius Felix*, erected by *Valeria Varronia Maxima*, his daughter and son-in-law *Iulius Rusticus* dates from the last stationing years at Oescus. The tombstone was discovered at Riben (approximately at 12 km SE Oescus, on Utus River bank, where supposedly ancient Ad Putea was located)<sup>215</sup>. From the same period dates the inscription of veteran *L. Firmus L. f. Valentinus*, a Narbo native, Gallia Narbonensis, found at Oescus<sup>216</sup>. Same dating was suggested for the funerary stela of *P. Scribonius P. f. Col(lina tribu) Varus*, from Ephesus, set up at Oescus by his wife *Arrelia Celerina* and son *Scribonius Celer, miles legionis eiusdem*<sup>217</sup>.

The following important moment in the history of legion V Macedonica is its involvement in the two Dacian expeditions of Emperor Trajan<sup>218</sup>. Such involvement is known firstly due to numerous inscriptions recording the award of decorations to legion soldiers as

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*duobus et [coronis vallaribus du]labus e[st] coro[n]is classic[is] duabus et coro[n]is aureisduabus hastis] / [puris octo vexillis octo]; Strobel, *Donaukriege*, p. 46–47, consider that *Maternus* must have been *Oppius Sabinus*'s successor and that together with *Vettonianus*, governor of Pannonia received *dona militaria* for chasing the Dacians past the Danube under the direct command of *Cornelius Fuscus*: “Weitere kommandierende Generäle waren der pannonische Legat Funisulanus Vettonianus an der Spitze der Aufgebote seines Provinzheeres und der als Nachfolger des unglücklichen Oppius Sabinus in die moesische Statthalterschaft eingesetzte M. Cornelius Curiatius Maternus. Beide Legaten erhielten am Ende der 1. Expeditio Dacica nach der Vertreibung der Invasoren aus Moesien die konsularen *Dona militaria*”.*

<sup>210</sup> CIL XII 3167 = ILS 1016 = IPD<sup>4</sup> 770 = IDRE I 182; Groag, RE X/1, 1918, col. 678–679; PIR<sup>2</sup> I 426; Fitz, RE IX A, 1962, col. 375–377, no. 357; M. Zyromski, Eos 84, 1996, p. 123–124, no. 16.

<sup>211</sup> CIL III 7397 = 12325 + p. 2316, 45 = Mrozewicz, *Legioniści*, 53 (Perinthus) = IDRE II 359, r. 5–6: *donis donatus bello Dacic[o] et bello Germanico*; Strobel, *Donaukriege*, p. 124; L. Mrozewicz, in *Orbis antiquus*, p. 631–632, pointing out that he could have received *dona militaria* while *centurio legionis XV Apollinaris*, legion which seems to have sent a vexillation to take part to *bellum Dacicum Domitiani*.

<sup>212</sup> CIL III 12411 = ILS 2666b = IPD<sup>4</sup> 771 = ILB 432 = CGLBI 648 = Mrozewicz, *Legioniści*, 123 = IDRE II 328 (Butovo-Nedan, Pavlikeni); Maxfield, *Military Decorations*, p. 191–192.

<sup>213</sup> K. Strobel, *Tyche* 2, 1987, p. 203–209.

<sup>214</sup> CIL III 550 = IG III 464 = ILS 308 = IPD<sup>4</sup> 792 = IDRE II 365; acc. to SHA, *Hadr.*, II, 2–3: *post haec in inferiorem Moesiam translatus extremis iam Domitianis temporibus*. PIR I<sup>2</sup> 28; A. Dobó, *Die Verwaltung der römischen Provinz Pannonien von Augustus bis Diokletian. Die provinzielle Verwaltung*, Amsterdam, 1968, p. 43–44, no. 28; A. Caballos Rufino, *Los senadores hispanoromano y la romanización de Hispania (siglos I–III). I. Prosopografía*, Monografías del Departamento de Historia Antigua de la Universidad de Sevilla, Ecija, 1990, p. 40–44, no. 7 (dates the tribunate in September 96 – November 97); G. Wesch-Klein, Eos 82, 1994, p. 275; J. Fündling, *Kommentar zur Vita Hadriani der Historia Augusta*, Antiquitas. Reihe 4. Beiträge zur Historia-Augusta-Forschung. Serie 3: Kommentare, 4/1–2, Bonn, 2006, p. 278–279 (comment on the passage from SHA).

<sup>215</sup> ILB 215 (“sub Flavii vel Traiano”) = Conrad, *Grabstelen*, p. 250, no. 465 (“Ende des 1. / Anfang des 2. Jh.”); Ferjančić, *Settlement of Legionary Veterans*, p. 295, no. 405 (1st C based on the lack of formula *dis manibus*).

<sup>216</sup> CIL III 14417 = ILB 63 (“s. II ineuntis”) = Conrad, *Grabstelen*, p. 243, no. 438 (“1. Hälfte des 2. Jh.”).

<sup>217</sup> AÉ 1912, 189 = ILB 58 (“s. II ineuntis”) = Ferjančić, *Settlement of Legionary Veterans*, p. 295, no. 407 = Conrad, *Grabstelen*, p. 242–243, no. 436 (“um 100”).

<sup>218</sup> Strobel, *Dakerkriege*, p. 90–91.



well the relatively large number of legion's tile material in the area south the Carpathians, future area of Dacia Inferior and which in Hadrian's reign was under direct administration of Moesia Inferior legate<sup>219</sup>.

Hence, I should mention first legion legate *Q. Roscius Sex. f. Quir(ina tribu) Coelius Murena Pompeius Falco*, future governor of Moesia Inferior<sup>220</sup>, who received *dona militaria* from Trajan during the Dacian war, mentioned by an inscription at Tarracina (Regio I)<sup>221</sup>. In Trajan's first expedition could have served also *Ti. Claudius Vitalis*<sup>222</sup>, but an eventual participation in the Dacian war of emperor Domitian is not excluded.

The V Macedonica legion seems to have been involved in the Dacian war starting with 102, consequent Decebalus and his allies' attack south the Danube, when the need to block Barbarians access to Moesia Inferior and further to Macedonia and Greece become more manifest<sup>223</sup>. Furthermore, still within the context of the unexpected Dacian attack, V Macedonica legion was moved to Troesmis in order to defend this limes sector, possibly as early as 101–102 and not, as assumed, in 106–107<sup>224</sup>. Between 103 and 104 the fort at Carsium<sup>225</sup> is constructed and the parallel road with the Danube is built or re-built<sup>226</sup> in the province area, so it is hard to believe that Trajan awaited the war' end to move the legion closer to the Danube mouths.

By the end of the Dacian war and the making of the new Roman province, V Macedonica legion would remain in the fortress at Troesmis, where it was moved by Trajan in-between the two expeditions of the Dacian war. Unfortunately, in order to understand legion's role and place within the history of Moesia Inferior in this period, we may rely only on epigraphical information, since archaeological evidence is almost entirely missing. Not even the field location of the legionary fortress is known, let alone layouts or internal planning.

Troesmis is situated in NW Dobrudja on the right bank of the Danube, near lake Iglîța, at 15 km S the city Măcin (Arrubium) and at 4 km N village Turcoaia<sup>227</sup>. The discovered ruins come from two fortifications, "Cetatea Mare" (Westfestung) and "La Cetate" (Ostfestung)<sup>228</sup>.

<sup>219</sup> C. C. Petolescu, *Dacia*, N. S. 29, 1985, p. 50–55.

<sup>220</sup> Recorded by 3 inscriptions from Tomis, CIL III 7537 = ISM II 43; ISM II 44; AÉ 1957, 336 = ISM II 46; Thomasson, *Laterculi*, col. 324, no. 22.

<sup>221</sup> CIL X 6321 = ILS 1035 = IPD<sup>4</sup> 807 = IDRE I 101. See also an extremely fragmentary inscription from Ephesus (Asia), AÉ 1957, 17 = IDRE II 374 and a novel inscription from Kaunos, Lycia et Pamphylia, Cr. Marek, *Die Inschriften von Kaunos*, Vestigia. Beiträge zur Alten Geschichte 35, München, 2006, p. 312–315, no. 136; PIR R 68; Ritterling, RE XII, 1925, col. 1576; A. R. Birley, *ArhVest* 28, 1977, p. 360–367; Maxfield, *Military Decorations*, p. 265; Strobel, *Dakerkriege*, p. 90; M. Zyromski, *Eos* 84, 1996, p. 127, no. 24. For complete discussion on his career see A. R. Birley, *The fasti of the Roman Britain*, Oxford, 1981, p. 95–100; A. Caballos Rufino, *Los senadores hispanoromano y la romanización de Hispania (siglos I–III). I. Prosopografía*, Monografías del Departamento de Historia Antigua de la Universidad de Sevilla, Ecija, 1990, p. 255–258, no. 142; Franke, *Legionslegaten*, p. 116–123, no. 57; Birley, *Roman Government of Britain*, p. 114–119, no. 17.

<sup>222</sup> CIL VI 3584 = ILS 2656 = IPD<sup>4</sup> 794 = IDRE I 3 (Rome); Domaszewski, *RO<sup>2</sup>*, p. 94–96; 232–233; K. Strobel, *Tyche* 2, 1987, p. 203–209; Strobel, *Dakerkriege*, p. 86, note 9.

<sup>223</sup> See Addendum I, p. 257–259. See also Fl. Matei-Popescu, *Argesis* 13, 2004, p. 123–129; Fl. Matei-Popescu, in *Dacia Felix. Studia Michaeli Bărbulescu oblata*, Cluj-Napoca, 2007, p. 290–300.

<sup>224</sup> Strobel, *Dakerkriege*, p. 90–91; Sarnowski, *Wojsko rzymskie*, p. 61. On the traditional view see Ritterling, RE XII, 1925, col. 1576; Aricescu, *Armata*, p. 32.

<sup>225</sup> ISM V 94. On *ala II Hispanorum et Aravacorum*, the unit charged with this construction see Fl. Matei-Popescu, *SCIWA*, 52–53, 2001–2002, p. 189–191, no. 9.

<sup>226</sup> See the milestone discovered at Sacidava, A. Rădulescu, Maria Bărbulescu, *Dacia*, N. S. 25, 1981, p. 353–356, no. 1 = AÉ 1981, 745.

<sup>227</sup> Em. Doruțiu-Boilă, in *Limes IX Mamaia*, p. 89–94.

<sup>228</sup> *Ibidem*, p. 134, fig. 1.



The ruins from Troesmis were mentioned and partially researched in the second half of the 19th C<sup>229</sup>.

The fortification at “La Cetate” is a rectangular of approximately 120 m (NS) × 145 m (EW), the southern side being located right on the Danube bank. Only a *fossa* and *vallum* were employed for defence. The other fortification at “Cetatea Mare” stretches at approximately 400 m N the above, being also at higher altitude. It has a trapezoid shape of 150 m (SN) × 100 (80) m (EW). From W and S the fortification was defended by the Danube, to the N there is a natural ravine and to the E there was a defensive ditch. Most likely, both fortifications were used during the 4th – 6th C<sup>230</sup>.

First information on the toponym Troesmis appears with Ovid, in the context of the attacks from 15, without being able to establish with certainty if it was a Getic fortification or a point defended by a garrison of the Odrysi kings. *L. Pomponius Flaccus*<sup>231</sup>, the legate of Praetorian rank of *C. Poppaeus Sabinus*<sup>232</sup>, charged with the defence of the Danube shore, reconquered the fortress from the hands of the barbarians, thus securing the savage shore of the Danube<sup>233</sup>.

Oldest records are inscriptions dedicated by magistrates of *canabae legionis* to *Iupiter Optimus Maximus* to the health of Hadrian<sup>234</sup> and a list of soldiers discharged in 134 under legate *Sex. Iulius Maior*<sup>235</sup>. Moreover, Ptolemy reports that legion V Macedonica was quartered there<sup>236</sup>. Most likely, prior the legion detachment to this point, it garrisoned one of the auxiliaries of Moesia Inferior, possibly *ala I Pannoniorum*, whose name appears on a fragmentary tile stamp<sup>237</sup>.

The inscriptions indicate the presence of two administrative units, the *canabae legionis* and the civil settlement<sup>238</sup>. Thus appear *veterani et cives Romani consistentes ad canabas legionis V Macedonicae* and *cives Romani Troesmi consistentes*<sup>239</sup>, both administrative units functioning at the same time, as indicated by an inscription dated under Antoninus Pius, recording a *quinquennalis canabensium* and a *decurio Troesmensium*<sup>240</sup>.

<sup>229</sup> Gr. Tocilescu, RIAF 1, 1882, p. 97–132 and p. 293–330, plate 10 (publishing a plan drafted by P. Polonic); p. 248–282; idem, AEM 6, 1882, p. 39–45.

<sup>230</sup> G. Simion *et al.*, Peuce 8, 1977–1978, p. 151–288, research report on rescue excavations from Troesmis of 1977, generated by the irrigation project of the farmland area of Măcin.

<sup>231</sup> Tacitus, *Ann.* II, 66, 2: *nec tamen Caesar placitas semel artes mutavit, sed defuncto Pandusa (pro praetore Moesiae, Tacitus, Ann. II, 66, 1), quem sibi infensum Rhescuporis arguebat, Pomponium Flaccum, veterem stipendiis et arta cum rege amicitia eoque accomodatorem ad fallendum, ob id maxime Moesiae praefecit*; B. E. Thomasson, *Legatus. Beiträge zur römischen Verwaltungsgeschichte*, Stockholm, 1991, p. 43. He would be ordinary consul in 17 (Degrassi, *Fasti consulari*, p. 8).

<sup>232</sup> He was ordinary consul in 9 (Degrassi, *Fasti consulari*, p. 7), governor of Moesia between 12–35. Starting with year 15, he was also appointed governor of Achaia and Macedonia as reports Tacitus, *Ann.* I, 80, 1: *Prorogatur Poppaeo Sabino provincia Moesia additis Achaia ac Macedonia*; Thomasson, *Legatus*, p. 43.

<sup>233</sup> Ovidiu, *Ep. ex Ponto*, IV, 9, 75–80: *Praefuit his, Graecine, locis modo Flaccus; et illo / ripa ferox Histri sub duce tuta fuit. / Hic tenuit Mysas gentes in pace fideli: / hic arcu fisos terruit ense Getas. / Hic raptam Troesmin celeri virtute recepit, / infecitque fero sanguine Danuvium*. See R. Syme, *History in Ovid*, Oxford, 1978, p. 93.

<sup>234</sup> CIL III 6166 = ILS 2474 = ISM V 154.

<sup>235</sup> CIL III 6178 + 6179 + 6180; Em. Doruțiu-Boilă, in *Epigraphica. Travaux dédiés au VII<sup>e</sup> Congrès d'épigraphie grecque et latine (Constantza 9–15 septembre 1977)*, Bucharest, 1977, p. 185–191 = ISM V 137.

<sup>236</sup> Ptolemy, *Geographia*, III, 10, 5.

<sup>237</sup> CIL III 6242 = ISM V 214; Fl. Matei-Popescu, SCIVA 52–53, 2001–2002, p. 191–192, no. 10.

<sup>238</sup> R. Vulpe, SCIV 4, 1953, 3–4, p. 557–582.

<sup>239</sup> Em. Doruțiu-Boilă, *Dacia*, N. S. 16, 1972, p. 137.

<sup>240</sup> ISM V 158.

From the period when the legion was stationed at Troesmis date legion stamps<sup>241</sup> from Sacidava<sup>242</sup>, Izvoarele<sup>243</sup>, Rasova (“Pescărie”)<sup>244</sup>, Capidava<sup>245</sup>, Arrubium<sup>246</sup>, Dinogetia<sup>247</sup>, Barboși<sup>248</sup>, Noviodunum<sup>249</sup>, Horia<sup>250</sup> or Tyras<sup>251</sup>. Based on the finds from Troesmis, six stamp types specific to the legion in the period 103/105–162 were established<sup>252</sup>. They are: *LEG V MAC* (with *MA* in ligature with smaller *C* up right *M*); *LE V MAC* (*A* middle score is split and linked only to right hasta – only at Izvoarele); *LEG V MAC* (with *MA* in ligature with *C* sized as *M*); *LEG V MC*, *LEG V M* (Tyras) and *L V M*.

The territory that the legion controlled is rather extensive, the southernmost point being Sacidava (where the tombstone of *C. Veturius Verus*, while still on duty, was identified<sup>253</sup>) and the northernmost, Noviodunum<sup>254</sup>. Still, the inscription from Sacidava cannot be direct proof of the control that the legion exercised in southwest Dobrudja, region under the control of XI Claudia legion<sup>255</sup>. However, I believe this soldier was a native from Sacidava area, his father *C. Veturius [...]*, being evidently a veteran of one of Moesia Inferior legions. In fact, Em. Doruțiu-Boilă proved that V Macedonica legion, together with vexillations of other legions in the army of Moesia Inferior, supervised the limes sector comprised between the Danube mouths and northern extensions of the Black Sea area and Capidava. The sector south Capidava was under the supervision of XI Claudia legion from Durostorum. The discovery at Izvoarele of two tile stamps of legion V Macedonica of *LE V MAC* type associated with tile material of legion XI Claudia, *LEG XI PONT*<sup>256</sup> type, does not prove that the limes sector under the supervision of the legion from Troesmis extended southwards. In this case, it is possible to deal merely with material transport.

<sup>241</sup> Em. Doruțiu-Boilă, SCIVA 41, 1990, 3–4, p. 258–262, fig. 22–29.

<sup>242</sup> C. Scorpan, *Limes Scythiae. Topographical and Stratigraphical Research on the Late Roman Fortifications on the Lower Danube*, BAR Int. Ser. 88, Oxford, 1980, p. 137.

<sup>243</sup> M. Irimia, Pontica 18, 1985, p. 151–155, no. 4–5

<sup>244</sup> Em. Doruțiu-Boilă, SCIVA 41, 1990, 3–4, p. 261, note 16.

<sup>245</sup> ISM V 54. Tile fragments discovered by Gr. Florescu outside the fortress in 1957. Stamps were made based on same pattern: *[LE]G V MAC*; *[L]EG V MA[C]*. The stamp type is identical with type 2 from Troesmis and with the type of those from Barboși. These stamps led to the conclusion that the first fortification from Capidava was constructed with the aid of legion V Macedonica detachments, in addition, most likely Capidava was in the legion’s action range.

<sup>246</sup> ISM V 254: *LEG V MAC*.

<sup>247</sup> ISM V 261: *LEG V [MAC]*.

<sup>248</sup> ISM V 305: *LEG V MAC*; *[L] V M*; C. Croitoru, Istros 11, 2004, p. 160.

<sup>249</sup> ISM V 284: *LEG V MAC*.

<sup>250</sup> V. H. Baumann, Peuce 4, 1973–1975, p. 72–73 and pl. VIII; V. H. Baumann, *Ferma romană în Dobrogea*, Tulcea, 1983, p. 117, fig. 49; p. 175–177, no. 1–42.

<sup>251</sup> P. Nicorescu, Ephemeris Daco-Romana 2, 1924, p. 413, no. 73; Em. Doruțiu-Boilă, SCIVA 41, 1990, 3–4, p. 264–265.

<sup>252</sup> ISM V 215. See also C. Chiriac, O. Bounegru, Peuce 4, 1973–1975, p. 97–99, no. 1–11 and pl. I–II, no. 1–11.

<sup>253</sup> C. Scorpan, Pontica 10, 1977, p. 160–162; idem, in *Epigraphica. Travaux dédiés au VII<sup>e</sup> Congrès d’épigraphie grecque et latine (Constantza 9–15 septembre 1977)*, Bucharest, 1977, p. 203–207, no. 1 = AÉ 1977, 748 = Conrad, *Grabstelen*, p. 202, no. 283: “Mit einiger Sicherheit stammt der Grabstein noch aus der Zeit der Anwesenheit der *legio V Macedonica* in Moesia inferior. Datierung: kurz nach der Mitte des 2. Jh.”. Scorpan dated the inscription (p. 206): “Les éléments paléographiques et onomastiques et l’attestation d’un soldat de la *legio V Macedonica* permettent la datation de notre monument dans la première moitié du II<sup>e</sup> siècle de n. è., au plus tard vers le milieu de ce siècle, vu que la légion allait à quitter le limes scythique en 167”.

<sup>254</sup> Em. Doruțiu-Boilă, SCIV 23, 1972, 1, p. 45–62

<sup>255</sup> *Ibidem*, p. 47–48.

<sup>256</sup> M. Irimia, Pontica 18, 1985, p. 151–153, no. 4–5.

It is worth mentioning that after V Macedonica legion was moved to Dacia, XI Claudia legion did not extend the limes sector under its supervision by adding the sector previously controlled by V Macedonica legion. Thus, the sector entered the protection of I Italica legion, as evidenced by epigraphical and tile materials<sup>257</sup>. Actually, even the vexillation from Chersonesus was by the end of the 2nd C under the command of a legion I Italica tribune.

Legion V Macedonica tile material also emerged on the coast, as suggested by a stamp discovered at Callatis<sup>258</sup>, but in these cases we are rather dealing with the so-called “Bauvexillationen”, than permanent garrisons<sup>259</sup>. Moreover, the supposed stamp of legion V Macedonica discovered at Histria may be assigned to legion XI Claudia p. f.<sup>260</sup>. Tomis is the single location on the western-Pontic coast where inscriptions record the presence of legion’s active soldiers. Thus, we may mention the centurion among *primi ordines* (*I hastatus posterior*), *Q. Trebellius Q. f. Fab(ia tribu) Maximus Roma [e]x trecenario [(centurio) le]g(ionis) V Mac(edonicae)*<sup>261</sup> and *P. Valerius Pacatus, mil(es) leg(ionis) V Mac(edonicae), b.f. cos., duplicarius*<sup>262</sup>. The latter, must have been in the governor’s service, who at least for a while was also stationed at Tomis<sup>263</sup>, as would have happened in a previous period, prior the legion’s dispatch to Troesmis under *M. Sufena M. f. Pal(atina tribu) Titianus miles, leg(ionis) V Mac(edonicae) b.f. cos.*, who died on duty in the city by the sea shore<sup>264</sup>. The inscription was dated in the stationing period at Troesmis, however the soldier’s name in Nominative, the formula *hic situs est* and especially the evidently Italic origin indicate pre-Trajanic dating. As known, the *beneficiarii consularis* could have served in garrisons located at appreciable distances from the encampment location of the troop they were part of. A very interesting example is provided by the *beneficiarii consularis* of legion V Macedonica, displaced at Skelani in Dalmatia together with *beneficiarii consularis* from other legions of Moesia Inferior<sup>265</sup>. Hence the presence of *beneficiarii consularis* at Tomis is not surprising given that their main task was to surveil the road connecting the western-Pontic cities along the coast<sup>266</sup>.

<sup>257</sup> Em. Doruțiu-Boilă, in *Limes IX Mamaia*, p. 89.

<sup>258</sup> Ionescu, Papuc, *Sistemul de apărare*, p. 88, note 539 and p. 164, fig. VIII, 1, in the area of Scala hotel. It is a stamp of *LEG VM* type, written on a rectangular cartouche. It is interesting that this stamp type does not appear at Troesmis, but emerges at Tyras (T. Sarnowski, *ArchWarszawa* 38, 1988, p. 73, no. 14). See also Aricescu, *Armata*, p. 46.

<sup>259</sup> In the 172 construction of the wall, under governor *M. Valerius Bradua*, from Callatis, probably contributed military “Bauvexillationen”, even though inscriptions recording the event do not mention them directly, ISM III 97, 98. See also ISM III 99, 100, recording the contribution of a local benefactor, *T. Aelius Minicius Athenaius* and his son, in the constructions completion.

<sup>260</sup> D. Tudor, *Pontica* 13, 1980, p. 245, no. 22 (fig. 2/14, p. 244); Al. Suceveanu, *RRH* 13, 1974, 2, p. 226; Ionescu, Papuc, *Sistemul de apărare*, p. 52.

<sup>261</sup> CIL III 7534 = ILS 4063 = Em. Doruțiu-Boilă, *SCIV* 13, 1962, 2, p. 415–419 = ISM II 140; C. C. Petolescu, in Y. Le Bohec (ed.), *La hiérarchie (Rangordnung) de l’armée romaine sous le Haut-Empire. Actes du Congrès de Lyon (15–18 septembre 1994)*, Paris, 1995, p. 245–248. Aricescu, *Armata*, p. 34, concluded a possible presence of a legion vexillation, according to the north-Pontic pattern.

<sup>262</sup> CIL III 7550 = ISM II 193 = CGLBI 618: “Pacatus war aus seinem Rang als *beneficiarius consularis* Gehaltsstufe eines *duplicarius* aufgestiegen, s. auch Nr. 782 aus Lambaesis und Nr. 821 aus Satafis”.

<sup>263</sup> On Tomis status in the Roman times see Al. Suceveanu, *Pontica* 8, 1975, p. 115–124.

<sup>264</sup> D. Tudor, *Materiale* 2, 1956, p. 581, no. 49 = *AÉ* 1957, 191 = ISM II 192 = CGLBI 620: “Titianus stammte aus einer italischen Familie, die sich in Tomis niedergelassen hatte”.

<sup>265</sup> *AÉ* 1910, 214 = ILJug III 1032 = CGLBI 455: “Die Bezeichnung *ex legione* in Z. 3 betont die Abkommandierung des Beneficiariers aus seiner Stammeinheit auf die statio in Lješće, zumal die Legio V Macedonica eine der weitesten entfernten Truppen war, die regelmäßig Militärpersonal nach Dalmatien abstelle.”; ILJug I 81 = CGLB 471: “Die Namen der Gottheit und des Beneficiariers sind nicht erhalten. Der Soldat war aus der Legio V Macedonica aus Niedermoesien bzw. Dakien nach Dalmatien abkommandiert”; ILJug III 1524 = CGLBI 472; CIL III 14219<sup>4</sup> = CGLBI 473; ILJug III 1522 = CGLBI 475.

<sup>266</sup> On the roads system from Dobrudja see Aricescu, *Armata*, p. 134–154 and 193–194. On a special overview of Tomis see Ionescu, Papuc, *Sistemul de apărare*, p. 74–76.

Moreover, we should mention legion *vexillationes* north the Black Sea, at Tyras and Chersonesus<sup>267</sup>. The presence at Tyras is early, dating from 116–117, the legion vexillation mixed with auxilia vexillations (*et auxiliis eius*) being placed under the command of centurion *M. Ennius Illadianus*<sup>268</sup>. Another inscription, set up in the honour of the same centurion, records *Cornelius Vitalis, actarius, Iulius Iamblicus, eques, and Marcus Valerius, valetudinarius*<sup>269</sup>. Still at Tyras is recorded centurion *T. Trebius Fronto*, the inscription being placed by *principales legionis*, from the vexillation there, of which only the name of *Iulius Valens, signifer* preserved<sup>270</sup>. The legion name also appears within two extremely fragmentary inscriptions<sup>271</sup> as well as on tile material<sup>272</sup>. At Olbia, soldiers of legion V Macedonica were part of another vexillation placed there together with troops from other legions of Moesia Inferior<sup>273</sup>. Additionally, legion stamps of two types<sup>274</sup> were discovered at Chersonesus together with an inscription attesting a *miles legionis, [...]tius Valens*<sup>275</sup>. Obviously, vexillations of legions, auxiliaries and fleet of Moesia Inferior present in the north of the Black Sea at Tyras, Olbia or Chersonesus were quartered precisely within these cities, and only later, the military quarters separated from the city by walls, forming true strongholds<sup>276</sup>. The single location where a fortification was erected from the very beginning was Charax (= fortification in Greek)<sup>277</sup>, but this is not of interest for us since at Charax there is no evidence recording legion V Macedonica<sup>278</sup>.

A legion vexillation participated in Trajan's Parthian war, as seems to indicate a fragmentary inscription found at Bettir (Palestine), which mentions *vexillarii* of legions V Macedonia and XI Claudia (although dating during Hadrian's Jewish war may not be excluded)<sup>279</sup>. Similar conclusion may be drawn from an inscription, unfortunately fragmentary, discovered at Thyatira. An individual whose name was lost to stone fractures states he was *pragmateus* with legions V Macedonica, VII Claudia, IV Scythica and I Italica, in fact vexillations of these legions, camped for winter within the city (πραγματευόμενος ἐν ἐπαρ[.....|.....]α παραχειματικοῖς λεγίωνων ἐ' Μακεδονικῆς καὶ ζ' Κλ. Πιστῆς Εὐσεβοῦς | καὶ δ' Σκυτικῆς καὶ α' Ἰταλικῆς)<sup>280</sup>. Although legions are referenced, for lack of further explanation I believe they were rather detachments involved in military operations, sent for wintertime in this city, while the bulk of the expeditionary force was spending winter at Ancyra.

<sup>267</sup> T. Sarnowski, ArchWarszawa 38, 1988, p. 70–81, with the presentation of the entire epigraphical material known up to that moment.

<sup>268</sup> P. Nicorescu, AARMSI III, 26, 1944, p. 501–510; T. Sarnowski, ArchWarszawa 38, 1988, p. 71–72, no. 8 = AÉ 1990, 868.

<sup>269</sup> P. Nicorescu, AARMSI III, 19, 1937, p. 219–220, no. 2; T. Sarnowski, ArchWarszawa 38, 1988, p. 72, no. 9 = AÉ 1990, 869.

<sup>270</sup> P. Nicorescu, AARMSI III, 19, 1937, p. 219, no. 1; T. Sarnowski, ArchWarszawa 38, 1988, p. 72, no. 10.

<sup>271</sup> T. Sarnowski, ArchWarszawa 38, 1988, p. 72, no. 11; p. 73, no. 12.

<sup>272</sup> T. Sarnowski, ArchWarszawa 38, 1988, p. 73, no. 14: *LEG MAC* and *L M*; p. 73, no. 15: *LEG V M*, in association with *LEG I IT* and *LEG XI CL*.

<sup>273</sup> IOSPE I<sup>2</sup> 322; V. M. Zubar, N. A. Son, VDI 3 (213), 1995, p. 181–187, considered an inscription recording the construction of a wall at Olbia.

<sup>274</sup> T. Sarnowski, ArchWarszawa 38, 1988, p. 76–77, no. 27: *LMV*, with several reading options; and *LEGM[AC]*.

<sup>275</sup> IOSPE I<sup>2</sup> 549 = Solomonik, *Latinskii nadpisi*, no. 21.

<sup>276</sup> T. Sarnowski, ArchWarszawa 38, 1988, p. 81.

<sup>277</sup> *Ibidem*, p. 81–82.

<sup>278</sup> *Ibidem*, p. 78–81, appear XI Claudia pia fidelis and I Italica legions (CIL III 14215<sup>4</sup>).

<sup>279</sup> CIL III 14155<sup>2</sup>. Filow, *Legionen*, p. 68–70; F. A. Lepper, *Trajan's Parthian War*, London, 1948, p. 177, which does not support Filow's theory according to which, given that legion I Italica is missing from the quoted inscription, the entire strength would have been involved.

<sup>280</sup> AÉ 1939, 132; J. Guey, MEFRA 55, 1938, p. 56–57; Lepper, *op. cit.*, p. 180–183.



It was assumed that legion vexillations took part to Hadrian's Jewish war. The tombstone from Neapolis in Palaestina seems to support such assumption, recording *M. Ulpus Cl(audia) Magnus Sav(aria) (centurio) leg(ionis) V Mac(edonicae)* and being placed by other two centurions *Fl(avius) Moderatus* and *Iul(ius) Ingenu(us)*, without specifying legion V Macedonica, however I believe that was the case<sup>281</sup>. The single moment when legion vexillations could reach Palaestina was the war mentioned above. During this war or more likely during Trajan's Parthian expedition could date the legion's tile material associated with tile material of legions VII Claudia p. f. and XIII Gemina discovered at Esseg (Palaestina)<sup>282</sup>.

In 161, shortly after Marcus Aurelius's accession to the throne, the expedition against the Parthians under the command of L. Verus was initiated. The true expedition against the Parthians began after battles in Armenia. The entire legion under the command of legate *P. Martius Verus (vide infra)* was involved<sup>283</sup>. He was called to replace *Stadius Priscus*, who fell in battle during this campaign<sup>284</sup>. In this period dates the tombstone of *Val(erius) Val(ens), miles l(egionis) V M(acedonicae), defu(n)ct(us) in exp(edit)ione Part(hica)*, set up by his father, *Iulius Dizace* and discovered at Troesmis<sup>285</sup>. Furthermore, the inscriptions discovered at Amasia in Pontus et Bithynia, recording soldiers on duty<sup>286</sup> could date most likely in the same period. Again in this period may date the activity of *[T. Val(erius)] T. f. Pol(l)ia (tribu) Marci[anus], cas(tris), vet(eranus) leg(ionis) V Mac(edonicae) ex [b.f. c]os.*, who participated in the Parthian expedition, subsequently in the war against the Marcomanni, receiving *honesta missio* in 170, when the legion was already in Dacia<sup>287</sup>. From the inscription we learn that *Marcianus* served successively under several commanders in the Parthian expedition<sup>288</sup>. Thus, *Stadius Priscus*, consul of 159, overtook by the end of 162 leadership of the war in Armenia, obtaining illustrious victories and being concurrently named governor of Cappadocia. The end of his career is unknown; it was supposed he lost his life to this campaign<sup>289</sup>. *C. Iulius Severus* overtook the command of the eastern expedition, possibly upon the death of *Stadius Priscus*, as province governor or as *comes Augusti*. *P. Martius Verus* left Troesmis together with his legion in order to join L. Verus' campaign, seizing most likely Edessa and Nisibis<sup>290</sup>.

After the return from the East, within the context of the wars against the Marcomanni and the barbarian attacks reaching Dacia in 168, the legion was moved to Dacia and located for almost a century at Potaissa<sup>291</sup>. Still, its movement to Dacia, although supplemented by legions I Italica and XI Claudia p. f., allowed in 170 an invasion of the Costoboci which affected several cities from Dobrudja, among which Tropaeum Traiani<sup>292</sup>. In this city, *L. Fufidius Lucianus, decurio municipii, deceptus a Castabocos*<sup>293</sup> and *Daizis Comozoi, interfectus a Castabocis*<sup>294</sup> lost

<sup>281</sup> AÉ 1927, 146.

<sup>282</sup> AÉ 1900, 69.

<sup>283</sup> CIL III 6169 = ISM V 159. See also A. R. Birley, *Marcus Aurelius. A Biography*, London, 1987, p. 130.

<sup>284</sup> RE 14, 1930, col. 2024.

<sup>285</sup> CIL III 6189 = ISM V 185.

<sup>286</sup> AÉ 1991, 1475 (*centurio*); 1474 (*strator legati legionis*) AÉ 1990, 896 (*centurion*, discovered at Comana Pontica, very close to Amasia); AÉ 1992, 1670 (*beneficiarius consularis*). See St. Mitchell, in E. Dabrowa (ed.), *The Roman and Byzantine Army in the East*, Krakow, 1994, p. 141–148.

<sup>287</sup> Gr. Tocilescu, AEM 6, 1882, p. 41–42, no. 86; CIL III 7505 = ILS 2311 = ISM V 160; Bărbulescu, *Legiunea V Macedonica*, p. 22–23.

<sup>288</sup> Em. Doruțiu-Boilă, Dacia, N. S. 36, 1992, p. 25.

<sup>289</sup> RE III A, 1929, col. 2218–2221, no. 18; Pflaum, *Carrières*, no. 136, p. 322.

<sup>290</sup> M. L. Astarita, *Avidio Cassio*, Rome, 1983, p. 42–43: "In base a considerazioni cronologiche e geografiche, si possono attribuire a lui le conquiste di Edessa e di Nisibi".

<sup>291</sup> Bărbulescu, *Legiunea V Macedonica*, p. 22–32; p. 34–54; Piso, *Fasti Dacie*, p. 88–89.

<sup>292</sup> Aricescu, *Armata*, p. 94.

<sup>293</sup> Em. Popescu, StCl 6, 1964, p. 193 = AÉ 1964, 252 = IPD<sup>4</sup>820 = IDRE II 337.

<sup>294</sup> CIL III 14214<sup>12</sup> = ILS 8051 = IPD<sup>4</sup> 821 = IDRE II 336.



their lives to this attack<sup>295</sup>. Only within such context we may understand the presence of a vexillation composed of legions *I Italica Moesica* and *V Macedonica Dacica* that placed at Adamclisi a dedication to *Neptunus Augustus* through the care of centurions *Eptidius Modestus* (V Macedonica) and *Valerius Clemens* (I Italica)<sup>296</sup>.

### 3. PROSOPOGRAPHY OF V MACEDONICA LEGION WHILE STATIONED IN MOESIA INFERIOR<sup>297</sup>

#### 3.1. *Legati legionis*

*Aelius Optatus* appears on an inscription discovered at Troesmis<sup>298</sup> dating from the governorship of *L. Statilius Iulius Severus* in Moesia Inferior between 158/159–160<sup>299</sup>. *Aelius Optatus* is not known within the Empire prosopography.

*T. Calestrius Tiro*<sup>300</sup> was probably legion legate during the Dacian war either at Oescus, should we agree with a later displacement to Troesmis or precisely at Troesmis. C. C. Petolescu attempted to restore his career<sup>301</sup>. He joined two inscriptions, one with the collection of MNA (National Museum of Antiquities, Bucharest – now by the “Vasile Pârvan” Institute of Archaeology), which was supposedly found at Sucidava (Dacia Inferior, but which it probably comes from Oescus), mentioning a certain *Tiro, legatus*<sup>302</sup> and an inscription from Cilicia, in Greek, rendering the career of *T. Calestrius Tiro*<sup>303</sup>. The inscription from Cilicia was commented magisterially by H. G. Pflaum<sup>304</sup>. Thus, the individual was *tribunus* of legion VI Ferrata in Syria, then *quaestor* in the province of Pontus et Bithynia (ταμία Πόντου καὶ Βειθυνίας) and *legatus pro praetore* of the proconsul from Gallia Narbonensis (πρεσβευτῆς καὶ ἀντιστράτηγος Γαλλίας Ναρβωνησίας), after the tribunate and praetorship at Rome, becomes *curator viarum Valeriae Tiburtinae [...]*nae. Subsequently, he is legate of legion V Macedonica (πρεσβευτῆς λεγιῶνος ε΄ Μακεδονικῆς), *proconsul* of Achaia (ἀνθύπατος Ἀχλαίας) and then legate of Cilicia (πρεσβευτῆς καὶ ἀντιστράτηγος Ἀυτοκράτορος Νέρουας Τραιανοῦ Σεβαστοῦ Γερμανικοῦ Δακικοῦ [Κιλικίας]). Governship of Cilicia must have taken place in 113/114–115/116, meaning that the legion legation dated sometime between 105–110. Recently, C. C. Petolescu identified centurion *Ferox*, who appears on the inscription preserved with the collection of MNA, with praetorian *L. Ennius L. f. Tro(mentina) Ferox*, a native of Aquae

<sup>295</sup> Em. Popescu, StCl 6, 1964, p. 194–199.

<sup>296</sup> AÉ 1901, 50 = CIL III 14433 = ILS 9118; Saxer, *Vexillationen*, p. 41–42, no. 72; Aricescu, *Armata*, p. 46 and p. 95. On the Costoboci attack of 170 see Vulpe, DID II, p. 158–163.

<sup>297</sup> On the legion prosopography in the stationing moment in Dacia see Bărbulescu, *Legiunea V Macedonica*, p. 63–83. Moreover, an attempt of complete prosopography belongs to Ritterling, RE XII, 1925, col. 1582–1585.

<sup>298</sup> R. Vulpe, SCIV 4, 1953, 3–4, p. 562–568, no. 2 = AÉ 1960, 337 = ISM V 158. See also M. Zyromski, J. Hatlas, *Balkanica Posnaniensia* 7, 1995, p. 214, no. 11.

<sup>299</sup> Stein, *Legaten*, p. 75–76; Fitz, *Laufbahn*, p. 17–19; PIR<sup>2</sup> I no. 570, 575, 588; Thomasson, *Laterculi*, p. 51, no. 20:089.

<sup>300</sup> M. Zyromski, J. Hatlas, *Balkanica Posnaniensia* 7, 1995, p. 211–212, no. 6.

<sup>301</sup> C. C. Petolescu, ZPE 58, 1985, p. 207–210. See also for his complete career Franke, *Legionslegaten*, p. 123–126, no. 58.

<sup>302</sup> CIL III 8048.

<sup>303</sup> AÉ 1965, 320.

<sup>304</sup> H.-G. Pflaum, in *Corolla memoriae Erich Swoboda dedicata*, Graz-Cologne, 1966, p. 184–194 = AÉ 1966, 485. See also St. V. Tracy, ZPE 116, 1997, p. 153–156.

Statiellae<sup>305</sup>, discharged in 76 by Vespasian, whose diploma was found at Tomis<sup>306</sup>. Indeed, this inscription seems to have been placed by *M. Pompeius Proculus, beneficiarius Tironis legati*, brother and heir, for an individual whose name was entered in the inscription upper part, today lost, and who had fought in *Ferox's* centuria. The use of the Nominative as Genitive is surprising, however is at least once more used in this area<sup>307</sup>. Moreover, if the identification proposed by C. C. Petolescu is accurate, then *Ferox's* centurion career lasted rather for a long time, yet it was perfectly possible given that he had served only 16 years in the praetorian guards.

*Q. Caecilius Redditus* appears on an inscription discovered at Troesmis<sup>308</sup>, dated 151–154, the legation years of *Fuficius Cornutus* in Moesia Inferior<sup>309</sup>. It is very possible that the same individual appeared on an inscription fragment found still at Troesmis, from which we learn that prior a senatorial career, he had been an equestrian rank officer<sup>310</sup>. He had served as perfect of cohort *I Montanorum* from Pannonia (CIL XVI 47), then as tribune of cohort *I Britannica milliaria c. R.* in Moesia Superior (CIL XVI 49), being subsequently recorded as procurator in Africa and possibly Raetia. He subsequently joins the senatorial class, probably among the ediles or praetors and becomes legion legate.

*Cominius Secundus* appears on an inscription discovered at Troesmis<sup>311</sup>, dating from the legation period of *L. Minicius Natalis Quadronius Verus* in Moesia Inferior, in 142–144<sup>312</sup>. *Cominius Secundus* became, subsequently governor of Pannonia Inferior in 147–150<sup>313</sup>.

*P. Martius Verus* appears on an inscription found at Troesmis dated under governor *M. Iallius Bassus Fabius Valerianus*<sup>314</sup>. A. Stein dated the latter's legation in 162<sup>315</sup>. J. Fitz proposed years 163–164 after *M. Servilius Fabianus Maximus's* legation<sup>316</sup>. R. Syme established that he governed only a few months in 162, succeeded by *Servilius Fabianus*<sup>317</sup>. In the same year, the legion left together with *Martius Verus* for the East, as he was called to replace *Stattius Priscus* who died

<sup>305</sup> C. C. Petolescu, in Al. Avram, M. Babeş, *Civilisation grecque et cultures antiques périphériques. Hommage à Petre Alexandrescu à son 70<sup>e</sup> anniversaire*, Bucharest, 2000, p. 339–341.

<sup>306</sup> CIL XVI 21 = ISM II 8.

<sup>307</sup> S. Stati, *Limba latină în inscripțiile din Dacia și Scythia Minor*, Bucharest, 1961, p. 81 and 96–97.

<sup>308</sup> R. Vulpe, SCIV 4, 1953, 3–4, p. 557–562, no. 1 = S. Lambrino, *RévÉtRoum* 2, 1954, p. 96–101 = AÉ 1957, 266 = ISM V 155.

<sup>309</sup> PIR<sup>2</sup> C 71; J. Fitz, *Laufbahn*, p. 16–17; R. Syme, *Danubian Papers*, Bucharest, 1971, p. 217.

<sup>310</sup> CIL III 14214<sup>23</sup> = ISM V 142: [*Q. C*] *Caecilius Re[dditus] / [post] tres mili[tias equestres...] / sis procur[ator...]*. See complete discussion with Em. Doruțiu-Boilă, ISM V, p. 173–174. See also M. Zyromski, J. Hatlas, *Balkanica Posnaniensia* 7, 1995, p. 213–214, no. 10.

<sup>311</sup> A. Rădulescu, *Pontica* 1, 1969, p. 319–323 = AÉ 1972, 547 = AÉ 1975, 756 = ISM V 141: *Imp. T. Ael(io) Had(riano) Antonil(no) Aug(usto) Pio p(atr) p(atr) tr(ibunicia) p(otestate) cos. III et Vel(ro) Caes(ari) c(ives) R(omani) cons(istentes) canab(is) leg(ionis) V / Ma(cedonicae) su(b) Minicio Natale leg(ato) Aug(usto) pr. pr. / dedic(ante) Cominio Secundo leg(ato) Aug(usti)*; found in 1968 during farming works at 3.5 km SE the fortress west of Troesmis. See also M. Zyromski, J. Hatlas, *Balkanica Posnaniensia* 7, 1995, p. 212, no. 8.

<sup>312</sup> Fitz, *Laufbahn*, p. 14–15; Thomasson, *Laterculi*, col. 133, no. 82. See also the inscription from Callatis, IGR I 653 = ISM III 114 and I. Rodà de Mayer, *Dacia*, N. S. 22, 1978, p. 219–223. The inscription rendering its complete career was found at Tibur, CIL XIV 3599 = ILS 1061 = InscrIt IV, I, 113. By the beginning of his career, he was tribune of legion XI Claudia.

<sup>313</sup> CIL XVI99 (150); 179; 180 (148); PIR<sup>2</sup> C 1271; R. Syme, *Danubian Papers*, p. 219; Dobó, *Verwaltung*, p. 57–58, no. 39; J. Fitz, *Die Verwaltung Pannoniens in der Römerzeit*, II, Budapest, 1993, p. 524–525, no. 312.

<sup>314</sup> CIL III 6169 = ISM V 159. See also M. Zyromski, J. Hatlas, *Balkanica Posnaniensia* 7, 1995, p. 215, no. 13, dates his legion legation between 161/2–166.

<sup>315</sup> Stein, *Legaten*, p. 76–77.

<sup>316</sup> Fitz, *Laufbahn*, p. 48.

<sup>317</sup> R. Syme, *Dacia*, N. S. 12, 1968, p. 337; Thomasson, *Laterculi*, col. 136, no. 94. He had been between 154 and 157 governor of Pannonia Inferior, Thomasson, *Laterculi*<sup>2</sup>, p. 41, no. 19:014.

during the campaign against the Parthians<sup>318</sup>. This is one of the last inscriptions recording legion V Macedonica at Troesmis, prior its dispatch in the Parthian expedition and then transfer to Dacia.

*Plotius Iulianus* is mentioned by the inscription from Troesmis comprising the names of the soldiers enrolled in 108–109<sup>319</sup>, released in 134 by the province governor *Sextus Iulius Maior*<sup>320</sup>. Unfortunately, no details are known on the career of this individual.

*Q. Pomponius Rufus* is recorded by an inscription from Leptis Magna, honoured while he was *proconsul Africae*. The inscription suggests that he had been also *legatus legionis V*, without further details. Considering he subsequently governed Moesia Inferior, we may assume that this was legion V Macedonica<sup>321</sup>. The legion legation should be dated sometime prior 95, when he is recorded consul.

*Q. Roscius Sex. f. Quir. Coelius Murena Pompeius Falco, legatus legionis*<sup>322</sup>, under Trajan, from whom he received *dona militaria* during the Dacian war (*vide supra*), as indicated by two inscriptions, one found at Tarracina, Italy and the other at Hierapolis Castabala, in Cilicia. The latter is an honorific inscription set up by a certain *A. Laberius Camerinus* and his son, *Laberius Camerinus*, centurion of legion V Macedonica. He then had a remarkable career, being among other, governor of Moesia Inferior.

*M. Sedatius C. f. Quir. Severianus Iulius Acer Metilius Nepos Rufinus Ti. Rutilianus Censor*, former legate of legion V Macedonica during 144–147<sup>323</sup>, succeeding *Cominius Secundus*, then *curator viae Flaminiae* and legate of Dacia Superior, where he is recorded by several inscriptions<sup>324</sup>. He was *consul suffectus* in 153<sup>325</sup>.

*P. Vigellius Raius Plarius Saturninus Atilius Braduanus Caucidius Tertullus*, who is mentioned on an inscription discovered at Troemis<sup>326</sup>, was a former legion legate under Antoninus Pius, according to E. Ritterling<sup>327</sup>. Most likely, he commanded the legion between 159 and 162<sup>328</sup>. It was supposed he could be identical with a certain *Saturninus*, proconsul of Africa in 180<sup>329</sup>.

...*Volcasius*, legion legate of V Macedonica within an inscription from Tuder (Umbria, Regio VI) rendering his career. He had been successively: *legatus provinc(iae) Narbonensis*, *legatus legionis V Macedonicae*, *proconsul provinciae Siciliae*, *praefectus aerarii militaris* and then *consul*<sup>330</sup>. Most likely, the inscription dates under Trajan-Hadrian.

<sup>318</sup> RE 14, 1930, col. 2024; M. L. Astarita, *Avidio Cassio*, Rome, 1983, p. 42–44; A. R. Birley, *Marcus Aurelius. A Biography*, London, 1987, p. 130.

<sup>319</sup> CIL III 6178 + 6179 + 6180; Em. Doruțiu-Boilă, in *Epigraphica. Travaux dédiés au VII<sup>e</sup> Congrès d'épigraphie grecque et latine (Constantza 9–15 septembre 1977)*, Bucharest, 1977, p. 185–191 = ISM V 137 = CGLBI 630 (only *beneficiarii*); M. Zyromski, J. Hatlas, *Balkanica Posnaniensia* 7, 1995, p. 212, no. 7.

<sup>320</sup> PIR<sup>2</sup> I 397; Stein, *Legaten*, p. 67; Fitz, *Laufbahn*, p. 46; Thomasson, *Laterculi*<sup>2</sup>, p. 49, no. 20:077.

<sup>321</sup> CIL VIII 13 = ILS 1014 = AÉ 1948, 3; PME, P 81. See also M. Zyromski, J. Hatlas, *Balkanica Posnaniensia* 7, 1995, p. 207–208, no. 3. On the legation from Moesia Inferior see Stein, *Legaten*, p. 59–60; Fitz, *Laufbahn*, p. 44; Thomasson, *Laterculi*<sup>2</sup>, p. 48, no. 20:065.

<sup>322</sup> CIL X 6231 = ILS 1035 (Tarracina, Italy); CIL III 12117 = ILS 1036 (Hierapolis Castabala, Cilicia); A. R. Birley, *ArhVest* 28, 1977, p. 360–367.

<sup>323</sup> AÉ 1913, 55 = ILS 9487 = IDR III/2 97; AÉ 1933, 249 = IDR III/2 98. See also the two inscriptions found at Băile Herculane, IDR III/1 56 and 70.

<sup>324</sup> On dating the legion legation see J. Reynolds, *JRS* 61, 1971, 144–145 and W. Eck, *RE Suppl.* XIV, 1974, col. 106, no. 22. On the complete career of this individual see Piso, *Fasti Daciae*, p. 61–65, no. 14 (dating of the legion legation at p. 64) and M. Zyromski, J. Hatlas, *Balkanica Posnaniensia* 7, 1995, p. 213, no. 9.

<sup>325</sup> Alföldy, *Konsulat*, p. 163–164.

<sup>326</sup> CIL III 6183 = ILS 1116 = ISM V 145.

<sup>327</sup> Ritterling, *RE* XII, col. 1582.

<sup>328</sup> M. Zyromski, J. Hatlas, *Balkanica Posnaniensia* 7, 1995, p. 214–215, no. 12.

<sup>329</sup> B. Thomasson, *Die Statthalter der römischen Provinzen Nordafrikas von Augustus bis Diocletianus*, Lund, 1960, II, p. 87.

<sup>330</sup> CIL XI 4647 = AÉ 1985, 365. Eck, *Senatoren*, p. 249 supposes he had been proconsul of Sicily under Trajan; Thomasson, *Laterculi*, col. 6, no. 40, makes no assumption.

Eleven legion legates are recorded during the legion stationing at Troesmis. Amongst, five are recorded by inscriptions from Troesmis. The vast majority are known from the Roman imperial prosopography. Interestingly, two of them are subsequently recorded as governors of Moesia Inferior.

### 3.2. *Tribuni militum*

*M. Acilius A. f. Volt. Priscus Egrilius Plarianus, tribunus militum laticlavus legionis V Macedonicae*, appears on an inscription discovered at Ostia, from where he came. He was legion tribune sometime after 105–106 when he is recorded *IIIvir viarum curandarum*. He then pursued an important career, which would lead him to consulate in 128<sup>331</sup>.

*P. Cluvius Maximus Paullinus, tribunus militum laticlavus*, mentioned on a tombstone, part of a small funerary construction in the shape of a temple, rendering his career<sup>332</sup>. The discovery was made at S. Terese (Labicum, Regio I). Since we know he was consul around 138 and praetor prior 128, when the Senate sent him to Hadrian on the occasion of the return from Africa (*legatus missus a senatu ad imp(eratorem) Hadrianum cum ex Africa reverteretur*)<sup>333</sup>, his legion tribunate may be dated during Trajan's last years of reign or the first years of Hadrian. He then became legate of Moesia Superior and proconsul of Asia<sup>334</sup>.

*C. Corne[lius .f.] C. n. Rufus, tribunus militum legionis V [Macedonicae] angusticlavus*, appears on an honorific inscription discovered at Verona (Regio X). The career of this individual, of equestrian origin, continued at municipal level, becoming *pontifex* and *IIIvir iure dicundo*. The inscription dates from the turn of the 1st–2nd C<sup>335</sup>.

*L. Fadius Cornutus Titius Messianus, tribunus militum angusticlavus* is recorded by a tombstone found at Florentia (Regio VII), former prefect of cohort *V Gallorum*, of Moesia Superior<sup>336</sup>. The inscription dates from the 2nd C, probably from the period when the legion was still in Moesia Inferior.

*T. Flavius Claudianus T. fil. Aemona, tribunus militum angusticlavus* placed a dedication at Tarracina (Regio I)<sup>337</sup>. Unfortunately, neither the proposed completion, nor its dating assign it to the repertory of legion V Macedonica while stationed in Moesia Inferior.

*C. Iavolenus Calvinus Geminus Kapito Cornelius Pollio Squilla Q. Vulkacius Scuppidius Verus, tribunus militum laticlavus* by the beginning of Hadrian's reign<sup>338</sup>. His military tribunate was merely part of a remarkable career that led him to the consulate<sup>339</sup>.

<sup>331</sup> CIL XIV 155; AÉ 1945, 34; CIL VI 31677 = ILS 155; AÉ 1955, 170–172; Alföldy, *Legionslegaten*, p. 27–28, no. 35; Degrassi, *Fasti consolari*, p. 37.

<sup>332</sup> A. Degrassi, *Epigraphica* 1, 1939, p. 307: “Si trata di un tempietto sepolcrale il cui basamento aveva le misure di circa 11 metri per 10”.

<sup>333</sup> See discussion with Degrassi, *Epigraphica* 1, 1939, p. 313–315, who believes that the delegation met Hadrian in Campania.

<sup>334</sup> A. Degrassi, *Epigraphica* 1, 1939, p. 307–321 = AÉ 1940, 99 = AÉ 1946, 168; Degrassi, *Fasti consolari*, p. 39. On the legation from Moesia Superior see Stein, *Legaten*, p. 43–44 (dated around 140).

<sup>335</sup> CIL V 3364; PME, C 249. See also Ritterling, *RE* XII, 1925, col. 1583.

<sup>336</sup> CIL XI 1597 = CIL VI 3519; PME, F 20.

<sup>337</sup> CIL X 6302; PME, F 45.

<sup>338</sup> CIL XIV 2499 = ILS 1060, the inscription was discovered at Grottaferrata within the territory of the city of Tusculum; *PIR* I<sup>2</sup> I 13; E. Dabrowa, in D. L. Kennedy (ed.), *The Roman Army in the East*, *JRA* Suppl. Ser. 18, Ann Arbor, 1996, p. 279–280.

<sup>339</sup> The definite year of his consulate is unknown, but it was supposed to be under Hadrian or Antoninus Pius, Degrassi, *Fasti consolari*, p. 192; Alföldy, *Konsulat*, p. 192.



*C. Lu[cilius] Proc[ulus], tribunus militum legionis V M[acedonicae] (angusticlavius),* appears on an inscription from Tarquinii (Regio VII). The inscription was dated in the second part of the 1st C, but it could also date by the beginning of the 2nd C<sup>340</sup>.

*P. Mummius P. f. Gal. Sissenia Rutilianus*<sup>341</sup>, *tribunus militum laticlavius* under Hadrian (A. R. Birley dates the tribunate prior 134<sup>342</sup>), recorded by two inscriptions from Tibur (Regio I) which render his career. He then became consul in 146 and governor of Moesia Superior and proconsul of Asia<sup>343</sup>.

*T. Nummius T. f. Hor. Augustalis, tribunus militum angusticlavius* appears in one inscription at Falerii (Civita Castellana, Etruria), dated under Trajan<sup>344</sup>.

*Q. Papirius Q. f. Pupinia Maximus, tribunus militum angusticlavius* is recorded by an honorific inscription discovered at Rome. Prior the legion tribunate, he was prefect of cohort III *Bracaraugustanorum*, which was stationed on the territory of Raetia. Most likely, the inscription dates from the first part of the 2nd C<sup>345</sup>.

*Tib. Pompeius Pompei Iusti f. Priscus, tribunus militum angusticlavius*, native from Cadurcus (Aquitania), could have served either in Moesia Inferior or in Dacia, after the displacement of the legion at Potaissa. The inscription was discovered at Lugdunum. Subsequent the military tribunate, this individual pursued civil career becoming *iudex arcae Galliarum III provinciae Galliae*<sup>346</sup>.

*[...]cus Po[...], tribunus militum angusticlavius* appears on an extremely fragmentary inscription discovered at Buthrotum (Epir). His career could date in the period of the Flavian dynasty or under Trajan<sup>347</sup>.

*Salvius Nenius L. Anius Campanianus Cn. Plotius Maximinus T. Oenius Severus Serveienus U[rsus], tribunus militum laticlavius* during the 2nd C, prior the Parthian expedition<sup>348</sup>.

*C. Set[tidius] C. f. Pup. Fir[mus], tribunus militum angusticlavius*, on whom information comes from an inscription found at Pola (Regio X). After being tribune of cohort IIII *Thracum Syriaca*, stationed in Syria, he became legion tribune of V Macedonica. His office could be placed either during the Jewish war or Lucius Verus's Parthian expedition, although the inscription could also date from the 1st C. Under such circumstances, it could date during its involvement in the Jewish war of Nero and the beginning of Vespasian's reign<sup>349</sup>.

*[...] Cn. f. Clu(stumina tribu) Celer [...M]aximus Cornelius [...Ce]lsinus [...] [trib(unus) milit(um) leg(ionis)] V Macedonicae* appears on an extremely fragmentary inscription from Rome, rendering his career. He served as laticlave tribune in legion V Macedonica, as well.

<sup>340</sup> M. Torelli, *Elogia Tarquiniensia*, Florence, 1975, p. 160–161, no. 5; PME, L 34bis.

<sup>341</sup> CIL XIV 3601 = Inscr It, IV, I, 115; 4244 = InscrIt, IV, I, 116.

<sup>342</sup> Birley, *Roman Government of Britain*, p. 252.

<sup>343</sup> CIL X 6587, June 4; Degrassi, *Fasti consolari*, p. 41; Alföldy, *Konsulat*, p. 151. On the legation from Moesia Superior see Stein, *Legaten*, p. 44; Thomasson, *Laterculi*, p. 45, no. 20:039 (dated around 150). On his complete career see Caballos Rufino, *op. cit.*, p. 237–239, no. 132; Birley, *Roman Government of Britain*, p. 251–252, no. 24.

<sup>344</sup> CIL XI 3099 (p. 1323); PME, N 23.

<sup>345</sup> CIL VI 1822 = ILS 1893; PME, P 13. On the cohort in question see H. Wolff, BayerVbl 65, 2000, p. 166–167 and the table registering the diplomas; Spaul, *Cohors*, p. 94.

<sup>346</sup> CIL XIII 1686 = ILS 7017 = IDRE I 186; PME P 65; Bărbulescu, *Legiunea V Macedonica*, p. 66, no. 2.

<sup>347</sup> AÉ 1950, 170; L. Moretti, RFIC 102, 1974, p. 456–457; W. Eck, Chiron 5, 1975, p. 385; Pflaum, *Carrières*, no. 178bis; PME, P 125.

<sup>348</sup> CIL III 6755; PIR<sup>2</sup>, S 140: “trib(unus) la[t(iclavius)] leg(ionis) V Mac(edonicae)Troesme in Moesia inferiore tendentis, antequam expeditioni Marci et Veri Parthicae interfuit”.

<sup>349</sup> A. von Domaszewski, AEM 5, 1881, p. 225–226 = InscrIt X,I, 67: “Titulus primus saec. p. Chr. attribuendus est”; PME, S 45.



After the military tribunate he joined the *Xviri stlitibus iudicandis* and then became quaestor in the province of Asia<sup>350</sup>.

*T. Travius T. f. [...], tribunus militum legionis V [Macedonicae ?]* appears on an extremely fragmentary inscription discovered at Ameria (Regio VI), which may be dated by the end of the 1st C. Unfortunately, the reading is uncertain and he was probably a member of the equestrian order<sup>351</sup>.

*Q. Volteius Q. f. Horatia Dexter, tribunus militum legionis V Macedonicae angusticlavius* appears on a fragmentary inscription discovered at Spoletium (Regio VI). After the legion tribunate, he became prefect of *ala I Tungrorum* from Britannia<sup>352</sup>.

*Ignotus, tribunus militum angusticlavius*, places a tombstone to his father at Virunum, in Noricum<sup>353</sup>. He had been prefect of an unknown cohort and was at the time of his father death, tribune of legion V Macedonica.

*Ignotus, tribunus militum laticlavius*, appears on a fragmentary inscription discovered at Artana (Regio I), recording that he had served as tribune in this legion, while subsequent other civil offices, became *legatus legionis II Augustae* in Britannia during the first half of the 2nd C<sup>354</sup>.

*Ignotus, tribunus militum legionis V Macedonicae, angusticlavius*, appears on a fragmentary inscription discovered at Mataró (Iluro, Hispania Tarraconensis). His career very likely dates from the 2nd C<sup>355</sup>.

*Ignotus, tribunus militum legionis VM[ac(edonicae)]*, appears on an extremely fragmentary inscription discovered most likely on the territory of Bulgaria<sup>356</sup>. The inscription obviously dates from the period when legion V Macedonica was stationed in Moesia Inferior.

*Ignotus, tribunus militum legionis V Macedonicae* appears on an extremely fragmentary inscription discovered at Antiochia, in Pisidia<sup>357</sup>. It dates probably from the 1st C given the office of *praefectus fabrum*, which he subsequently fulfilled.

*Ignotus, tribunus militum legionis V Macedonicae* appears on a fragmentary inscription discovered at Thugga (Africa Proconsularis). His career may date from the first half of the 2nd C<sup>358</sup>.

Twenty-three tribunes of legion V Macedonica are recorded while it was stationed at Troesmis. Among, seven are *tribuni laticlavii*, eleven are *tribuni angusticlavii*, and the rest cannot be framed within a category due to inscriptions state of preservation.

### 3.3. Praefectus castrorum

*Tib. Veturius Tib. f. Aemilia tribu Mauretanus*<sup>359</sup> served under Hadrian or Antoninus Pius. Unfortunately, it cannot be dated with precision; we can only argue it comes from the

<sup>350</sup> CIL VI 41153 = CIL VI 3831 (p. 3142) = CIL VI 31699.

<sup>351</sup> CIL XI 4374; PME, T 32.

<sup>352</sup> CIL XI 4788, p. 1374; PME, V 128.

<sup>353</sup> CIL III 4859 = ILLPRON 608.

<sup>354</sup> S. Orlandi, ZPE 115, 1997, p. 271–277 = AÉ 1997, 279: . . . [co(n)s(uli), VIIvir(o) ep]ul[on(um), / trib(uno) mil(itum) leg(ionis) V] / Mac(edonicae), [quaest(ori) . . . / . . . t]rib(uno) [pleb(is), praet(ori), / curat(ori) viae V] aleri[ae Tiburtinae / et aliment(orum)?, leg(ato) l]eg(ionis) II A[ug(ustae), / . . . p]rae[ff(ecto) aer(ari) Sat(urni)?]; Birley, *Roman Government of Britain*, p. 260, no. 34.

<sup>355</sup> M. Ribas i Bertrán, *Els orígens de Mataró*, Mataró, 1964, p. 186; PME, Inc 9: [...flami]ni Romae et A[ugusti...] / [praef(ecto) coh(ortis)...] in Germania [...] / [praef(ecto) coh(ortis) . Gallorum evuitatae (sic!) [...] / [...trib(uno) mil(itum) leg(ionis) V] Macedonic[ae...].

<sup>356</sup> V. Beševliev, *Epigrafski prinosi*, Sofia, 1952, no. 95 = AÉ 1957, 301; PME, Inc 51.

<sup>357</sup> F. Cumont, J. G. C. Anderson, JRS 2, 1912, p. 234; PME, Inc 62.

<sup>358</sup> CIL VIII 26585; PME, Inc 142. See also Saxer, *Vexillationen*, p. 62, no. 124.

<sup>359</sup> CIL III 775 = 6195 = ISM V 143: *Tib. Veturio / Tib. fil. Aemilia / Mauretano Fun[dis] praefecto / castrorum / leg(ionis) V Mac(edonicae) / ordo / Troesmensium*.

period when the legion was stationed at Troesmis. The individual came from Fundi, city of Latium, whose inhabitants belonged to tribe *Aemilia*. The dedication is placed by the *ordo decurionum* from the civil settlement, not the *canabae* at Troesmis.

### 3.4. *Primipili legionis*

*L. Artorius Castus* is recorded by two inscriptions discovered at Epetium, Dalmatia province, stating that after being centurion with several legions, including the one in question, becomes chief centurion of the legion. Subsequently, he is assigned to the command of a naval squadron of the fleet at Misenum, probably in the context of the Marcommanic wars. His career continues in Britannia and then becomes procurator of Liburnia, region from Dalmatia, holding right for capital punishment, probably still in the context of the unrest in those years. Most likely, the chief centurionate of legion V Macedonica may be dated during the last years when it was present at Troesmis<sup>360</sup>.

*Ti. Claudius Celsus* appears on an honorific inscription set up at Troesmis in the honour of emperor Antoninus Pius<sup>361</sup>.

### 3.5. *Centuriones legionis*

*P. Aelius Quintianus Magni fil.*<sup>362</sup>, centurion still on duty placing at Troesmis a dedication to *Iuppiter Optimus Maximus* to the health of emperors Marcus Aurelius and Lucius Verus, under *M. Iallius Bassus Fabius Valerianus*, province legate and *P. Martius Verus*, legion legate (*vide supra* complete discussion on the inscription dating).

*P. Aelius Firmus*, (*centurio*) *leg(ionis) V Mac(edonicae)*, centurion still on duty places a tombstone to an *alumnus*, *Heraclius*, at Amasia, in the province Pontus et Bithynia<sup>363</sup>. We may argue this *alumnus* died during an eastern campaign into which the legion was involved, possibly that under L. Verus. It seems that the legion stationed rather long in this area, as there are two inscriptions recording a veteran and a centurion, of origin from this location (*vide infra*) and additionally a boundary stone reading: *LEG V / MAC / COH X*, suggesting that the entire tenth cohort was stationed around Amasia<sup>364</sup>.

*P. Aelius S[...]anus*, (*centurio*) *leg(ionis) XXII P(rimigeniae) p(iae) f(idelis), le[g(ionis)] V Maced(onicae)* places a votive inscription at Schlossau, on the limes of Germania Superior, being centurion of legion XXII Primigenia<sup>365</sup>. Since the fort at Schlossau was abandoned under Antoninus Pius, once the limes moved eastwards, towards the barbaricum, we may argue this inscription dates from the period *ante ca.* 155<sup>366</sup>. He had been previously centurion of legion V Macedonica, most likely at Troesmis.

<sup>360</sup> CIL III 1919 = ILS 2770 = IDRE II 303; Pflaum, *Carrières*, I, 196; Dobson, *Primipilares*, p. 267–268, no. 151. See also CIL III 12224 (= 12791) = IDRE II 304, while he was *praefectus (castrorum) legionis VI victricis*, from Britannia.

<sup>361</sup> CIL III 6168 = ISM V 140.

<sup>362</sup> CIL III 6169 = ISM V 159.

<sup>363</sup> D. H. French, in *Deuxième Congrès International d'histoire de la côte de la Mer Noire 1<sup>er</sup>–3 Juin 1988* (AÉ 1991, 1461), Samsun, 1990, p. 559–560, no. 4 = AÉ 1991, 1475.

<sup>364</sup> D. H. French, *Epigraphica Anatolica* 15, 1990, p. 135–136, no. 1 = AÉ 1990, 893.

<sup>365</sup> CIL XIII 6504.

<sup>366</sup> For latest discussions on Germania Superior limes establishment (Vorderelimes) under Antoninus Pius, see G. Alföldy, in *Limes Imperii Romani. Beiträge zum Fachkolloquium "Weltkulturerbe Limes" November 2001 in Lich-Arnsburg*, Saalburg Schriften 6, Bad-Homburg, 2004, p. 7–20.

*L. Aconius L. f. Clu(stumina tribu) Statura* appears on an inscription from Tifernum Mataurense (Regio VI)<sup>367</sup>. He was centurion of legions XI Claudia p. f., IIII Flavia Felix, V Macedonica and VII Claudia p. f., during the latter being decorated by Trajan following the first Dacian expedition, since Trajan is only *Germanicus*. Later, he would be promoted to the equestrian order by same emperor. O. Richier suggests different solution, proposing to read his career reversely, exactly alike the case of *Sex. Pilonius Modestus*. Thus the centurionate of legion XI Claudia would be the last one, while decorations *ob bellum Germanicum et Sarmaticum* were obtained whilst he was centurion in legions VII Claudia or V Macedonica, in Moesia both under Domitian and Nerva; decorations *ob bellum Dacicum* were awarded while centurion of legions XI Claudia or IIII Flavia Felix, in the first Dacian expedition (Trajan is not yet *Dacicus*). Accordingly, the centurionate in legion V Macedonica dates under Domitian.

*Annaeus Pulcher, centurio fr(umentarius)* placed a dedication to Asclepius and Hygia somewhere on the road from Troesmis and Noviodunum, where most likely a *statio* was located. The altar was discovered at Horia (Romania, Tulcea county)<sup>368</sup>, where it has been argued that a large Roman *villa* was discovered<sup>369</sup>. It is more likely that the building was in fact a *statio*.

*M. Caesius M. f. Pol(lia) Verus (centurio) leg(ionis) V Mac(edonicae)*, a native of Pollentia (Liguria) appears on an inscription from Pontus et Bithynia, at Comana Pontica (discovered at Beyobasi, 30 km west of Comana Pontica)<sup>370</sup>. After serving 16 years as a praetorian in cohort IX, he was made *optio ad carcerem* and served as *evocatus* for 7 years, after which he was promoted centurion in legion V Macedonica, in cohort VI, *hastatus posterior*, where he served four years and died. His entire career is summarised within the quoted inscription: *stipendia accepit caligata XVI evocativa VII centurionica IIII militavit annis XXVII vixit annis XXXXI*. The career began very early, at the age of 15 and ended at 41, when he died. The inscription was placed by two freedmen. It is possible that he died in one of the eastern expeditions to which the legion participated, possibly even the Parthian war of L. Verus, as T. B. Mitford suggests (*vide infra* accumulation of inscriptions in Amasia area). K. Strobel took into consideration a possible death in the time of Trajan, possible in Parthian expedition.

*M. Calventius Viator, (centurio) leg(ionis) V M[a]cedonicae* together with his legion in the East under Hadrian, possibly his first reign year, by the end of the Parthian campaign; the inscription was discovered at Gerasa (Jarash, Arabia)<sup>371</sup>; the same individual appears also under Trajan as centurion of legion IIII Flavia Felix within an inscription from Sarmizegetusa, while the legion was in Dacia<sup>372</sup>. It is interesting that while in Dacia, he served as *exercitator equitum singularium legati Aug. pr. pr.* under governor *C. Avidius Nigrinus* between 110/112–114<sup>373</sup>; in Arabia we find that *equites sing(ulares) eius (scil. Hadriani) qui hibernati sunt Antioch[i]ae ad Chrysorhoan quae et Gerasa hiera et asylo(s) et autonomos quorum curam agit M(arcus) Calventius*

<sup>367</sup> CIL XI 5992 = IPD<sup>4</sup> 509 = Mrozewicz, *Legioniści*, 2; Maxfield, *Military Decorations*, p. 190; Richier, *Centuriones ad Rhenum*, p. 285–287, no. 227.

<sup>368</sup> ISM V 239. Several stamps of legion V Macedonica were discovered there, V. H. Baumann, *Peuce* 4, 1973–1975, p. 72–73 and pl. VIII; see also V. H. Baumann, *Ferma romană în Dobrogea*, Tulcea, 1983, p. 117, fig. 49; p. 175–177, no. 1–42.

<sup>369</sup> V. H. Baumann, *Ferma romană în Dobrogea*, Tulcea, 1983, p. 60.

<sup>370</sup> T. B. Mitford, *ZPE* 71, 1988, p. 176–178, no. 12 = *AE* 1990, 896. See also K. Strobel, *Epigraphica Anatolica* 12, 1988, p. 39–42.

<sup>371</sup> *AE* 1915, 42; C. C. Petolescu, *Pontica* 37–38, 2004–2005, p. 195–198.

<sup>372</sup> CIL III 7094 = IDR III/3 2205; Ritterling, *RE* XII, 1925, col. 1544; D. Benea, *Din istoria militară a Moesiei Superior și a Daciei. Legiunea VII Claudia și legiunea IIII Flavia*, Cluj-Napoca, 1983, p. 208, no. 53.

<sup>373</sup> Piso, *Fasti Daciae*, p. 19–23, dated his office in Dacia between 110/112–?115. However, it is known from two diplomas that already in May 3/4, 114 governor was *Q. Baebius Macer* (RMD IV 225, 226 = RGZM, no. 16).

*Viator* (*centurio*) *leg(ionis)*, leading this time the *equites singulares Augusti*. Resuming recently the discussion on the career of this individual, C. C. Petolescu dates the inscription precisely in the first reign year of Hadrian<sup>374</sup>. As such, *M. Calventius Viator* was transferred to legion V Macedonica, immediately after 114 and pursues his career as *exercitator* with the governor of Syria during the Parthian war and the future emperor Hadrian. It seems that this was not the end of his career. He is mentioned again within Hadrian's speech from Lambaesis, in the summer of 128, again in connection to *equites singulares Augusti*<sup>375</sup>.

*Q. Cassius Q. f. Romilia (tribu) Saturninus, Zmyrna, centurio legionis V Macedonicae* and thereafter *centurio legionis IV Scythicae*, from the Syria province, appears on a marble funerary stela discovered at Eskişehir, the ancient Dorylaeum, in Phrygia<sup>376</sup>. His appartenance to the *Romilia* tribe indicates he or his ancestors were in fact of an Italic origin, as this tribe is well attested at Ateste (Regio X). He probably served in the *V Macedonica* legion when it was stationed at Troesmis.

*Tib. Claudius Tib. f. Quirina (tribu) Ulpianus*, legion centurion, who dies at Troesmis at the age of 56, still on active duty; native from Laodicea (Syria), he had a notable career being centurion with legions X Gemina (Pannonia Superior), IIII Flaviae Felix (Moesia Superior), XII Fulminata (Cappadocia), III Cyrenaica (Arabia) X Fretensis (Syria Palaestina) and II Adiutrix (Pannonia Inferior)<sup>377</sup>.

...*filius Cla[udia (tribu)] Decimus*<sup>378</sup>; native from [*Sava*]ria (Pannonia Superior) or [*Varva*]ria (Regio XI) or [*Nova*]ria (Dalmatia), the last two places are proposed by G. Forni based on Claudia tribe origin<sup>379</sup>. The dating should be very early, the centurion name is entered in Nominative, the formula *hic situs est* and the Italic origin of the veteran make me believe the inscription could date as early as the beginning years when the legion arrived in the fortress at Troesmis. All the more so as the tombstone was set by a certain [*Vale*]rius *Pu[den]s, (centurio) legio[nis] eiusdem, [her]es*, individual who could also be identified on an inscription from Oescus, sometime under Vespasian, as *C. Val[er]ius Pud[e]n[s] miles leg(ionis) V M[a]c(edonicae)*<sup>380</sup>. A perfectly possible identification if we remember that centurion could have advanced to the rank subsequent a military career and could have served more than three decades until the beginning of the 2nd C, when he was transferred together with his legion at Troesmis. It is curious that there was another *C. Valerius Pudens* at Troesmis, who placed an inscription as legion veteran under Hadrian<sup>381</sup>.

*M. Ennius Illadianus* appears within two inscriptions at the command of the Roman vexillation from Tyras around 117–118 (*vide supra*)<sup>382</sup>.

<sup>374</sup> C. C. Petolescu, *Pontica* 37–38, 2004–2005, p. 195–198.

<sup>375</sup> CIL VIII 2532 = 18042 = ILS 2487. See complete discussion with M. Le Glay, in *Akten des XI. Internationalen Limeskongresses (Székesfehérvár, 30. 8–6. 9. 1976)*, Budapest, 1977, p. 545–557 and C. C. Petolescu, *Pontica* 37–38, 2004–2005, p. 197–198.

<sup>376</sup> P. Frei, *Türk Arkeoloji Degirisi* 25, 1981 (1982), 2, p. 78–79, no. 5 (*non vidi*) = SEG 32, 1982, 1276. See also M. A. Speidel, in D. L. Kennedy, J. Bunbury (eds.), *The Twin Towns of Zeugma on the Euphrates*, JRA Suppl. Ser. 27, Portsmouth – Rhodes Island, p. 188.

<sup>377</sup> CIL III 6186 = ISM V 179.

<sup>378</sup> CIL III 6193 (frg. a, b, c) + CIL III 6187 (frg. d) = ISM V 201.

<sup>379</sup> G. Forni, *Annali della Fac. di Lett. et Filos., Univ. di Pavia*, 15, 1982, p. 701 (*non vidi*) = AÉ 1983, 879.

<sup>380</sup> AÉ 1912, 188 = ILB 52.

<sup>381</sup> CIL III 6166 = ILS 2474 = ISM V 154.

<sup>382</sup> P. Nicorescu, *AARMSI* III, 26, 1944, p. 501–510; T. Sarnowski, *ArchWarszawa* 38, 1988, p. 71–72, no. 8 = AÉ 1990, 868; P. Nicorescu, *AARMSI* III, 19, 1937, p. 219–220, no. 2; T. Sarnowski, *ArchWarszawa* 38, 1988, p. 72, no. 9 = AÉ 1990, 869.



*Eptidius Modestus* appears on the inscription discovered at Tropaeum Traiani (Adamclisi), above mentioned. His career dates around 170 (*vide supra*)<sup>383</sup>.

[. *Iulius Candidus*, (*centurio*) *leg(ionis) V M[ac(edonicae)]*<sup>384</sup>, within same inscription from Berytus in the honour of *Cn. Iulius Rufus*, where we learn that the latter was his father-in-law. In fact, the statue was erected on the expense of *Candidus*; the inscription was placed most likely in Trajan's last years of reign.

*Iulius Proculus*, *centurio leg(ionis) V Mac(edonicae) et III Gal(licae) et XXII Primig(eniae)*, in a votive inscription at Lambaesis, Numidia, by which his brother *C. Iulius Valerianus* (*centurio leg(ionis) III Aug(ustae) XVI Fl(aviae) F(elicis) bis IIII Scyt(hicae) bis*, centurion of legion III Augusta, stationed there, makes a dedication to *Iupiter Optimus Maximus Heliopolitanus* for the good health of his family<sup>385</sup>.

*Cn. Iulius L. f. [Fa]b(ia tribu) Rufus* appears on a statue base erected at Berytus (Syria) to his honour by another centurion of legion V Macedonica (*vide supra*)<sup>386</sup>. Among several tasks he fulfilled, also counts the centurionate of legion V Macedonica under Domitian or Trajan. The centurion is also known from an inscription at Karak Nouh in Beqaa<sup>387</sup>, from where we find he ended his military career as chief centurion of legion I Italica.

*Iulius Severus* appears on his tombstone discovered at Tarsus (Cilicia)<sup>388</sup>. Possibly, he died during an eastern campaign into which the legion took part or he was of origin in this area, as the tombstone was set up by his spouse, *Iulia Hermione Itale*.

*C. Iulius C. f. Valens* (*centurio leg(ionis) V Mac(edonicae) dom(o) Amasia*, on a tombstone placed by his wife and children at Tropaeum Traiani (Adamclisi) by mid 2nd C<sup>389</sup>. One of his children, *Iulius Iulianus* could have joined the army, as an inscription from Durostorum mentions a homonym as *eques legionis XI Claudiae*<sup>390</sup>. The centurion came from Pontus Amasia.

(A.) *Laberius Camerinus*, *centurio legionis*, recorded by an inscription from Hierapolis Castabala, Cilicia, placed together with his father<sup>391</sup>, while *Q. Roscius Coelius Murena Pompeius Falco*, former legion legate had become province legate of Moesia Inferior. Most likely, his father had served in one of the auxiliary units stationed in Moesia Inferior, being discharged during the legation of *M. Laberius Maximus*, period when *Q. Pompeius Falco* was at the command of legion V Macedonica. Once he became citizen, the military career within the legion became available to his son, who advanced quickly to the centurionate of same legion.

[...] *Mussidius Proculus*, (*centurio leg(ionis) V Mac(edonicae)*, placed a dedication to Diana at Sirakovo, in Macedonia. It is rather difficult to date<sup>392</sup>.

*T. Seranius Primianus*, (*centurio legionis V Macedonic(a)e*, placed at Rome a tombstone to his wife and two children<sup>393</sup>. Very likely, he was a Rome native.

<sup>383</sup> AÉ 1901, 50 = CIL III 14433 = ILS 9118.

<sup>384</sup> C. Ghadban, Bulletin d'archéologie et d'architecture libanaises, 2, 1997, p. 206–223 (*non vidi*) = AÉ 1998, 1435 = CEpR XIX–XX 878 (C. C. Petolescu); Richier, *Centuriones ad Rhenum*, p. 289–291, no. 231.

<sup>385</sup> CIL VIII 2627 (p. 1739); Bărbulescu, *Legiunea V Macedonica*, p. 70, no. 18 (it is not certain it may be assigned to Dacia).

<sup>386</sup> C. Ghadban, Bulletin d'archéologie et d'architecture libanaises, 2, 1997, p. 206–223 (*non vidi*) = AÉ 1998, 1435 = CEpR XIX–XX 878 (C. C. Petolescu); Richier, *Centuriones ad Rhenum*, p. 289–291, no. 231.

<sup>387</sup> CIL III 13606 = IGLS VI 2955.

<sup>388</sup> CIL III 222 = IGR III 884 = SEG 37, 1987, 1343.

<sup>389</sup> CIL III 14214<sup>10</sup> = Conrad, *Grabstelen*, p. 197, no. 265.

<sup>390</sup> C. C. Petolescu, in I. Căndeia, V. Sârbu, M. Neagu (eds.), *Prinos lui Petre Diaconu la 80 de ani*, Brăila, 2004, p. 237–246, especially p. 239–240; see also Conrad, *Grabstelen*, p. 207, no. 301.

<sup>391</sup> CIL III 12117 = ILS 1036.

<sup>392</sup> AÉ 1895, 100.

<sup>393</sup> CIL VI 3631.



*L. Solicius Aurelianus, (centurio) leg(ionis) V Mac(edonicae) et leg(ionis) p(rimae) Minerviae p(iae) fidelis*, from an inscription at Forum Iulii (Fréjus, Gallia Narbonensis)<sup>394</sup>. The inscription could date by the beginning of the 2<sup>nd</sup> C when the two legions were stationed in Moesia Inferior during the Dacian war.

*Q. Trebellius Q. f. Fab(ia tribu) Maximus Roma [e]x trecenario [(centurio) le]g(ionis) V Mac(edonicae)*<sup>395</sup>; the mention *ex trecenario* makes reference to the three centurionates he effected with Rome's units, of which the last is mentioned: *[(centurio)? coh(ortis)] IIII praet(oriae)*. After completing such duties, *Trebellius Maximus*, coming probably from former components of praetorian cohorts (*evocatus*) given his origin, was sent to legion V Macedonica among *primi ordines*, becoming (*centurio*) *I h(astatus) p(osterior)*. The inscription was discovered at Tomis<sup>396</sup>. It is very possible that as officer of the first legion cohort, was sent with duties with the province governor, residing possibly in this city.

*T. Trebius Fronto*, inscription placed by *principales legionis* from the vexillation at Tyras; it preserves only the name of *Iulius Valens, signifer*<sup>397</sup>.

*[... M]aximus [(centurio) leg(ionis) V Mac]edonicae [quae est in Moesia infe]rior <e=I> [...q]uae est [...]III*; extremely fragmentary inscription from Rome renders the career of a centurion and among other, the period when he was active in legion V Macedonica in Moesia Inferior<sup>398</sup>.

*M. Ulpius Cl(audia) Magnus Sav(aria) (centurio) leg(ionis) V Mac(edonicae)*, this centurion is dedicated a tombstone at Neapolis in Palaestina by other two centurions *Fl(avius) Moderatus* and *Iul(ius) Ingenu(u)s*, without specifying if it was still legion V Macedonica, but we believe that was the case<sup>399</sup>. The centurion came from Savaria in Pannonia Superior. Most likely, the centurion died during one of the eastern campaigns, most likely Hadrian's Jewish war.

*L. Valerius Fuscus*<sup>400</sup>, legion centurion, erected an altar to Invincible Mithras. It was discovered almost certainly at Troesmis and brought to Iași in the interwar period. N. Gostar believed the altar must have come from Barboși<sup>401</sup>.

*C. Valerius Paternus, (centurio) leg(ionis) V M(acedonicae)*, placed a dedication to an unknown *Genius* in Mauretania Tingitana, at Banasa<sup>402</sup>.

*[C.?Vale]rius Pu[den]s* appears on an inscription dating from the beginning of the 2<sup>nd</sup> C<sup>403</sup>. See complete discussion *supra* with centurion *...filius Cla[udia (tribu)]Decimus*, whose heir this individual was.

*[...] Ferox (vide supra discussion on the career of T. Calestrius Tiro, legion legate under Trajan)*<sup>404</sup>.

<sup>394</sup> CIL XII 264 (p. 808) = ILN I 22; Richier, *Centuriones ad Rhenum*, p. 298–299, no. 240: “Le centurion a donc servi dans la 1<sup>ère</sup> légion *Minervia* entre le début du principat de Nerva et la fin de celui d’Antonin”.

<sup>395</sup> CIL III 7534 = ILS 4063 = Em. Doruțiu-Boilă, SCIV 13, 1962, 2, p. 415–419 = ISM II 140.

<sup>396</sup> C. C. Petolescu, in Y. Le Bohec (ed.), *La hiérarchie (Rangordnung) de l’armée romaine sous le Haut-Empire. Actes du Congrès de Lyon (15–18 septembre 1994)*, Paris, 1995, p. 245–248; see also J. C. Mann, ZPE 52, 1983, p. 136–140.

<sup>397</sup> P. Nicorescu, AARMSI III, 19, 1937, p. 219, no. 1; T. Sarnowski, ArchWarszawa 38, 1988, p. 72, no. 10.

<sup>398</sup> CIL VI 31736.

<sup>399</sup> AÉ 1927, 146.

<sup>400</sup> ISM V 221 = CIMRM II, p. 360, no. 2286.

<sup>401</sup> N. Gostar, Danubius 1, 1967, p. 113, note 39.

<sup>402</sup> AÉ 1946, 51.

<sup>403</sup> CIL III 6193 (frg. a, b, c) + CIL III 6187 (frg. d) = ISM V 201.

<sup>404</sup> CIL III 8048; C. C. Petolescu, in Al. Avram, M. Babeș, *Civilisation grecque et cultures antiques périphériques. Hommage à Petre Alexandrescu à son 70<sup>e</sup> anniversaire*, Bucharest, 2000, p. 339–341.

*Ignotus*, centurion of legions II Traiana fortis, X Fretensis, I Italica and V Macedonica, appears on a tombstone from Troesmis, while he was centurion in the latter<sup>405</sup>.

### *Milites legionis*

For the period when the legion was stationed at Troesmis, a document of priceless value<sup>406</sup>, namely the list of soldiers who joined the army in 108–109 (*veterani qui militare coeperunt Annio et Atilio cos et Palma et Tullo cos*)<sup>407</sup> and who were released in 134 under governor *Sex. Iulius Maior*<sup>408</sup> and legion legate, *Plotius Iulianus* (*vide supra*), has survived. This document records approximately 300 soldiers, of which 230 discharged veterans and approximately 70 *reliqui veterani*, most likely *missicii*. Compared to other preserved lists, like the one at Viminacium mentioning the names of soldiers released in 195 from legion VII Claudia<sup>409</sup>, this list does not include the veterans' origin. The veterans are listed upon cohorts, beginning with the first cohort at the top of the list on the main side followed by the other three cohorts on the same side and veterans names from cohorts V–X on the left side. The right side lists the last veterans of cohort X whose names did not fit on the left side. For lack of indication on their origin, only an analysis of onomastics may lead to the establishment, with duly precaution, of recruitment areas of choice. 34 *Iulii* are recorded, with various *cognomina*, 23 *Valerii*, seven *Flavii* and five *Claudii*, also other names too. Noticeably, *Ulpii* are missing, fact explained by the overall remark that until Hadrian, *peregrini* raised in legions did not assume the name of reigning emperor<sup>410</sup>. Additionally, other *nomina* are listed, like *Aufidius*, *Baebius*, *Antistius*, *Calpurnius*, *Cassius*, *Cornelius* and another, rare, like *Aconteius*, *Atisius*, *Atalius*, *Cabellius*, *Caesonius*, *Grattius* or *Ferraninus*. The vast majority of the preserved *cognomina* are of Latin origin, except for *Alexander*, *Eleuther* and *Philippus*, which are of Greek origin. Here is the soldiers list below:

#### *Principales and immunes*

*Sempronius Valens, ex architecto cohortis I* (col. I, l. 1); *Iulius Proculus, ex immuni* (col. I, l. 5); [*V*]alerius Valens, *ex imaginifero cohortis I* (col. I, l. 20), *Attius Alexander, ex optione cohortis I* (col. I, l. 24); *Antonius Silvanus, ex corniculario cohortis I* (col. I, l. 31); *P. Atal(i)us, ex beneficiario cohortis II* (col. II, l. 24); *P. Maius Severus, ex corniculario cohortis IIII* (col. III, l. 29); [...]*us Valens, ex beneficiario procuratoris* (col. IV, l. 5); [*C*]rispus, *ex beneficiario legati* (col. IV, l. 6); [...]*us, ex beneficiario* (col. IV, l. 14); [...]*s, ex actario* (col. IV, l. 21); [...]*ter, ex beneficiario* (col. IV, l. 24); *INTIM, ex beneficiario procuratoris* (col. IV, l. 26); [...]*us, ex signifero* (col. IV, l. 29); *Antonius R(...), ex optione* (col. V, l. 3); *Iulius Geme[...], ex beneficiario legati* (col. V, l. 4); *Flavius Ei[...], ex beneficiario legati (cohortis VIII)* (col. VI, l. 28); [*]* *at. Philippus, ex beneficiario* (col. VII, l. 20); [...]*alis optio retentus ad spem* (col. VIII, l. 1); [...], *ex aquilifero* (col. VIII, l. 2); *Aquila, ex bucinatore* (col. VIII, l. 4); [...]*nd ex imaginifero* (col. VIII, l. 3); *Geta b(eneficiarius ?)* (col. VIII, l. 17); [...]*e ex immuni* (col. VIII, l. 19); [...]*us, ex beneficiario* (col. VIII, l. 30); [...] *ex*

<sup>405</sup> CIL III 6192 = ISM V 202: ... *Traian(ae), leg(ionis) I Ital(icae), leg(ionis) / Fret(ensis), leg(ionis) V Mac(edonicae)... / vixit ann(is) LIII. Petronia /...fil(ia) et her(es) f. c.*

<sup>406</sup> ISM V 137.

<sup>407</sup> Degrassi, *Fasti consolari*, p. 32–33.

<sup>408</sup> PIR<sup>2</sup> I 397; Stein, *Legaten*, p. 67; Fitz, *Laufbahn*, p. 46; Thomasson, *Laterculi*, col. 133, no. 77; Thomasson, *Laterculi*<sup>2</sup>, p. 49, no. 20:077.

<sup>409</sup> CIL III 14507 = IMS II 53 = IDRE II 308. D. Benea, *Din istoria militară a Moesiei Superior și a Daciei. Legiunea a VII-a Claudia și legiunea a IIII-a Flavia*, Cluj-Napoca, 1983, p. 77–78.

<sup>410</sup> Em. Doruțiu-Boilă, ISM V, p. 169.

*beneficiario legati* (col. VIII, l. 31); [...] *us ex beneficiario procuratoris* (col. VIII, l. 34); *Claudius Secundus exac[to]* (col. IX, l. 18); *Flavius Valens, ex beneficiario legati* (col. IX., l. 20).

#### *Equites*

*Iulius Severus, ex equite* (col. II, l. 30); *Valerius Rufus, ex equite cohortis III* (col. III, l. 18); *Valerius Valens ex[equite?] cohortis III* (col. III, l. 19); *Gellius Germanus, ex equite cohortis III* (col. III, l. 28); [*Sa*]turninus, *ex equite* (col. IV, l. 8); [...]s, *ex equite* (col. IV, l. 16); [...] *ex equite* (col. VIII, l. 21); [...] *ex equite* (col. VIII, l. 27); *Calpurnius ex e[q(uite)]* (col. IX, l. 12)

#### *Milites*

Column I, **Cohors I**: *Pescenius I[...]; Flavius Antoninus; Valerius Valens; Vibius Priscus; Antistius Vetus; Iulius IMV ?; [...]tenius; Lupus; [S]abinus; Iulius Longinus; P..Me. aas ?; Valerius Proculus; Tiberius Capito; Pomponius Maximus; Caesonius Niger; Iulius Valens; Iulius Valens; Septimius Celer; Fonteius Capito; Claudius Maximus;*

Column II: *Valerius Firmus; Cassius Longinus; Claudius Maximus Memius Valens (sic!); Valerius Ianuarius; Cassius Valens; Iulius Maximus; Valens; M. Pontianus; Cohors II: Sosius Longinus; Fera. Longinus; Cornelius Bassus; Valerius Victor; Valerius Longinus; Iulius Macrinus; Memmius Capito; Naevius Pudens; Iulius Roscius; Valerius Maximus; Pomp. IV ?; Cassius Longinus; Valerius Libo Egnatius Valens;*

Column III: *Barbius Cant[aber?-rius?]; Cohors III: Lucilius Pu[dens?]; Iulius Licinianus; Valerius Vale[...]; Helvius Cant[aber?-rius?]; Domitius Do[...]; Iulius Fi[...]; C(a)enius ///; Nem(onius?-isius?) Valens; Valerius Maximus; Baebius Severus; Sempronius Rufus; Iulius Valens; Cohors IIII: Iulius Aquila; Cassius Germanus; Pel/// Valens; Claudius Crispus; Verus Bassus; /// Leonti(anus); Velleius Capito; Aufonius Valen(tinus?);*

Column IV, **Cohors [V?]**: [*L*]ong[inus]; [*Secu*]ndus; Alexander; [*Phili*]ppus; [*Sec*]undus; ///nus; ///s; Valens; ///Vale[ns]; Saturninus; [*S*]aturninus; ///GNLL; Varianus; ///us; ///ONT;

Column V: *Pro...; nia.o; Licinius....s; Valerius Mo[destus?]; Flavius Cael...er; Iulius;*

Column VI: *Truccius Secundus; Atistius Valens; Iulius Valens; Sulpicius Valentinus; Iulius Balens (sic!); Iulius Severus; Iulius Longinus; Iulius Genianus; Cohors VIII: Iulius...; Valerius Longinus; Flavius Pont[icus?]; Valerius Ism...; Iulius Vibianus; P. Ancoteius...; Antonius...; Antonius...; Statorius No[...]; Aemilius...; Servilius; A. Vege[...]; ValeriusMar[...]; T. Flavius Un... s; Petronius; Valerius... s; Flavius... r; Bu ... l; P ... s;*

Column VII: *Aponius Moe[sicus]; Valerius Ma///; Papirius Mes///; Valerius Fronto; Iulius Alexander; Valerius Maximus; Iulius Severus; Avii...; Iulius Iub...; Mele/s; M(a)eonius Va///; Severus Am///; ///Leonatus; Iulius Valens Valentinus; Iulius Candidus; Iulius Nobilis; D... Geminus; Reliq(ui) v(eterani): Antonius Eleuther; Grattius Italicus; Valerius Priscus; Aufidius Iulianus; Antonius Geminus; Antonius Pro...; Aemilius Geminus; Valerius Severus; Iulius Sabinus; Iulius Proculus; Catonius Secundus; Iulius Longinus; Iulius Vitulus; T. Flavius Magnus; Cohors X: Lucretius Statutus; Valerius Fronto; Flavius Valens; Messius Valens; Publicius Tertius;*

Column VIII: *Pavius; ///s Pudens; /// on //////; /// Rufus; /// us Valens; Fronto; ///nq Valens; /// genus; /// nus //; /// Gemel;*

Column IX: *Cassius Vi///; Terentius Gir///; Iulius Ponticus; Caesius; Cabellius L///; Iulius Sap....; Antonius Crispus; Antonius Proculus; Iulius Germanus; Valerius Pollio; Marcius Silvanus; Valerius Clemens; Numitorius Severus; Valerius Aternus; Nonius Satu[rninus]; L. Valerius Maximus; Claudius Me...; Decimus; Sex. Bell///; Ruf///; Sext///; /// Mussianus.*

### 3.6. Principales

#### 3.6.1. Beneficarii

*Iulius Longinus, b(ene)ff(iciarius) co(n)s(ularis) ex leg(ione) V Macedon(ica)*, placed at Skelani, in Dalmatia a dedication to *Mars Augustus*<sup>411</sup>. E. Schallmayer (CGLBI) dates the inscription in the 3rd C. Still, in the same spot were also discovered inscriptions of *beneficarii* from Moesia Inferior legions, hence the inscription dates most likely from the period it stationed in this province. We should not forget that the list of veterans discharged at Troesmis in 134 records no less than three *Iulii Longini* (ISM V 137).

...*LO...*, *b(ene)ff(iciarius) co(n)s(ularis)[leg(ionis) V] Maced(onicae)*, set up an altar to an unknown god still at Skelani, in Dalmatia similarly to the previous *beneficiarius*<sup>412</sup>. It also belongs to the period when the legion was on Moesia Inferior territory. See also other inscriptions recording *beneficarii* of legions I Italica and XI Claudia detached at Skelani<sup>413</sup>. Other *beneficarii* from Moesia Inferior army appeared on the territory of Dalmatia, for instance at Stolac<sup>414</sup>.

*M. Sufena M. f. Pal(atina tribu) Titianus miles, leg(ionis) V Mac(edonicae) b.f. cos*, from a tombstone placed for this *beneficiarius*, aged 25, by his parents, discovered at Tomis. He was recruited at 18<sup>415</sup>. The lack of formula *Dis Manibus* and the presence of *hic situs est* make me assume an early date, possibly even pre-Trajanic, when the legion was at Oescus. The name of *Sufena* is Italic, in fact of Etruscan origin. Given that the parents are those erecting the tombstone, it is possible that the entire family moved to this area.

*C. Valerius Secundus, b(ene)ff(iciarius) co(n)s(ularis) leg(ionis) V Mac(edonicae)*, appears on a tombstone from Amasia, province of Pontus et Bithynia, where he died after 25 years of service, while still on active duty<sup>416</sup>. It is possible, alike the case of the *alumnus* who died still at Amasia (*vide supra*), that this *beneficiarius* had died during one of the Eastern campaigns into which the legion took part.

*P. Valerius Pacatus, mil(es) leg(ionis) V Mac(edonicae), b.f. cos., duplicarius*, within a tombstone from Tomis<sup>417</sup>. It is likely that *Pacatus* had been sent on temporary or rather permanent mission due to his military rank in the city of Tomis.

#### 3.6.2. Frumentarii

*M. Flavius Caecilius Telesphorianus, f(r)um(entarius) leg(ionis) V Macedonic(ae)*, placed a tombstone to his wife *Ulpia Prisca* at Lambaesis, in Numidia<sup>418</sup>.

*T. Flavius Pap(iria tribu) Valerianus, Oesco, mil(es) fr(umentarius) leg(ionis) V Mac(edonicae)*; this individual appears on a tombstone at Rome after having served 8 years and

<sup>411</sup> AÉ 1910, 214 = ILJug III 1032 = CGLBI 455: "Die Bezeichnung *ex legione* in Z. 3 betont die Abkommandierung des Beneficiarius aus seiner Stammeinheit auf die statio in Lješće, zumal die Legio V Macedonica eine der weitesten entfernten Truppen war, die regelmäßig Militärpersonal nach Dalmatien abstelle".

<sup>412</sup> ILJug I 81 = CGLB 471: "Die Namen der Gottheit und des Beneficiarius sind nicht erhalten. Der Soldat war aus der Legio V Macedonica aus Niedermoesien bzw. Dakien nach Dalmatien abkommandiert".

<sup>413</sup> ILJug III 1524 = CGLBI 472; CIL III 14219<sup>4</sup> = CGLBI 473; ILJug III 1522 = CGLBI 475.

<sup>414</sup> CGLBI 487.

<sup>415</sup> D. Tudor, *Materiale* 2, 1956, p. 581, no. 49 = AÉ 1957, 191 = ISM II 192 = CGLBI 620: "Titianus stammte aus einer italischen Familie, die sich in Tomis niedergelassen hatte".

<sup>416</sup> D. H. French, in *Deuxième Congrès International d'histoire de la côte de la Mer Noire 1<sup>er</sup>-3 Juin 1988*, Samsun, 1990, p. 555-561 = AÉ 1992, 1670.

<sup>417</sup> CIL III 7550 = ISM II 193 = CGLBI 618: "Pacatus war aus seinem Rang als *beneficiarius consularis* Gehaltsstufe eines *duplicarius* aufgestiegen".

<sup>418</sup> CIL VIII 2867 (p. 1740).



lived 28. The tombstone is set up by his heir *L. Sallustius Alexander*<sup>419</sup>. He had been part of *numerus frumentariorum* quartered at Rome.

### 3.6.3. *Actarius*

*Cornelius Vitalis, actarius*, appears on an inscription from Tyras dated during 117–118, under the command of centurion *M. Ennius Illadianus* (*vide supra*)<sup>420</sup>.

### 3.6.4. *Optiones*

*C. Iulius Saturninus, domo Oesci ex optione vet(eranus) leg(ionis) V Mac(edonicae)*, within an inscription from Troesmis<sup>421</sup>. He was enrolled at Oescus, probably during the legion stationing there. The inscription may therefore date under Trajan-Hadrian. Several *Saturnini* are entered in the list of soldiers released in 134<sup>422</sup>.

### 3.6.5. *Signiferi*

*L. Iu[lius M]axi[mus] sig(nifer) vet(eranus) leg(ionis) V M[ac(edonicae)]*, mentioned in a bilingual inscription, in Greek and Latin, at Kureller<sup>423</sup>, in the province of Pontus et Bithynia. Most likely, the veteran was a native of the area, returning home after the completion of his military service.

*Iulius Valens, signifer*, is one of the *principales legionis* from the vexillation at Tyras, placing an inscription to centurion *T. Trebius Fronto*, commander of this vexillation<sup>424</sup>.

*Ulpus Latinus, ex sig(nifero) vet(eranus) leg(ionis) V Mac(edonicae)*, from a tombstone discovered at Histria, but which undoubtedly comes from the city territory<sup>425</sup>. The inscription was set up by his wife, *Aufidia Avita*, whose tombstone placed while still alive was discovered still at Histria<sup>426</sup>.

## 3.7. *Immunes*

### 3.7.1. *Stratores*

*L. Petronius Herculanus, strator leg(ati) leg(ionis) V Mac(edonicae)*, appears on a tombstone from Amasia (from where other legion members were also raised) where he retired after 28 years of service<sup>427</sup>. Although the inscription includes no firm dating elements, we may presume by analogy with the tombstone found at Tropaeum Traiani recording a legion centurion native of this locality (*vide supra*), that *Herculanus* had served in the legion stationed at Troesmis<sup>428</sup>.

<sup>419</sup> CIL VI 3342.

<sup>420</sup> P. Nicorescu, AARMSI III, 19, 1937, p. 219–220, no. 2; T. Sarnowski, ArchWarszawa 38, 1988, p. 72, no. 9 = AÉ 1990, 869. On this rank see Domaszewski, RO<sup>2</sup>, p. 38–39.

<sup>421</sup> CIL III 6190 = ISM V 188 = Ferjančić, *Settlement of Legionary Veterans*, p. 300, no. 436.

<sup>422</sup> ISM V 137.

<sup>423</sup> AÉ 1914, 135. M. P. Speidel, ANRW VII/2, 1980, p. 734, no. 31, dates his career in the Claudian-Neronian period.

<sup>424</sup> P. Nicorescu, AARMSI III, 19, 1937, p. 219, no. 1; T. Sarnowski, ArchWarszawa 38, 1988, p. 72, no. 10.

<sup>425</sup> V. Pârvan, Dacia 2, 1925, p. 233, no. 24 = ISM I 276 = Ferjančić, *Settlement of Legionary Veterans*, p. 303, no. 453.

<sup>426</sup> ISM I 277.

<sup>427</sup> D. H. French, in *Deuxième Congrès International d'histoire de la côte de la Mer Noire 1<sup>er</sup>–3 Juin 1988* (AÉ 1991, 1461), Samsun, 1990, p. 559, no. 3 = AÉ 1991, 1474. On *strator legati legionis*, inferior to *strator consularis* (served with governor's office), Domaszewski, RO<sup>2</sup>, p. 39; A. Passerini, *Legio*, DE IV, Rome, 1949–1950, p. 591.

<sup>428</sup> CIL III 14214<sup>10</sup> = Conrad, *Grabstelen*, p. 197, no. 265.



### 3.7.2. *Valetudinarius*

*Marcus Valerius, valetudinarius*, places together with other legion members an inscription at Tyras around 117–118 to centurion *M. Ennius Illadianus (vide supra)*<sup>429</sup>.

### 3.8. *Eques*

*Iulius Iamblicus, eques*, appears beside other legion members as part of the vexillation detached at Tyras under the command of centurion *M. Ennius Illadianus (vide supra)*<sup>430</sup>. The *cognomen* could indicate an origin from the Syria province<sup>431</sup>.

### 3.9. *Milites gregarii*

*Iulius Ponticus militavit in leg(ione) V Mac(edonica), natus Amastri*, dies at Troesmis while still on active duty, the tombstone being placed by his brothers, of whom one was also *miles legionis eiusdem*<sup>432</sup>. The soldier was recruited at 18 years of age and dies at 32 years after 14 years of military service.

*C. Pu[bli]cius Niger, [mil(es)] leg(ionis) V Mac(edonicae)*, erects the freedwoman and wife, coming from Bithynia a tombstone at Troesmis<sup>433</sup>. He might also have been a Bithynia native, being recruited during one of the eastern expedition into which the legion participated.

*(P.) Scribonius (Collina tribu) Celer, miles legionis V Macedonicae*, son of veteran *P. Scribonius P. f. Col(lina tribu) Varus* from Ephesus, placed together with his mother *Arrelia Celerina*, a funerary stela discovered at Oescus<sup>434</sup>, in memory of his father. Based on internal characters, the presence of formulas *dis manibus* and *hic situs est*, the inscription may date by the beginning of the 2nd C, hence we may suppose that the soldier continued to serve also after the moment when the legion was transferred to Troesmis.

*Sentius Ponticus mil(es) leg(ionis) V Mac(edonicae)*, places together with another brother, of same name, but already veteran, a tombstone to a certain *Iulius Ponticus*, soldier in the same legion and Amastris native<sup>435</sup>.

*L. Valerius L. f. Proclus, miles*, appears on a tombstone discovered in Butovo-Nedan (Pavlikeni), in the Roman necropolis NV village Nedan, rendering his complete career, which began at Oescus as *miles legionis V Macedonicae* and continued afterwards in the same legion as *beneficiarius legati, optio ad spem ordinis* and *centurio legionis eiusdem*, decorated with the occasion of the Dacian war of Domitian or Trajan. He pursued the centurionate with legions I Italica and XI Claudia, from Moesia Inferior, only to serve subsequently in Britannia legions, XX Valeria Victrix and IX Hispana<sup>436</sup>.

<sup>429</sup> P. Nicorescu, AARMSI III, 19, 1937, p. 219–220, no. 2; T. Sarnowski, ArchWarszawa 38, 1988, p. 72, no. 9 = AÉ 1990, 869. On this rank see A. Passerini, *Legio*, DE IV, Rome, 1949–1950, p. 608.

<sup>430</sup> P. Nicorescu, AARMSI III, 19, 1937, p. 219–220, no. 2; T. Sarnowski, ArchWarszawa 38, 1988, p. 72, no. 9.

<sup>431</sup> Dan Dana, personal comment.

<sup>432</sup> Gr. Tocilescu, AEM 6, 1882, p. 41, no. 84; CIL III 7502 = ISM V 186 = Ferjančić, *Settlement of Legionary Veterans*, p. 301, no. 439 = Conrad, *Grabstelen*, p. 186, no. 228 (MNA L 299).

<sup>433</sup> Gr. Tocilescu, AEM 6, 1882, p. 45, no. 91; CIL III 7503 = Em. Doruțiu-Boilă, SCIV 13, 1962, p. 139 = ISM V 192.

<sup>434</sup> AÉ 1912, 189 = ILB 58 (“s. II ineuntis”) = Ferjančić, *Settlement of Legionary Veterans*, p. 295, no. 407 = Conrad, *Grabstelen*, p. 242–243, no. 436 (“um 100”).

<sup>435</sup> CIL III 7502 = ISM V 186 = Ferjančić, *Settlement of Legionary Veterans*, p. 301, no. 439 = Conrad, *Grabstelen*, p. 186, no. 228.

<sup>436</sup> CIL III 12411 = ILS 2666b = IPD<sup>4</sup> 771 = ILB 432 = CGLBI 648 = Mrozewicz, *Legioniści*, p. 169–170, no. 123 = Ferjančić, *Settlement of Legionary Veterans*, p. 303, no. 455.

L. *Valerius Vale(n)s, mil(es) leg(ionis) (V Macedonicae)*, places together with *Valerius Rusticus* a tombstone at Transmarisca (Tutrakan) to their brother L. *Memmius Aquila*, veteran of same legion<sup>437</sup>. The list of discharged soldiers of 134 records *Valerii Valentes* (ISM V 137). Also, a *Valerius Valens*, active soldier in the legion dies in the Parthian expedition of L. Verus (*vide infra*).

*Val(erius) Val(ens) miles l(egionis) VM(acedonicae) defu(n)ct(us) in exped(itione) Part(hica)*, from a tombstone at Troesmis<sup>438</sup>, set up by his father, *Iulius Dizace*, bearer of a Thracian origin name<sup>439</sup>. The soldier participated in the Parthian expedition of L. Verus from 162–166.

[...] *tius Valens, miles legionis* appears on an fragmentary inscription from Chersonesus in Crimea, set up in the memory of his brother<sup>440</sup>. The inscription dates from the first half of the 2nd C, when the legion of Troesmis supervised also the north of the Black Sea.

C. *Veturius Verus, miles legionis V Macedonicae*, died while still on active duty at Sacidava (Muzait), the southernmost record on the legion while stationed at Troesmis (*vide supra*)<sup>441</sup>. Also, it would be possible that the presence of this funerary stela in south Dobrudja is connected to the possible origin of the soldier, given that his father is the one erecting the funerary stela. Such extended action range of the legion would not be excluded, but the presence near Sacidava of the fortress at Durostorum is not supportive. Rather, the soldier came from Sacidava, his father being evidently a veteran of one of the legions in Moesia Inferior, settled here after discharge. In fact, the *nomen* indicates an Italian origin for the father<sup>442</sup>. S. Conrad dated this funerary stela based on stylistic criteria immediately after the half of the 2nd C.

Beside the soldiers recorded within the list of 134, another nine soldiers are attested. Among, except for those mentioned at Troesmis, appear at Oescus, Transmarisca, Chersonesus or Sacidava. Noteworthy are the soldiers of eastern origin, like the one from Amastris or the one coming from Ephesus.

### 3.10. *Veterani*

P. *Ael[ius] Abi[...], vet[eranus] le[g(ionis) V Mac(edonicae)]*, on a fragmentary inscription from Troesmis<sup>443</sup>. He might have been of peregrine condition and received the citizenship under Hadrian once he joined the legion or he might have been the descendant of an auxilia component, who was granted Roman citizenship under Hadrian.

C. *Antistius [Fabia?] [A]ncyra Vale[ns vet(eranus)] leg(ionis) V Mac(edonicae)*, on a tombstone from Troesmis, placed by his wife and son<sup>444</sup>. The son *Anstistius Zoticus* would be

<sup>437</sup> V. Velkov, in *Studia protobulgarica et mediaevalia europensia. V cest na profesor Veselin Beşevliev*, Veliko Tărnovo, 1992, p. 137–140 = Conrad, *Grabstelen*, p. 209, no. 307.

<sup>438</sup> CIL III 6189 = ISM V 185.

<sup>439</sup> D. Detschew, *Die thrakischen Sprachreste*<sup>2</sup>, Vienna, 1976, p. 133–134.

<sup>440</sup> IOSPE I<sup>2</sup> 549 = Solomonik, *Latinskie nadpisi*, p. 49–50, no. 21.

<sup>441</sup> C. Scorpan, *Pontica* 10, 1977, p. 160–162, no. 1; idem, in *Epigraphica. Travaux dédiés au VII<sup>e</sup> Congrès d'épigraphie grecque et latine (Constantza 9–15 septembre 1977)*, Bucharest, 1977, p. 203–207, no. 1 = AĖ 1977, 748 = Conrad, *Grabstelen*, p. 202, no. 283: *D. M. / C. Veturilo Vero / mil(iti) leg(ionis) / V Mac(edonicae) / vix(it) ann(is) / XIX men(sibus) VIII / di(ebus) XXIII / mil(itavit) an[no I vel nis II vel III] / C. Vet[ur]rius[is] f[ab]ia[rum] lio [...]*.

<sup>442</sup> The *nomen* no longer appears at Capidava, ISM V 34 and 56, 35 and Troesmis where *Tib. Veturius Tib. f. Aemilia Mauretanus, praefectus castrorum legionis V Macedonicae*, was a Fundi native, Latium.

<sup>443</sup> CIL III 7499 = Em. Doruțiu-Boilă, *SCIV* 13, 1962, p. 136, no. 17 = ISM V 172 = Ferjančić, *Settlement of Legionary Veterans*, p. 300, no. 437.

<sup>444</sup> CIL III 6184 = ISM V 174 = Ferjančić, *Settlement of Legionary Veterans*, p. 300, no. 432; V. H. Baumann, *Ferma romană în Dobrogea*, Tulcea, 1983, p. 59–60, no. 6. 1. See also M. P. Speidel, *ANRW* VII/2, 1980, p. 742 (= *Roman Army Studies I*, Amsterdam, 1984, p. 59).

also buried at Troesmis, where his tombstone was discovered<sup>445</sup>. The veteran came from *colonia Fabia Ancyra* in Galatia, alike *T. Flavius Alexander* (*infra*).

*M. [Ant]onius Valens, vet(eranus) leg(ionis) V Mac(edonicae)*, retired at Abrittus (Razgrad) after discharge and died there at 60 years of age. The inscription seems to date from the second half of the 2nd C<sup>446</sup>.

*Braetius Favor(inus?) vet(eranus) leg(ionis) V Mac(edonicae)*, on an inscription discovered in *regio Histriae*, in the *vicus Quintionis*, which may date under Antoninus Pius or Marcus Aurelius, when most inscriptions recording *veterani* of this village date<sup>447</sup>.

*T. Clau(dius)Ti. filius Quirina (tribu) Priscus, Hemesa, ex c(ustode) a(rmorum)*, on a tombstone from Troesmis raised by *conveterani qui et heredes*. He served 26 years and died after two from when he was discharged<sup>448</sup>. He was recruited at 22 from Hemesa, Syria, on the occasion of the legion involvement in Trajan's Parthian expedition or to the suppression of the Jewish uprising under Hadrian<sup>449</sup>. G. Forni frames the inscription in the period Vespasian – Trajan<sup>450</sup>, while S. Conrad "nach 106, sehr wahrscheinlich noch 1. Viertel des 2. Jh."<sup>451</sup>.

*[Ti]b. (Claudius?) Vitales ex [b.f.] vet(eranus) leg(ionis) V Mac(edonicae) [sa]cerd(os) q(ue) provin[c(iae)]*, appears on a tombstone from Troesmis<sup>452</sup>. Since the dedication is in the Nominative and the mention *hic situs est* is displayed by the end, we believe it may date very early, during the first years after the legion was brought at Troesmis. After the completion of the military service, he became *sacerdos provinciae*, chief of the imperial cult from Moesia Inferior (see also, ISM V 151), except the western Pontic Greek cities, which were differently organised in what the imperial cult is concerned.

*L. Cominius Val(ens) as magister*, places a dedication to Antoninus Pius and Caesar M. Aurelius Verus, together with veteran *P. Valerius Clemens, magister*, as well<sup>453</sup>.

*L. Domitius Valens, veteranus legionis V Macedonicae*, appears on a tombstone discovered at Salonae, in the province of Dalmatia<sup>454</sup>. The inscription was dated by the end of the 2nd C, but earlier dating, under Marcus Aurelius is not excluded. Therefore, this veteran might have served in this legion also when it was still at Troesmis. In the same place was also found the funerary stela of a legion member; however *nomen Aurelius* clearly points too much later dating<sup>455</sup>.

*[C.] Errennius Maxim[us], veteranus leg(ionis) V Macedonicae*, in a bilingual inscription at Syedra, Cilicia, where after discharge he became *sacerdos Caesaris*, in the same city. The veteran was most likely recruited on the occasion of one of the eastern campaigns into which the legion participated<sup>456</sup>, but the inscription could be much earlier, possibly even from the 1st C.

<sup>445</sup> CIL III 6207 = ISM V 175.

<sup>446</sup> T. Ivanov, S. Stojanov, *Abritus. Geschichte und Archäologie*, Razgrad, 1985, 45 = R. Ivanov, in *Studia in memoriam mag. prof. G. Mihailov*. Thracia Antiqua 10, Sofia, 1999, p. 264–265 = Conrad, *Grabstelen*, p. 223, no. 358.

<sup>447</sup> CIL III 7524 = ISM I 336 = Ferjančić, *Settlement of Legionary Veterans*, p. 303, no. 454; Bărbulescu, *Viața rurală*, p. 139–142.

<sup>448</sup> Gr. Tocilescu, AEM 6, 1882, p. 40, no. 82; CIL III 7500 = ISM V 178 = Ferjančić, *Settlement of Legionary Veterans*, p. 301, no. 438 (MNA L 528).

<sup>449</sup> Ritterling, RE XII, 1925, col. 1578.

<sup>450</sup> Forni, *Reclutamento*, p. 224.

<sup>451</sup> Conrad, *Grabstelen*, p. 185, no. 225.

<sup>452</sup> Gr. Tocilescu, AEM 6, 1882, p. 45, no. 92; CIL III 7506 = ISM V 194 = Ferjančić, *Settlement of Legionary Veterans*, p. 299–300, no. 431.

<sup>453</sup> CIL III 6162 = ISM V 156 = Ferjančić, *Settlement of Legionary Veterans*, p. 299, no. 429.

<sup>454</sup> ILJug 2089 = Ferjančić, *Settlement of Legionary Veterans*, p. 270, no. 240.

<sup>455</sup> CIL III 13907 = Ferjančić, *Settlement of Legionary Veterans*, p. 270, no. 241.

<sup>456</sup> G. E. Bean, T. B. Mitford, *Anatolian Studies* 12, 1962, p. 192 = AÉ 1963, 3: *[C.] Errenio Maxim[o] / veterano leg(ionis) V / Macedonicae, [s]acerdoti Ca[els]aris, civitas [Sy]led[r]en[s]ium h. f.* See also M. P. Speidel, ANRW VIII/2, 1980, p. 734, no. 37, who dates his career in the Flavian-Trajanic period.

*T. Flavius Alexander vet(eranus) leg(ionis) V Mac(edonicae) domo Fab(ia) Ancyr(a) q(uin) q(uennalis) canaben(sium)*, on another inscription from Troesmis under governor *Q. Fuficius Cornutus* (151–154)<sup>457</sup> and legion legate *Q. Caecilius Redditus*<sup>458</sup>. The veteran was a native of *colonia Fabia Ancyra* in Galatia.

*L. Firmus L. f. Valentinus*, native from Narbo, appears on a tombstone discovered at Oescus. Although the legion name is not mentioned, we can presume it was legion V Macedonica, given the veteran origin and the inscription date by the beginning of the 2nd C<sup>459</sup>.

*T. Flavius T. f. Terentin(a) tribu) Valens Amast(ri), vet(eranus) leg(ionis) V Mac(edonicae)*, in a tombstone from Troesmis<sup>460</sup>. The veteran came from Amastris, Bithynia. The inscription dates from the first half of the 2nd C.

*L. Licinius domo Ni[copoli?] Cleme(n)s vet(eranus) leg(ionis) V Ma[c(edonicae) q. q. c] anab(ensium) et dec(urio) Troesm(ensium)*, inscription recording parallel existence of two administrative units at Troesmis<sup>461</sup>. The inscription dates under legion legate *Aelius Optatus* and governor *L. Statilius Iulius Severus* between 158/159–160<sup>462</sup>.

*C. Iulius C. f. Col(lina) tribu) Cel[e]r veter(anus) leg(ionis) V Mac(edonicae)*, in an inscription from Oescus, dated by the beginning of the 2nd C<sup>463</sup>. Among his heirs counts a certain *C. Iulius Crescens*, centurion of legion I Italica stationed at Novae.

*C. Iulius Melcidianus, vet(eranus),[e]x b.f. cos leg(ionis)[V] Mac(edonicae)*, appears on a tombstone from Drobeta that may be dated also before the legion transfer to Dacia<sup>464</sup>.

*C. Iulius Valens, magister vici Vergobrittiani?*, in an inscription discovered at Cius<sup>465</sup>. Until recently, it was believed that the vicus name comes from the Celtic *vergobretus / vercobretus* = leader<sup>466</sup>, however the inscription was reviewed and it was concluded that we are dealing with a nonexistent toponym<sup>467</sup>. No less than five *Iulii Valentes* appear in the list of the soldiers discharged in 134 (ISM V 137). Also, still at Cius is mentioned a *Iulius Valens, veteranus ex ala, ex singularibus*<sup>468</sup>. Maria Bărbulescu considered him a descendant of the veteran from respective ala, most likely, *II Hispanorum et Aravacorum*<sup>469</sup>.

*T. Iulius Valens vet(eranus) leg(ionis) V Maced(onicae) m(ilitavit) an(nos) XXVI eq(ues)*, in an inscription from Etruria, at Tarquinii (Regio VII)<sup>470</sup>. One of the few *equites legionis* we know.

<sup>457</sup> PIR<sup>2</sup> C 71; J. Fitz, *Laufbahn*, p. 16–17; R. Syme, *Danubian Papers*, Bucharest, 1971, p. 217.

<sup>458</sup> R. Vulpe, SCIV 4, 1953, 3–4, p. 557–562 = S. Lambrino, *RévÉtRoum* 2, 1954, p. 96–101 = AÉ 1957, 266 = ISM V 155 = Ferjančić, *Settlement of Legionary Veterans*, p. 299, no. 427. See also M. P. Speidel, ANRW VII/2, 1980, p. 742.

<sup>459</sup> CIL III 14417 = Ferjančić, *Settlement of Legionary Veterans*, p. 295–296, no. 411.

<sup>460</sup> Gr. Tocilescu, AEM 6, 1884, p. 40, no. 83; CIL III 7501 = ISM V 184 = Ferjančić, *Settlement of Legionary Veterans*, p. 300, no. 433 = Conrad, *Grabstelen*, p. 185, no. 226 (“Die Grabstele selbst ist nach Form und Paläographie nicht vor der Mitte des 2. Jh. zu datieren”). See also M. P. Speidel, ANRW VII/2, 1980, p. 742.

<sup>461</sup> R. Vulpe, SCIV 4, 1953, 3–4, p. 562–568, no. 2 = AÉ 1960, 337 = Ferjančić, *Settlement of Legionary Veterans*, p. 299, no. 428.

<sup>462</sup> Stein, *Legaten*, p. 75–76; Fitz, *Laufbahn*, p. 17–19; PIR<sup>2</sup> I no. 570, 575, 588; Thomasson, *Laterculi*<sup>2</sup>, p. 51, no. 20:089.

<sup>463</sup> CIL III 7428 = ILB 56 = Mrozewicz, *Legioniści*, 55 = Ferjančić, *Settlement of Legionary Veterans*, p. 295, no. 406 = Conrad, *Grabstelen*, p. 249–248, no. 463.

<sup>464</sup> CIL III 14216<sup>6</sup> = IDR II 41; Bărbulescu, *Legiunea V Macedonica*, p. 72, no. 12.

<sup>465</sup> CIL III 12479 = ISM V 115 = Ferjančić, *Settlement of Legionary Veterans*, p. 304, no. 464; Bărbulescu, *Viața rurală*, p. 181.

<sup>466</sup> Caesar, *BG* I, 16,5: *Lisco, qui summo magistratui praeerat, quem vergobretum appellant Haedui, qui creatur annuus et vitae necique in suos habet potestatem.*

<sup>467</sup> Fl. Matei-Popescu, A. Falileyev, *Tyragetia* 16, 2007, 1, p. 323–326.

<sup>468</sup> CIL III 7495 = ISM V 121.

<sup>469</sup> Fl. Matei-Popescu, SCIVA 52–53, 2001–2002 (2004), p. 189–191, no. 9.

<sup>470</sup> CIL XI 3369; Todisco, *Veterani*, p. 88–89, no. 54.



The list of the discharged soldiers from 134 records nine *ex equitibus*, of whose names only six preserved<sup>471</sup>. The inscription is difficult to date, but it could refer to the period when the legion stationed at Troesmis.

*L. Memmius Aquila, veteranus legionis V Macedonicae*, in an inscription placed by his brothers, of whom one *L. Valerius Vale(n)s* is *mil(es) leg(ione) eadem (vide supra)* and *Valerius Rusticus*. The veteran lived 52 years and retired to Transmarisca (Tutrakan), where the inscription was found<sup>472</sup>.

*M. Octavius [Pal(atina tribu)] D[omi]tius, Nicom(edia), vet(eranus) [l]eg(ionis) V Mac(edonicae)*, places a tombstone to his brother *M. Octavius Firmi f. Pal(atina tribu) Aper, Nicom(edia), medicus* and his mother. The inscription was discovered at Pliska, but it could come from Oescus. It may be dated by mid 2nd C<sup>473</sup>.

*Sentiuss Ponticus, veteranus (legionis V Macedonicae)*, places together with his namesake brother an inscription in the memory of their brother, *Iulius Ponticus, miles legionis V Macedonicae* at Troesmis<sup>474</sup>.

*P. Valerius Cleme(n)s*, as *magister*, makes a dedication to Antoninus Pius and the Cesar *M. Aurelius Verus*<sup>475</sup>.

*[C.] Valerius Firmus, veteranus leg(ionis) V Mac(edonicae) ex [custode] a(rmorum)?, domo Nicia*, on a tombstone from Troesmis<sup>476</sup>. The veteran's city of origin was Nicaea in Bithynia (Em. Doruțiu-Boilă). He was recruited following one of legion's eastern movements, under Trajan or under Hadrian. The reading concerning his duty within the legion is not definite. A. Opaïț proposed *ex imm(uni)*. Indeed, the published pictures in ISM V and Peuce 6 clearly show only the oblique right hasta, which may come from both an *M* and an *A*. A *Valerius Firmus* appears on the second column of the veterans list discharged in 134 (ISM V 137). The inscription may date in the second half of the 2nd C.

*C. Valerius Longinus, veteranus legionis V Macedonicae*, in a dedication to *Deum Magna Mater* discovered at Utus (Gauren)<sup>477</sup>. The inscription could date from the first quarter of the 2nd C. The veteran might have served also at Oescus and then at Troemis. After discharge he returned close to Oescus.

*C. Valerius Longinus, veteranus ex beneficiario*, appears in a tombstone discovered during archaeological diggings in the fortress at Halmyris<sup>478</sup>. He may be different from the namesake individual in the inscription from Utus, given that this inscription dates from post-Trajanic period.

*C. Valerius Pudens, veteranus le(gionis) V Mac(edonicae)* recorded by an inscription from Troesmis as *magister canabensium*<sup>479</sup>, in a yearly dedication placed to *Iupiter Optimus Maximus* for the health of the Emperor. It dates under Hadrian.

<sup>471</sup> ISM V 137. See also AÉ 1982, 847 and AÉ 1990, 869 (Tyras), where other *equites legionis* appear.

<sup>472</sup> V. Velkov, in *Studia protobulgarica et mediaevalia europensia. V cest na profesor Veselin Beşevliev*, Veliko Tărnovo, 1992, p. 137–140 = Conrad, *Grabstelen*, p. 209, no. 307: "Das Denkmal ist von V. Velkov aufgrund epigraphisch-historischer Anhaltspunkte in die Mitte des 2. Jh. datiert worden."

<sup>473</sup> AÉ 1935, 70 (D. Dečev, *Izvestija Sofia* 8, 1934, 70, no. 2) = Ferjančić, *Settlement of Legionary Veterans*, p. 295, no. 408 = Conrad, *Grabstelen*, p. 211–212, no. 316.

<sup>474</sup> CIL III 7502 = ISM V 186 = Ferjančić, *Settlement of Legionary Veterans*, p. 301, no. 439 = Conrad, *Grabstelen*, p. 186, no. 228.

<sup>475</sup> CIL III 6162 = ISM V 156.

<sup>476</sup> ISM V 196 = AÉ 1980, 821 = Ferjančić, *Settlement of Legionary Veterans*, p. 300, no. 435. The initial editing of the tombstone is due to A. Opaïț, *Peuce* 6, 1977, p. 181–185 (p. 184, pl. I). The study of A. Opaïț is not referenced by Em. Doruțiu-Boilă, who argues in ISM V that the inscription was unpublished.

<sup>477</sup> AÉ 1935, 74 = ILB 128 = Mrozewicz, *Legioniści*, 121 = Ferjančić, *Settlement of Legionary Veterans*, p. 295, no. 409.

<sup>478</sup> M. Zahariade, *Dacia, N. S.* 34, 1990, p. 262–263, no. 5 = AÉ 1991, 1386.

<sup>479</sup> CIL III 6166 = ILS 2474 = ISM V 154 = Ferjančić, *Settlement of Legionary Veterans*, p. 298, no. 426.



*C. Valerius Victorinus, veteranus legionis V Macedonicae ex b.f. trib(uni)* appears on a tombstone from Drobeta (Dacia Superior)<sup>480</sup>, which might also date prior the legion transfer to Dacia.

*[T. Val(erius)] T.f. Pol(l)ia (tribu) Marci[anus] cas(tris) vet(eranus) leg(ionis) V Mac(edonicae) ex [b.f. c]os.*, on one of the most interesting inscriptions from Troesmis<sup>481</sup>. The inscription was dated little after 170, when the legion was moved at Potaissa, in Dacia<sup>482</sup>. *Staius Priscus*, consul in 159, took by the end of 162 the command of the war in Armenia, achieving exceptional victories and being named concurrently governor of Cappadocia. The end of his career is unknown and it was supposed that he lost his life during the campaign<sup>483</sup>. *C. Iulius Verus* followed at the lead of the Eastern expedition, possibly after *Staius Priscus* died, as governor of a province or as *comes Augusti*. *Martius Verus* lived together with his legion to take part in L. Verus's campaign.

*[...]us Rufus, v[et(eranus)] leg V Mac.*, in a tombstone from Tomis<sup>484</sup>. The *cognomen Rufus* appears three times in the list of the discharged soldiers in 134 (ISM V 137).

*[Iulius ?] Vitales, [miles vel veteranus legionis V] Macedonicae* appears on a tombstone discovered at Constanța. The inscription was raised by *C. Iulius Festus, frater et heres*<sup>485</sup>. Obviously the inscription dates from the first half of the 2nd C.

*C. Vibius Sabinus, veteranus l(egionis) V Ma(cedonicae)* appears on a tombstone from Noricum, at Poljana<sup>486</sup>. Unfortunately, it cannot be dated accurately hence it may also date from the time when the legion was stationed in Dacia. However his name and possible eastern origin may suggest a date in the first half of the 2nd C.

*Ignotus, ex equite veteranus legionis V [Macedonicae]* appears on a fragmentary tombstone discovered at Tomis<sup>487</sup>. According to his son *nomen, Flavius*, it was supposed that the inscription may date by the end of the 1st C, although the first half of the 2nd C is not excluded.

*Ignotus, vet(eranus) leg(ionis) V [Mac(edonicae) do]mo Ulp(ia) [Oesci?]*, as recorded on a tombstone from Troesmis<sup>488</sup>. Most likely, the veteran was an Oescus native.

*Ignotus, [vet(eranus)? leg(ionis)] V Mac(edonicae)*, as appears on a tombstone discovered at *Ibida* (Slava Rusă)<sup>489</sup>. The name of his wife is *Cocceia Dorina* and the names of the two children *Antonia Crispina* and *Alexander*.

*Ignotus*, father of *C. Arrius Quintianus bis duumviralis et augur municipii Troesmensium, veterani filius*, is mentioned as such on the his son and spouse, *Claudia Servata* tombstone set up at Tomis by *Arrius Quintianus*, their son and *Arrius Ianuarius*, freedman<sup>490</sup>. Given this name

<sup>480</sup> IDR II 39. On *beneficiarius tribuni* see Domaszewski, RO<sup>2</sup>, p. 40.

<sup>481</sup> Gr. Tocilescu, AEM 6, 1882, p. 41–42, no. 86; CIL III 7505 = ILS 2311 = ISM V 160 = Ferjančić, *Settlement of Legionary Veterans*, p. 299, no. 430; Em. Doruțiu-Boilă, Dacia, N. S. 36, 1992, p. 25.

<sup>482</sup> Discharged while governor of Dacia was *Sex. Cornelius Sex. f. Pal. Clemens*, between 170–?172, Piso, *FastiDaciae*, p. 103–105, no. 22, in 170, after consular date.

<sup>483</sup> RE III A, 1929, col. 2218–2221, no. 18; Pflaum, *Carrières*, no. 136, p. 322.

<sup>484</sup> CIL III 14454 = ISM II 226 = Ferjančić, *Settlement of Legionary Veterans*, p. 301, no. 444.

<sup>485</sup> M. Bărbulescu-Munteanu, A. Rădulescu, Pontica 14, 1981, p. 165–167, no. 3 (p. 166, fig. 3). The inscription was not included in ISM II.

<sup>486</sup> CIL III 5130 = ILLPRON 1834.

<sup>487</sup> M. Bărbulescu-Munteanu, A. Rădulescu, Pontica 14, 1981, p. 167–169, no. 4 (p. 168, fig. 4); AÉ 1982, 847 = Ferjančić, *Settlement of Legionary Veterans*, p. 301, no. 445.

<sup>488</sup> CIL III 7507 = ISM V 203 = Ferjančić, *Settlement of Legionary Veterans*, p. 300, no. 434.

<sup>489</sup> Gr. Tocilescu, *Fouilles et recherches archéologiques en Roumanie*, Bucharest, 1900, p. 208, no. 34. = CIL III 14433 = Em. Doruțiu-Boilă, SCIV 15, 1964, p. 132, no. 6 = ISM V 227 = Conrad, *Grabstelen*, p. 188, no. 235: “Die unregelmäßigen Buchstabenformen sprechen für eine etwas spätere Entstehung, Ende des 2. Jh./Anfang des 3. Jh.”.

<sup>490</sup> CIL III 7560 = ISM II 244 = Ferjančić, *Settlement of Legionary Veterans*, p. 302, no. 448: *C. Arrius Quintianus bisduumviralis et augur mun(icipii) / Troesmens(ium) vet(erani) filius et Claudia Servata uxor se vivi[s] mel moriam sibi fecerunt curan[tibus] Ariis Qu[i]ntiano filio et Ianuario lib[er]to.*

passed from father to son, we can assume that the veteran would have borne the same name. Considering his son accomplished municipal career at Troesmis, he had definitely served in legion V Macedonica. The inscription dates evidently by the end of the 2nd C.

*Incertus, C. Egnatius C. f. Fabia Valens, Ancyra, veteranus [legionis V Macedonicae], decurio municipii Troesmensium*<sup>491</sup>. Unfortunately we cannot be sure that this was legion V Macedonica. Yet, his eastern origin favours such hypothesis.

Thirty-five legion veterans are recorded in the period when the legion was stationed at Troesmis. Among, are attested two *ex custodibus armorum*, four *ex beneficiariis consularis*, one *ex beneficiario tribuni (laticlavii)* and two *ex equitibus*. Noteworthy are the former soldiers of eastern origin from Amastris, Fabia Ancyra, Nicaea and Nicomedia. The situation of the former veteran, a Nicopolis native, is not very clear as many cities were named as such, including in Moesia Inferior. In addition, recruitment from the area of the colony at Oescus continues, which indicates that the veterans settled there encouraged their offspring to join the legions, especially in the legion where they had served themselves. Further involvement of the veterans in the civil life of the province is also very interesting. Two *quinquennales canabensium* are recorded, of whom one later became *decurio Troesmensium*. Another veteran is attested only *decurio Troesmensium*. Additionally, very likely after the legion was moved to Dacia, the son of a former legion veteran is named twice *duumvir* of the municipium at Troesmis and *augur*. Another veteran is attested only as *magister canabensium*. Other three veterans are recorded *magistri* of certain civil settlements. No legion veteran is attested in any of the Greek cities of the province, unless the two legion members of unknown rank were in fact veterans retired at Tomis. The most important office held by a legion veteran was that of *sacerdos provinciae*, sometime immediately after legion V Macedonica was transferred from Troesmis, as seems to indicate the inscription internal analysis.

### 3.11. Unknown ranks

*C. Auf(idius?) Sen(eca)...leg(ionis) V [Mac(edonicae)]*, in an inscription from Tomis. The office which this individual held with legion V Macedonica is for now, unknown<sup>492</sup>. Since the inscription is placed for his spouse *Pompeia Sabina* and himself, he might be a veteran settled together with his family at Tomis. *Nomina* of the characters and the use of the Nominative, instead of the Dative, make me date the inscription precisely by the beginning of the 2nd C.

*Sex. Catonius Terminalis* appears in an inscription discovered at Tomis<sup>493</sup>. Unfortunately, we cannot know if respective individual was active soldier (possibly even centurion) or a veteran. The cognomen *Terminalis* is of Italic origin, and together with the use of the Nominative instead of the Dative, compels me to date this inscription in the first half of the 2nd C.

<sup>491</sup> CIL III 6188 = ISM V 183; M. P. Speidel, ANRW VII/2, 1980, p. 742 (= *Roman Army Studies I*, Amsterdam, 1984, p. 59).

<sup>492</sup> N. Gostar, StCl 5, 1963, p. 305 = AÉ 1963, 181 = ISM II 458.

<sup>493</sup> D. Tudor, Materiale 2, 1956, p. 595, no. 74 = ISM II 466 = Conrad, *Grabstelen*, p. 205, no. 295: "Stelenform und-typus unterstützen einen Datierungsansatz in die 2. Hälfte des 2. Jh."

#### 4. WITHDRAWAL OF THE LEGION FROM DACIA AND ITS QUARTERING AT OESCUS

Within the context of serious unrest under Gallienus, Dacia was lost, as literary sources report<sup>494</sup>. Emperor Aurelian could do nothing except for observing this situation and move the two Dacian legions to the limes of Moesia, now the south-danubian limes of Dacia. Thus, legion XIII Gemina was placed at Ratiaria<sup>495</sup> while legion V Macedonica was moved to Oescus<sup>496</sup>, where it had stationed also in the 1st C.

The last inscriptions recording the legion on the territory of Dacia date from the joint reign of Valerianus and Gallienus. In 256–258 seems to date an inscription placed at Potaissa by the legion prefect, a certain *Donatus* in the honour of *Deus Azizus*<sup>497</sup>. Still under Gallienus appears at Potaissa another *praefectus legionis*, *Optatus*<sup>498</sup>. During the reign of same emperor dates the presence of certain vexillations composed from Dacian legions at Poetovio (Pannonia Superior)<sup>499</sup>, important hub on the way to northern Italy<sup>500</sup>.

At Oescus, the legion is recorded by a series of tile stamps exhibiting *L V M OESC* and literary sources<sup>501</sup>. Legion stamps also appeared north the Danube, being of several types according to the garrison which accommodated different detachments along the Danube<sup>502</sup>. From *Notitia Dignitatum* we learn that one of the prefects of legion V Macedonica was quartered at Sucidava<sup>503</sup>. From the same period seems to date an extremely fragmentary inscription in Greek from Sibioara (near Tomis), which refers to a member of legion V Macedonica *bis fortis* from *colonia Oescus* ([...]λεγεῶνος πέμπτης Μακεδονικῆς δυανδρικῆς κολωνείας Οἴσκου...)<sup>504</sup>. Unfortunately, since the inscription is extremely fragmentary, one cannot make suppositions on its character, however I agree that it could date from later period, after the legion was displaced at Oescus by emperor Aurelianus.

#### 5. STAMPS OF V MACEDONICA LEGION WHILE STATIONED IN MOESIA INFERIOR

Following finds in the fortress from Troesmis, it can be established that while it was stationed on the territory of Moesia Inferior, especially the period when it was quartered at Troesmis, five stamp types were used, of which the first has two graphic versions<sup>505</sup>.

<sup>494</sup> Vl. Iliescu, SCIV 22, 3, 1971, p. 425–442; A. Aricescu, SCIV 24, 1973, p. 485–491; C. C. Petolescu, *Thraco-Dacica* 5, 1–2, 1984, p. 187–193; idem, *Lumea Veche* 1–2, 1998, p. 63–78; D. Ruscu, *Provincia Dacia în istoriografia antică*, Cluj-Napoca, 2003, p. 162–233.

<sup>495</sup> V. Moga, *Din istoria militară a Daciei romane. Legiunea XIII Gemina*, Cluj-Napoca, 1985, p. 30–31.

<sup>496</sup> Bărbulescu, *Legiunea V Macedonica*, p. 32–33.

<sup>497</sup> CIL III 875; Bărbulescu, *Legiunea V Macedonica*, p. 64–65.

<sup>498</sup> CIL III 892; Bărbulescu, *Legiunea V Macedonica*, p. 65.

<sup>499</sup> IDRE II 267–270.

<sup>500</sup> Ruscu, *op. cit.*, p. 212.

<sup>501</sup> *It. Ant.* 220, 5; *ND, Or.*, XLII, 33.

<sup>502</sup> D. Benea, *ActaMN* 15, 1978, p. 235–244.

<sup>503</sup> *ND, Or.*, XLII, 39: *Praefectus legionis quintae Macedonicae, Sucidava*.

<sup>504</sup> G. G. Mateescu, *BCMI* 8, 1915, p. 36–40 = *ISM* II 442.

<sup>505</sup> *ISM* V 215. See also C. Chiriac, O. Bounegru, *Peuce* 4, 1973–1975, p. 97–99, no. 1–11 and pl. I–II, no. 1–11.

1.	<i>LEG VMAC</i>	1A.	<i>MA</i> in ligature and smaller <i>C</i> , right up <i>M</i>
		1B.	<i>MA</i> in ligature and <i>C</i> and <i>M</i> similarly sized <sup>506</sup>
2.	<i>LE VMAC</i> , <i>A</i> middle score is split and linked only to right hasta		
3.	<i>LEG VM</i>		
4.	<i>LEG VMC</i>		
5.	<i>L VM</i>		

The stamps on two tiles discovered at Izvoarele, ancient Sucidava differ from types 1A and B discovered at Troesmis. Both are of *LE VMAC* type, without any ligature, while *A*'s middle score is split and linked only to right hasta<sup>507</sup>. This tile material does not prove that legion's *V Macedonica* surveillance area extended south, being most likely a simple transport of material. Also the type of the Tyras stamp is different<sup>508</sup>.

<sup>506</sup> Emerges also at Noviodunum (ISM V 284); Barboși (ISM V 305); Capidava (Gr. Florescu, Materiale 6, 1959, p. 624, fig. 3–4 = ISM V 54); Arrubium (ISM V 254); Horia (V. H. Baumann, Peuce 4, 1973–1975, p. 72–73 and pl. VIII; V. H. Baumann, *Ferma romană în Dobrogea*, Tulcea, 1983, p. 117, fig. 49; p. 175–177, no. 1–42); Orlovka (Em. Doruțiu-Boilă, SCIV 23, 1972, 1, p. 54).

<sup>507</sup> M. Irimia, Pontica 18, 1985, p. 151–153, no. 4–5.

<sup>508</sup> P. Nicorescu, Ephemeris Daco-Romana 2, 1924, p. 413, no. 73; Em. Doruțiu-Boilă, SCIVA 41, 1990, 3–4, p. 264–265.

## II

### LEGIO I ITALICA

#### 1. LEGION ESTABLISHMENT AND HISTORY PRIOR DISPLACEMENT ON THE TERRITORY OF MOESIA

According to the historical tradition, legion I Italica was founded by Emperor Nero. Suetonius (*Nero*, 19, 3) reports that: “*parabat et ad Caspiae portas expeditionem conscripta ex Italicis senum pedum tironibus* (approximately 1.77 m) *nova legione, quam Magni Alexandri phalangem appellabat*”<sup>509</sup>. The expedition must have occurred in 68, as the legion already existed in 67<sup>510</sup>. Cassius Dio also indicates that Nero founded the legion and that it was stationed in Moesia Inferior during his reign (LV, 24, 2): συνέταξεν ὁ Νέρων τὸ πρῶτον τὸ καὶ Ἰταλικὸν ὀνομαζόμενον καὶ ἐν τῇ κάτω Μυσίᾳ χειμάζον<sup>511</sup>. An inscription discovered at Novae, transported to Bucharest (MNA L 146) during the 19th C, may convey the founding date of the legion: September 20th (*dedic(atum) XII kal(endis) Oct(obribus)*)<sup>512</sup>. The legion symbol was the wild boar, which appears on various coin issues and also on an epigraphic monument found at Novae<sup>513</sup>. Latest research proved that the legion must have been actually founded in 66, prior Nero’s departure in the Pan-Hellenic expedition<sup>514</sup>. Most likely, the legion did not leave for the scheduled expedition following the turmoil of 68 in Gaul and in the Rhine limes region. By the beginning of 69, the legion was at Lugdunum together with its legate, *Manlius*

<sup>509</sup> For the standard height of recruits see tradition recorded by Vegetius, I, 5, 1: *Proceritatem tironum ad incomam scio semper exactam, ita ut VI pedum vel certe V et X unciarum inter alares equites vel in primis legionum cohortibus probarentur.*

<sup>510</sup> Ritterling, RE XII, 1925, col. 1408; M. Heil, *Die orientalische Außenpolitik des Kaisers Nero*, Quellen und Forschungen zur Antike Welt. Band 26, Munich, 1997, p. 159.

<sup>511</sup> Beuchel, *I Italica*, p. 8–9.

<sup>512</sup> CIL III 6224 = CIL III 7591 = Beuchel, *I Italica*, p. 104, no 40 = ILS 2295 = ILB 282 (MNA L 146); Ritterling, RE XII, 1925, col. 1408: “..., so dass als Gründungstag mit sonst seltener Genauigkeit und Bestimmtheit der 20. September des J. 67 bezeichnet werden kann”. For Beuchel previous view see, *I Italica*, p. 19, suggesting either 66 or 67: “Ergo legio I Italica aut a. d. XII Kal. Oct. anni 66 aut a. d. XII Kal. Oct. anni 67 constituta est”. The altar is dedicated to the *dii militares*, see A. von Domaszewski, *Aufsätze zur römischen Heeresgeschichte*, Darmstadt, 1972, p. 81–82, quoting and discussing two examples from Aquincum, CIL III 3472; 3473 and p. 99–100.

<sup>513</sup> CIL III 6230; Ritterling, RE XII, 1925, col. 1408 (on coin finds).

<sup>514</sup> G. E. F. Chilver, *A Historical Commentary on Tacitus’ Histories I and II*, Oxford, 1979, p. 9–10; J. Kolendo, in *Studia in honorem B. Gerov*, Sofia, 1990, p. 128–133; M. Absil, in Le Bohec, *Les légions de Rome*, p. 227. See also L. Keppie, in *Legions and Veterans. Roman Army Papers 1971–2000*, Mavors 12, Stuttgart, 2000, p. 190.



*Valens*<sup>515</sup>. It would take part in the battle from Bedriacum<sup>516</sup>, supporting Vitellius, and would be among the four legions that entered Rome beside the emperor, although Tacitus does not name it expressly within his accounts<sup>517</sup>. Subsequently, it is part of the expeditionary force sent by Vitellius north Italy under the command of *A. Caecina Alienus*, following the emergence of Flavian forces in the area<sup>518</sup>. Next, it would be involved, besides other legions, in the battle at Cremona<sup>519</sup> and would count among defeated legion contingents sent to Illyricum<sup>520</sup>. It is very likely that this was the moment when the legion was dispatched to Moesia<sup>521</sup>, where it would be quartered in the fortress at Novae, prior headquarters of VIII Augusta legion. *C. Fonteius Agrippa*, governor of Moesia would face a destructive attack of the Sarmatians in the winter of 69/70, following which he died<sup>522</sup>. *Rubrius Gallus* is sent immediately to the Moesian front<sup>523</sup> and after a few battles, he succeeded to push the invaders back past the Danube.

It is possible that among the first generation of recruits counted also *C. Albius C.f. Cam(ilia) Severus, miles legionis Italicae*, without number specification, whose tombstone was discovered at Augusta Bagiennorum in Liguria (Regio IX)<sup>524</sup>.

The tribunate of *L. Antonius M. f. Fabia Naso*, mentioned as *tribunus militum angusticlavius legionis I Italicae* on an inscription found at Heliopolis, in the province of Syria<sup>525</sup> may date in the first years of the legion. Such tribunate was only one of the multiple commands he held under Vespasian, becoming even procurator in Bithynia, as an inscription discovered at Prusa accounts<sup>526</sup>.

<sup>515</sup> Tacitus, *Hist.* I, 59, 4: *et Iunius Blaesus Lugdunensis Galliae rector cum Italica legione et ala Tauriana Lugduni tendentibus*; 64, 4: *Sed legio Italica et ala Tauriana abductae; ... Manlius Valens legatus Italicae legionis, quamquam bene departibus meritis, nullo apud Vitellium honore fuit: secretum eum criminationibus infamaverat Fabius (Valens) ignarum est, quo incautior deciperetur, palam laudatum*; Beuchel, *I Italica*, p. 34; Ritterling, RE XII, 1925, col. 1409; Chilver, *op. cit.*, p. 11–12; 121–122; 126; Franke, *Legionslegaten*, p. 19–20, no. 11: “Während des Bürgerkrieges befehligte er die von Nero neu aufgestellte Legio I Italica, die Anfang des Jahres 69 n. Chr. in Lugdunum in Garnison lag und sich dem Vitellius unter Mitwirkung ihres Legionslegaten anschloss”; Birley, *Roman Government of Britain*, p. 236.

<sup>516</sup> Tacitus, *Hist.* II, 41: *Dum legiones de ordine agminis sortiuntur, equites prorupere; et mirum dictu, a paucioribus Othonianis quo minus in vallum inpingeretur, Italicae legionis virtute deteritti sunt: ea strictis mucronibus redire pulsos et pugnam resumere coegit*; Chilvert, *Commentary*, p. 205.

<sup>517</sup> Tacitus, *Hist.* II, 89, 5: *Quattuor legionum aquilae per frontem totidemque circa e legionibus aliis vexilla,...*; Chilver, *Commentary*, p. 251, legions I Italica, V Alaudae, XXI Rapax, XXII Primigenia. See also Beuchel, *I Italica*, p. 34.

<sup>518</sup> Tacitus, *Hist.* II, 100, 1: *Caecina e complexu Vitellii multo cum honore digressus partem equitum ad occupandam Cremonam praemisit. mox vexilla primae, quartae, quintaedecimae, sextaedecimae legionum, dein quinta et duoetvicensima secutae; postremo agmine unaetvicensima Rapax et prima Italica incessere cum vexillariis trium Britannicarum legionum et electis auxiliis*; Saxer, *Vexillationen*, p. 15, no. 19: “Diese Heerschau gibt zugleich eine umfassende Übersicht über die vitellianische Streitmacht”; Alföldy, *Legionslegaten*, p. 8, no. 14, former legate of legion IV Macedonica at Mogontiacum.

<sup>519</sup> Tacitus, *Hist.* III, 22, 3: *Rapaces atque Italici omnibus se manipulis miscuerant...*; see complete chapter on Vitellian troops involved in the battle, except legions I Italica and XXI Rapax; Beuchel, *I Italica*, p. 35; Saxer, *Vexillationen*, p. 15–16, no. 20.

<sup>520</sup> Tacitus, *Hist.* III, 35, 2: *et victae legiones, ne manente adhuc civili bello ambigue agerent, per Illyricum dispersae*; Beuchel, *I Italica*, p. 36: “In Gallia igitur transalpina legio tendebat minus unum annum: inde a mense Aprili vel Maio anni 68 usque ad mensem Februarium vel Martium anni sequentis”.

<sup>521</sup> Tacitus, *Hist.* III, 46, 7: *Fonteius Agrippa ex Asia (pro consule eam provinciam annuo tenuerat) Moesiae praepositus est, additis copiis e Vitelliano exercitu, quem spargi per provincias et externo bello inligari pars consilii pacisque erat.*

<sup>522</sup> Flavius Josephus, *BJ* VII, 4, 3; Ritterling, RE XII, 1925, col. 1410; Vulpe, DID II, p. 60–61.

<sup>523</sup> Vulpe, DID II, p. 61.

<sup>524</sup> CIL V 7667 = InscrIt IX 1, 47; Forni, *Reclutamento*, p. 170.

<sup>525</sup> ILS 9199 = IGLS VI 2781.

<sup>526</sup> CIL III 6693 = ILS 253. On his career see PIR<sup>2</sup> A, no. 854; Pflaum, *Carrières*, p. 86–87, no. 36; Dobson, *Primipilares*, p. 203, no. 75; PME, A 139; T. Sarnowski, in *Prosopographica*, p. 63–80, no. 1; Richier, *Centuriones ad Rhenum*, p. 182–185, no. 47.

## 2. I ITALICA LEGION AT NOVAE

As mentioned above, the fortress at Novae<sup>527</sup> had been occupied starting with ca. 45 by VIII Augusta legion<sup>528</sup>, which together with legions III Gallica and VII Claudia pia fidelis participated under the command of governor *Aponius Saturninus* in the north-Italian expedition that ensured the success of the Flavian party in the civil war<sup>529</sup>. Legion VIII Augusta never returned to Moesia, being transferred to Gaul and quartered in the fortress at Mirebeau, close to the city of Dijon (Germania Superior). Vespasian rewarded part of its veterans by founding the colony at Deultum in Thracia<sup>530</sup>.

While it is unfortunately difficult to establish a limited chronology of epigraphic documents found at Novae unless they refer to individuals and already known events, the following inscriptions may reference individuals from legion I Italica, serving in the pre-Trajanic period. Thus, in this period may date the votive inscription placed by an *aquilifer legionis, C. Tullius C. f. Col(lina) Apollinaris*, a native of Scythopolis (Beth Sean)<sup>531</sup>. Recently, its text was reviewed and it seems that he was in fact a *primus pilus legionis*<sup>532</sup>. This second reading is most likely accurate and hence, the name of a *primus pilus* of legion I Italica from the Flavian period emerged. Furthermore, soldier's *C. Valerius C. f. Fab(ia) Longinus* tombstone, a native of Heraclea (Heraclea Sintica, whose citizens belonged to tribe *Fabia*), under the command of centurion *Vasselus Marcellus* and having as heir *P. Valerius Germanus, commanipularis* could date from the Flavian period<sup>533</sup>. Although dated by the beginning of the 2nd C, the votive inscription placed by *C. Iulius Maximus, praefectus castrorum* may date from the 1st C<sup>534</sup>. In the the 2nd C dates the stela of veteran *C. Bruttius C. f. Cla(udia) Goutus* from Virunum (Noricum), who lived 80 years and served in legion I Italica, most likely under Vespasian<sup>535</sup>. Though deceased presumably under Trajan, *P. Pompeius P. f. Aem(ilia)* from Stobi, Macedonia, had been recruited under Vespasian or Domitian, his

- <sup>527</sup> T. Sarnowski, ArchWarszawa 58, 2007, 15–22, on the literary and epigraphic attestations of the site's name.
- <sup>528</sup> ILB 300. On legion activity by Lower Danube see M. Mirković, in P. Dyczek (ed.), *Acta of the International Conference Wjyno, Poland, 18–22 November 1995*, Novensia 10, Warsaw, 1998, p. 89–98. On circumstances leading to the transformation of Thracia in Roman province and the inclusion of the so-called *ripa Thraciae* in the province of Moesia and the important role that Novae and legion VIII Augusta would play in the new events see L. Mrozewicz, Eos 87, 2000, p. 306–307. Moreover, the administrative reforms in the Balkans are more profound, as same author shows based on information from Suetonius, *Claudius*, 25, 3, according to which Achaia and Macedonia were returned to the Senate, Moesia becoming an autonomous consular province (*Achaiam et Macedoniam, quas Tiberius ad curam suam transtulerat, senatui reddidit*; Tacitus, *Ann.*, I, 80, 1: *Prorogatur Poppaeo Sabino provincia Moesia additis Achaia ac Macedonia*).
- <sup>529</sup> Suetonius, *Otho*, 9; *Vitellius*, 15; *Vespasianus*, 6; Tacitus, *Hist.*, I, 76; II, 46–85; III, 21–27. See Saxer, *Vexillationen*, p. 18–19, no. 29–30.
- <sup>530</sup> Plinius, *NH*, IV, 45; CIL VI 3828 = 31692; M. Reddé, in Le Bohec, *Les légions de Rome*, p. 122.
- <sup>531</sup> AÉ 1937, 97 = Gerov, *Romanizmät*, I, p. 70–71, no. 5 = ILB 293: *Lunae sac(rum) / C. Tullius C. f. / Col(lina) Apollina/ris Scythop(oli) p(rovincia) P(alaestina) / aquil(ifer) leg(ionis) I Ital(icae) d(onum) d(edit)*.
- <sup>532</sup> J. Kolendo, in *Studia in honorem G. Mihailov*, Sofia, 1995, p. 279–283 = AÉ 1995, 1335: *Scythopoli primus pilus Aquilae legionis donum dedit*.
- <sup>533</sup> CIL III 7441 = ILB 301 = Mrozewicz, *Legioniści*, p. 167–168, no. 119; p. 169, no. 122; p. 175, no. 129 (Novae). Limestone funerary stela found in the Turkish village at Svištov, today lost.
- <sup>534</sup> AÉ 1932, 53 = Gerov, *Romanizmät*, I, p. 71, no. 10 = CIMRM II, p. 357, no. 2271 = ILB 290 (ara calcaria supra mutila, reperta in via Tărgovska oppidi Svišto a. 1927) = Mrozewicz, *Legioniści*, p. 126–127, no. 59.
- <sup>535</sup> AÉ 1939, 121 = Gerov, *Romanizmät*, I, p. 75, no. 26 = ILB 307 = IGLN 79 = Mrozewicz, *Legioniści*, p. 87, no. 22 = Ferjančić, *Settlement of Legionary Veterans*, p. 296, no. 414 = Conrad, *Grabstelen*, p. 235, no. 404; fragmentary funerary stela, lacking the upper part; inscription in *tabula ansata*. On the recruiting moment see Furni, *Reclutamento*, p. 182.

tombstone being discovered in the Roman cemetery at Butovo-Nedan<sup>536</sup>. Under Nero or latest by the beginning of Vespasian's reign *Q. Falcius? Q. f. Ani(ensi) Constans, veteranus legionis I Italicae*, a native of Ariminum (Regio VIII), was also recruited. His tombstone was discovered at Oescus<sup>537</sup>. During the civil war, when as mentioned above, the legion was stationed in Gallia Narbonensis, dates the enrolment of *M. Licinius M. f. Voltinia Optatus* coming from Lucus Augusti Vocontiorum (Gallia Narbonensis), who would be colonised at Scupi, where his tombstone was found<sup>538</sup>. In addition, at Scupi was identified the tombstone of an unidentified person, belonging to the *Aniensis* tribe, native of Forum Iulii, *mil(es) leg(ionis) I Italic(ae)*, of only 18 of age, active in the centuria of *L. Octavius Pulcher*<sup>539</sup>. It is hard to say why this soldier died in this area. Given that the inscription was placed by his brother-in-law, possibly of the first colonists' wave from Scupi, we may infer his body was most likely carried so to join family.

*Q. Glitius P. f. Stellatina Atilius Agricola, tribunus militum laticlavus*, also activated under Vespasian according to the two honorific inscriptions (in fact several, yet only these two preserved the indication that he was military tribune of legion I Italica under Vespasian) from Taurini (Augusta Taurinorum), rendering his career (see below his entire exceptional career)<sup>540</sup>. From same period, Vespasian/Domitian, dates the angusticlave tribunate of *L. Clodius P. f. Cl(udia tribu) Ingeuuus*, who, after having been prefect of *Mattiacorum* cohort, become tribune of legions I Italica, V Macedonica and VII Claudia, all stationed in Moesia<sup>541</sup>.

Once with the administrative reorganization under Domitian, legion I Italica and the fortress at Novae entered the authority of Moesia Inferior governor. In fact, legion vexillations participated in the emperor's Dacian war, as proven by the career of centurion *L. Valerius Proclus*, former soldier and then *beneficiarius* of legion V Macedonica legate, subsequently *optio* of same legion, receiving *dona militaria* and being transferred (promoted) centurion of high rank in legion I Italica<sup>542</sup>. It is well known that each transfer of centurions from one legion to

<sup>536</sup> CIL III 12409 = Gerov, *Romanizmat*, I, p. 75, no. 28 = ILB 431 = Mrozewicz, *Legioniści*, p. 149, no. 92 (Butovo-Nedan (Pavlikeni), in the Roman cemetery NW Nedan village); funerary stela discovered in the same spot with ILB 432: "reperta prope vicum Nedan in necropoli antiqua septentriones et occidentem versus a vico, postea in domo quadam partis vici "Gorna Mahala" dictae stabat. Perit"; see also Forni, *Reclutamento*, p. 183, the list of legionaries raised under Flavian emperors.

<sup>537</sup> CIL III 12352 = Gerov, *Romanizmat*, I, p. 75, no. 25 = ILB 60 = Mrozewicz, *Legioniści*, p. 110–111, no. 39 = Ferjančić, *Settlement of Legionary Veterans*, p. 294, no. 397 and p. 87 = Conrad, *Grabstelen*, p. 247, no. 455; limestone stela found Oescus; see also for dating respective recruitment date Forni, *Reclutamento*, p. 170. See also Todisco, *Veterani*, p. 106.

<sup>538</sup> CIL III 8198 = IMS VI 37 = Mrozewicz, *Legioniści*, p. 133–134, no. 69 = Ferjančić, *Settlement of Legionary Veterans*, p. 282, no. 318 and p. 75; Forni, *Reclutamento*, p. 174. Still at Scupi were colonised other veterans coming from Lucus Vocontiorum, *L. Valerius L. f. Galeria Galenus, veteranus legionis IIII Macedonicae* and *C. Iulius C. f. Voltinia Velox, veteranus legionis V Alaudae* (IMS VI 39 and 41 = Ferjančić, *Settlement of Legionary Veterans*, p. 282, no. 320–321 and p. 74).

<sup>539</sup> AÉ 1972, 512 = AÉ 1977, 727 = IMS VI 36 = Mrozewicz, *Legioniści*, p. 117–118, no. 48; p. 142, no. 82. See also Ferjančić, *Settlement of Legionary Veterans*, p. 75.

<sup>540</sup> CIL V 6974 = ILS 1021; CIL V 6977 = ILS 1021<sup>a</sup>. CIL V 6974–6987, including all discovered inscriptions. See also IDRE I 157–161 and E. Groag, RE Suppl. III, 1918, col. 786–789, no. 1; PIR<sup>2</sup> G 181.

<sup>541</sup> AÉ 1906, 104 = CIL VI 37274, in one inscription from Praeneste; PME, C 201; T. Sarnowski, in *Prosopographica*, p. 63–80, no. 3. On the issue of Mattiaci cohorts from Moesia and then Moesia Inferior see Fl. Matei-Popescu, SCIVA 52–53, 2001–2002 (2004), p. 219–221, no. 30, with *II Mattiacorum* cohort.

<sup>542</sup> CIL III 12411 = ILS 2666b = IPD<sup>4</sup> 771 = ILB 432 = CGLBI 648 = Mrozewicz, *Legioniści*, 123 = Ferjančić, *Settlement of Legionary Veterans*, p. 303, no. 455 = IDRE II 328 (Butovo-Nedan (Pavlikeni)); Maxfield, *Military Decorations*, p. 191–192; K. Strobel, Tyche 2, 1987, p. 208–209.

another equalled promotion to a higher rank, even more that legion V Macedonica centurion had stood out during military operations.

Later on, the legion took part in Trajan's Dacian expeditions. The career of legion's centurion, *Ti. Claudius Vitalis*, preserved on a tombstone discovered at Rome<sup>543</sup>, seems to date rather in the period of Trajan's war against the Dacians<sup>544</sup>. *C. Nummius Verus*, tribune of legion I Italica, was probably decorated in the same Dacian war, according to an inscription discovered in Italy, at Falerii, however the text is not sufficiently clear<sup>545</sup>.

The I Italica legion sent a vexillation to take part into Trajan's Parthian expedition, as proven by a tombstone inscription discovered at Artaxata (Pokr Ved / Artashat, Armenia)<sup>546</sup>, erected in the honour of *C. Valerius Cre(scens?)*, *miles vexillationis legionis I Italicae*. The same conclusion may be drawn from an inscription, unfortunately fragmentary, discovered at Thyatira. An individual, whose name could not be recovered due to stone fractures, argued he was *pragmateus* with legions V Macedonica, VII Claudia, IV Scythica and I Italica, in fact legions vexillationes, quartered for winter within the city<sup>547</sup>.

Subsequent legion V Macedonica displacement to Potaissa, legion I Italica took over the limes segment to that moment under the control of the mentioned legion. This remark is based on epigraphic and tile material finds in the former control territory of legion V Macedonica<sup>548</sup>. The immediate consequence of V Macedonica legion's displacement to Dacia was the Costoboci attack of 170. This attack, strongly felt at Tropaeum Traiani, followed same direction of the Dacian attack of 101–102. This would explain why Trajan chose Troesmis as headquarters for legion V Macedonica. It is very likely that Marcus Aurelius believed that the rampart around Barboși fort the *vallum Șerbești-Tuluțești*) sufficed for the defence of Dobrudja, however it proved inefficient, at least in this case. The presence of *Cornelius Firmus*, legion centurion, at Barboși in 167–169 (161–169)<sup>549</sup> may be explained only in this way. He and a vexillation from legion I Italica might have been sent to monitor this important Roman defensive outpost by the Lower Danube.

Several inscriptions discovered on Dobrudja territory proved the presence of certain members of legion I Italica in this area. Thus, the legion centurion *Q. Lucilius Piscinus* placed

<sup>543</sup> CIL VI 3584 = ILS 2656 = IPD<sup>4</sup> 794 = IDRE I 3; Ritterling, RE, XII, 1925, col. 1282; 1413; 1417; 1432; 1584; 1627; 1670; 1779; Domaszewski, RO<sup>2</sup>, p. 94–96; 232–233; E. Birley, Carnuntum Jahrbuch, 1963–1964, p. 30–31 (parallel discussion on both centurions); K. Strobel, Tyche 2, 1987, p. 203–209; Richier, *Centuriones ad Rhenum*, p. 310–312, no. 256.

<sup>544</sup> K. Strobel, Tyche 2, 1987, p. 209: “Da wir bei dem *ex equite Romano* direktberufenen Vitalis auch für seinen ersten Centurionat bei der Legio V Macedonica wohl von einer relativ kurzen Dauer ausgehen können, läßt sich in etwa der folgende Zeitrahmen für seine Karriere etnwerfen: Eintritt in die V Macedonica ca. 100/101 n. Chr., Dienst in den Legionen V Macedonica, I Italica, I Minervia bis 106 n. Chr., ca. 107–110/111 n. Chr. Rasche Versetzungen und Beförderungen des hoch dekorierten Offiziers zu den Legionen XX Valeria Victrix und IX Hispana (alle drei Posten in Nimwegen?) bis zum ersten Centurionat bei der VII Claudia. Sein zweites Centurionat bei dieser Truppe wäre demnach in die Jahre ca. 111–121/122 n. Chr. zu datieren”. See to same effect Richier, *Centuriones ad Rhenum*, p. 311.

<sup>545</sup> CIL XI 3100 = Filow, *Legionen*, p. 53, no. 1 = IPD<sup>4</sup> 757 = IDRE I 131; PME, N 34. For the legion's participation in the Trajan's Dacian war see Addendum I, p. 259–261.

<sup>546</sup> AÉ 1968, 511 = B. N. Arakelyan, VDI 115, 1971, 1, p. 116–118: *C(aio) Val(erio) Cre(scenti) mil(iti) vex(illationis) leg(ionis) I Italic(a)e*.

<sup>547</sup> AÉ 1939, 132: *πραγματευόμενος ἐν ἐπαρ[...../.....]α παραχειματικοῖς λεγιώνων ε' Μα/κε]δοικῆς καὶ ζ' Κλ. Πιστῆς Ε[ύσεβοῦς / κ]αὶ δ' Σκυτικῆς α' Ἰταλικῆς*; J. Guey, MEFRA 55, 1938, p. 56–57; Lepper, *op. cit.*, p. 180–183.

<sup>548</sup> Aricescu, *Armata*, p. 41.

<sup>549</sup> AÉ 1894, 109 = CIL III 778 = 7514 = ISM V 297.



a dedication at Tropaeum Traiani for *Sol Invictus in honorem domus divinae*<sup>550</sup>. The inscription references most likely the Severan family.

Presumably, in the context of Costoboci attacks of 170, a vexillation of legion I Italica under the command of centurion *Valerius Clemens* and a vexillation of legion V *Macedonica D(acica)* led by centurion *Eptidius Modestus*, who together place a dedication to Neptun, are present at Tropaeum Traiani<sup>551</sup>. Aid was required from the Dacian legion as the majority of Moesia Inferior forces participated in military actions in Moesia Superior<sup>552</sup> area. This left Moesia Inferior vulnerable to the Costoboci attacks, strongly felt at Tropaeum Traiani, where inscriptions mention the death of two city inhabitants in this context, *L. Fufidius Lucianus, deceptus a Castabocos* and *Daizus Comozoi, interfectus a Castaboci*<sup>553</sup>.

After legion's V *Macedonica* displacement to Potaissa, at Troesmis appear centurions *C. Valerius Firmus* (dedication in honour of *Ti. Claudius Pompeianus* from 173)<sup>554</sup> and *L. Antonius L. f. Arnensi Felix*, from Carthage, who died there at the age of 59<sup>555</sup>. Their presence at Troesmis, still on active duty, evidently proves that this area continued to be surveilled by detachments of legion I Italica sent from Novae, put under the command of centurions.

The presence of *Aelius Victor, beneficiarius consularis*, somewhere in Histria territory, where his brother, *Aelius Severinus*, decurion of Durostorum municipium, erected a tombstone by the end of the 2nd C<sup>556</sup>, may be linked to the supposed existence in this area of a *statio* for roads monitoring. Similar is the case of another *beneficiarius*, *Antonius Florus*, present at Capidava, whose inscription was erected also by the end of the 2nd C by his brother, *Antonius Florianus, optio legionis I Italicae*<sup>557</sup>.

At Halmyris, with the vexillation stationed there, is recorded *Valerius Valens, miles legionis*, who erected a tombstone to his parents by the end of the 2nd C<sup>558</sup>. This vexillation, composed of the two legions, I Italica and XI Claudia detachments is directly evidenced by an altar dedicated to Hercules around the second half of the 2nd C and not by the beginning of the 2nd C, as M. Zahariade<sup>559</sup> believed.

The tile material exhibiting the stamp of legion I Italica discovered at Carsium<sup>560</sup>, Troesmis<sup>561</sup>, Dinogetia<sup>562</sup> and Barboși<sup>563</sup> is also worth mentioning.

<sup>550</sup> CIL III 12468 = CMIRM II, p. 366, no. 2312 = Aricescu, *Armata*, p. 220, no. 49.

<sup>551</sup> AÉ 1901, 50 = CIL III 14433 = ILS 9118: *Nept(uno) Aug(usto) sac(rum) / vex(illationes) leg(ionis) I Ital(icae) / M(oesiaca)e et V Mac(edonica)e D(acica)e Trop/a[e]i sub curam (sic!) / Eptidi(i) Modesti / (centurionis) leg(ionis) leg(ionis) V Mac(edonica)e et / Valeri(i) Clementis / (centurionis) leg(ionis) I Ital(icae) / v(otum) s(olverunt) l(ibentes) m(erito)*; Saxer, *Vexillationen*, p. 41–42, no. 72; Aricescu, *Armata*, p. 46 and p. 95. On the Costoboci attack of 170 see Vulpe, DID II, p. 158–163. See also W. Scheidel, *Historia* 39, 1990, 4, p. 493–498 especially p. 494, no. 1, with a comment on the inscription.

<sup>552</sup> Saxer, *Vexillationen*, p. 42.

<sup>553</sup> Em. Popescu, *StCl* 6, 1964, p. 193 = AÉ 1964, 252 = IPD<sup>4</sup>820 = IDRE II 337; CIL III 14214<sup>12</sup> = ILS 8051 = IPD<sup>4</sup> 821 = IDRE II 336. See also entire discussion in Popescu, *op. cit.*, p. 194–199.

<sup>554</sup> CIL III 6176 = ISM V 146. An inscription with similar text was discovered at Ismail, on Chilia arm, N. Gostar, in J. Bibauw (ed.), *Hommages à Marcel Renard*, II, Collection Latomus, vol. 102, Brussels, 1969, p. 290–291. See also p. 291–301, on *Pompeianus* activity north Dobrudja and even north the Danube.

<sup>555</sup> CIL III 6185 = ISM V 176.

<sup>556</sup> ISM I 302.

<sup>557</sup> CIL III 14214<sup>19</sup> = ISM V 41.

<sup>558</sup> M. Zahariade, *Dacia*, N. S. 36, 1990, p. 261–262, no. 4 = *Halmyris*, I, p. 121, no. 14.

<sup>559</sup> M. Zahariade, *Dacia*, N. S. 30, 1–2, p. 173–176 = *Halmyris*, I, p. 116, no. 2. See also the discussion on *Halmyris*, I, p. 98.

<sup>560</sup> ISM V 113.

<sup>561</sup> CIL III 6239 = ISM V 216.

<sup>562</sup> ISM V 262.

<sup>563</sup> ISM V 307.



South Dobrudja, at Dionysopolis was discovered an altar in Greek, dedicated to *Deus Dolichenus* by *M. Pompeius Lucius, beneficiarius consularis* of legion I Italica Antoniniana<sup>564</sup>. This individual was concurrently *bouleitēs* at Dionysopolis, Callatis and Marcianopolis, indicating important missions in these cities. Considering his position of *beneficiarius consularis*, we may argue that honours were due to several activities like the surveillance of the surroundings and communication ways between these cities close one to another and police activities. Additionally, at Odessus is recorded another *beneficiarius consularis*, *Manlius Secundus*, from an unknown legion, who erected a bilingual tombstone to his wife<sup>565</sup>.

An important number of legion I Italica soldiers are attested at Montana, amongst counting even a *legatus legionis*, who came, under the joint reign of Marcus Aurelius and Lucius Verus, to dedicate an altar in Apollo and Diana sanctuary<sup>566</sup>. The city was an important point of the province, while the sanctuary for Apollo and Diana in the area seems to have been famous in the entire province and even within the empire<sup>567</sup>. Amongst the legionaries present there I mention: *T. Flavius Iulius*<sup>568</sup> (*centurio, praepositus numeri civium Romanorum*, half of the 3rd C, when this *numerus* is recorded), *C. Marius Victorinus*<sup>569</sup> (*centurio*, May 18, 203), *Calvisius Flavinius*<sup>570</sup> (*centurio*, under *L. Iulius Statilius Severus* governor, 159–160), *Aelius Artemidorus*<sup>571</sup> (*centurio legionis I Italicae R(apacis?)*, in fact *centurio regionarius*, under the same governor, 159–160), *Q. Granius Romanus*<sup>572</sup> (*centurio*, second half of the 2nd C), *C. Firminius Lucanus*<sup>573</sup> (*centurio leg. I Italicae Antoninianae, domo Dacia*, 211–217), *Pudentinus*<sup>574</sup> (*centurio*, first half of the 3rd C) *Aurelius Bonitus*<sup>575</sup> (*optio spei*, the 3rd C: *pro salute dominorum nostrorum Augustorum*), *Ulpius Eptezenus*<sup>576</sup> (*princeps duplicarius*, first half of the 3rd C), *P. Aelius Clemens*<sup>577</sup> (*beneficiarius consularis*), *Iulius Mucazenus*<sup>578</sup> (*beneficiarius consularis, agens territorii Montanensium*, a Thracic origin

<sup>564</sup> IGB I<sup>2</sup> 24 bis = AÉ 1972, 505 = BÉ 1971, 436 = CCID 71 = CGLBI 614. Mihailov, IGB I<sup>2</sup>, p. 71: “M. Pompeium Lucium ob merita eius erga Dionysopolin, Callatidem et Marcianopolin fortasse Carpis in Scythiam minorem anno 214 incursantibus buleitam ab iisdem urbibus electum et monumentis honoratum esse”. G. Mihailov relates such honours to the possible expedition of Caracalla, recently questioned by C. C. Petolescu, in *Contribuții la istoria Daciei romane I*, Bucharest, 2007, p. 127–132.

<sup>565</sup> CIL III 14458<sup>1</sup> = IGR I 661 = IGB I<sup>2</sup> 218.

<sup>566</sup> *Montana*, II, p. 24–25, no. 48.

<sup>567</sup> ILS 9275 = *Montana*, II, p. 22–23, no. 46: *Cum primum / veni Montanis et numina / vidi / deabus / votum vovi / ut potui, posui. Mallia Ael/miliana dolmo Roma fr[u]/mento [p]ubli[co] cum fili[o] suo / m(onumentum) restitui[t]*.

<sup>568</sup> V. Božilova, *Arheologija Sofia* 18, 1976, 2, p. 40–41, no. 1 = AÉ 1975, 743. *Montana*, I, p. 25–26, no. 9 = V. Božilova, in *Limes XI*, p. 473–474 = AÉ 1979, 548 = *Montana*, II, p. 16, no. 30 = M. Reuter, 80. *BerRGK* 1999, p. 476, no. 58 (for Diana); *Montana*, I, p. 30, no. 20 = *Montana*, II, p. 21–22, no. 43 (for Apollo). On this *numerus* see Fl. Matei-Popescu, *SCIVA* 51–52, 2001–2002, p. 230–231, no. 38.

<sup>569</sup> AÉ 1985, 744 = AÉ 1987, 877 = *Montana*, I, p. 26–27, no. 11 = *Montana*, II, p. 9–10, no. 14.

<sup>570</sup> AÉ 1987, 879 = *Montana*, I, p. 28, no. 13 = *Montana*, II, p. 26, no. 50

<sup>571</sup> CIL III 12371 = Gerov, *Romanizmăt*, II, p. 356, no. 1 = *Montana*, II, p. 26, no. 51.

<sup>572</sup> AÉ 1979, 549 = AÉ 1985, 742 = *Montana*, I, p. 32–33, no. 26 = *Montana*, II, p. 36, no. 78.

<sup>573</sup> AÉ 1957, 306 = Gerov, *Romanizmăt*, II, p. 398, no. 778. Improved lecture by L. Mrozewicz, *ZPE* 78, 1989, p. 163–164 = AÉ 1989, 638 = *Montana*, II, p. 15, no. 26.

<sup>574</sup> *Montana*, II, p. 29–30, no. 58.

<sup>575</sup> AÉ 1957, 340 = Gerov, *Romanizmăt*, II, p. 356, no. 2 = *Montana*, II, p. 20–21, no. 41.

<sup>576</sup> Gerov, *Romanizmăt*, II, p. 358, no. 24 = *Montana*, II, p. 40, no. 91.

<sup>577</sup> *Montana*, I, p. 24, no. 5 = CGLBI 646; *Montana*, I, p. 24–25, no. 6 = CGLBI 645 = *Montana*, II, p. 18, no. 35. Another altar fragment recording the name of the same *beneficiarius* was discovered at Altimir (CGLBI 613).

<sup>578</sup> AÉ 1987, 881 = *Montana*, I, p. 29, no. 15 = CGLBI 647 = *Montana*, II, p. 28–29, no. 57.

cognomen, by the beginning of the 3rd C), *Villanius Troilus*<sup>579</sup> (*beneficiarius consularis*, first half of the 3rd C) *Aurelius Titus*<sup>580</sup> (*vexillarius eq. leg. I Italicae Gordianae Augustae in regione Montanensium*, 238–244).

The legion sent troops to Dacia area also in the conflict years under Marcus Aurelius. Thus, an inscription from Lambaesis records that [A.] *Iulius Pompilius A. fil. Cornelia Piso T. Vib[ius Varus Laevillus] Berenicianus*, legate of XIII Gemina legion stationed in Dacia Superior, became after *M. Claudius Fronto*'s death, *praepositus legionibus I Italicae et IIII Flaviae cum omnibus copiis auxiliorum dato iure gladi*<sup>581</sup>. The presence at Potaissa of a legion I Italica soldier, who placed a dedication to *Iupiter Optimus Maximus*<sup>582</sup> may be connected to the same events. *Historia Augusta, Vita Clodii Albini*, reports that (6,2): “*egit et legionem quartanorum et primanorum*”, connected to the aforementioned<sup>583</sup> description, although I consider it rather references tribune offices, as it results from his military career accounted in *Historia Augusta*<sup>584</sup>. I. Piso dated such events in the winter of 174/175<sup>585</sup>.

In 193, the legion legate *L. Marius L. f. Quirina Maximus Perpetuus Aurelianus* (*vide infra* his career progress), commanded a vexillation composed of legions I Italica and XI Claudia p. f. sent to defeat the armies of Pescennius Niger around Byzantium, so to be sent in 197 to Gallia, at Lugdunum, to fight against Clodius Albinus armies (*dux exerciti* (sic!) *Mysiaci apud Byzantium et apud Lugudunum leg(atu)s leg(ionis) I Ital(icae)*)<sup>586</sup>.

Starting with 182, a series of legion chief centurions (see hereunder the complete list) erected several statues to various gods like *dii militares* (*Genius, Virtus, Aquila sancta, signa*), *Mars victor, Victoria Augusta Panthea, Bonus Eventus*, all discovered at Novae, within the perimeter of fortress principia of the period<sup>587</sup>.

An extremely interesting phenomenon is the presence of legion *beneficarii consularis* in Dalmatia, together with other *beneficarii consularis* of legions XI Claudia p. f. and V Macedonica. I mention *C. Iulius Herculanus*<sup>588</sup> (Skelani and Stolac), *Aelius Martianus*<sup>589</sup> (Salonae), *M. Ulpus Kalendinus*<sup>590</sup> (Narona) and *T. Flavius Sabinus*<sup>591</sup> (Runović, Novae). Although it is hard to establish the precise moment of their mission in Dalmatia, I believe it dates prior legion V Macedonica departure in L. Verus Parthian expedition; as such association is difficult to explain

<sup>579</sup> CIL III 7447 = Gerov, *Romanizmat*, II, p. 356, no. 4 = *Montana*, II, p. 28, no. 56 = IDRE II 317.

<sup>580</sup> AÉ 1957, 342 = *Montana*, II, p. 13–14, no. 22.

<sup>581</sup> CIL VIII 2582 = ILS 1111 = IDRE II 450; See also CIL VIII 2488; 2547; IDRE II 449; Ritterling, RE XII, 1925, col. 1414; Alföldy, *Konsulat*, p. 297, note 81, dates this office in 175–176, considering he became cos. suff. around 178 and that command right after the death of *M. Claudius Fronto* would be too early. See also V. Moga, *Din istoria militară a Daciei romane. Legiunea XIII Gemina*, Cluj-Napoca, 1985, p. 84–85; Piso, *Fasti Daciae*, p. 218–224, no. 52.

<sup>582</sup> CIL III 889.

<sup>583</sup> Ritterling, RE XII, 1925, col. 1414, who considers, beside other authors, that this *vita* is false.

<sup>584</sup> SHA, *Vita Clodii Albini*, 6, 1–2: *Adulescens igitur statim se ad militiam contulit atque Antoninis per Lollium Serenum et Baebium Maecianum et Ceionium Postumianum suos adfines innotuit. Egit tribunus equites Dalmatas; egit et legionem quartanorum et primanorum; Bithynicos exercitus eo tempore, quod Avidius rebellabat, fideliter tenuit.*

<sup>585</sup> I. Piso, *ActaMN* 16, 1979, p. 69–76, no. 1, especially p. 75.

<sup>586</sup> CIL VI 1450 = ILS 2935; 2936; Ritterling, REXII, 1925, col. 1414; F. Miltner, RE XIV, 1930, col. 1828–1831, no. 48; G. Barbieri, *RivFilologia* 32, 1954, p. 39–40.

<sup>587</sup> T. Sarnowski, *BJ* 189, 1989, p. 97–120, with complete discussion on the phenomenon.

<sup>588</sup> *ILJug* III 1522 = CGLBI 475; CIL III 14631 = CGLBI 487.

<sup>589</sup> CIL III 2023 = CGLBI 498.

<sup>590</sup> CIL III 1781 = CGLBI 494.

<sup>591</sup> CIL III 1906 = CGLBI 467.

after its displacement to Dacia beginning with 168. Nevertheless, one of the inscriptions renders year 225, hence the inscriptions seem to date rather during Severus Alexander reign.

Legion I Italica sent, together with legion V Macedonica and XI Claudia p. f., vexillations to the north of the Black Sea. It is interesting that after legion V Macedonica displacement to Dacia, the command of the vexillations passed to the angusticlave tribunes of legion I Italica. *Antonius Valens* and *Ti. Plautius Ti. f. Papiria Felix Ferruntianus* are recorded in this office. The first is mentioned by two inscriptions discovered at Balaklava in Crimea, one placed by centurion *Novius Ulpianus* of legion I Italica as well, to Hercules in the sanctuary there<sup>592</sup> and one to *Iupiter Optimus Maximus Dolichenus*<sup>593</sup>. The second centurion is recorded by an inscription at Mactaris (Africa) from which we find that while tribune of legion I Italica, he also held the office of *praepositus vexillationibus Ponticis apud Scythia(m) et Tauricam*, thus at the command of legionary vexillationes sent from Moesia Inferior or rather (*vexillationes Ponticae*) from Pontus et Bithynia north the Black Sea. Later on, he was transferred to Africa and sent to Middle Danube where he was recorded as *praepositus vexillationis legionis III Augustae apud Marcomannos*<sup>594</sup>.

Around 185–186 the command over the Chersonesus vexillation (*vexillatio Chersonessitana*) was ensured by *Atilius Primianus*, *tribunus* and *Valerius Maximus*, *centurio*. Together with the former tribune, vexillation commander, *L. Arrius Alcibiades* they are mentioned epigraphically in connection to abuses (*exaggerandae vectigalis quantitatis sponte suscepisse*) in the collection of the prostitution tax (*vectigal lenocinii* – τέλος πορνικόν)<sup>595</sup>. The name of the unit they served is not mentioned, yet given other inscriptions recording angusticlave tribunes of legion I Italica at the command of the vexillation at Chersonesus, we may argue they belonged to the same legion. The dating is based on the inscription mention, after the erased name of an emperor, of the word ΕΥΤΥΧ... (*Felix*), one of Commodus *agnomina*, who appears on inscriptions as *Felix Augustus Pius* only in 185–186. After this moment, he is referred to as *Pius Felix Augustus* or *Augustus Pius Felix*<sup>596</sup>. I. Makarov recently rejected A. von Domaszewski's arguments, noting that inscriptions did not comply with such rules strictly and that other emperors suffering *damnationes memoriae* were also mentioned with the *agnomen felix* right after the name. He suggests instead, the name of Severus Alexander, noticing the resemblance of the imperial formula from the Chersonesus file with another for the same emperor on *aurum coronarium*, observing that there are inscriptions where the emperor name is immediately followed by the *agnomen felix*. Moreover, the inscription palaeography rather suggests a dating under Severus Alexander<sup>597</sup>. Nevertheless, by the end of his case, I. Makarov does not entirely exclude a dating

<sup>592</sup> T. Sarnowski, V. M. Zubar, O. J. Savelja, *Historia* 47, 1998, 3, p. 325–326, no. 1 = T. Sarnowski, O. J. Savelja, *ArchWarszawa* 49, 1998, p. 41–42, no. 31.

<sup>593</sup> T. Sarnowski, V. M. Zubar, O. J. Savelja, *Historia* 47, 1998, 3, p. p. 326–329, no. 2 = T. Sarnowski, O. J. Savelja, *ArchWarszawa* 49, 1998, p. 43–44, no. 34; p. 42–43, no. 32 (another fragmentary dedication to Hercules where he is referred to as the commander of this vexillation).

<sup>594</sup> CIL VIII 619 = ILS 2747 = IPD<sup>4</sup> 535; Saxer, *Vexillationen*, p. 42–43, no. 72; Pflaum, *Carrières*, p. 539–541, no. 198; T. Sarnowski, *ArchWarszawa* 38, 1988, p. 77, no. 29; PME, P 41.

<sup>595</sup> CIL III 13750 = IGR I 860 = AE 1893, 126 = Solomonik, *Latinskie nadpisi*, p. 20–27, no. 1; Saxer, *Vexillationen*, p. 91–92, no. 269. See also I. Makarov, in A. Bresson, A. Ivantchik, J.-L. Ferrary, *Une koinè pontique. Cites grecques, sociétés indigènes et empires mondiaux sur le littoral nord de la Mer Noire (VII<sup>e</sup> s. a.C. – III<sup>e</sup> s. p.C.)*, Bordeaux, 2007, p. 328–337, with a recent legal, financial and historical comment on this important epigraphic document. It reports all prostitution-related activities (*lenocinia*) and not only the proper prostitutes (*meretrices*), as Makarov shows, *op. cit.*, p. 328.

<sup>596</sup> A. von Domaszewski, CIL III, p. 2243.

<sup>597</sup> Makarov, *op. cit.*, p. 329–330.

by the end of the 2nd C, noting that not all palaeographic characteristics specific to the Severan period are present on this inscription<sup>598</sup>.

The tax, established by Caligula, was collected all over the Empire by the army, subsequent the *publicani* exclusion from the Roman tax and fees collection system. The Chersonesus inscription confirms it was collected all over the Empire, not only in Rome<sup>599</sup>. M. Rostovtzeff considered that *vexillatio Chersonessitana* begun to collect such tax starting with Hadrian or Antoninus Pius, divided between the garrison, as pay in exchange for the city defence and the city treasury. The conflict started due to the percentage that each had to cash. Subsequently, the percentage for the city treasury was increased and the one for *aerarium vexillationis* decreased, as privilege referred to in line 17 of the inscription as city right<sup>600</sup>. I. Makarov pointed out that the citizens complained about soldiers' abuses during tax collection and not when redistributed. In fact, the inscription text does not mention any tax share-out. The same author considers that the cause of Chersonesus citizens' dissatisfaction may have been the attempt to illicitly collect *vectigal lenocinii*. Further on, Makarov considers that this tax was not a sort of correspondent for *annona militaris*, as V. M. Zubar<sup>601</sup> argued, but as any other *vectigalia*, it was an indirect fiscal tax<sup>602</sup>. Under these circumstances, the centurions from Chersonesus were charged to collect ordinary fiscal taxes and not special military taxes, still a particular case in the Empire history. However, many of the examples, quoted by R. W. Davies and rejected by Makarov as little relevant<sup>603</sup>, indicate that under certain circumstances, the Roman army participated, helped or only monitored the tax collection by civil authorities charged to do so<sup>604</sup>. One should not imagine that the Roman army acted lawfully all over the Empire. Abuses may have occurred. The cause of Chersonesus citizens' complaints may have resided in the fact that after the city was conquered by the Romans, part of its incomes, among which the tax on prostitution, one of the traditional income source for a Greek city, ended into the imperial treasury. Hence, the army was supposed to only monitor the tax collection by civil<sup>605</sup> collectors as law enforcement.

Makarov reaches the conclusion that legionaries had the right of control over prostitution only in certain well determined city areas, as privilege granted to the city by imperial authorities<sup>606</sup>. However, passages in the epigraphic file do not support such interpretation as limits were rather fiscal and not territorial. Whatever the interpretation, it is obvious that the soldiers and civilians immediacy led to various abuses. The emperor and the governor were often compelled to intervene in order to regulate conflicts.

I also mention the tile material discovered at Tyras, evidencing a legion detachment<sup>607</sup>. An inscription from the same city records *M. Atalius Placidus, centurio*. The inscription was placed *pro succesu eius* to Asclepius and Hygia by a *medicus vexillationis* and *medicus duplicarius classis*

<sup>598</sup> *Ibidem*, p. 330.

<sup>599</sup> Suetonius, *Gai*, 40: *vectigalia nova atque inaudita primum per publicanos, deinde, quia lucrum exuberabat, per centuriones tribunosque praetorianos exercuit...exigebatur...ex capturis prostituerarum quanto quaeque uno concubita mereret, additumque ad caput legis, ut tenerentur publico et quae meretricium quive lenocinium fecissent*. See A. von Domaszewski comment, CIL III, p. 2243: "Hinc quae colliguntur, egregie confirmat constitutio Chersonesitana: scilicet eiusmodi vectigal non in urbe solo, sed per totum imperium a fisco exactum esse".

<sup>600</sup> Apud Makarov, *op. cit.*, p. 330.

<sup>601</sup> V. M. Zubar, *Historia* 44, 1995, p. 203.

<sup>602</sup> Makarov, *op. cit.*, p. 331, referring to Ulpianus (*Dig.* 50, 16, 17, 1).

<sup>603</sup> Makarov, *op. cit.*, p. 332–333.

<sup>604</sup> R. W. Davies, *ANRW* II/1, 1974, p. 327–328.

<sup>605</sup> Makarov, *op. cit.*, p. 333.

<sup>606</sup> *Ibidem*, p. 335.

<sup>607</sup> P. Nicorescu, *Ephemeris Daco-Romana* 2, 1924, p. 413–414, no. 68; T. Sarnowski, *ArchWarszawa* 38, 1988, p. 73, no. 15: *LEG I IT*, together with *LEG V M* and *LEG XI CL*.



*Flaviae Moesiaca*<sup>608</sup>. The name of the same centurion appeared also on a tile stamp discovered north the Black Sea<sup>609</sup>. Under Antoninus Pius/Marcus Aurelius, still at Tyras, the legion is part of the vexillation composed of detachments from three legions of Moesia Inferior under the command of a legion centurion, *Ant(oni)us Pl(...)*<sup>610</sup>. A brick at Charax records another centurion of legion I Italica, *L(...) A(...) C(...), praepositus vex(illationis) Moes(iae) Inf(erioris)*<sup>611</sup>.

At Chersonesus is attested in 184, under Commodus, *Fl. Sergius Sosibius, tribunus militum angusticlavius*, by a dedication placed to Commodus and this tribune (*s(ub) c(uius) c(ura) e(gi)*) as mentioned therein) by *T. Aur(elius) T.f. Cam(ilia) Secundus Rave(nna), tr(ierarchus) c(lassis) F(laviae) M(oesicae)*<sup>612</sup>. Other soldiers of legion I Italica soldiers are attested at Chersonesus: a certain *Valerianus*, whose position is not mentioned<sup>613</sup>, a certain *Volusius*, possibly *miles legionis*<sup>614</sup> and *Aurelius Victor, miles legionis*, who died at 36 after 18 years of service, whose tombstone was erected by spouse *Valeria Marcia* and daughter, *Valeria Bessa*, names indicating a possible Thracian origin, an origin shared probably, despite the very common name in the army milieu, also by the soldier<sup>615</sup>. At Chersonesus is also recorded tribune *L. Iulius Mucazenus*, with no legion specification<sup>616</sup>. The inscription editors drew attention to an inscription from Montana, where a homonym fulfilled the office of *beneficiarius consularis*<sup>617</sup>. At Olbia, the troops of legion I Italica are part of another vexillation quartered there together with troops from the other legions of Moesia Inferior<sup>618</sup>. At Olbia is attested also centurion *M. Aemilius Severinus* by an inscription in Greek<sup>619</sup>. As already observed, vexillations of legions, auxiliary troops and fleet from Moesia Inferior present north the Black Sea at Tyras, Olbia or Chersonesus were quartered inside the cities and only later, the military quarters separated by walls, forming real citadels<sup>620</sup>. The only location where Roman soldiers built a fort from the very beginning was Charax (= fortress, fortified place in Greek)<sup>621</sup>, where information on legions I Italica and XI Claudia p. f. emerged<sup>622</sup>.

A *bellum Bosporanum* is reported for the period 196–210 and a young recruit of legion I Italica participated into it, as indicated by an inscription from Preslav<sup>623</sup>, however his name did not preserve. Unfortunately, it is impossible to determine the expedition with precision, as also noted by the inscription editor, although he tended to date it during the civil wars

<sup>608</sup> AÉ 1995, 1350.

<sup>609</sup> T. Sarnowski, ZPE 95, 1993, p. 214, no. 8.

<sup>610</sup> Saxer, *Vexillationen*, p. 90, no. 266; T. Sarnowski, ArchWarszawa 38, 1988, p. 73, no. 15

<sup>611</sup> CIL III 14214<sup>5</sup> = Saxer, *Vexillationen*, p. 92, no. 270 = T. Sarnowski, ArchWarszawa 38, 1988, p. 78–79, no. 36.

<sup>612</sup> AÉ 1900, 199 = CIL III 14214<sup>34</sup> = IOSPE I<sup>2</sup> 417 = Solomonik, *Latinskie nadpisi*, p. 37–38, no. 9; T. Sarnowski, ArchWarszawa 38, 1988, p. 77, no. 30; PME, F 71.

<sup>613</sup> IOSPE I<sup>2</sup> 572 = Solomonik, *Latinskie nadpisi*, p. 41–42, no. 12.

<sup>614</sup> IOSPE I<sup>2</sup> 548 = Solomonik, *Latinskie nadpisi*, p. 44–45, no. 14.

<sup>615</sup> IOSPE I<sup>2</sup> 547 = Solomonik, *Latinskie nadpisi*, p. 48–49, no. 20.

<sup>616</sup> S. Iu. Saprykin, S. V. Dyachkov, VDI 4 (229), 1999, p. 71–78; AÉ 2000, 1273.

<sup>617</sup> *Montana* II, p. 30, no. 57 = CGLBI 647, p. 498–499.

<sup>618</sup> IOSPE I<sup>2</sup> 322; V. M. Zubar, N. A. Son, VDI 3 (213), 1995, p. 181–187, deemed an inscription proving the construction of a wall at Olbia.

<sup>619</sup> T. N. Knipovič, E. I. Levi, *Nadpisi Olvii*, Leningrad 1968, p. 101, no. 131; V. P. Jajlenko, in *Problemy issledovanija Olvii. Tezisy dokladov i soobščenij seminara*, Parutino, 1985, p. 89 (*non vidi*); AÉ 1995, 1347.

<sup>620</sup> T. Sarnowski, ArchWarszawa 38, 1988, p. 81.

<sup>621</sup> *Ibidem*, p. 81–82.

<sup>622</sup> *Ibidem*, p. 78–81 (CIL III 14215<sup>4</sup>).

<sup>623</sup> T. Sarnowski, ZPE 87, 1991, p. 137–144 (p. 138–139) = AÉ 1991, 1378: ... / *leg. I Ital. [[Al]]ex[[andrianae]] / militavit bf. cos. et / cornicul. proc. / quot (sic!) tiro proficiscens / in bello Bosporano / voverat et adiuvante / numen(e) (sic!) eius multis / periculis in barbarico / liberatus sit merito / votum posuit.*



of 193–197, when the Bosphoran Kingdom and Chersonesus may have supported different candidates. Under these circumstances the troops in Moesia Inferior, loyal from the beginning to Septimius Severus, sent vexillations north the Black Sea, most probably against the Bosphoran Kingdom, as Chersonesus seems to have supported the emperor of African origin from the very beginning<sup>624</sup>.

In the year 250, the *vexillatio Chersonissitana* was under the leadership of *M. Ratinius M. f. Saturninus*, only *centurio legionis*. The vexillation was in charge with the reconstruction of the *schola principalium* (*scholam principalium a solo lapsa (sic!) de suo aedificavit*)<sup>625</sup>.

### 3. PROSOPOGRAPHY OF I ITALICA LEGION

#### 3.1. *Legati legionis*

*M. Fabius M. f. Quirina Magnus Valerianus*<sup>626</sup>. According to the inscription from Clusium preserving his career, he had been tribune of legion XI Claudia so to later become, subsequent other offices, legate of legion I Italica, most likely under the joint reign of Marcus Aurelius and Commodus (*legatus Augg(ustorum) legionis I Italicae*) and consul around 182<sup>627</sup>.

*Appius Claudius Martialis [A?]nius [S]ilvinus, legatus Augustorum legionis I Italicae* places together with his spouse, *Sextia Torquata*, a dedication to Apollo and Diana in their sanctuary from Montana<sup>628</sup>. A homonym, *Anius Claudius Martialis*, is recorded governor of Thracia between 161 and 163<sup>629</sup>; under such circumstances, the inscription may date precisely from 161.

*Avidius Cassius?* According to a passage from *Historia Augusta* (4, 6–9) reporting the defeat of 3000 Sarmatians who had crossed the Danube into unfortunately a non-specified province, it was assumed that he might have led prior his transfer to the East at the command of legion III Gallica, one of Moesia Inferior legions. Considering that in this period, legates of legions V Macedonica and XI Claudia p. f. are known, the command of legion I Italica may be referenced<sup>630</sup>.

*M. Clodius Laetus*. The name of this legate is known from an altar inscription discovered at Novae. The altar, dedicated to the goddess Hygia, was discovered in the ruins of the portico overlaid on the *valetudinarium*, used as building stone in a wall dated from the 4th C<sup>631</sup>. Accordingly, the silver statue of Hygia was erected by this legion legate following funds rising. The individual is unknown among senatorial careers. The statue was most likely erected during

<sup>624</sup> T. Sarnowski, ZPE 89, 1991, p. 140–141.

<sup>625</sup> Y. G. Vinogradov, V. M. Zubar, Il Mar Nero 2, 1995–1996, p. 129–143 = AÉ 1996, 1358.

<sup>626</sup> CIL XI 2106 = ILS 1138; E. Groag, RE VI, 1909, col. 1775–1776, no. 97.

<sup>627</sup> Alföldy, *Konsulat*, p. 297.

<sup>628</sup> *Montana*, II, p. 24–25, no. 48: a) *Apollini et Dianae / Appius Cl. Martialis / [A?]nius [S]ilvinus leg. / Augustor(um) leg(ionis) I Italic(ae) / cum Sextia Titi / filia Torquata / [co]niuge et liber(is) [...]*; b) *montis praesidibus / deis Nicivosi natis / dei(s)que in insula valga Nili voto coniugis / atque liberorum / aram dedicat App[ilius Cl. Martialis] / [...]*.

<sup>629</sup> Thomasson, *Laterculi*, col. 166, no. 29; PIR<sup>2</sup>, C 931; *Montana*, II, p. 24; inscriptions: AÉ 1915, 117 = IGB II 660; SEG 15, 1958, 438 = IGB IV 1926; SEG 28, 1978, 599.

<sup>630</sup> Entire discussion with M. L. Astarita, *Avidio Cassio*, Rome, 1983, p. 34–39: “Legato, quindi, della I Italica, egli viene trasferito in questa occasione alla III Gallica, date le eccezionali circostanze di questa guerra” (p. 39). See also Alföldy, *Konsulat*, p. 297.

<sup>631</sup> J. Kolendo, ArchWarszawa 33, 1982 (1985), p. 65–72, fig. 1–6 = ILN 7. See also J. Kolendo, ArchWarszawa 49, 1998, p. 55–71 (p. 58, no. 3).

an epidemic, we may think to the great epidemic around the Marcomannic Wars brought by the armies involved in Lucius Verus' Parthian expedition<sup>632</sup>.

*Fonteius Maximus*. The name of this legate appears on a limestone slab, part of a building at Novae. The words concluding the inscription indicate that it began on another slab. Unfortunately, the individual is not known within the Empire prosopography<sup>633</sup>. The inscription was dedicated on May 1st, 233 (*Dedicata Kal(endis) Mais [Ma]ximo et [P]aterno co(n)s(ulibus)*).

*L. Iulius Lucillianus*. A silver weight discovered at Ružica, Bulgaria (fished from Danube waters by fishermen and then sent to Vienna or Paris), exhibits the following inscription around the number indicating the weight (*pondus X*): *legionis primae Italic(ae) Lucius Iulius Lucilianus, leg(atus) Aug(usti) leg(ionis) I Ital(icae) pondera examinata sig(navit?)*<sup>634</sup>. Unfortunately, we do not know the exact moment of his mission by the Lower Danube. He was identified as *[L.] Iulius L. f. Lucilianus*, patronus of Ocrinum municipality<sup>635</sup>.

*C. Mansuanus Severus*. His name appears on an inscription at Novae placed on the base of a silver statue of Aesculapius inside the sanctuary built for him and Hygia, located in the fortress' *valetudinarium* (*[A]esculapium / ex donis arg(enteum) / p(ondo) V unc(iis) V / C. Mansuanus / Severus leg(atus) Aug(usti) f. c.*)<sup>636</sup>. The silver quantity used corresponded to 540 denarii. The legion legate may be identified with the polyonymous senator, *L[... ]ius L. f. Stellatina Gallus Vecilius Crispinus Mansuanus Marcellinus Numisius Sabinus*, who appears on an inscription from Antiochia (Pisidia)<sup>637</sup>. He was legion legate right before Trajan's Parthian War of 112–113 (110–112, according to Th. Franke). Later, he commanded legion II Traiana fortis<sup>638</sup> and would subsequently become governor of Sardinia and Galatia Pisidia Paphlagonia. He commenced service under Domitian as he had been tribune of legion XXII Rapax, very likely destroyed by the Sarmatians during the same emperor reign.

*L. Marius L. f. Quirina Maximus Perpetuus Aurelianus*, recorded by an inscription discovered at Rome as legion legate around 193<sup>639</sup>. We find from the inscription that the

<sup>632</sup> See J. F. Gilliam, *AJPh* 82, 1961, 3, p. 225–251. ILN 7: “La chronologie ne s'oppose pas à l'hypothèse de l'érection de la statuette d'Hygie en rapport avec l'épidémie du début des guerres des Marcomans. Paléographiquement, l'inscription peut être datée du II<sup>e</sup> siècle. Nous savons aussi, qu'en 157, le gouverneur de la Mésie Inférieure *T. Pomponius Proculus Vitrasius Pollio* avait dédié un sanctuaire à Hygie à Novae”.

<sup>633</sup> L. Mrozewicz, *ZPE* 57, 1984, p. 179–180, Taf. 14 = *AE* 1987, 862 = ILN 50. Discovered at West Novae (sector X) in 1982, in the central aisle of the episcopal basilica, reused in the pavement. J. Hatlas, *Balkanica Posnaniensia* 5, 1990, p. 212, no. 13.

<sup>634</sup> CIL III 784 = Gerov, *Romanizmät*, II, p. 358, no. 21.

<sup>635</sup> CIL XI 4089; RE X, 1919, col. 663, no. 326 (Riba).

<sup>636</sup> J. Kolendo, *ArchWarszawa* 49, 1998, p. 55–71 (p. 58–60, no. 4) = *AE* 1998, 1131.

<sup>637</sup> CIL III 6813 = ILS 1038 = *AE* 1888, 90: *[...]nio L. f. Stel. / [...]Gallo Vecilio / Crispino Mansuanio / Marcellino Numisio / Sabino leg. Aug. pro. pr. / provinciar(um) Galatiae Pisid. / Paphlagoniae sodali Fla/viali procos. prov. Sard. / leg. legionum I Italicae et / II Traiane fortis praef. frum. / dandi curatori viar(um) Clodiae / Cassiae / Anniae Ciminiae Traianae novae praetori trib. pl. / quaestori provinc(iae) Ponti et / Bithyniae leg. Asiae IIIvir(o) capital(i) / trib. mil. leg. XXI Rapacis*. See on the career of this individual prior the inscription from Novae was edited, Th. Franke, *Legionslegaten*, p. 20–22, no. 12.

<sup>638</sup> On the legion legate office of legion Traiana fortis, stationed in Egypt and led only by prefects, see Th. Mommsen's comment in CIL III, Suppl. I,1: “*legatus legionis II Traianae fortis* pariter atque Claudianus (πρεσβευτῆς) [λεγεῶν]ος δευτέρας Τραιανῆς tituli reperti Xanthi in Lycia recedunt a lege ea, quod legionibus Aegyptiacis non praesunt senatorii ordinis viri. Sed tamen fieri potest, ut haec legio aliquando extra Aegyptum rem gesserit, quamquam de eiusmodi expeditione nihil traditur et cessante causa eo tempore et ipsa fuerit sub legato”.

<sup>639</sup> CIL VI 1450 = ILS 2935; 2936: *L. Mario L. f. Quir. / Maximo Perpetuo / Aureliano co(n)s(uli) / sacerdoti fetiali / leg(ato) Augg(ustorum) pr. pr. / provinc(iae) Syriae Coelae leg(ato) Augg(ustorum) pr. pr. / provinc(iae) Germaniae*

individual was: *dux exerciti* (confusion with the second declension) *Mysiaci apud Byzantium et apud Lugudunum leg(atus) leg(ionis) I Ital(icae)*. Thus, as *cursus honorum* is rendered in inverted order, we see that as legion legate of legion *I Italica* he commanded a vexillation composed of troops from Moesia Inferior against the armies of Pescennius Niger in that area<sup>640</sup>. Then, due to his behaviour, he is sent to Gallia to fight against the armies of Clodius Albinus, stationed around the city Lugdunum in 197. Nevertheless, *Marius Maximus* is mentioned in *Historia Augusta* as history source for auspicial advice sought by Septimius Severus prior the decisive battle with Clodius Albinus army<sup>641</sup>.

*Mucius Maior* [*legatus legionis?*]. A dedication (*titulus pictus*) to Marcus Aurelius and Commodus discovered in 1978 in the south-east angle of the Episcopalian basilica (south apse) from *Novae* records the name of this individual, however it is not certain he served as legion legate under governor *P. Calpurnius [Iulianus]*<sup>642</sup>. He could have been governor of Moesia Inferior in the period 177–180<sup>643</sup>. Recently, I. Piso suggested, cautiously, an entirely different solution. Accordingly, *P. Calpurnius Iulianus* was governor of praetorian rank of Moesia Inferior and that for a very short time period, beginning with 177 when *P. Helvius Pertinax* is sent to Dacia, when the second Marcomannic War started, Moesia Inferior had a single legion. This means that the full strength of legion XI Claudia was directly involved in this campaign. *P. Calpurnius Iulianus* was legion legate of legion V Macedonica in 175–177 and he was subsequently detached to Moesia Inferior. As this province accommodated only legion I Italica, its legate was inevitably also province governor. Therefore, *Mucius Maior* was only a simple member of the legion, most likely a centurion<sup>644</sup>. The solution is indeed very tempting; however, there is no current information on the presence of legion XI Claudia in this corner of the Empire. Nonetheless, this is not impossible if we take into account, for instance, the legion presence in Phrygia during Septimius Severus Parthian expedition (see entire discussion in the chapter dedicated to legion XI Claudia)<sup>645</sup>.

*L. Novius Crispinus Martialis Saturninus*. Appears on the list of soldiers from legion III Augusta at Lambaesis discharged in 150 (who entered service in 124 and 125). He was legion

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*inferioris, item / provinc(iae) Belgicae, duci exerciti (sic !)* *Mysiaci apud Byzantium et apud Lugudunum / leg(ato) leg(ionis) I Italicae, cur(ator) viae Latinae / item reip(ublicae) Faventinorum allecto in/ter praetorios, trib(uno) pleb(is) candidate, / quaestori urbano, trib(uno) laticl(avio) leg(ionis) / XXII Primigeniae, item III Italicae / IIII (sic!) viarum curandarum, / M. Iulius Artemidorus / leg(ionis) III Cyrenaicae*; Ritterling, REXII, 1925, col. 1414; F. Miltner, RE XIV, 1930, col. 1828–1831, no. 48; G. Barbieri, RivFilologia 32, 1954, p. 39–40; Wesch-Klein, *Soziale Aspekte*, p. 16.

<sup>640</sup> SHA, *Pescennius Niger*, 5, 6: *Et Pescennius quidem veniente ad orientem Severo Graeciam, Thracias, Macedoniam interfectis multis inlustribus viris tenebat, ad participandum imperii Severum vocans. A quo causa eorum, quos occiderat, cum Aemiliano hostis est appellatus. Dein a ducibus Severi per Aemilianum pugnans victus est.*

<sup>641</sup> SHA, *Vita Clodii Albini*, 9, 2: *Denique cum sollicitus augures consulere, responsum illi est, ut dicit Marius Maximus, venturum quidem in potestate eius Albinum, sed non vivum nec mortuum.*

<sup>642</sup> L. Mrozewicz, ArchWarszawa 31, 1980, p. 157–160, fig. 1–2 = ILN 38. Dated 176–180, the joint reign of Marcus Aurelius and Commodus. On the legate see discussion with Em. Doruțiu-Boilă, StCl 22, 1984, p. 109–115, no. 1, based on the inscription from Băile Herculane (CIL III 1566 = IDR III/1 67), contra the reading of I. Piso, *Römisches Österreich* 3, 1975, p. 175–182 (prior the discovery of the inscription from *Novae*), who considered him legate of Dacia Superior between 153–156. See also Piso, *Fasti Daciae*, p. 79–81, no. 20; idem, in V. Spinei, L. Munteanu (eds.), *Miscellanea numismatica antiquitatis. In honorem septagenarii magistri Virgilii Mihailescu-Bîrliba oblata*, Bucharest, 2008, p. 179, confirming undoubtedly the reading [*leg. A*]/*ug. pr. pr. [pro]v. Moesiae inferioris*. See now E. Bunsch, L. Mrozewicz, ZPE 165, 2008, p. 241–247, where it seems that the name of the *legatus legionis* was in fact *C. Sammucius Maior*.

<sup>643</sup> Em. Doruțiu-Boilă, SCIVA 38, 1987, 2, p. 116–117; Thomasson, *Laterculi*<sup>2</sup>, p. 52, no. 20:097.

<sup>644</sup> I. Piso, in V. Spinei, L. Munteanu (eds.), *Miscellanea numismatica antiquitatis. In honorem septagenarii magistri Virgilii Mihailescu-Bîrliba oblata*, Bucharest, 2008, p. 177–181.

<sup>645</sup> AÉ 1995, 1512.

legate around 140–145 (post 142, the dating of his legation may be determined based on the legation of *L. Venuleius Apronianus*, cos. suff. 145, see below) as legate of legion I Italica<sup>646</sup>.

*L. Ovinus L. f. Quir. Rusticus Cornelianus* was legate of legion I Italica and subsequently legate of Moesia Inferior, as recorded by several inscriptions rendering his career<sup>647</sup>.

*Q. Planius Sardus L. Varius L. f. Fal(erna) Ambibulus* appears as legion legate of I Italica on an inscription discovered at Djemila (Numidia) and on one discovered at Capua<sup>648</sup>.

*[Pompeius...f. Pomptina Vopiscus C. Arr]unt[ius Cate]llius Celer Allius Sabinus* appears on an inscription discovered at Volsinii (Belsona, Etruria) as legion legate of I Italica, receiving *dona militaria* from Hadrian, most probably in the Jewish war aftermath. He became *consul suffectus* around 140<sup>649</sup>.

*P. Septimius Geta*, brother of Septimius Severus, appears on an inscription discovered at Lepcis Magna (Africa Proconsularis) relaying his career. Among other, he was also legion legate of I Italica, so to return to Moesia Inferior as *legatus Augustorum pr. pr.* consequent Septimius Severus' accession<sup>650</sup>.

*Q. Servaeus Fuscus Cornelianus* is known by two inscriptions. One was discovered at Novae. An altar is dedicated to *I. O. M. Depulsor*, a god of Norico-Pannonian origin, referring to rejection of enemy attacks<sup>651</sup>, by the chief centurion *C. Baienius C. f. Claudia Ianuarius*<sup>652</sup>. The monument was erected on October 5th 227. The devoter's origo was Celeia (Celje, Noricum), his citizens being registered in tribe *Claudia*. On the left side, a *carmen epigraphicum* seems to render his career. The governor of Moesia Inferior, *L. Mantennius Sabinus*, also recorded by this inscription, is known from several other inscriptions<sup>653</sup>. The second inscription mentioning the legion legate was discovered at Gigthis (Tripolitania), his origo as well and where other *Servaei* were known, which displays the *cursus honorum* in inverted order: *quaestor urbanus, tribunus plebis, praetor hastarius, iuridicus per Calabriam, Lucaniam, Apuliam, Bruttios, curator viae Salariae, praetor ex delegatione de liberalibus causis et supremarium, legatus legionis XIII Geminae, legatus legionis I Italicae, legatus provinciae Galatiae*<sup>654</sup>.

*M. Valerius Maximianus* appears on the famous inscription discovered at Diana Veteranorum (Numidia) presenting his career began as cohort prefect up to legion legations, among which counted also legion I Italica under Commodus<sup>655</sup>.

<sup>646</sup> CIL VIII 2747 = ILS 1070. See also EE VII 397, where he is Africa legate; E. Groag, RE XVII, 1937, col. 1217–1218; Birley, *Roman Government of Britain*, p. 286–287, no. 16, in Britannia had served as tribune, in IX Hispana legion, around 125.

<sup>647</sup> CIL II 4126; CIL VI 31744; AÉ 1935, 21; AÉ 1954, 182; PIR<sup>2</sup> O 190; Caballos Rufino, *op. cit.*, p. 243–244, no. 134.

<sup>648</sup> CIL X 3872; ILS II/3 7910 = ILS 9486 = AÉ 1911, 111 = AÉ 1966, 545; Alföldy, *Legionslegaten*, p. 40–42, no. 50; idem, *Konsulat*, p. 297 (around 160, cos. suff. around 164/165).

<sup>649</sup> AÉ 1980, 426; M. Zyromski, *Eos* 84, 1996, p. 21, no. 126.

<sup>650</sup> AÉ 1946, 131 = IPD<sup>4</sup> 863 = IDRE II 438. For a brief debate over his career see Piso, *Fasti Daciae*, p. 150–156, no. 31 and Petolescu, IDRE II, p. 456–458.

<sup>651</sup> M. Hainzmann, in *Orbis antiquus*, p. 224–234.

<sup>652</sup> J. Kolendo, *ArchWarszawa* 19, 1968 (1969), p. 117–144, fig. 1–19 = AÉ 1972, 526 = ILB 272 = ILN 13. Discovered at Novae-West (sector W) in 1965 (parts A and B) and in 1966 (part C). The inscriptions were placed on the three sides of a limestone pedestal on whose support surface bears the marks of a fastening system for the god's statue.

<sup>653</sup> ISM V 8; 57 (Capidava); IGB I<sup>2</sup> 70 bis (Odessus); Stein, *Legaten*, p. 96; Fitz, *Laufbahn*, p. 29–30; Thomasson, *Laterculi*<sup>2</sup>, p. 54, no. 020:121.

<sup>654</sup> CIL VIII 22721 = ILS 8978 = IDRE II 440 and CIL VIII 11028 = ILTun 12. See Piso, *Fasti Daciae*, p. 257–260, no. 63.

<sup>655</sup> AÉ 1956, 124 = IPD<sup>4</sup> 536 = IDRE II 445; PME, V 23; Piso, *Fasti Daciae*, p. 224–235, no. 53; Petolescu, IDRE II, p. 466–469.



*Valerius [Opta]tianus* appears in an inscription discovered at Novae (West, sector X, in 1976 in front and in 1978 on the right side of the Episcopalian basilica), erected to honour Septimius Severus and his family by the *primus pilus, M. Aurelius M. f. Aelia (tribu) Paulinus, Ovilavis*, while governor of Moesia Inferior was *L. Iulius Faustianus*, on May 15th 208<sup>656</sup>. Before its reuse in basilica pavement, the inscription was located in the principia courtyard beside other monuments erected by chief centurions. *M. Aurelius Paulinus* was from Ovilava (Noricum) and his family had held citizenship rights at least for two generations. He belonged to a pseudo-tribe, *Aelia*. The province consular is known from several inscriptions<sup>657</sup>, this one enabling the dating of his legation in 208–210?<sup>658</sup>. Legate *Valerius O[pta]tianus*<sup>659</sup> may be identified with a so-called *C. Valerius [.....]nus*, praetorian rank governor of Pannonia Inferior, mentioned in an inscription discovered in 1955 at Aquincum<sup>660</sup>: *Iovi Iunoni/Minervae/ C. Valerius/[.....]nus/leg. Aug. pr. pr. / cos. desig. et Salviae Luciulae eius*). This person might have been legion legate of I Italica in 208, governor of Pannonia Inferior prior 214, and then *consul designatus*.

*L. Venuleius L. f. Gal. Apronianus Octavius*. His legation is mentioned on two inscriptions discovered at Pisa (Regio VII)<sup>661</sup>. He was *consul iterum* in 168 (his father, *L. Venuleius Apronianus* had also been *cos. ord.* in 123), *consul suffectus* around 145 and legion legate in the first years of Antoninus Pius reign (142–143)<sup>662</sup>.

*Ignotus*. An inscription discovered in Bulgaria records a certain [---]ERNO, probably a *Paternus* or *Maternus* cognomen, on whom we find he was *legatus legionis I Italicae*, the inscription being probably placed by several freedman of whom only the two names, *Eutychius* and *Pasquinius* preserved<sup>663</sup>. Unfortunately, the find spot is unknown, but we may assume, likewise B. Gerov, that it must have been found at Oescus or nearby. Recently, G. Alföldy suggested a new reading, considering firstly that the name would pertain to a Moesia Inferior governor and not to a legion legate. Consequently, the previous theory on a possible legation of *M. Cornelius Nigrinus Curiatius Maternus* to Moesia Inferior, immediately after its establishment, is resumed<sup>664</sup>.

*Ignotus*. Statue base discovered *in situ* in the villa at 75 m towards Danube from the Novae enclosure<sup>665</sup>. This statue base exhibits the following inscription:---E--- / ---R--- / ---ET--- / ---N--- / [aedi]li, praet(ori) [tu]/[tela]rio, curat(ori) civ[it(at)is] / [...]etanorum, cura[tori] / [via]e Clodiae Cass[iae...]/[...]/tiae Ciminia[e] / [iu]rid(ico) Apuliae et C[ala]l[briae] [item]que Brut[io]rum, sac[er]doti[...]/[...]/i proco(n)[s(uli) pr]ov(inciae) S[iciliae]/ sortit[o] / [o]ptiones leg(ionis) I [Ital(icae)]/ Gord(iana) patr(ono) integ[errimo]/ per Aur(elium) Domnionem op(tionem) pr(aetorii). The inscription dates from 238–244 under Gordian III. Considering he had been proconsul of

<sup>656</sup> L. Mrozewicz, ArchWarszawa 28, 1977 (1978), p. 117–124, just one side; Idem, ArchWarszawa 31, 1980 (1982), p. 101–112, right side; Idem, Eos 69, 1981, 1, p. 99–103 = AÉ 1982, 849 = ILB 268 ter = ILN 28

<sup>657</sup> PIR<sup>2</sup> I 304; Stein, *Legaten*, p. 88–89; Fitz, *Laufbahn*, p. 50; D. Boteva, ZPE 110, 1996, p. 243–244; Thomasson, *Laterculi*, p. 54, no. 20:110.

<sup>658</sup> Em. Doruțiu-Boilă, StCl 22, 1984, p. 109–113.

<sup>659</sup> L. Mrozewicz, ZPE 93, 1995, p. 221–225 = Idem, in *Prosopographica*, p. 43–48.

<sup>660</sup> AÉ 1962, 119.

<sup>661</sup> CIL XI 1432 = InscrIt VII, I, 16; 1433 = InscrIt VII, I, 17 = AÉ 1955, 120, 6.

<sup>662</sup> Alföldy, *Konsulat*, p. 150

<sup>663</sup> V. Beševliev, *Epigrafski prinosi*, Sofia, 1952, p. 57, no. 97 = AÉ 1957, 302 = ILB 13.

<sup>664</sup> G. Alföldy, REMA 1, 2004, p. 54–58 = AÉ 2004, 1239: [*M. Cornelio Nigrino Curiatio Mat]erno c[o(n)s(ule)] / [leg(ato) Aug(usti) pr(o) pr(aetore) prov(inciae) Moesiae Inferioris,...]o leg(ato) leg(ionis) I Italicae*. See also Thomasson, *Laterculi*, col. 125, no. 28; col. 148, no. 162, resuming the idea of G. Alföldy, H. Halfmann, Chiron 3, 1973, p. 356–361 (the text of the inscription from Liria Edetanorum at p. 345; AÉ 1973, 283 = IPD<sup>4</sup> 775b = IDRE I 176; PME, C 242). See also CIL II 6013, Liria Edetanorum: *M. Cornelio / M. f. G[al.] Nigri/no Curiatio / Materno cos. / leg. Aug. pro pr. provinc. Moes. / provinc. Syriae* and CIL II 3783.

<sup>665</sup> M. Čičikova, V. Božilova, in *Studia in honorem Borisi Gerov*, Sofia, 1990, p. 44–50 = ILN 46.



Sicily, the anonymous individual could not fulfil but the *legatus legionis* office as this proconsulate was of pretorian rank, position which should have been mentioned by the beginning of the inscription. It is very likely that this *extra muros villa* served as residence for the legion legate.

*Ignotus, leg(atus) leg(ionis) [I Ital.] Antoniniana[e]* appears on a fragmentary votive altar discovered at Hjusendže (Bulgaria). Based on the legion surname we may argue it dates either under Caracalla or Elagabal<sup>666</sup>.

Twenty-one *legati legionis*<sup>667</sup> are recorded, of whom seven are mentioned by inscriptions from Novae while in office, one being also known from another source.

### 3.2. *Tribuni militum legionis*<sup>668</sup>

*C. Aetrius C. f. LEMONIA Naso, tribunus militum angusticlavius*, as mentioned on an inscription from Sentinum (Regio VI), probably his origin. After serving in *prima militia* as prefect of *I Germanorum* cohort (however we are certain it is the one from Moesia Inferior<sup>669</sup>), became tribune of legion I Italica<sup>670</sup>. The inscription was dated by the end of the 1st C.

*L. Antonius L. f. Galerius Numida, tribunus militum angusticlavius*, as appears on two honorific inscriptions from Saguntum (Hispania Tarraconensis). His tribunate was dated in the second half of the 1st C<sup>671</sup>.

*Antonius Valens, trib(unus) milit(um) leg(ionis) I Ital(icae), angusticlavius?* His name appears on a dedication placed by centurion *Novius Ulpianus* to Hercules, on god's statue base in the sanctuary at Balaklava in Crimea<sup>672</sup>. We find from other two dedications, one to Hercules and one to *Iupiter Optimus Maximus Dolichenus* that this tribune led the vexillation sent from Moesia Inferior<sup>673</sup>.

*C. Aponius Memmius Celer, tribunus militum angusticlavius*, mentioned on a tombstone discovered at Cibalae (Pannonia Inferior), yet the moment of his tribunate cannot be dated accurately, possibly by the turn of the 2nd C<sup>674</sup>.

*L. Arrius Alcibiades, tribunus militum angusticlavius*, mentioned on an inscription rendering the letter of Moesia Inferior governor to him and a legion centurion with reference to rampancy regarding the prostitution tax levied at Chersonesus. The legion name is not mentioned, however it may be legion I Italica<sup>675</sup>. The inscription dates prior 185–186, when the same office is held by another tribune, *Atilius Primianus*.

<sup>666</sup> CIL III 12439; Fitz, *Honorific Titles*, p. 60, no. 209.

<sup>667</sup> Another should be added, whose inscription was recently discovered at Novae during excavations in *retentura sinistra*, T. Sarnowski, *ArchWarszawa* 56, 2005, p. 148, who may be identified, in Sarnowski's view, with the unknown legate under Gordian III (ILN 46).

<sup>668</sup> See the extensive study, only for the equestrian rank tribunes, of T. Sarnowski, in *Prosopographica*, p. 63–80.

<sup>669</sup> Fl. Matei-Popescu, *SCIVA* 52–53, 2001–2002, p. 211–212, no. 25.

<sup>670</sup> CIL XI 5745 = ILS 6644; PME, A 95; T. Sarnowski, in *Prosopographica*, p. 63–80, no. 5.

<sup>671</sup> CIL II 3845; 3850; PME, A 141; T. Sarnowski, in *Prosopographica*, p. 63–80, no. 2 (in the Flavian time).

<sup>672</sup> T. Sarnowski, V. M. Zubar, O. J. Savelja, *Historia* 47, 1998, 3, p. 325–326, no. 1, fig. 4 = T. Sarnowski, O. J. Savelja, *ArchWarszawa* 49, 1998, p. 41–42, no. 3; *AE* 1998, 1154.

<sup>673</sup> T. Sarnowski, V. M. Zubar, O. J. Savelja, *Historia* 47, 1998, 3, p. 326–329, no. 2, fig. 5 = T. Sarnowski, O. J. Savelja, *ArchWarszawa* 49, 1998, p. 43–44, no. 34; *AE* 1998, 1156; T. Sarnowski, O. J. Savelja, *ArchWarszawa* 49, 1998, p. 42–43, no. 32; *AE* 1998, 1155, the other dedication to Hercules.

<sup>674</sup> CIL III 3268; PME, A 151; T. Sarnowski, in *Prosopographica*, p. 63–80, no. 19.

<sup>675</sup> CIL III 13750 = IGR I 860 = *AE* 1893, 126 = Solomonik, *Latinskie nadpisi*, p. 20–27, no. 1; PME, A 161 (praepositus vexillationi Chersonessitanae ad exigendum vectigal de lenonibus – τοῦ τέλους τοῦ πορνικῶ); T. Sarnowski, in *Prosopographica*, p. 63–80, no. 13. See also Saxer, *Vexillationen*, p. 91–92, no. 269. See also a fragment of Greek inscription discovered at Balaklava, E. I. Solomonik, *Numizmatika i Epigrafika* 11, 1974, p. 34–36, no. 2 = SEG 26, 1976–1977, 801 = *AE* 2000, 1277 (= T. Sarnowski, O. J. Savelja, *Balaklava. Römische Militärstation und Heiligtum des Iupiter Dolichenus*, Warsaw, 2000, p. 187–189).

*Atilius Primianus, tribunus militum angusticlavius*, indicated on the same inscription from Chersonesus that also mentions tribune *L. Arrius Alcibiades* (*vide supra*). It is not certain that the tribunate was fulfilled with legion I Italica or legion XI Claudia, but we know it dates from 185–186<sup>676</sup>.

*[Au]rel(ius) [...]us, tribunus militum angusticlavius*, appears on an inscription discovered at Novae (*trib(unus) leg(ionis) s(upra)s(criptae)*). Probably his tenure is to be dated in the 3rd C.<sup>677</sup>

*C. Caesidius C. f. Clustumina Dexter, tribunus militum angusticlavius*, appears on an honorific inscription from Pitinum Pisaurense (Regio VI), with the following career: *eques cohortis (praetoriae) VIII*, prefect of cohort *I Lingonum equitata* from Britannia, tribune of legion I Italica, prefect of *ala classaria invicta bis torquata c. R.* from Britannia (possibly during the war under Hadrian)<sup>678</sup>.

*M. Cassius Paullinus, tribunus militum laticlavius*, recorded on a tombstone at Rome, presenting his short career. Subsequent one of the vigintivirate offices, he became tribune of the legion stationed at Novae and then *quaestor* in the province of Macedonia<sup>679</sup>.

*Ti. Claudius Claudii Iasonis f. Quirina Agrippinus, tribunus militum angusticlavius*, appears on an inscription from Patara, Lycia, placed in his honour. Thus we find he had been *praefectus fabrum, tribunus legionis III Gallicae, tribunus legionis I Italicae, praefectus alae (VII) Phrygum*. His activity dates from the first half of the 2nd C.<sup>680</sup>

*Q. Cosconius M. f. Pollia Fronto, tribunus militum angusticlavius*, according to an inscription discovered at Caralis (Sardinia), possibly by the end of the 2nd C, as he appears as *procurator Augustorum*, most likely under Septimius Severus and Caracalla<sup>681</sup>. He had previously served as *praefectus cohortis I Antiochensium* in the neighbouring province, Moesia Superior. He became *procurator Augustorum et praeses provinciae Sardiniae* subsequent several procuratorships, when *Lucretius*, an imperial freedman and *tabularius provinciae Sardiniae* placed this inscription.

*Q. Glitius P. f. Stellatina Atilius Agricola, tribunus militum laticlavius*, under Vespasian, according to the two honorary inscriptions from Taurini (Augusta Taurinorum), rendering his career. The fact he belonged to tribe *Stellatina* obviously proves he came from this city. He would become legate of Pannonia under Trajan and would be involved in the Dacian war, being decorated and becoming *consul iterum* in 103 together with *M. Laberius Maximus*<sup>682</sup>.

*T. Iulius T. f. Fabia Saturninus trib(unus) mil(itum) leg(ionis) I Ital(icae), angusticlavius*, as recorded by two honorary inscriptions discovered at Letnica (Bulgaria) and Capidava. He was active under Hadrian-Antonius Pius<sup>683</sup>.

*C. Maesius C. f. Picantianus, tribunus militum laticlavius legionis I Italicae*, emerges on an inscription from Brixia as city patron during his praetura. He was *adlectus inter tribunicios*

<sup>676</sup> CIL III 13750 = IGR I 860 = AÉ 1893, 126 = Solomonik, *Latinskie nadpisi*, p. 20–27, no. 1; PME, A 161.

<sup>677</sup> L. Mrozewicz, *ArchWarszawa* 46, 1995, p. 54–55; AÉ 1995, 1333; T. Sarnowski, in *Prosopographica*, p. 63–80 (p. 72), no. 20.

<sup>678</sup> CIL XI 6033; PME, C 39; T. Sarnowski, in *Prosopographica*, p. 63–80, no. 8.

<sup>679</sup> CIL VI 1373 (p. 3141, 4688).

<sup>680</sup> TAM II/2 423 = IGR III 670 ; PME, C 116; T. Sarnowski, in *Prosopographica*, p. 63–80, no. 9; D. Kennedy, *ZPE* 118, 1997, p. 303.

<sup>681</sup> CIL X 7584 = ILS 1359; CIL X 7583 (fragmentary); Stein, *RE* IV, 1901, col. 1670, no. 14; Pflaum, *Carrières*, p. 706–708, no. 264; PME, C 253; T. Sarnowski, in *Prosopographica*, p. 63–80, no. 17.

<sup>682</sup> CIL V 6974 = ILS 1021; CIL V 6977 = ILS 1021<sup>a</sup>. See also IDRE I 157–161 and E. Groag, *RE* Suppl. III, 1918, col. 786–789, no. 1; PIR<sup>2</sup> G 181. Dobó, *Verwaltung*, p. 39–40, no. 26; E. Dabrowa, in D. L. Kennedy, *The Roman Army in the East*, *JRA* Suppl. Ser. 18, Ann Arbor, 1996, p. 286–287.

<sup>683</sup> AÉ 1928, 153 = ILB 246; AÉ 1934, 107 = ISM V 10; PME, I 120; T. Sarnowski, in *Prosopographica*, p. 63–80, no. 11. More inscriptions were discovered at Gallia Lugdunensis, rendering his further procuratorial career (Pflaum, *Carrières*, no. 174)

*ab Imperatore Hadriano Antonino Augusto Pio*, after servicing as legion tribune at Novae<sup>684</sup>. He would subsequently become legate of the province of Numidia (legion III Augusta) in 162–165 (definitely recorded in 163/164–165)<sup>685</sup>.

*L. Marcius Celer M. Calpurnius Longus* appears on two inscriptions in Greek from Attaleia (Antalya) in the province of Lycia et Pamphylia, which relay he was *tribunus militum laticlavii legionis I Italicae* (χιλίαρχος λεγεῶνος πρώτης Ἰταλικῆς) and then *legatus Augusti pro praetore* in the provinces Pontus et Bithynia and Achaia (πρεσβευτῆς Πόντου καὶ Βιθυνίας, πρεσβευτῆς Ἀχαιίας)<sup>686</sup>. His name may also be identified on an inscription from Patara, also in Greek, reminding a certain *Lucius Marcius Celer Marcus Calpurnius Longus*<sup>687</sup>. He became *cos. suff.* in 148.

[...] *Memmius ... Anien(s)i Barbarus* is mentioned on an inscription found at Asturica Augusta (Hispania, Astorga), fulfilling the following offices: *sacerdos Romae et Augustorum ad Lucum Augusti*, *flamen provinciae Hispaniae citerioris trib(unus) mil(itum) leg(ionis) I Italicae an(norum) LVIII h(ic) s(itus) e(st)*<sup>688</sup>. The inscription may date from the second half of the 1st C.

*C. Nummius Horatia Verus, tribunus militum angusticlavii*, decorated during Trajan's Dacian war, former prefect of a *cohors Thracum*<sup>689</sup>.

*Ti. Plautius Ti. f. Papiria Felix Ferruntianus, tribunus militum angusticlavii*, by the beginning of Marcus Aurelius's reign, as recorded by an inscription from Mactaris (Africa). We also find that while legion tribune, he was also *praepositus vexillationibus Ponticis apud Scythia(m) et Tauricam*, i.e. commander of legionary vexillations sent from Moesia Inferior to north of Pontus Euxinus. He would be subsequently transferred to Africa and sent by Middle Danube where he is recorded as *praepositus vexillationis legionis III Augustae apud Marcomannos*<sup>690</sup>.

*Sex. Quintilius Sex. f. Aniensi tribu Valerius Maximus, tribunus militum laticlavii legionis* according to an inscription discovered at Tusculum. This office would date from the last years of the 1st C, considering that around 110 he became legate of Achaia<sup>691</sup>.

*Fl. Sergius Sosibius, tribunus militum angusticlavii*, attested at Chersonesus by a dedication to Commodus and this tribune by *T. Aur(elius) T. f. Cam(ilia) Secundus Rave(nna), tr(ierarchus) c(lassis) F(laviae) M(oesicae)* in 184<sup>692</sup>.

<sup>684</sup> CIL V 4338 = InscIt X, V/1, 126; PIR<sup>2</sup>, V/1, M 78.

<sup>685</sup> CIL VIII 4591 = 18648; 10658 = 17588; 17587; B. E. Thomasson, *Die Statthalter der römischen Provinzen Nordafrikas*, II, Lund, 1960, p. 180; Y. Le Bohec, *La troisième légion Auguste*, Paris, 1989, p. 385–386. The year of his consulate is unknown; he was possibly consul suffectus in 165, Alföldy, *Konsulat*, p. 180 (p. 248 for Numidia legate).

<sup>686</sup> AÉ 1972, 620, 621. See also G. Camodeca, ZPE 112, 1996, p. 237–239.

<sup>687</sup> TAM II 426.

<sup>688</sup> CIL II 2638 (p. 911) = IRPLEon 77 = EAstorga 18; PME, M 39; T. Sarnowski, in *Prosopographica*, p. 63–80, no. 4. He then pursued a career at the level of province sacerdotal offices, *flamen provinciae Hispaniae citerioris et sacerdos Romae et Augusti ad Lucum Augusti*.

<sup>689</sup> CIL XI 3100; PME, N 24; T. Sarnowski, in *Prosopographica*, p. 63–80, no. 6.

<sup>690</sup> CIL VIII 619 = ILS 2747 = IPD<sup>4</sup> 535; AÉ 1969–1970, 580; Saxer, *Vexillationen*, p. 42–43, no. 72; Pflaum, *Carrières*, p. 539–541, no. 198; T. Sarnowski, ArchWarszawa 38, 1988, p. 77, no. 29; PME, P 41; T. Sarnowski, in *Prosopographica*, p. 63–80, no. 12.

<sup>691</sup> CIL XIV 2609 = IDRE I 103; see also CIL III 384, where appears with municipal offices during Trajan in colony Alexandria Troas and only mentioned to be transferred in senatorial order by Nerva (*latus clavus exornatus a divo Augusto Nerva*) and that he was quaestor in the province of Pontus et Bithynia; PIR Q 24; E. Groag, *Die römischen Reichsbeamten von Achaia bis auf Diokletian*, Vienna – Leipzig, 1939, col. 105–106; H. Halfmann, *Die Senatoren aus dem östlichen Teil des Imperium Romanum bis zum Ende des 2. Jahrhunderts n. Chr.*, Göttingen, 1979, p. 141–142, no. 49.

<sup>692</sup> AÉ 1900, 199 = CIL III 14214<sup>34</sup> = IOSPE I<sup>2</sup> 417 = Solomonik, *Latinskie nadpisi*, p. 37–38, no. 9; Sarnowski, ArchWarszawa 38, 1988, p. 77, no. 30; PME, F 71; T. Sarnowski, in *Prosopographica*, p. 63–80, no. 14.

*M. Ulpus Peregrinus, tribunus militum angusticlavius*, from *Napuca*, placed a dedication at Novae to goddess Diana<sup>693</sup>. The devoter bears an imperial gentilicium, thus proving Trajan granted his ancestors Roman citizenship. The name of the city of Napoca is written *Napuca*<sup>694</sup>.

*P. Vedius P. f. Quir. Antoninus* appears on an honorific inscription in Greek from Ephesus; however it is uncertain if he is of senatorial or equestrian rank<sup>695</sup>. As it seems that he had been before prefect of an auxiliary cohort, he was probably of equestrian rank. His career developed during the 2nd C.

*C. Vettius C. f. Voltinia Sabinianus Iulius Hospes, tribunus militum angusticlavius* under Antoninus Pius, around 154, as recorded by the famous inscription discovered at Thuburbo Maius (Africa Proconsularis) rendering his impressive career, started as cohort prefect and ended as consul<sup>696</sup>.

[*Tib. Claudius ?*] *Pollio, tribunus militum angusticlavius*, emerges on a fragmentary inscription at Ephesus<sup>697</sup>, indicating that after being prefect of *I Thracum Syriaca* cohort, stationed in Moesia Inferior after Trajan's Parthian expedition<sup>698</sup>, he became tribune of legion I Italica. The inscription was dated post 165. H. Devijver identified him with a certain *Tib. Claudius Pollio*, who appears on a lead *pondus* discovered at Metropolis, province of Asia, while being *agoranomus*<sup>699</sup>.

*Ignotus* emerges on an inscription from Nemausus, Gallia Narbonensis<sup>700</sup>, identified as *D. Terentius Scaurianus*<sup>701</sup>, which is not entirely definite. Of interest for us is the fact that this individual was also *tribunus militum laticlavius legionis I Italicae*.

*Ignotus* (---) *ti fil. Quir. I* (---) appears on an inscription discovered at Cagliari, whose second line was read: [*trib. mil. leg(ionis) I*] *Itali(cae)*, followed by a second legion tribunate, however the legion name was lost to stone cracks and a senatorial career, *quaestor and praetor*, the inscription being placed by *ordo Karalitanorum* (Caralis, Sardinia), the city whose patron this individual was<sup>702</sup>.

<sup>693</sup> M. Čičikova, in *In memoriam Constantini Daicoviciu*, Cluj, 1974, p. 65–72 = ILB 279 = ILN 6 = IDRE II 323: [*Dia*] *nae Aug. / [sa]c(rum) M. Ulp(ius) / Napuca / Peregrinus / trib. leg. I Ital. / v. s. l. m.*; PME, U 13bis; T. Sarnowski, in *Prosopographica*, p. 63–80, no. 16. The inscription was discovered at Novae in 1967, in the East sector, near the enclosure wall and tower 1.

<sup>694</sup> Same as with Ptolemy (III, 8, 4). L. Mrozewicz, in *Phosphorion. Studia in honorem Mariae Čičikova*, Sofia, 2008, p. 417–420, who considers it an engraving error due to a reading mistake of the cursive text, which the lapicide used when transcribing the inscription text. In the cursive text, *o* and *v* were easily mistaken. Examples like *VIVOS* instead of *VIVVS* that emerge at Novae are considered by the author arguments to this respect.

<sup>695</sup> D. Knibbe, *JÖAI* 50, 1972–1975, p. 71–72, no. 3 = *AÉ* 1975, 802; PME, V 60; T. Sarnowski, in *Prosopographica*, p. 63–80, no. 7 (in the time of Trajan).

<sup>696</sup> *AÉ* 1920, 45 = IPD<sup>4</sup> 524 = IDRE II 427; PIR V 339; A. Betz, *RE* VIII A 2, 1958, col. 1861–1867, no. 43; E. Birley, *Carnuntum Jahrbuch*, 1957, p. 18; Dobó, *Verwaltung*, p. 65–67, no. 46; PME, V 80; Piso, *Fasti Daciae*, p. 131–137, no. 26 (*legatus Augusti pro praetore III Daciae* 180?–182, with complete bibliography); T. Sarnowski, in *Prosopographica*, p. 63–80, no. 10.

<sup>697</sup> *AÉ* 1968, 484; PME, P 127; T. Sarnowski, in *Prosopographica*, p. 63–80, no. 18. See also PME, C 169, where a certain *P. Claudius Tib. f. Palatina* (sic!) *Pollio* appears on a Greek inscription from Teos, Asia province, *praefectus cohortis primae milliariae Thracum*, stationed on the territory of the province of Syria Palaestina.

<sup>698</sup> Fl. Matei-Popescu, *SCIWA* 52–53, 2001–2002, p. 227–229, no. 36.

<sup>699</sup> H. Devijver, *ZPE* 50, 1983, p. 270–274 = idem, *The Equestrian Officers of the Roman Imperial Army*, Amsterdam, 1989, p. 229–234; Τιβ. Κλ. Πολλί(ου)ωνος ἱππικ(οῦ) ἀπὸ χειλιαρχεί(α)ς φιλοσεβ(ά)στου / μόνου ἀγο(ρανό)μου. As noticed by the author, the formula ἱππικὸς ἀπὸ χειλιαρχ(ε)ίας is the Greek translation of the Latin: *equus (Romanus) a militiis*.

<sup>700</sup> *CIL* XII 3169 = IDRE I 183.

<sup>701</sup> I. Piso, *ActaMN* 19, 1982, p. 39–50. See contra Y. Burnand, *MEFRA* 87, 1975, 2, p. 701–703; W. Eck, *ZPE* 52, 1983, p. 151–155.

<sup>702</sup> *AÉ* 1951, 203.



*Ignotus, tribunus militum laticlavii* appears on an inscription discovered at Saloniae. After having served as legion tribune, he became legate of either legion XX Valeria Victrix or XXX Ulpia Victrix. His tribunate dates during Hadrian's reign, whose candidate for *tribunus plebis* and *praetor* offices he was, probably between 128/130<sup>703</sup>.

Twenty-seven tribunes are recorded with this legion, eight are *tribuni laticlavii* and the remaining nineteen are *angusticlavii*, except for two tribunes we cannot determine.

### 3.3. Praefecti castrorum

*T. Aurelius Bithus?*, *praefectus castrorum*, appears in the lower part of an altar/limestone base discovered at Novae in 1975, at 250 m W the fortress enclosure. It may date from the 3rd C, taking into consideration his Thracian origin, according to the *cognomen*<sup>704</sup>.

*T. Flavius Sammius Terentianus*, *praefectus castrorum*, emerges on an altar discovered at Novae in the small sanctuary constructed above the *mithraeum* destroyed by the middle of the 3rd C, in the SW part of the fortress. It dates by the end of Aurelian's reign<sup>705</sup>.

*C. Iulius Maximus* erects a limestone altar for *Deus Invictus* at Novae, most likely by the beginning of the 2nd C<sup>706</sup>.

*Ignotus* appears on an extremely fragmentary inscription discovered at Novae in the *valetudinarium* area. The inscription editors attempted to link it with a possible record of a *Sol invictus* temple built under Elagabal<sup>707</sup>. However, their arguments are far from convincing, as long as no erasure marks are found on the single letter preserved from the supposed epithet *A[ntoniniana]*. Additionally, the epithet *A[lexandriana]* may not be excluded either. Still, considering that epithet *Antoniana* is recorded at Novae by an inscription placed for *Mars Victor* to the health of Elagabal<sup>708</sup>, we may agree with the authors' interpretation.

*Ignotus* appears on an altar dedicated to *Iupiter Optimus Maximus* by *Aurelius Philippus, cornicularius praefecti (castrorum) legionis I Italicae Severianae*, discovered at Novae. As the epithet of the legion shows, he was active in the time of Severus Alexander<sup>709</sup>.

### 3.4. Primpili legionis

*Arius Coryphus*. His name appears on a limestone altar dedicated to Diana Augusta and discovered at Nikopol (Bulgaria). Thus, we find that this individual, chief centurion of legion I Italica Antoniniana places a dedication to Diana to the health of emperor Caracalla by rearranging a fountain and by planting trees (r. 6–7: *fonte refecto arboribus institutis*), through the care of *Arius Diogenianus*, most likely his freedman<sup>710</sup>.

<sup>703</sup> AÉ 1922, 36: [...le]gat(o) l[eg(ionis) XX Val(eriae) vel XXX Vlp(iae) / vic]tric(is), praetori c[andidato / divi] Hadriani, tri[b(uno)] plebis / candidato eiusdem, q[uaestori / divi Ha]driani, t[rib(uno) mil(itum) legion(is) I] Itali[cae...]; Alföldy, *Legionslegaten*, p. 30–31, no. 38; Birley, *Roman Government of Britain*, p. 252, no. 25.

<sup>704</sup> ILN 30.

<sup>705</sup> AÉ 1998, 1129; V. Najdenova, in A. Fol et alii (eds.), *Studia in memoriam Velizari Velkov Univ. Prof. D. Dr. collegae et discipuli dedicaverunt*, Thracia 13, Sofia, 2000, p. 311–318 (= AÉ 2001, 1734): *T. Fl(avius) Sammius Terentianus / praefectus castrorum*.

<sup>706</sup> AÉ 1932, 53 = CIMRM II, p. 357, no. 2271 = ILB 290 = Mrozewicz, *Legioniści*, p. 126–127, no. 59.

<sup>707</sup> E. Bunsch, J. Kolendo, J. Zelazowski, *ArchWarszawa* 54, 2003, p. 44–50, no. 1 = AÉ 2004, 1243.

<sup>708</sup> IGLN 33 = ILN 18, see below the complete discussion on this inscription.

<sup>709</sup> L. Mrozewicz, *ZPE* 172, 2010, p. 289–295.

<sup>710</sup> V. Beševliev, *Epigrafski prinosi*, Sofia, 1952, p. 38–39, no. 60 = AÉ 1957, 282 = ILB 143; Fitz, *Honorific Titles*, p. 60, no. 210.

*Aurelius Concessus*. His name appears on *laterculus primorum ordinum centurionumque* from 196, discovered at Novae<sup>711</sup>.

*M. Aurelius Iustus*, a native of Horreum Margi (Moesia Superior), appears on a limestone altar dedicated to the *dii militares*, *Genius*, *Virtus*, *Aquila Sancta*, *Signa*, as chief centurion of legion I Italica Severiana. The altar was discovered at Novae and transported in the 19th C to Bucharest (now with the National Military Museum, former MNA L 146)<sup>712</sup>. According to the Bulgarian scholar B. Gerov, the altar was dedicated on September 20th 224 to *dies natalis legionis*.

*M. Aurelius M. f. Aelia (tribu) Paulinus*, a native of Ovilava (Noricum), appears on an inscription discovered at Novae (West, sector X) in 1976 in the front and in 1978 on the right side of Episcopalian basilica, placed to honour Septimius Severus and his family while governor of Moesia Inferior was *L. Iulius Faustianus* and legion legate was *Valerius [Opta]tianus*<sup>713</sup> (*vide supra*) on May 15th 208. Before its reuse in the basilica pavement, the inscription was located in the principia courtyard beside other monuments erected by chief centurions. His had citizenship right for at least two generations. He belonged to a pseudotribe *Aelia*. The province consular is known from several inscriptions<sup>714</sup>, this enabling the dating of his legation between 208–210?<sup>715</sup>

*C. Baienius C. f. Claudia Ianuarius*, from Celeia (Noricum), chief centurion of legion I Italica Severiana, places a dedication at Novae for Jupiter Depulsor to the health of emperor Severus Alexander. The statue base discovered at Novae West (sector V) in 1965 (fragments A and B) and in 1966 (fragment C) contains three inscriptions placed on three sides of a limestone pedestal, whose support surface bears the marks of a feasting system for god's statue<sup>716</sup>. The statue was erected on October 5th 227, while *Q. Servaeus Fuscus Cornelianus* was legion legate (*vide supra*) and *L. Mantennius Sabinus* was legate of Moesia Inferior (*vide supra*). The devotee came from Celeia (Celje, Noricum) whose citizens belonged to *Claudia* tribe. Jupiter Depulsor was a Norico-Pannonian divinity whose task was to beat back enemy attacks.

*L. Betutius L. f. Palatina Furianus, primus pilus legionis I Italicae*, appears on two inscriptions from Ariminum<sup>717</sup>.

*Flavius Constans, (primus pilus?)*. The name of this possible chief centurion appears on *laterculus primorum ordinum centurionumque* of 196 discovered at Novae<sup>718</sup>.

[*D. Furius D. f. Octavius Secundus Curib(us) Sab(inis), primipil(us) leg(ionis) primae [I]ta[l]ic.*, under Hadrian (post 135)-Antoninus Pius, on an honorific inscription from Serrae (Macedonia)<sup>719</sup>. He was a native of Cures Sabini (Regio IV). After fulfilling several offices at

<sup>711</sup> T. Sarnowski, ZPE 1993, p. 205–219 (p. 208).

<sup>712</sup> CIL III 6224 = CIL III 7591 = ILS 2295 = ILB 282.

<sup>713</sup> L. Mrozewicz, ArchWarszawa 28, 1977 (1978), p. 177–124, just one side; idem, ArchWarszawa 31, 1980 (1982), p. 101–112, the right side; idem, Eos 69, 1981, 1, p. 99–103 = AÉ 1982, 849 = ILB 268 ter = ILN 28

<sup>714</sup> Stein, *Legaten*, p. 88–89; Fitz, *Laufbahn*, p. 50; Thomasson, *Laterculi*, p. 54, no. 20:110; PIR<sup>2</sup> IV, p. 211–212.

<sup>715</sup> Em. Doruțiu-Boilă, StCl 22, 1984, p. 117–118, no. 3.

<sup>716</sup> J. Kolendo, ArchWarszawa 19, 1968 (1969), p. 117–144, fig. 1–19 = AÉ 1972, 526 = ILB 272 = ILN 13.

<sup>717</sup> CIL XI 385; 386 = ILS 6659; AÉ 1945, 29.

<sup>718</sup> T. Sarnowski, ZPE 1993, p. 205–219 (p. 208).

<sup>719</sup> CIL III 7334 = Dobson, *Primipilares*, 123 = CGLBI 671 (Sérrai, Serrhae, Macedonia): [...]*us Decimi f. / [Serg(ia)] Octavius Sel[c]undus Curib(us) Sab(inis) mil(es) coh(ortis) / X urb(anae) translatus in coh(ortem) VI pr(aetoriam) / [s]ing(ularis) trib(uni) beneficiarius trib(uni) sing(ularis) pr(aefecti) / [p]raet(orio) optio in centur(ia) sign(ifer) / <fisci> curat(or) cornicul(arius) trib(uni) / ev(ocatus) Aug(usti) (centurio) leg(ionis) X Fretensis / donis don(at)us ab divo Hadrian(o) / ob bell(um) Iudaicum corona aul(rea) torquib(us) armillis phaler(is) / et ab eodem promotus succes(ione) / in leg(ionem) primam Italic(am) primipil(us) leg(ionis) / eiusdem adlectus decurio in / colon(i)is et or<na>m(entis) Ivirilib(us) / <or>n(at)us Actiae Nicopolis et Ulpia [----].*

Rome with the praetorian cohorts, he became centurion of legion X Fretensis, receiving *dona militaria* from Hadrian following his involvement in the emperor's Jewish War, subsequently promoted as chief centurion of legion I Italica, immediately after 135. The inscription infers he still held this office after Hadrian's death, when he was honored with duumvir decorations by colonies Actia Nicopolis and Ulpia [---]<sup>720</sup>.

*C. Iulius Carianus*. His name is recorded on a marble altar discovered in the 19th C at Novae and then transported to Bucharest (MNA L 70). He erected an altar to *Liber Pater* and we learn he gave up the equestrian order to join the army (*ex equite Romano*). His mission dates most likely from the second half of the 2nd C<sup>721</sup>.

*Cn. Iulius L. f. [Fa]b(ia tribu) Rufus*<sup>722</sup> emerges on a statue base at Berytus (Syria) erected to his honour by *Iulius Candidus*, centurion of legion V Macedonica, son-in-law of this chief centurion. Among his multiple tasks counted a centurionate with legion V Macedonica, under Domitian or Trajan and one with legion XI Claudia pia fidelis; the individual is also known from a Karak Nouh of Beqaa<sup>723</sup> inscription, relaying he ended his military career as chief centurion of legion I Italica. He received *dona militaria* from Domitian and Trajan (in the Parthian war aftermath). He also received *albata decursio* under Trajan.

*M. Maesius Geminus*. The chief centurion name appears on two altars discovered at Novae, one being transported in the 19th C to Bucharest (now with MNA L 19), both dedicated to *Bonus Eventus legionis* and *Bonus Eventus Augusti* in 182<sup>724</sup>. The individual was from Bononia, either in Moesia Superior (Vidin) or Italy (Bologna).

*L. Maximius L. f. Voltinia Gaetulicus*, from Vienna (Gallia Narbonensis) erected in 184, a statue base for goddess *Victoria Panthea Sanctissima*, most likely in the fortress principia. The base was found in 1982 in the basilica westwork, West Novae (sector XI), close to the entrance in the central aisle<sup>725</sup>. He had begun his military career 57 years ago in Britannia as *tiro legionis XX Valeriae Victricis*, becoming subsequently centurion (RIB 1725, Aesica, Great Chesters: *IOM D[oli]c(h)eno Lucius Maximius Gaetulicus c(enturio) leg(ionis) XX V. V. v. s. l. m.*; RIB 2120, Trimontium, Newstead: *Deo Apollini L. Maximius Gaetulicus c(enturio) leg(ionis)*) and chief centurion of the legion quartered at Novae by the end of his career.

*C. Valerius C. f. Pap(iria) Valentianus* appears on an inscription at Oescus, discovered following 1960 excavations, as chief centurion of legion I Italica Severiana, then prefect of legion I Adiutrix Severiana<sup>726</sup>. The inscription was placed by his son, *C. Valerius Plautianus*, a member of the equestrian order and also *pontifex et duumviralis coloniae*. We may assume the individual was from Colonia Ulpia Oescensium considering the find spot of the inscription and in particular his membership to Papiria tribe. The epithet Severiana for the two legions enables us to date this inscription under Severus Alexander.

<sup>720</sup> See L. Ruscu, ZPE 157, 2006, p. 250–251.

<sup>721</sup> CIL III 750 = Gerov, *Romanizmat*, II, p. 360, no. 52 = ILB 292 = IGLN 30 (MNA L 70).

<sup>722</sup> C. Ghadban, Bulletin d'archéologie et d'architecture libanaises, 2, 1997, p. 206–223 (*non vidi*) = AÉ 1998, 1435 = CEpR XIX–XX 878 (C. C. Petolescu).

<sup>723</sup> CIL III 13606 = IGLS VI 2955.

<sup>724</sup> CIL III 6223 = ILB 283; AÉ 1982, 848 = ILB 284.

<sup>725</sup> L. Mrozewicz, ZPE 57, 1984, p. 181–184 (Taf. 15) = idem, ArchWarszawa 35, 1984 (1986), p. 142–146 = AÉ 1985, 735 = ILN 27 = IGLN 46 = B. Rémy, F. Kayser, *Les viennois hors de Vienne. Attestations (épigraphiques, littéraires et papyrologiques) de l'activité des Viennois(es) en dehors de leur cité*, Bordeaux, 2005, p. 80–81, no. 43, 1 and p. 82–83, for a brief comment on his career. See also J. Kolendo, ArchWarszawa 31, 1980 (1982), p. 49–60 and E. Birley, *The Roman Army Papers, 1929–1986*, Amsterdam, 1988, p. 206–220, for discussion on the extended service period of a centurion.

<sup>726</sup> V. Beševliev, *Epigrafski prinosi*, Sofia, 1952, p. 53, no. 84 = AÉ 1957, 294 = ILB 17.

*M. Valerius M. Valerii Mucacenti f. Quir. Flavianus, domo Cirta.* His name appears on a statue base dedicated to Mars to the health of Elagabal (218–222), discovered in 1987 in the fortress principia at Novae<sup>727</sup>. His patronymic reveals a Balkan origo (Thracian), being the descendant of a Thracian who settled in Africa following discharge. The authors join *Spinus Mucacenti* and *Quintus Mucatralli*, who both had served in Africa, in *ala I Pannoniorum* (p. 44)<sup>728</sup>.

[...]inu[s p(rimus)] p(ilus)/ [leg(ionis) eiusde]m v[ot]um / [...posu]it appears on an extremely fragmentally inscription recently discovered at Novae following excavations in *principia*<sup>729</sup>.

*Ignotus, primus pilus legionis felicis I Italicae victricis piae, promotus ex optione tribunorum, inpositus in ordinem legionis,* appears on a very interesting inscription discovered at Novae<sup>730</sup>. A debate arose on the meaning of the *ex nova ordinatione* (M. P. Speidel), which should be rather put in the connection with the promotion *ex optione tribunorum*, than with a new type of organization of the Roman legions in the 3<sup>rd</sup> C (T. Sarnowski). The epithet of the legions seems to date from Gallienus' reign.

Sixteen *primipili* of the legion are recorded (without taking into account *T. Aurelius T. f. Papiria Flavinus*, former *primus pilus* of an unmentioned legion, possible I Italica, in the time of Caracalla (*divus Magnus Antoninus*)<sup>731</sup>), by far the largest number we know for the legions quartered on Moesia Inferior territory. From this viewpoint, the extended archaeological excavations from Novae were crucial, as eleven of the chief centurions were recorded based on inscriptions found at Novae.

### 3.4. Centuriones legionis<sup>732</sup>

*Aelius Artemidorus, centurio r(egionarius)*<sup>733</sup>, appears on an inscription found at Montana, dated under governor *L. Iulius Statilius Severus* – 159–160<sup>734</sup>.

*Aelius Cydias, centurio secundus hastatus posterior* is on the list of legion centurions of 196<sup>735</sup>.

*P. Aelius P. f. Romanus ex Mysia, centurio*, is mentioned by the end of the 2nd C on a tombstone from Lambaesis, centurion of legion III Augusta, after being successively centurion with legions *I Italica*, *XX Valeria Victrix*, *VII Claudia*, receiving, while centurion in Africa *donis donatus, debellator hostium prov. His. et Mazicum reg. Montens.*<sup>736</sup>.

*M. Aemilius L. f. Severinus, centurio*, appears on two inscriptions in Greek, discovered at Olbia and dated during the 2nd C<sup>737</sup>.

*L. Antonius L. fil. Arnensi Felix Karthagine, centurio*, is recorded on an inscription from the third quarter of the 2nd C discovered at Troesmis. His career included: (*centurio*) *leg(ionis)*

<sup>727</sup> T. Sarnowski, BJ 189, 1989, p. 97–120.

<sup>728</sup> J. Kolendo, in *L'Africa romana. Atti del V convegno di studio Sassari, 11–13 dicembre 1987*, Sassari, 1988, p. 375–381, fig. 1 = Idem, ArchWarszawa 39, 1988 (1990), p. 93–99 = AÉ 1988, 984 = ILN 18 = IGLN 33.

<sup>729</sup> T. Sarnowski, ArchWarszawa 56, 2005, p. 145, note 5.

<sup>730</sup> T. Sarnowski, ZPE 95, 1993, p. 197–203; M. P. Speidel, ZPE 100, 1994, p. 469–470; T. Sarnowski, ZPE 111, 1996, p. 289–290; AÉ 1993, 1363 (Speidel's reading).

<sup>731</sup> CIL III 14416 = ILS 7178 = ILB 18 = IDRE II 320 and ILB 19 = IDRE II 321, discovered at Oescus, his hometown. See also Dobson, *Primipilares*, p. 295, no. 191.

<sup>732</sup> The list was last compiled by T. Sarnowski, ZPE 95, 1993, p. 213–218.

<sup>733</sup> CIL III 12371 = Gerov, *Romanizmăt*, II, p. 356, no. 1 = *Montana*, II, p. 26, no. 51. With the most recent publication, *r(apacis)*, but in fact *r(egionarius)*.

<sup>734</sup> Thomasson, *Laterculi*, col. 135, no. 89.

<sup>735</sup> T. Sarnowski, ZPE 95, 1993, p. 208 = AÉ 1993, 1364.

<sup>736</sup> CIL VIII 2786 = ILS 2659; E. Birley, *Carnuntum Jahrbuch 1963–1964*, p. 25, no. 5.

<sup>737</sup> T. N. Knipovič, E. I. Levi, *Nadpisi Olvii*, Leningrad 1968, p. 101, no. 131; V. P. Jajlenko, in *Problemy issledovanija Olvii. Tezisy dokladov i soobščenij seminaru*, Parutino, 1985, p. 89 (*non vidi*); AÉ 1995, 1347.



*III Aug(ustae), (centurio) leg(ionis) X Gem(inae), [(centurioni) l]eg(ionis) I Ital(icae)*<sup>738</sup>. The same individual is mentioned on an inscription from Lambaesis<sup>739</sup>.

*Ant(oni)us Pl(...), centurio*, is attested between 162–167 on a Tyras tile stamp<sup>740</sup>.

*Q. Apidius Sabinus, centurio has(tatus) leg(ionis) I Ital(icae) ex trecena(rio)*, appears on an altar discovered during diggings within the *valetudinarium* perimeter at Novae<sup>741</sup>. J. Kolendo, the first editor of the inscription, notes erroneously: “En effet, le *trecenarius* était à la tête d’une unité de 300 *speculatores* stationnée à Rome”. In fact, he had fulfilled three centurionates in Rome garrison, returned to the legion among the *primi ordines*, thus being able to become subsequently chief centurion<sup>742</sup>.

*M. Atalius Placidus, centurio*, appears on a tile stamp from north the Black Sea, unpublished, which may be dated broadly in the 2nd – 3rd C<sup>743</sup>. He may be identical with the individual identified on an inscription from Tyras placed *pro successu eius* to Asclepius and Hygia by a *medicus vexillationis* and a *medicus duplicarius classis Flaviae Moesiaca*<sup>744</sup>.

*M. Aurelius Claudianus, centurio bis*, appears on a tombstone discovered at Ostia, which may be dated broadly in the 2nd – 3rd C. He retired after fulfilling a centurionate career with several legions, being *centurio secundus princeps prior* in legion XVI Flavia, therefore centurion in *cohors II*. Since his centurionates are enumerated reversely, we may assume that the two centurionates with legion I Italica date from the last years of Commodus or the first years of Septimius Severus reigns<sup>745</sup>.

*M. Aurelius Iaso[n], centurio*, appears on a dedication discovered at Bjala Slatina (Bulgaria), which may be dated in 205–222<sup>746</sup>. The dedication to (*Deus*) *Aeternus* was placed together with his sons, *Ulpus Lucretius, Aurelius Iason* and *Aurelius Lucretianus*, who had already joined the equestrian order.

*L. A(... ) C(...), centurio, praepositus vexillationis Moesiae inferioris*, as recorded by a brick stamp discovered at Charax and which was dated based on the archeological context in the third quarter of the 3rd C<sup>747</sup>.

*P. A[el(ius) M]onimus, centurio*, placed a dedication discovered at Altimir (Bulgaria)<sup>748</sup>. It may be dated approximately between mid 2nd C and mid following C, however the individual’s name and rank are not certain.

*Bae(bius) Urvinianus, centurio primus hastatus posterior*, i.e. the second centurion of the first cohort<sup>749</sup> is on the list of 196, discovered at Novae, comprising *primi ordines* and *centuriones*.

<sup>738</sup> CIL III 6185 = ISM V 176.

<sup>739</sup> CIL III, p. 1005: *D. M. / M. Laetorio Syriaco mil(iliti) leg(ionis) III Aug(ustae) (centuria) Antoni Felic(is)*.

<sup>740</sup> AÉ 1925, 78.

<sup>741</sup> J. Kolendo, ArchWarszawa 49, 1998, p. 60–61, no. 5 = AÉ 1998, 1132.

<sup>742</sup> J. C. Mann, ZPE 52, 1983, p. 136–140. See also C. C. Petolescu, in Y. Le Bohec (ed.), *La hiérarchie (Rangordnung) de l’armée romaine sous le Haut-Empire. Actes du Congrès de Lyon (15–18 septembre 1994)*, Paris, 1995, p. 245–248, discussing the case of *Q. Trebellius Q. f. Fab. Maximus Roma, ex trecenario, centurio legionis V Macedonicae I hastatus posterior*, recorded by an inscription discovered at Tomis (CIL III 7534 = ILS 4063 = Em. Doruțiu-Boilă, SCIV 13, 1962, 2, p. 415–419 = ISM II 140).

<sup>743</sup> T. Sarnowski, ZPE 95, 1993, p. 214, no. 8.

<sup>744</sup> AÉ 1995, 1350.

<sup>745</sup> AÉ 1981, 158; Richier, *Centuriones ad Rhenum*, p. 385–387, no. 342. See for the rank this centurion attained, Domaszewski, RO<sup>2</sup>, p. 93 and p. 95–96 as each succession equaled a promotion.

<sup>746</sup> CIL III 12388.

<sup>747</sup> AÉ 1900, 200 = CIL III 14215<sup>4</sup>: *Per L. A(... ) C(... ) (centurionem) leg(ionis) I It(alicae) praep(ositum) vex(illationibus) Moes(iae) Inf(erioris)*. See also T. Sarnowski, V. M. Zubar, ZPE 112, 1996, p. 234.

<sup>748</sup> CIL III 13720 = Gerov, *Romanizmăt*, II, p. 358, no. 22.

<sup>749</sup> T. Sarnowski, ZPE 95, 1993, p. 208 = AÉ 1993, 1364. For the centurion rank see Domaszewski, RO<sup>2</sup>, p. 93.

*Baebius, centurio*, according to an inscription from Novae, dated broadly in the 2nd – 3rd C<sup>750</sup>.

[C.]*Blandius C. [f.] Voltinia Latinus, centurio*, appears on an honorific inscription discovered at Genava dated under the Flavian dynasty<sup>751</sup>. He was recruited in legion I Italica, possibly as early as its establishment. He served as *miles* in the fortress at Novae and became *centurio* in 85/86–88, being transferred later.

*Calvisius Flavinus, centurio*, appears on a dedication found at Montana, dating under governor *L. Iulius Statilius Severus*, 159–160<sup>752</sup>.

*Cassius Bassus, centurio*, appears on a limestone funerary stela, evidently coming from one of Novae cemeteries. A *vitis*, the centurion symbol is depicted beneath the inscription. The absence of *dis manibus* formula enables its dating by the end of the 1st C<sup>753</sup>.

*Carisius Clemens, centurio*, appears on a dedication probably found at Noviodunum? It is placed by *C. Iulius Fabius, optio ad spem (vide infra)* from his centuria. The inscription may date after 167, when this limes sector was took over by legion I Italica<sup>754</sup>.

*Claudius Dexter, centurio tertius princeps prior*, appears on the list of 196 discovered at Novae<sup>755</sup>, comprising *primi ordines* and *centuriones*.

*Tib. Claudius D[- -], centurio*, appears on a dedication from the 2nd C discovered at Madara (Bulgaria)<sup>756</sup>.

*Ti. Claudius Ti. f. Galeria Vitalis, centurio, ex equite Romano* under Domitian–Trajan (*vide supra* the complete discussion)<sup>757</sup>.

*Cornelius Firmus, centurio*, erected an altar at Barboși to the health and harmony of the two emperors, Marcus Aurelius and Lucius Verus. The altar may date in the interval 167–169, the moment when the legion was moved to Potaissa and Lucius Verus death<sup>758</sup>.

*Dov(ius) Fortunatus, centurio secundus princeps posterior*, appears on the list of 196 discovered at Novae, comprising *primi ordines* and *centuriones*<sup>759</sup>.

*El(- -) Eufeminus, centurio secundus hastatus prior*, appears on the list of 196 discovered at Novae, comprising *primi ordines* and *centuriones*<sup>760</sup>.

*G. Ers[idius?], (centurio) l[eg(ionis) I]It(alicae)*, is recorded on a tombstone discovered in Čomakovci village, approximately 60 south Oescus on Isker river, erected by his spouse, son and daughter<sup>761</sup>.

<sup>750</sup> ILN 111.

<sup>751</sup> CIL XII 2601 = Howald, Meyer, *Die römische Schweiz*, p. 230, no. 119: “Der Gennante ist also während des Aufenthaltes des 1. Legion in Lyon eigetreten, marschierte mit ihr nach Italien, wurde dann in die gennante Abteilung der 2. Legion versetzt und kam dadurch mit der zu ihrem Truppenteil zurückkehrende Abteilung nach Britannien, wo er blieb;...” = J. L. Maier, *Genavae Augustae. Les inscriptions romaines de Genève*, Geneva, 1983, p. 51, no. 32 = ILNarb. V/3 (Vienne) 865; Mrozewicz, *Legioniści*, p. 84–85, no. 18; Richier, *Centuriones ad Rhenum*, p. 120–121, no. 22. See also L. Mrozewicz, *Eos* 74, 1986, p. 303–308.

<sup>752</sup> V. Božilova, *Montana*, I, p. 28, no. 13 = AÉ 1987, 879 = *Montana*, II, p. 26, no. 50; Thomasson, *Laterculi*, col. 135, no. 89.

<sup>753</sup> ILB 329 = ILN 59 = IGLN 85 = Mrozewicz, *Legioniści*, p. 90, no. 26; p. 164, no. 115 = Conrad, *Grabstelen*, p. 235, no. 405.

<sup>754</sup> D. Tudor, *Materiale* 2, 1956, p. 604–606, no. 100 = AÉ 1957, 195.

<sup>755</sup> T. Sarnowski, *ZPE* 95, 1993, p. 208 = AÉ 1993, 1364.

<sup>756</sup> D. Dečev, in *Madara. Razkopki i Proučvanija*, II, Sofia, 1936, p. 22, no. 3.

<sup>757</sup> CIL VI 3584 = ILS 2656 = IPD<sup>4</sup> 794 = IDRE I 3; Ritterling, *RE*, XII, 1925, col. 1282; 1413; 1417; 1432; 1584; 1627; 1670; 1779; Domaszewski, *RO*<sup>2</sup>, p. 94–96; 232–233; K. Strobel, *Tyche* 2, 1987, p. 203–209.

<sup>758</sup> CIL III 778 = 7514 = ISM V 297.

<sup>759</sup> T. Sarnowski, *ZPE* 95, 1993, p. 208 = AÉ 1993, 1364.

<sup>760</sup> T. Sarnowski, *ZPE* 95, 1993, p. 208 = AÉ 1993, 1364.

<sup>761</sup> ILB 170.

*Enn(ius) Deccius, centurio primus hastatus posterior*?, appears on the list of 196 discovered at Novae, comprising *primi ordines* and *centuriones*<sup>762</sup>.

*Fan(nius) Semninus, centurio primus princeps posterior*, appears on the list of 196 discovered at Novae, comprising *primi ordines* and *centuriones*<sup>763</sup>.

*C. Firmin[i]us Luca[nus] do[mo] Daci[a]*, *centurio legionis I Italicae Antoniniana*, appears on a dedication for *Diana Sancta Ve(natrix?)* discovered at Montana, dated under emperors Caracalla or Elagabal<sup>764</sup>.

*Flavius Augustalis, cent(urio) leg(ionis) pri(mae) It(alicae) Moes(iacae?)*, appears on a tombstone discovered at Aquileia, which is likely to date from the second half of the 3rd C<sup>765</sup>.

*T. Flavius Carantinus, centurio*, erects together with his spouse a funerary stela to their one year old son at Novae, in the second half of the 2nd C<sup>766</sup>.

*Fl(avius) Honoratus, centurio*, on a dedication discovered at Novae<sup>767</sup>, dated 2nd and 3rd C (“On remarquera l’abréviation du nomen gentile, *Fl(avius)*, ce qui peut suggérer une datation de l’inscription dans III<sup>e</sup> siècle”).

*T. Flavius Iulius, centurio legionis I Italicae, praepositus n(umeri) c(ivium) R(omanorum)*, appears on two dedications from Montana dated by mid 3rd C<sup>768</sup>.

*Gra(nius?) Ie[.]a[.]lida, centurio tertius hastatus prior*, appears on the list of 196 discovered at Novae, comprising *primi ordines* and *centuriones*<sup>769</sup>.

*Q. Granius Romanus, centurio*, places a dedication at Montana to *Latona*. It may date in the second half of the 2nd C<sup>770</sup>.

*Humid(ius), centurio quintus hastatus prior*, appears on the list of 196 discovered at Novae, comprising *primi ordines* and *centuriones*<sup>771</sup>.

*Iulius Candidus, centurio*, emerges on a dedication discovered at Old Kilpatrick (Britannia). His mention on the altar for *Iupiter Optimus Maximus*, in the location where *cohors I Baetasiarum* had been stationed, made E. Birley presume that part of the legion was in Britannia beside Septimius Severus in 208–211<sup>772</sup>.

*Iul(ius) Co[- -]*, *centurio tertius princeps posterior*, appears on the list of 196 discovered at Novae, comprising *primi ordines* and *centuriones*<sup>773</sup>.

*C. Iulius C. f. Col. Crescens, centurio*, erected a funerary stela to his parents’ memory, probably in the first quarter of the 2nd C, discovered in Brest village, Bulgaria, near Oescus<sup>774</sup>.

<sup>762</sup> T. Sarnowski, ZPE 95, 1993, p. 208 = AÉ 1993, 1364.

<sup>763</sup> T. Sarnowski, ZPE 95, 1993, p. 208 = AÉ 1993, 1364.

<sup>764</sup> AÉ 1957, 306 = Gerov, *Romanizmăt*, II, p. 398, no. 778. Improved reading by L. Mrozewicz, ZPE 78, 1989, p. 163–164 = AÉ 1989, 638 = *Montana*, II, p. 15, no. 25 = IDRE II 317. See also Fitz, *Honorific Titles*, p. 61, no. 211.

<sup>765</sup> CIL V 914 = InscrAquil 2739.

<sup>766</sup> J. Kolendo, ArchWarszawa 50, 1999, p. 19–38 (28 et sqq. no. 5) = Conrad, *Grabstelen*, p. 232, no. 393.

<sup>767</sup> J. Kolendo, ArchWarszawa 33, 1982 (1985), p. 72–74, fig. 7–8 = ILN 8.

<sup>768</sup> AÉ 1975, 743 = AÉ 1979, 548 = *Montana*, II, p. 16, no. 30 = M. Reuter, 80. BerRGK, 1999, p. 476, no. 58; *Montana*, I, p. 31, no. 20 = AÉ 1987, 884 = *Montana*, II, p. 21–22, no. 44. See Fl. Matei-Popescu, SCIVA 51–52, 2001–2002, p. 230–231, no. 38.

<sup>769</sup> T. Sarnowski, ZPE 95, 1993, p. 208 = AÉ 1993, 1364.

<sup>770</sup> AÉ 1975, 748 = AÉ 1979, 549 = AÉ 1985, 742 = V. Božilova, *Montana*, I, p. 32–33, no. 26 = *Montana*, II, p. 36, no. 78. See also V. Božilova, *Montana*, I, p. 34, no. 34 = *Montana*, II, p. 35, no. 73, fragmentary dedication to *Hygia* reading *Gran[ius]*, the name of the same individual.

<sup>771</sup> T. Sarnowski, ZPE 95, 1993, p. 208 = AÉ 1993, 1364.

<sup>772</sup> E. Birley, Britannia 1, 1970, p. 310, no. 20 = AÉ 1971, 226.

<sup>773</sup> T. Sarnowski, ZPE 95, 1993, p. 208 = AÉ 1993, 1364.

<sup>774</sup> CIL III 7428 = ILB 56 = Mrozewicz, *Legioniści*, 55 = Ferjančić, *Settlement of Legionary Veterans*, p. 295, no. 406 = Conrad, *Grabstelen*, p. 249–248, no. 463.

His father, *C. Iulius C. f. Col. Celer*, had served in legion V Macedonica and was a veteran when he died.

*C. Iulius (?) C(- - -), centurio l(egionis) I (Italicae)*, emerged on a tile stamp discovered at Tyras dated in the first quarter of the 3rd C<sup>775</sup>.

*C. Iulius Faventianus, centurio*, appears on a dedication discovered at Günzburg (Raetia)<sup>776</sup>. It was placed to the divinity of river *Gontia*, Günz nowadays. The itineraries mention Guntia by the interflow of the river with the Danube. The inscription placed by Faventianus may date from the time when certain legion detachments participated in the repression of Clodius Albinus rebellion in Gaul between 196 and 197.

*Iul(ius) Ni[- - -], centurio tertius hastatus posterior*, appears on the list of 196 discovered at Novae, comprising *primi ordines* and *centuriones*<sup>777</sup>.

*C. Iulius Saturninus, centurio regionarius*, recorded on three dedications discovered at Montana under emperor Severus Alexander<sup>778</sup>.

*Iulius Verecundus, centurio*, 1st C (*h. s. e*)<sup>779</sup>. Soldier *L. Attius Maxsimus* (sic!), who erected a funerary stela in the memory of his comrade ...*Donatus* (*vide infra*) served in his centuria.

*Iunius Pacatus, centurio*, appears on a dedication discovered at Iatrus (Krivina, Bulgaria) dated by the beginning of the 2nd C<sup>780</sup>.

*Q. Lucilius Piscinus*, legion centurion, placed a dedication to *Sol Invictus in honorem domus divinae*, discovered at Tropaeum Traiani<sup>781</sup>. The inscription refers most likely to the Severan family.

*C. Maenius Haniochus, domo Corinthi, centurio legionis I Italicae*, placed a dedication on April 19th 127 at Thebes, in Egypt, on one of the statues of Memnon, son of Aurora<sup>782</sup>. He had begun his career in legion XI Claudia p. f., was subsequently transferred in legion I Italica, in the same province, so to be later transferred, this time in Egypt, with legion II Traiana fortis. His origo was Achaia, born in Corinth, the *nomen* indicating he belonged to a family that had been granted Roman citizenship a long time ago.

*C. Marius Victorinus, centurio*, appears on a dedication of May 18th 203, (*dedicatum XV kal(endas) Iunias* [[*Plautiano II et P. Septimio Geta cos*]]), discovered at Montana<sup>783</sup>.

*L. Messius [P]rimus, centurio r(egionarius)? vel fr(umentarius)*, during *T. Pomponius Vitrasius Pollio* legation in Moesia Inferior (157–159)<sup>784</sup>; he put a dedication to Hercules for the health of the legate, discovered at Almus (Lom, Bulgaria)<sup>785</sup>.

<sup>775</sup> I. B. Klejman, *Kraskije Soobšćenija*, Odessa, 1963, p. 34 (*non vidi*); T. Sarnowski, ZPE 95, 1993, p. 216, no. 44.

<sup>776</sup> AÉ 1930, 74: *Gontiae / sac(rum) / G. Iulius / Faventianus / (centurio) leg(ionis) I Ital(icae)*.

<sup>777</sup> T. Sarnowski, ZPE 95, 1993, p. 208 = AÉ 1993, 1364.

<sup>778</sup> V. Božilova, *Montana*, I, p. 29–30, no. 17 = *Montana*, II, 39: *centurio regionarius*; CIL III 12380 = Gerov, *Romanizmät*, II, p. 359, no. 39 = *Montana*, II, 134: *centurio regionarius*; *Montana*, II, 135: *centurio leg. I Ital. Sev.*

<sup>779</sup> CIL III 6232 = ILB 311 = IGLN 87 = Mrozevicz, *Legioniści*, p. 80, no. 13; p. 102–103, no. 35; p. 130, no. 130 = Conrad, *Grabstelen*, p. 234–235, no. 403 (Bucharest, MNA L 237).

<sup>780</sup> AÉ 1985, 762.

<sup>781</sup> CIL III 12468 = CMIRM II, p. 366, no. 2312 = Aricescu, *Armata*, p. 220, no. 49.

<sup>782</sup> CIL III 42 (“in Memnonis pede dextro summo”) = ILS 8759<sup>c</sup>: *C. Maenius Haniochus / domo Corinthi / (centurio) leg(ionis) XI Cl(audiae) p. f. item I / Ital(icae) item II Tr(aiana) f(ortis) audivi Memnonem ante semihoram / XIII K.Mai. Gallicano et Titiano cos. eodem die / hora prima et dimidia*. The monument was in fact one of the two giant statues of pharaoh Amenophis III that gave out certain sounds, which the visitors heard and recorded in written; the two monuments include 18 inscriptions in Latin.

<sup>783</sup> V. Božilova, *Montana*, I, p. 26–27, no. 11 = AÉ 1985, 744 = AÉ 1987, 877 = *Montana*, II, 14.

<sup>784</sup> Stein, *Legaten*, p. 72–73; Fitz, *Laufbahn*, p. 47; Thomasson, *Laterculi*<sup>2</sup>, p. 50–51, no. 20:087.

<sup>785</sup> CIL III 6125 = 7420 = Gerov, *Romanizmät*, II, p. 358, no. 19.



*Muf(eius ?) Ter[- - -]*, *centurio quartus hastatus posterior*, appears on the list of 196 discovered at Novae, comprising *primi ordines* and *centuriones*<sup>786</sup>.

*[Nu]mis(ius) Florus*, *centurio secundus princeps prior*, appears on the list of 196 discovered at Novae, comprising *primi ordines* and *centuriones*<sup>787</sup>.

*Novius Ulpianus*, *centurio*, appears on more inscriptions discovered at Balaklava, Crimea, beside tribune *Antonius Valens*, commander of the vexillation sent from Moesia Inferior there<sup>788</sup>.

*Num(- - -) F[- - -]*, *centurio quintus pilus prior*, appears on the list of 196 discovered at Novae, comprising *primi ordines* and *centuriones*<sup>789</sup>.

*L. Octavius Pulcher*, *centurio*, appears on a tombstone of a soldier discovered at Scupi, dating from the second half of the 1st C (*vide supra* complete discussion)<sup>790</sup>.

*[M. Petronius Fortunatus]*, *centurio*, is recorded on a tombstone discovered at Cillium (Al Qasrayn, Tunisia), beginning his career, according to some authors, around 172–175<sup>791</sup>. He had served as *miles* in this legion for four years, fulfilling offices that placed him among *principales*: *librarius*, *tesserarius*, *optio* and *signifer*, then *centurio factus ex suffragio legionis eiusdem*, serving subsequently in other legions and receiving decorations, most likely during Septimius Severus Parthian expedition, (*consecutus ob virtutem in / expeditionem Parthicam / coronam muralem, vallarem, / torques et phaleras*). The dating under Septimius Severus is based on the indication of a centurionate in legion *II Parthica*. Considering he lived for 80 years (*agit in diem operis perfecti, annos LXXX*), his career might have extended over 50 years. Nonetheless, he definitely served with legion I Italica in the second half of the 2nd C<sup>792</sup>.

*Pet(ronius?) Flo[rus ?]*, *centurio quintus princeps prior*, appears on the list of 196 discovered at Novae, comprising *primi ordines* and *centuriones*<sup>793</sup>.

*Sab(inius?) Pudens*, *centurio primus hastatus prior*, appears on the list of 196 discovered at Novae, comprising *primi ordines* and *centuriones*<sup>794</sup>.

*M. Ratin(ius) M. f. P(...)* *Saturninus*, *centurio legionis I Italicae Decianae*, at Chersonesus (*praepositus vexillationis Chersonissitanae*). The vexillation he commanded restored *schola principalium* in 250 ([[Traiano]] [[Decio Aug(usto)]] *II et Vettio Grato co(n)s(ulibus)*)<sup>795</sup>.

*[M. Tuccius - - -]*, *centurio*, emerges on a tombstone dated under Trajan at Lambaesis. The inscription reveals he began his career as centurion of cohort *III Bracaraugustanorum* (Raetia, Britannia or Iudaea, possibly an error, as it was *II Bracaraugustanorum*, stationed in Moesia Inferior), becoming subsequently centurion of legions I Italica, XI Claudia, XX Valeria Victrix and III Augusta<sup>796</sup>.

*Ulpus Balimber*, (*centurio*) *princeps l[eg. I] Italic.* is recorded on a funerary marble altar in the shape of a hexagon, with one side written. It was discovered at Constanța, near the large

<sup>786</sup> T. Sarnowski, ZPE 95, 1993, p. 208 = AÉ 1993, 1364.

<sup>787</sup> T. Sarnowski, ZPE 95, 1993, p. 208 = AÉ 1993, 1364.

<sup>788</sup> T. Sarnowski, V. M. Zubar, O. J. Savelja, Historia 47, 1998, 3, p. 325–326, no. 1 = T. Sarnowski, O. J. Savelja, ArchWarszawa 49, 1998, p. 41–42, no. 31.

<sup>789</sup> T. Sarnowski, ZPE 95, 1993, p. 208 = AÉ 1993, 1364.

<sup>790</sup> AÉ 1972, 512 = IMS VI 36 = Mrozewicz, *Legionisci*, p. 117–118, no. 48; p. 142, no. 82.

<sup>791</sup> Wesch-Klein, *Soziale Aspekte*, p. 28–30.

<sup>792</sup> CIL VIII 217 = 11301 = ILS 2658 add. = ILTun. 332 = AÉ 1991, 1633; E. Birley, Carnuntum Jahrbuch 1963–1964, p. 23; Richier, *Centuriones ad Rhenum*, p. 366–369, no. 321.

<sup>793</sup> T. Sarnowski, ZPE 95, 1993, p. 208 = AÉ 1993, 1364.

<sup>794</sup> T. Sarnowski, ZPE 95, 1993, p. 208 = AÉ 1993, 1364.

<sup>795</sup> AÉ 1996, 1358 = AÉ 1999, 1349; Y. G. Vinogradov, V. M. Zubar, *Il MarNero* 2, 1995–1996, p. 129–143.

<sup>796</sup> CIL VIII 3005; E. Birley, Carnuntum Jahrbuch, 1963–1964, p. 26, no. 7. It is rather *II Bracaraugustanorum* see Birley also: “for in every other case in which a man is shown proceeding to a legionary centurionate after service as decurion or centurion in an auxiliary unit, the sequence can be shown to occur in the same province”.

basilica. We learn that *Cocceia Hortensia*, daughter of *Cocceius Hortensius*, *centurio legionis XI Claudiae* and the spouse of *Ulpus Balimber*, (*centurio*) *princeps legionis I Italicae*, erected this altar to her sons' memory, *Ulpus Hortensius* and *Ulpus Balimber*<sup>797</sup>. It may date either from the second half of the 2nd or the first half of the following centuries. The kinship of the two centurions is extremely interesting and even more interesting is the fact that the two nephews tried to maintain both families' traditions through their names. Since the inscription does not mention them as partners in the monument erection, it is possible they had been dead for a long time.

*M. Ulpus Modianus*, [*centurio*], appears on an altar discovered at Iatrus (Krivina, Bulgaria)<sup>798</sup>. His career may date in the 2nd C, most likely the second half or rather the first half of the 3rd C. It is obvious that one of his ancestors was granted citizenship under Trajan.

*Valerius Clemens*, *centurio*, commanded the vexillation of legion I Italica sent together with a vexillation of the Dacian legion V Macedonia, to the aid of Tropaeum Traiani seriously damaged following the Costoboci invasion of 170<sup>799</sup> (*vide supra*).

*C. Valerius Firmus*, *centurio*, placed in 173<sup>800</sup> a dedication, discovered at Troesmis<sup>801</sup>, to *Ti. Claudius Pompeianus* honour, legate of Moesia Inferior and Marcus Aurelius son-in-law (SHA, *Vita Marci*, 20). The same individual appears on an inscription discovered at Ismail, dedicated to the same *Tib. Claudius Pompeianus*<sup>802</sup>.

*L. Valerius L. f. Proclus*, *centurio*, is recorded on a tombstone discovered at Butovo-Nedan (Pavlikeni), in the Roman cemetery NW Nedan village, which renders his complete career that may date under Domitian and Trajan (*vide supra* complete discussion)<sup>803</sup>.

*M. Valerius Vitalis*, *centurio leg(ionis) I Ital(icae)*, emerges on a fragmentary altar discovered in Obnova village, on Asamus river. Considering the dedication was placed under two emperors, it may date either during the joint reign of Marcus Aurelius and Lucius Verus, or Marcus Aurelius and Commodus or the joint reign of Septimius Severus and Caracalla<sup>804</sup>.

*Vasellius Marcellus*, *centurio*, appears on a soldier's tombstone from his centuria, by the end of the 1st C<sup>805</sup>.

*Quietus*, *centurio secundus hastatus prior*, appears on the list of 196 discovered at Novae, comprising *primi ordines* and *centuriones*<sup>806</sup>.

[ - - ] *Pudentinus*, *centurio*, recorded by a dedication discovered at Kalimanica (Bulgaria), near Montana, dated in the first half of the 3rd C<sup>807</sup>.

<sup>797</sup> A. Rădulescu, SCIVA 14, 1963, 1, p. 97–98, no. 15; Aricescu, *Armata*, p. 220, no. 54, p. 204–205, no. 47 = ISM II 260 = AÉ 1988, 1003. *Ulpus Balimber* belonged to *primi ordines*, as the third legion centurion in rank, Domaszewski, RO<sup>2</sup>, p. 93.

<sup>798</sup> H. Krummrey, Klio 47, 1966, 359 sqq., no. 1 = idem, *Das Altertum* 9, 1963, 4, p. 232 = ILB 343.

<sup>799</sup> AÉ 1901, 50 = CIL III 14433 = ILS 9118: *Nept(uno) Aug(usto) sac(rum) / vex(illationes) leg(ionis) I Ital(icae) / M(oesiaca)e et V Mac(edonica)e D(acica)e Trop/a[e]i sub curam (sic!) / Eptidi(i) Modesti / (centurionis) leg(ionis) leg(ionis) V Mac(edonica)e et / Valeri(i) Clementis / (centurionis) leg(ionis) I Ital(icae) / v(otum) s(olverunt) l(ibentes) m(erito)*; Saxer, *Vexillationen*, p. 41–42, no. 72; Aricescu, *Armata*, p. 46 and p. 95. See on Costoboci attack of 170, Vulpe, DID II, p. 158–163; W. Scheidel, *Historia* 39, 1990, 4, p. 493–498.

<sup>800</sup> PIR<sup>2</sup> C, 973; A. Stein, RE III, 1899, col. 2843–2845.

<sup>801</sup> CIL III 6176 = ILS1108 = ISM V 146.

<sup>802</sup> N. Gostar, *Apulum* 7, 1968, p. 381–389 = idem, in J. Bibauw (ed.), *Hommages à Marcel Renard*, II, Collection Latomus, vol. 102, Brussels, 1969, p. 290–291. See also p. 291–301, about *Pompeianus* activity north Dobrudja and even north the Danube.

<sup>803</sup> CIL III 12411 = ILS 2666b = IPD<sup>4</sup> 771 = ILB 432 = CGLBI 648 = Mrozewicz, *Legioniści*, p. 169–170, no. 123 = Ferjančić, *Settlement of Legionary Veterans*, p. 303, no. 455.

<sup>804</sup> ILB 241.

<sup>805</sup> CIL III 7441 = ILB 301 = Mrozewicz, *Legioniści*, p. 167–168, no. 119; p. 169, no. 122; p. 175, no. 129.

<sup>806</sup> T. Sarnowski, ZPE 95, 1993, p. 208 = AÉ 1993, 1364. For the centurion rank see Domaszewski, RO<sup>2</sup>, p. 93.

<sup>807</sup> T. Sarnowski, ZPE 95, 1993, p. 217, no. 74; *Montana*, II, p. 29–30, no. 58.

*Ignotus, centurio*, emerges on a tombstone dated under Trajan-Hadrian, discovered at Troesmis. He was, by turns, centurion of legions I Italica, X Fretensis and V Macedonica and when he died at 53, he held same office<sup>808</sup>.

*Ignotus, centurio pri(mus) pri(nceps) pri(or) le[g. I] It.* emerges on an *optio* tombstone discovered at Rome, dated under Septimius Severus<sup>809</sup>.

*Ignotus, [pri]nceps leg. I Ital.*, appears on a dedication discovered at Novae, dated broadly in the 2nd and 3rd C<sup>810</sup>.

*Ignotus, [pri]nc(eps) leg. pr. I[tal.]*, erected a tombstone, discovered at Ravenna, to his spouse memory. Most likely, his activity dates from the 3rd C<sup>811</sup>.

*Ignotus, ordinarius legionis I Italicae*, according to an inscription discovered at Ticinum (Regio XI)<sup>812</sup>. J. Kolendo considers he commanded there a vexillation composed of troops coming from both legions in Moesia Inferior and that it was sent there, most likely, during the turmoil of the second half of the 3rd C, as the case under Gallienus, when vexillations from legions II Adiutrix and XIII Gemina are recorded at Ticinum<sup>813</sup>.

## **Milites legionis**

### **3.5. Principales**

An inscription discovered at Almus (Lom, Bulgaria), comprises a list of *principales* and *immunes*, headed by *Geminus Severus, evocatus legionis I Italicae*. Although it is not directly mentioned, they all may belong to legion I Italica<sup>814</sup>. Here is the list: *Domitius Celerinus, optio; Aurelius Dionysius, imaginifer; Petronius Ingenuus, tesserarius; Petronius Sn(...), cornicen; Mettius Aquila, imaginifer; Valerius Min(...), cornicen; Annius Celer, optio; Papirius Valens, tubicen; Pomponius ..n., tubicen; Aurelius Cornelianus, custos armorum; Iulius Felix, custos armorum; Cocceius Urbicus, cornicen; Perennius Primus, cornicen; Salvius Vale(n)s cornicen; Iulius Rusticus, evocatus*. The inscription may date from the first half of the 3rd C based on names and paleography.

#### **3.5.1. Optiones**

*Antonius Florianus, optio legionis I Italicae*, erected a funerary stela, discovered at Capidava<sup>815</sup>, to his brother *Antonius Florus, beneficiarius consularis* possibly in the same legion. The activity of this *optio* may date from the second half of the 2nd C after legion V Macedonica was displaced to Potaissa. Likely, *Florianus* had been *beneficiarius consularis* as well, prior his *optio* rank.

*Aurelius Bonitus, optio spei legionis I Italicae*, dedicated an altar discovered at Montana, *pro salute dd(ominorum) nn(ostrorum) Augg(ustorum)*. It most likely refers to Maximinus Thrax and his son<sup>816</sup>.

<sup>808</sup> CIL III 6192 = ISM V 202.

<sup>809</sup> CIL VI 3628. For the centurion rank see Domaszewski, RO<sup>2</sup>, p. 93, he had been the third centurion of the legion.

<sup>810</sup> AÉ 1968, 454bis = ILB 299. For the centurion rank see Domaszewski, RO<sup>2</sup>, p. 93, he was the third centurion of the legion after the two *primipili*.

<sup>811</sup> CIL XI 245.

<sup>812</sup> AÉ 1992, 786. For the term *ordinarius* with a centurion see J. F. Gilliam, *Roman Army Papers*, Amsterdam, 1986, p. 1–22.

<sup>813</sup> J. Kolendo, in *Prosopographica*, p. 91–95.

<sup>814</sup> CIL III 14409<sup>1</sup>.

<sup>815</sup> CIL III 14214<sup>19</sup> = ISM V 41 = CGLBI 616.

<sup>816</sup> Gerov, *Romanizmăt*, II, p. 356, no. 2; V. Velkov, ArchWarszawa 7, 1955, 1, p. 93–94, no. 3 = AÉ 1957, 340 = *Montana*, II, p. 20, no. 41.

*C. Iulius Fabius, optio legionis I Italicae*, of *Carisius Clemens* centuria, dedicated an altar, discovered at Noviodunum<sup>817</sup>, to *Hercules*. The inscription dates most likely after 167, when this limes sector was taken over by legion I Italica, after legion V Macedonica displacement in Dacia, at Potaissa.

*C. Iulius Vale(n)s, optio legionis*, dedicated to *Iupiter Optimus Maximus, Iuno* and *Hercules* a marble tabula, discovered within the Byzantine ruins from Sadovec village<sup>818</sup>.

*C. Iulius Valens, optio legionis I Italicae*, erected a limestone funerary column to himself and his spouse *Irenis* and daughter, *Iulia Valentina*. The monument was discovered in Osenec village, on Loveč city territory<sup>819</sup>. It is hard to say if the two *C. Iulii Valentes*, both *optiones legionis I Italicae*, are one and the same person.

*Numisius Rufinus* erected at Novae an altar for *Iupiter Optimus Maximus D(olichenus)* or *D(epulsor)*. *Numisius* is an Italian, even Etruscan origin *nomen*<sup>820</sup>.

### 3.5.2. *Cornicularii*

*Aurelius Philippus, cornicularius praefecti (castrorum) legionis I Italicae Severianae*, raised an altar to *Iupiter Optimus Maximus*, discovered at Novae. As the epithet of the legion shows, he was active in the time of Severus Alexander<sup>821</sup>.

*Ignotus* is recorded as *cornicularius procuratoris* by an inscription identified at Preslav. His name was lost, but we know that he served in legion *I Italica Alexandriana* also as *beneficiarius consularis* (*vide infra* the entire discussion).<sup>822</sup>

### 3.5.3. *Speculator*

*Valerius Antoninus, speculator legionis I Italicae Severianae*, dedicated a votive altar, discovered at Altimir<sup>823</sup>, to an unknown divinity. The inscription dates under Severus Alexander.

### 3.5.4. *Beneficiarii*

*P. Aelius Clemens, beneficiarius consularis*, dedicated an altar, discovered at Montana in 1978, erected precisely in front the sanctuary for Diana and Apollo<sup>824</sup>. An altar dedicated by the same *beneficiarius* was discovered nearby<sup>825</sup>. Both altars were made erected together with *Aurelia Rufina*, probably his spouse. The name of the same *beneficiarius* is recorded on an altar fragment discovered at Altimir<sup>826</sup>. His *nomen* enables, according to the first editor, the dating in the first or even the second half of the 2nd C.

*Aelius Martianus, beneficiarius consularis legionis I Italicae*, erected a tombstone to his daughter, *Fania Maxima (innocentissima puella...dulcissima)*, at Salonae, in the province of Dalmatia, most likely by the end of the 2nd C<sup>827</sup>.

<sup>817</sup> D. Tudor, *Materiale* 2, 1956, p. 604–606, no. 100 = AÉ 1957, 195.

<sup>818</sup> AÉ 1957, 289 = ILB 235. See the fragments published by V. Velkov, in S. Uenze (ed), *Die spätantike Befestigungen von Sadovec (Bulgarien)*, Münchener Beiträge zur Vor- und Frühgeschichte, 43, Munich, 1992, p. 359–360 = AÉ 1992, 1500.

<sup>819</sup> ILB 234.

<sup>820</sup> AÉ 1944, 14 = Gerov, *Romanizmăt*, II, p. 360, no. 51 = ILB 275. *Depulsor* is recorded at Novae (ILB 272).

<sup>821</sup> L. Mrozewicz, *ZPE* 172, 2010, p. 289–295.

<sup>822</sup> AÉ 1991 = T. Sarnowski, *ZPE* 87, 1991, p. 137–144; see also D. and N. Ovčarov, *Thracia* 8, 1988, p. 122–129.

<sup>823</sup> AÉ 1895, 62 = CIL III 13719 = Gerov, *Romanizmăt*, II, p. 358, no. 23: [...] *Valer(ius) / Antonin(us) spec(ulator) / leg(ionis) I Ital(icae) / Severianae / v(otum) l(ibens) s(olvit)*. On *speculatores* in governor's service see Domaszewski, *RO<sup>2</sup>*, p. 32, no. 3. With the governor's staff served ten *speculatores* selected from each legion.

<sup>824</sup> *Montana*, I, p. 24, no. 5 = AÉ 1987, 872 = CGLBI 646 = *Montana*, II, p. 11–12, no. 19.

<sup>825</sup> *Montana*, I, p. 24–25, no. 6 = AÉ 1987, 873 = CGLBI 645 = *Montana*, II, p. 18, no. 34.

<sup>826</sup> CGLBI 613.

<sup>827</sup> CIL III 2023 = CGLBI 498.



*Aelius Victor, beneficiarius consularis legionis I Italicae*, emerges on limestone cippus, reused in the construction of the post-Gothic enclosure at Histria<sup>828</sup>. The bilingual tombstone was erected by his brother, *Aelius Severianus*, decurion of Durostorum municipality. Under these circumstances, the inscription dates earliest under Marcus Aurelius.

*Antonius Florus, beneficiarius consularis* possibly of legion I Italica emerges on a funerary stela fragment discovered at Capidava. *Florus* died after 23 years of military service<sup>829</sup> and the stela was erected by his brother, *Antonius Florianus, optio legionis I Italicae*. His activity dates from the second half of the 2nd C, after legion's V Macedonica displacement to Potaissa.

*Billanius Troilus, beneficiarius consularis*, erected for *Diana* and *Apollo* an altar, discovered at Montana, to show gratitude for recovery or for keeping him out of danger (*conservatus ab eis*). The inscription was dated in the second half of the 2nd C<sup>830</sup>.

*T. Flavius Sabinus, beneficiarius consularis legionis I Italicae*, erected an altar to *Fortuna Redux*, discovered at Runović (Novae), in Dalmatia province<sup>831</sup>. His name indicates that Vespasian's brother, *Flavius Sabinus*, governor of Moesia by mid 1st C, granted citizenship to one of his ancestors. The inscription dates from the first half of the 2nd C.

*C. Iulius Herculanus, beneficiarius consularis legionis I Italicae Moesiae inferioris*, erected a limestone altar to *Aesculapius* and *Hygia*, discovered in 1939 north the Roman settlement at Skelani, in Dalmatia province<sup>832</sup>, where several inscriptions recording *beneficarii consularis* of legions stationed in Moesia Inferior were discovered. A homonym, *Iulius Herculanus*, possibly the same individual also a *beneficiarius* of legion I Italica, places a dedication to *Iupiter Optimus Maximus* at Stolac (Ad Turres, near Narona), in Dalmatia<sup>833</sup>.

*Iulius Mucazenus, beneficiarius consularis legionis I Italicae, ag(ens) t(erritorio) M(ontanensium)* dedicates a marble altar, discovered in 1977 and reused in a wall of a Paleo-Christian basilica near Diana and Appollo sanctuary<sup>834</sup>. The inscription dates by the end of the 2nd C and the beginning of the following. The formula *agens regione Montanensium* appear on another inscription, mentioning an *optio legionis XI Claudiae*<sup>835</sup>. The cognomen is of Thracian origin and he was a recent Roman citizen.

*M. Pompeius Lucius, beneficiarius consularis*, dedicates an altar, discovered in the forum, to Dolichenus at Dionysopolis. We learn that this individual was a council member of cities Dionysopolis, Callatis and Marcianopolis due to his activity on order enforcement. The inscription dates under Caracalla<sup>836</sup>.

<sup>828</sup> Pârvan, *Histria IV*, p. 668–671, no. 45 = ISM I 302 = CGLBI 634. Here is the Greek version of the text: Αἴλιος Βίκτωρ β. φ. ὑπατικοῦ λεγι(λ)ώνος πρώτες Ἰταλικῆς ἔξεσε / [ἔ]τη λη' ἐστρατεύσατο ἔτε ιη' / [Αἴ]λιος Σεουεριανός βουλευτής / [Δουροστορησίω]ν ἀδελφῶ γλυ/[κυτά]τῳ ἀνέθεκε.

<sup>829</sup> CIL III 14214<sup>19</sup> = ISM V 41 = CGLBI 616.

<sup>830</sup> CIL III 7447 = Gerov, *Romanizmat*, II, p. 356, no. 4 = CGLBI 644 = *Montana*, II, p. 28, no. 56.

<sup>831</sup> CIL III 1906 = CGLBI 467.

<sup>832</sup> ILJug III 1522 = CGLBI 475.

<sup>833</sup> CIL III 14631 = CGLBI 487.

<sup>834</sup> *Montana*, I, p. 29, no. 15 = AÉ 1987, 881 = CGLBI 647 = *Montana*, II, p. 28–29, no. 57.

<sup>835</sup> J. Mladenova, *Arheologija Sofia* 24, 1961, p. 264–265, no. 2 = AÉ 1969–1970, 576 = *Montana*, II, p. 27, no. 53.

<sup>836</sup> IGB I<sup>2</sup> 24 bis = AÉ 1972, 505 = BÉ 1971, 436 = CCID 71 = CGLBI 614: Ὑπὲρ σωτηρίας τοῦ κυ(ρ)ίου Αὐτοκρά(τ)ορος. / Ἀγαθῆι τύχηι / Διὶ Δολιχαίῳ / Μ(άρκος) Πομπήλιος Λού(κιος) βενε(φ)ικιά(ριος) ὑπατικοῦ λεγι(λ)ώνος) ἀ' Ἰταλικῆς / Ἀντωνεινιανῆς / βουλευτῆς Διονυ(σ)πολειτῶν Καλλ(α)τιανῶν Μαρ(κι)ανοπολειτῶν / εὐχαριστήριον. See also Fitz, *Honorific Titles*, p. 61, no. 211; Wesch-Klein, *Soziale Aspekte*, p. 128–129.

*Pius Clarus, beneficiarius consularis I Italicae*, appears on an inscription discovered by S. Torbatov during archeological excavations in the sanctuary for the Thracian Rider at Telerig, Dobrič<sup>837</sup> region.

*M. Ulpius Kalendinus, beneficiarius consularis legionis I Italicae*, erected an altar for *Iupiter Optimus Maximus*, at Naron, Dalmatia province, in 225 (*Fusco II et Dextro consulibus*)<sup>838</sup>.

*Valerius Victorinus, beneficiarius tribuni legionis I Italicae Gordianae*, dedicates *Hercules* a marble plate, discovered at Vraca. The inscription dates from 239 (*Aviola cos.*)<sup>839</sup>.

*Ignotus* is recorded as *beneficiarius consularis* and then *cornicularius procuratoris* by an inscription identified at Preslav. His name was lost, but we know that he served in legion *I Italica Alexandriana*. By the beginning of his military career, he fought in a *bellum Bosporanum*, most likely under Septimius Severus (*quot (sic!) tiro proficiscens in bello Bosporano voverat et adiuvante numen(e) (sic!) eius multis periculis in barbarico liberatus sit merito*)<sup>840</sup>.

Thirteen *beneficarii*, twelve *beneficarii consularis* and one *beneficiarius tribuni laticlavii* are recorded with legion I Italica. Four of the latter are mentioned on the territory of Dalmatia, region of choice for the action of Moesia Inferior *beneficarii*. The *beneficarii* recorded in Montana region are also worth mentioning, one being attested as *agens territorii Montanensium*.

### 3.5.5. *Frumentarii*

*C. Cassius Maximus, miles frumentarius legionis I Italicae*, emerges on a funerary marble plate used for a *columbarium* on *via Ostiensis*<sup>841</sup>. He was selected among the soldiers of legion I Italica and sent to Rome, in the strength of the 300 *frumentarii*.

*C. Iulius Pudens, frumentarius legionis I Italicae miles*, appears on an inscription from Delphi, being sent by Hadrian, during his archontate, to supervise the constructions the emperor financed<sup>842</sup>.

### 3.5.6. *Signiferi*

*L. Cultius, signifer*, erected for an unknown deity an altar discovered at Novae<sup>843</sup>. The legion name does not appear in the inscription, however we may argue it was undoubtedly legion I Italica. It was assumed to date under the Severans.

<sup>837</sup> S. Torbatov, in *Heros Hephaistos. Studia in honorem Liubae Ogneva-Marinova*, Sofia – Veliko Tărnovo, 2005, p. 80–91 = BÉ 2005, 285 = SEG 2008, 820: [Π]είος Κλάρος, βενεφικιάρ(ιος) / ύπατικοῦ λεγιώνης πρώτ(ης) / Ἰταλικῆς ὑπέρ σωτηρίας αὐτοῦ / καὶ αὐτῶν εὐχῆς χάριν ἀνέ/θηκε κυρίῳ Ἡρωὶ Ἡφαιστῶ. Oppermann, *Der thrakische Reiter*, p. 103 and p. 101–103, for the description of the archeological site.

<sup>838</sup> CIL III 1781 = CGLBI 494.

<sup>839</sup> S. Mašov, *Izvestija MuzSev* 8, 1983, p. 92–93, no. 1 = CGLBI 615.

<sup>840</sup> AÉ 1991, 1378 = T. Sarnowski, *ZPE* 87, 1991, p. 137–144; see also D. and N. Ovčarov, *Thracia* 8, 1988, p. 122–129.

<sup>841</sup> AÉ 1958, 183.

<sup>842</sup> Domaszewski, *RO*<sup>2</sup>, p. 63 (Bourguet, *De rebus Delphicis*, 1905, p. 43 – *non vidi*): Θεός Τύχα ἀγαθά. Μηδὲ Ποιοτροπίῳ γ' ἐντόμῳ δαμιουργίῳ ἔδοξεν τοῖς δαμιουργοῖς Γ. Ιουλίῳ Πούδεντι φρουμενταρίῳ λεγιώντος πρώτης Ἰταλικῆς στρατιώτῃ ἐπὶ τῶν ἔργων ὄντι τῶν κατασκευαζομένων ὑπὸ τοῦ κυρίου Καίσαρος Τραϊανῶν Ἀδριανοῦ Σεβαστοῦ, καλῶς [καὶ] αἰδημόνως ἐπιδημοῦντι, δοῦ[ν]ται πολιτείας. Ἄρχοντος Αὐτοκράτορος Καίσαρος Τραϊανῶν Ἀδριανοῦ Σεβαστοῦ. On Hadrian's constructional activity see the general statement of the anonymous author of *Historia Augusta, Hadr.*, 19, 2: *in omnibus paene urbibus et aliquid aedificavit*. Additionally, his habit to accept honorifically public offices with various Roman or Greek cities SHA, *Hadr.*, 19, 1: *in Etruria praeturam imperator egit. per Latina oppida dictator et aedilis et duumvir fuit, apud Neapolim demarchus, in patria sua quinquennalis et item Hadriae quinquennalis, quasi in alia patria, et Athenis archon fuit*.

<sup>843</sup> Gerov, *Romanizmăt*, II, p. 360 = ILB 296 = ILN 19 = IGLN 19.

*Ti. Claudios Zῆnodotos, sig(nifer), (centuria) Iuni(i) Pacati leg(ionis) I Ital(icae)* placed a dedication to (*Deus*) *Invictus*, discovered in the ruins of the late fort at Iatrus (Krivina)<sup>844</sup>. The inscription was dated in the last part of the 1st C and at the beginning of the 2nd C. The Greek influences and the soldier's care to note distinctly the long vowel are of interest. He is obviously a Greek-Easterner, descendant of a member of a former auxiliary troop, discharged under Claudius-Nero.

### 3.5.7. *Custos armorum*

*Valerius Crescens* dedicated at Novae an altar to Mars and *Genius armamentarii* deity, the first dedication to such deity<sup>845</sup>.

### 3.5.8. *Vexillarius*

*Aurelius Titus, vexillarius equitum legionis I Italicae Gordianae Augustae in regione Montanensium* erected at Montana an altar to Diana Regina, 238–244<sup>846</sup>.

### 3.5.9. *Cornicines*

*C. Annius Fuscus, cornicen legionis I Italicae*, recorded on an inscription found at Novae, reused in a late street overlaying the *valetudinarium*, together with *C. Aurelius Vegetus*, from Clunia (*vide infra*) funerary stela. It is still a funerary stela he erected in the memory of his spouse *Valeria L. liberta Elphis*, of servile origin. S. Conrad dated this inscription by the end of the 2nd C and the beginning of the 3rd C<sup>847</sup>. However, I believe that it may rather date from the end of the 1st and the beginning of the 2nd C. The lack of formula *dis manibus* and the presence of *hic sita est*, the Nominative of the deceased name and the soldier's Italian *nomen*, as well as its discovery beside the aforementioned inscription, dating from the last quarter of the 1st C, are elements that strongly support such assumption.

...*Saturninus, cornicen legionis I Italicae* appears on an inscription from Ticinum (Regio XI) placed in the memory of a *centurio ordinarius*<sup>848</sup>, unknown, joined by this individual together with a certain *Curtilianus, signifer legionis XI Claudiae p. f.*<sup>849</sup>. It is hard to determine the inscription date, yet under Gallienus, vexillations of the two Dacian legions, XIII Gemina and V Macedonica, participated in the battles north Italy, being recorded at Dertona and Ticinum<sup>850</sup>. It is very likely that vexillations of Moesia Inferior legions had joined this North-Italian expedition, this inscription proving their presence there.

<sup>844</sup> K. Wachtel, V. Najdenova, *ArheologijaSofia* 1984, 1, p. 41–42 = *AÉ* 1985, 762 = Mrozewicz, *Legioniści*, p. 99, no. 32; p. 131, no. 66.

<sup>845</sup> M. P. Speidel, A. Dimitrova-Milčeva, *ANRW II/16, 2*, p. 1542–1554, especially p. 1551–1554 (photography plate 2) = *ILB* 294 = *ILN* 17. Limestone altar, damaged on the right side, discovered at Novae East, reused in a late construction placed on *via sagularis* near the south enclosure. *Custodes armorum* were part of the so-called “Militärische Chargen”. At first, it seems that each legion centuria had its own *custos armorum*, however over the time, in the 3rd C, appear only 32, meaning that each centuria of cohort I had one, while the 27 manipuli of cohorts II–X had one (von Domaszewski, *RO*<sup>2</sup>, p. 44–45).

<sup>846</sup> V. Velkov, *ArchWarszawa* 7, 1955, 1, p. 96–99, no. 5 = *AÉ* 1957, 342 = *Montana*, I, p. 50–51 = *Montana*, II, p. 13–14, no. 22.

<sup>847</sup> J. Kolendo, *ArchWarszawa* 50, 1999, p. 19–38 (26 et sqq. no. 4) = *AÉ* 1999, 1334 = Conrad, *Grabstelen*, p. 228, no. 381.

<sup>848</sup> For *centurio ordinarius* see J. F. Gilliam, *Roman Army Papers*, Amsterdam, 1986, p. 1–22.

<sup>849</sup> *AÉ* 1992, 786.

<sup>850</sup> J. Kolendo, in *Prosopographica*, p. 91–95 = *AÉ* 1993, 820.

### 3.5.10. *Tesserarii*

*L. Appius ..ANI, tesserarius legionis I Italicae*, erects at Novae an altar for *Asclepius SAORVS?*, discovered in 1993 in *valetudinarium*<sup>851</sup>. The epiclesis *SAORVS* (*SAORO*, Dative case) probably derives from the Greek word σαῦρος / σαύρα – lizard.

On a bronze votive plate discovered in the legionary fortress at Novae, *Priscinius Valens, tesserarius legionis*, places a dedication in Greek to an unknown deity, possibly *Dolichenus*, during the Severan dynasty<sup>852</sup>.

*Aurelius Lupo, tesserarius*, dedicated a limestone altar at Novae to an unmentioned deity, dating, in editors' view from the first half of the 3rd C<sup>853</sup>. Most likely, the altar was brought from the area of a cult edifice, dedicated to the deity unspecified in this inscription, reused in the fortress during late Roman period.

### 3.5.11. *Librarii*

*M. Aur[elius?...] librarius*, according to an inscription discovered at *Novae*, a tombstone fragment found in 1974 in *Novae West* sector. The legion name did not preserve, however it is evidently legion I Italica<sup>854</sup>.

*Cornelius Magnus, librarius legionis I Italicae Severianae*, appears on a funerary stela discovered in *Strahilovo* village. He died at 30, after 13 years of military service. The inscription dates under *Severus Alexander*, according to the legion surname<sup>855</sup>.

### 3.5.12. *Duplicarii*

*Ulpus Eptezenus p(rinceps ?) d(uplicarius)* appears on a votive inscription dedicated to *Silvanus* and *Silvester* discovered at *Liljače*, in *Montana* territory<sup>856</sup>. The *cognomen* of this soldier indisputably indicates his *Thracian* origin, probably the descendant of a *Thracian* origin soldier, who had served in auxiliary troops and received citizenship from *Trajan*. The inscription was dated in the first half of the 3rd C, but earlier dating is not excluded.

### 3.5.13. *Mensor*

*Aurelius Mucianus, discens mensor legionis I Italicae*, died at 20 after only a few years (maximum 2–3 years) of military service. His funerary stela was discovered at *Mečka – Stälpište* (*Trimammium*). His was active in the first half of the 3rd C<sup>857</sup>. His *cognomen* indicates a *Thracian* origin.

## 3.6. *Equites legionis*

*M. Aurelius Maximus, eques legionis I Italicae Antoniniana* made a dedication to *Iupiter Optimus Maximus* and *Iuno Regina* most likely in 215, the year of *Caracalla* third consulate<sup>858</sup>; it was discovered in the place named “*Batova*” near *Dermanci*.

<sup>851</sup> J. Kolendo, *ArchWarszawa* 49, 1998, p. 61–62, no. 6 = *AÉ* 1998, 1133.

<sup>852</sup> I. Velkov, *Godišnik na Narodnija Muzej za 1922–1925, 1926*, p. 157 = *AÉ* 1927, 79 = *AÉ* 1935, 110 = Gerov, *Romanizmät*, II, p. 363, no. 108 = *IGLN* 174 = *IGB V* 5261: Πρισκείνιος / Βάλης τεσ(σεράριος) λε/γι(ώνος) πρώτης Ἴτα/λικῆς θεῶ Δι/εὶ ὑπὲρ σωτη/ρίας εὐχῆν ἀ/νέθεκα.

<sup>853</sup> *AÉ* 2004, 1250 = E. Bunsch, J. Kolendo, J. Żelazowski, *ArchWarszawa* 54, 2003, p. 43–64 (p. 61–62, no. 8).

<sup>854</sup> *ILN* 55.

<sup>855</sup> *ILB* 354 = Gerov, *Romanizmät*, p. 360, no. 357 = Conrad, *Grabstelen*, p. 215, no. 329.

<sup>856</sup> *AÉ* 1932, 29 = *AÉ* 1954, 34 = 1955, 67 = Gerov, *Romanizmät*, II, p. 358, no. 24 = *Montana*, II, p. 40, no. 91.

<sup>857</sup> V. Velkov, *Izvestija na narodnija Muzei Ruse* 3, 1968, p. 4–5, no. 2 = Conrad, *Grabstelen*, p. 255, no. 2 = *AÉ* 2004, 1258.

<sup>858</sup> *AÉ* 1895, 43 = *CIL* III 12394 = Gerov, *Romanizmät*, II, p. 360, no. 66 = *ILB* 192. See B. Gerov for dating: “Potius a. 205 quam 219, quia nomen imperatoris non erasum est”. In *CIL* is assumed that another hasta in front of *II* would be in place, hence year 215 is referenced. Fitz, *Honorific Titles*, p. 60, no. 208, considers year 220.



*M. Iulius Val(ens?)*, *equus legionis I Italicae*, made a dedication for the Thracian Rider in the countryside sanctuary near Trăncovica village<sup>859</sup>.

### 3.7. *Milites gregarii*

*A. Romanus*, *miles legionis I Italicae*, dedicated a limestone altar discovered at Noviodunum<sup>860</sup>. The altar may date by the end of the 2nd or the beginning of the 3rd C. His nomen may be *Aurelius*.

*Aelius Valens*, *miles legionis I Italicae*, dedicated an altar to *Iuno Regina*, discovered near the city of Šumen<sup>861</sup>. He was active after 212.

*C. Albius C. f. Camilia tribu Severus*, *miles legionis I Italicae*, appears on a tombstone from Augusta Bagiennorum (Bene, Regio X), together with his mother, *Maria C. f. Quarta* and brother *P. Albius C. f. Secundus*, who erected the monument while still alive<sup>862</sup>. The inscription may date from the second half of the 1st C; the soldier may have been part of the first generation of the legions recruits.

*Antonius Aurelius*, *miles legionis I (Italicae) Antoninianae*, raised a dedication within the Thracian Rider's sanctuary from Tărgoviște, together with *Aurelius Maximus*, *cor(nicularius) e(ques)* and *Aurelius Mucianus*, *eq(ues) sing(ularis)*, all probably members of the legion, though not mentioned<sup>863</sup>. Nevertheless, the reading is not all certain and a possible presence of a member of the legion is also doubtful. The presence of the *Antonius Aurelius* name into a sequence of *Aurelius Maximus* and *Aurelius Mucianus* is difficult to be sustained. Probably the first part of the name must be link together with the words before it: *eq(ues) sing(ularis) Ant(oninianus)* vel *eq(uites) sing(ulares) Ant(oniniani)* and the second one must be the *nomen Aurelius* with the *cognomen* impossible to be read.

*Antonius Hermes*, *miles legionis I Italicae, stipendiorum XIX, vixit annis XXXX*, appears on a funerary inscription discovered at the entrance of the one of the graves from the Roman cemetery within the vicinity of Olbia<sup>864</sup>. The inscription, which could be dated at the middle of the 3 C, was raised by *Iulius Rufus*, also a soldier of the I Italica legion and a certain *Nomentanus*, probably the servant of the deceased.

*L. Attius Maxsimus* (sic!) erected a funerary stela at Novae for his comrade ...*Donatus* (*vide infra*). *L. Attius Maxsimus* (sic!) served in *Iulius Verecundus* centuria, in the second half of the 1st C<sup>865</sup>.

*Aurelius Bithus*, *miles legionis I Italicae, natione Trax, cives Filopopolitanus* emerges on a tombstone from Rome, while *equus cohortis VI praetoriae*. He lived 35 years and served for 17, as the inscription reports: *qui militavit an(nis) XVII, sic: in legione I Italica an(norum) II, in*

<sup>859</sup> AÉ 1976, 611 = ILB 245; Oppermann, *Der thrakische Reiter*, p. 155, considers in this area must have existed a cult edifice. *Vide etiam* ILB 244; Oppermann, *Der thrakische Reiter*, p. 155 and p. 352, no. 940.

<sup>860</sup> Gh. Ștefan, *Dacia 9–10, 1941–1944*, p. 473–475, no. 1 = AÉ 1950, 71 = ISM V 271.

<sup>861</sup> CIL III 12442.

<sup>862</sup> CIL V 7667 = InscrIt IX, 1, 47.

<sup>863</sup> CCET, II, 2485: *Aur(elius) Max(imus) cor(nicen) e(t) Aur(elius) Mucianus / eq(uites) sing(ulares) ANAur(elius) Micia ex voto*, mentioning also V. Gerasimova-Tomova's reading of the second line: *eq(uites) sing(ulares) a n(umero) Aur(eliorum) Mic(iensis) Mo(esiae) ex voto*; R. Hošek, SPFB 33, 1988, p. 53–55 = AÉ 1993, 1371: *Aur(elius) Max(imus) cor(nicularius) e(ques) Aur(elius) Mucianus eq(ues) sing(ularis) Ant(onius) Aur(elius) m(iles) leg(ionis) I Anto(ninianae)*.

<sup>864</sup> V. M. Zubar, V. I. Kozub, *Ancient Civilization from Scythia to Siberia* 8, 2002, p. 200–201 = AÉ 2002, 1252.

<sup>865</sup> CIL III 6232 = ILB 311 = IGLN 87 = Mrozevicz, *Legioniści*, p. 80, no. 13; p. 102–103, no. 35; p. 130, no. 130 = Conrad, *Grabstelen*, p. 234–235, no. 403 (Bucharest, MNA L 237).

*co(ho)r(te) II pr(a)et(oria), munifex an(norum) XIII, factus eq(uitem) mil(itavit) menses n(umero) X*<sup>866</sup>. The tombstone was erected by *Valerius Aulusanus*, also of Thracian origin and it dates from the first half of the 3rd C, when the number of praetorians in the Balkans was very high.

*Aurelius Martialis, miles legionis I Italicae, stipendiorum XXVII*, died at Salonae, in Dalmatia, sometime in the second half of the 3rd C together with his spouse *Aelia* and their son *Martialis*. The inscription was erected for them by the care of *Disdozi, frater et heres eorum*<sup>867</sup>. His name has a certain Dacian-Moesian origin, being recorded once more at Straža, on Moesia Inferior territory, where is mentioned *Aurelius Disdosi, miles* of an unknown legion or auxiliary unit, sometime after 212<sup>868</sup>.

*Aurelius Marcianus, miles legionis I Italicae Severianae*, erected a funerary inscription, discovered at Salonae, in a *contubernalis* memory, whose name was not preserved. The inscription dates surely from Severus Alexander reign<sup>869</sup>.

*M. Aurelius Maximus, miles legionis I Italicae*, erected a tombstone to his daughter-in-law memory, *Amica*, discovered near Nicopolis ad Istrum. It is worth mentioning that the German word *brutis* was used for *nurus* (see the Gothic *bruths* and German *Braut* = bride)<sup>870</sup>. The inscription may be surely dated after 212.

*Aurelius Mucianus, miles legionis I Italicae*, died after 24 years of service. His tombstone was discovered at Dimum (Belen) or Iatrus (Krivina), reused for a late Roman tomb<sup>871</sup>. Obviously, he was active in the first half of the 3rd C, after 212, being of Thracian origin.

*Aurelius Mucatra, miles legionis I Italicae, stipendiorum XIII*, died at Salonae, sometime in the first half of the 3rd C. His *cognomen* indicates a Thracian origin. The inscription was erected by the care of *Aurelius Sabasianus* (obviously a theophoric from god Sabazios), *miles legionis supra scriptae*<sup>872</sup>.

*Aurelius Pontianus, miles legionis pri(mae) Italica(e), stipendiorum XXVI, qui vixit annos L*, appears on another tombstone discovered at Salonae, erected by the son of *L. Aurilius Quintianus (Quintianus)*<sup>873</sup>. This inscription too, based on the names, ligatures and language errors may be dated earliest in the first half of the 3rd C, if not even after mid century.

*Aurelius Saturninus, miles torquatus legionis primus Italice*, emerges on a tombstone discovered at Falerii Novi (Regio VII), erected by *Aurelius Arborius*, a comrade, probably<sup>874</sup>. The inscription was dated by the beginning of the 3rd C, nevertheless after 212.

*Aurelius Valens, miles*, placed a dedication to *Iuno Regina*, discovered at Opaka (Bulgaria, Popovo district). The inscription was dated under the Severan dynasty<sup>875</sup>.

<sup>866</sup> CIL VI 2601 = ILS 2055 = Domaszewski, RO<sup>2</sup>, p. 230. It is the first reference, chronologically, of the term *munifex*, which appears by the end of the 3rd C related to an *equus legionis XI Claudiae* on an inscription discovered at Aquileia, CIL V 896 = ILS 2332 = InscrAquil 2774 = Domaszewski, RO<sup>2</sup>, p. 218. See also Domaszewski, RO<sup>2</sup>, p. 2, with complete discussion on the distinction between *principales* and *munifeces*, as well as the increasingly important role of the cavalry in the 3rd C.

<sup>867</sup> CIL III 2008.

<sup>868</sup> AÉ 1927, 47: *Herculi invicto / Aur(elius) Disdosi / mil(es) / v(otum) p(osuit)*.

<sup>869</sup> CIL III 12899: *//AE / .leg(ionis) I Italic(ae) / Severianae stipend(iorum) XVIII vixit / a[nnis...Au]rel(ius) / Marcianus / miles leg(ionis) s(upra) s(criptae) contubernalis, b(ene) m(erenti) p(osuit)*.

<sup>870</sup> Gerov, *Romanizmăt*, II, p. 386, no. 536 = ILB 367: *M. Aur. Maximus mil(es) l(egionis) I I[t(alicae)...] / ..mem(ori)am bruti Amica posuit et ... / ..t rogat et petet pro salu[te sua?]*. For *brutis* see H. Mihăescu, *Limba latină în provinciile dunărene ale Imperiului Roman*, Bucharest, 1960, p. 192, with other quoted examples, among one from Montana (CIL III 12377 = ILS 8558 = *Montana*, II, p. 53–54, no. 130) and p. 276, no. 306.

<sup>871</sup> ILB 338 = Conrad, *Grabstelen*, p. 238, no. 417.

<sup>872</sup> CIL III 2009. For the name *Sabasianus* see D. Dana, in R. W. V. Catling, F. Marchand (eds.), *Onomatologos. Studies in Greek Personal Names presented to Elaine Matthews*, Oxford, 2010, p. 390–397 (p. 393).

<sup>873</sup> CIL III 2010.

<sup>874</sup> S. Manzella, in *Supplementa Italica*, N. S. 1, 1981, p. 143–144, no. 22.

<sup>875</sup> CIL III 12442 = Gerov, *Romanizmăt*, p. 362, no. 93.

*C. Aurelius* [...] *f. Galeria tribu Vegetus*, from Clunia, *miles legionis I Italicae F. R.* (= *frumentarius?*), emerges on a tombstone at Novae, reused in a late street overlaying the *valetudinarium*. He was *miles cohortis V Asturum* and transferred in legion I Italica (*inde translatus in legione I Italica*). He served 23 years in the army from his enrolment around 17. The inscription dates from the last quarter of the 1st C<sup>876</sup>.

*Aurelius Victor*, *miles legionis I Italica* (sic!), erected a plate representing the Thracian Rider, discovered in 1932 in the sanctuary near Trănčovica village, the same place where the dedication placed by *M. Iulius Valens, eques legionis I Italicae* was also discovered<sup>877</sup>.

*Aurelius Victor*, *miles legionis I Italicae*, died at Chersonesus at the age of 36 after 18 years of military service. His spouse *Valeria Marcia* and daughter *Valeria Bessa*<sup>878</sup> erected his tombstone. Considering his daughter *cognomen*, we may think the soldier was of Thracian origin. It is hard to determine whether the two *Aurelii Victores* are one and the same person. The inscription dates from the second half of the 2nd C<sup>879</sup>.

*C. Caelius Annius Maximus, miles legionis I Italicae, domo Ha[d(ria)?]*, is recorded on a tombstone discovered at Philippopolis, in Thracia, dating from the 1st C<sup>880</sup>. He is most likely an Italian, as the proposed reading seems to be the only possible, the reading *Ha[drianopoli]* being excluded, given the certain dating of the inscription in the 1st C, based on the deceased name in the Nominative and the formula *hic situs est*.

*Cas(sius) Surus, miles legionis I Italicae Antoninianae*, dedicated a marble statue to *Diana Sancta*, at Novae. The monument is to be dated in the time of Caracalla<sup>881</sup>.

*C. Ersidius Sexstus, miles legionis I Italicae*, erected for *Hercules* an altar at Novae<sup>882</sup>. The inscription most likely dates from the first half of the 2nd C, as this soldier *nomen* is of Italian origin.

*Fame Syrus, mili(tavit) in leg(ione) p(rima) I(talica) an(nis) VIII*, appears on a fragmentary tombstone discovered at Svalenik, Ruse region. The inscription was dated by the end of the 3rd C<sup>883</sup>.

*M. Fonteius Aniensi tribu Clemens*, of Italian origin, from Ariminum. His funerary stela, reused in the construction of a street in late Roman period, was discovered at Novae. He was active in the second half of the 1st C, when he had served in the first centuria of the legion (*centuria primi pili*)<sup>884</sup>.

*Iulius Firmus, miles legionis I Italicae*, appears on an inscription placed to the honour of the chief centurion *Nonius Felix* of legion XI Claudia, discovered at Aulutrene near Apamea, Phrygia. *Nonius Felix* commanded legionary vexillations from Moesia Inferior (XI Claudia, I Italica) and Moesia Superior (IV Flavia Felix), sent to the East on the occasion of one of

<sup>876</sup> J. Kolendo, ArchWarszawa 50, 1999, p. 19–38 (24 et sqq, no. 3) = AÉ 1999, 1333 = Conrad, *Grabstelen*, p. 227–228, no. 377.

<sup>877</sup> AÉ 1939, 252 = ILB 244; Gerov, *Romanizmät*, II, p. 359, no. 45; Oppermann, *Der thrakische Reiter*, p. 155 and p. 352, no. 940, the relief is of C2 type, according to the typology suggested by the author, type dating from the first half of the 3rd C, p. 73–75. *Vide etiam* ILB 245.

<sup>878</sup> CIL III 13751a = IOSPE I<sup>2</sup> 547 = Solomonik, *Latinskie nadpisi*, p. 48–49, no. 20.

<sup>879</sup> Solomonik, *Latinskie nadpisi*, p. 49.

<sup>880</sup> E. Kalinka, *Antike Denkmäler in Bulgarien*, Vienna, 1906, no. 409 = Mrozewicz, *Legioniści*, p. 87–88, no. 22.

<sup>881</sup> D. MacDonald, ZPE 162, 2007, p. 279–280.

<sup>882</sup> CIL III 7438 = Gerov, *Romanizmät*, II, p. 360, no. 53 = ILB 285. Altar discovered in the ruins from Novae in 1876 and carried to Bucharest (MNA L 1427).

<sup>883</sup> N. Anghelov, *IzvestijaSofia* 17, 1950, p. 278 = Gerov, *Romanizmät*, II, p. 362, no. 85.

<sup>884</sup> J. Kolendo, ArchWarszawa 50, 1999, p. 19–38 (22 no. 2) = AÉ 1999, 1332 = Conrad, *Grabstelen*, p. 234, no. 402.

Septimius Severus Parthian expeditions. *Iulius Firmus* and his comrade *Iulius Vitalis* (*vide infra*)<sup>885</sup> were part of this vexillation.

*Iulius Rufus, miles legionis I Italicae*, raised a funerary inscription for his companion *Antonius Hermes*, soldier of the legion as well (*vide supra*), discovered at the entrance of the one of the graves from the Roman cemetery within the vicinity of Olbia<sup>886</sup>.

*Iulius Vitalis, miles legionis*, are recorded on the same inscription placed to the honour of the chief centurion *Nonius Felix* of legion XI Claudia, the one leading the vexillation or vexillations stationed at Aulutrene, near Apamea, Phrygia, in one of Septimius Severus (*vide supra*)<sup>887</sup> Parthian expeditions.

*Iulius Iulianus, miles legionis I Italicae Severianae*, appears on two dedications, one for the Thracian Rider and one for *Iupiter Optimus Maximus* and *Iunona*. The first was discovered in the sanctuary from Glava Panega<sup>888</sup>, while the second at Basarbovo, Ruse region, but the legion epithet is missing, thus questioning the identity of the two dedicators<sup>889</sup>.

*Q. Scantillus Marcus, miles legionis I Italicae*, emerges on a tombstone erected by his father, *Africanus*. The funerary stela was discovered at Novae and dates from the mid 2nd C<sup>890</sup>.

*Valerius Paetus?*, *miles legionis I Italicae*, placed a dedication together with his brother, *Valerius Charito*, for *Iupiter Optimus Maximus*, discovered in “Kailäka” near the city of Pleven (Storgosia), reused in a Medieval wall<sup>891</sup>.

[. V] *Valerius L. f. Claudia (tribu) Birbilo, Celeia, miles legionis I Italicae, (centuriae) Cassi Bassi*, appears on his tombstone inscription erected by his brother and discovered at Novae<sup>892</sup>. The inscription may date from the second half of the 1st C, because the lack of *dis minimibus* formula and the Nominative case of the deceased name. *Birbilo* is a Celtic origin *cognomen* (see *Bibilis* or *Birbilis* from Hispania Tarraconensis). The soldier came from Celeia (Noricum), member of Claudia tribe.

*C. Valerius Crescens, miles vexillationis legionis I Italicae*, died at Artaxata, Armenia (Pokr Ved / Artashat), in June-December 116, when vexillations of the Roman army were in the region during Trajan’s Parthian expedition. The inscription was placed for him by a soldier of VI Ferrata legion<sup>893</sup>.

*C. Valerius C. f. Fabia tribu Longinus*, from Heraclea, appears on a funerary stela erected by a *commanipularis eius et heres*, *P. Valerius Germanus* (*vide infra*) at Novae. The soldier was

<sup>885</sup> M. Christol, Th. Drew-Bear, *Un castellum romain près d’Apamée de Phrygie*, *Ergänzungsbande zu den Tituli Asiae Minoris*, no. 12, Vienna, 1987, p. 34–46, no. 6 = AÉ 1987, 941 = AÉ 1995, 1512: [I. O. M.] / et Iun[oni Reg.] / pro salu(te) D D / N N Imp(eratorum) Aug(ustorum duorum) / et Iuliae matris kas(trorum) / suc cura Non. Felicis / v(iri) o(ptimi) p(rimi) p(ili) praepo(siti) / vex(illationis vel -illationum/-illationibus) Aulutre(nae) mil(itis vel -itum) conducto(res vel -rum) kastelli / leg(ionis) XI Cl. Fl. Sabinian(us) / tess(erarius), Val. Silvanus et Val. / Castus, Mucatr(a)l(is) Dolei, / Aur. Seupro et Aur. Tarsa, leg(ionis) I Ita(licae) / [I]ul. Vitalis, Iul. Firmus.

<sup>886</sup> V. M. Zubar, V. I. Kozub, *Ancient Civilization from Scythia to Siberia* 8, 2002, p. 200–201 = AÉ 2002, 1252.

<sup>887</sup> M. Christol, Th. Drew-Bear, *Un castellum romain près d’Apamée de Phrygie*, *Ergänzungsbande zu den Tituli Asiae Minoris*, no. 12, Vienna, 1987, p. 34–46, no. 6 = AÉ 1987, 941 = AÉ 1995, 1512.

<sup>888</sup> AÉ 1939, 242 = ILB 205.

<sup>889</sup> Gerov, *Romanizmät*, II, p. 361, no. 82.

<sup>890</sup> V. Božilova, in *Actes du IX<sup>e</sup> Congrès International d’épigraphie grecque et latine*, Sofia, 1987, p. 225, fig. 1 = AÉ 1987, 863 = ILN 58 = IGLN 84 = Conrad, *Grabstelen*, p. 231–232, no. 392.

<sup>891</sup> ILB 226. About the *cognomen* see B. Gerov: “*cognomen militis dubium. (Bittus?)*”.

<sup>892</sup> ILB 329 = ILN 59 = IGLN 85 = Mrozewicz, *Legionisci*, p. 90, no. 26; p. 164, no. 115 = Conrad, *Grabstelen*, p. 235, no. 405. A limestone funerary stela, coming evidently from the cemetery at Novae. Below the inscription a *vitis*, centurion symbol, is depicted.

<sup>893</sup> AÉ 1968, 511 = B. N. Arakelyan, *VDI* 115, 1971, 1, p. 116–118.



from Heraclea Sintica, whose members were registered in *Fabia* tribe. The two served in *Vasselius Marcellus* centuria, in the second half of the 1st C<sup>894</sup>.

*P. Valerius Germanus, commanipularis* of *C. Valerius C. f. Fabia tribu Longinus* (*vide supra*), to whom he erected a funerary stela discovered at Novae. The two served in *Vasselius Marcellus* centuria in the second half of the 1st C<sup>895</sup>.

*Valerius Valens, miles legionis I Italicae*, erected a tombstone to his parents, *Valerius Ponticus* and *Valeria Nene*, somewhere in the surroundings of Halmyris fort, subsequently reused as building material in the late fortress<sup>896</sup>. Their names indicate recent citizenship, the soldier's father being without any doubt former soldier. The feminine *cognomen Nene* is Thracian, being recorded on a military diploma from 99, where a *Nene*, daughter of *Dolazenus Mucacenthi f. Bessus* of *ala I Flavia Gaetulorum* is mentioned<sup>897</sup>.

*C. Valerius Severus, miles legionis p(rimae) I(talicae)* erected a funerary stela to his wife, discovered in Doriones village (near Slatina, in the place named "Staro selište"). The stela dates from the first half of the 3rd C<sup>898</sup>.

*Valerius Sudio, miles legionis I Italicae provinciae Traciae* (sic!), emerges on a tombstone discovered at Tibur (Regio I), erected by his brother *Dulus*, more likely a comrade<sup>899</sup>. Unfortunately, it is hard to establish the moment when the soldier of legion I Italica was present in Latium region, however it must be evidently placed sometime in the 3rd C. A homonym erected a tombstone to his spouse at Rome, but this is probably a simple coincidence, as no mention to military quality is made<sup>900</sup>.

...*Donatus GAL* vel *CAE, miles legionis I Italicae*, emerges on a funerary stela discovered at Novae and carried to Bucharest in the 19th C<sup>901</sup>. He was active in the second half of the 1st C, the stela being erected for him by *L. Attius Maximus* (sic!), his heir, from *Iulius Verecundus* centuria, wherein he had also served. The reading of the three letters by the end of the soldier's name is debated. If we agree with the *GAL* reading, then we should look for a place starting with these three letters, as the mention of tribe *Galeria* would be unusual in this part of the anthroponym. B. Gerov proposed the reading *CAE(sarea)*.

*[Vol]usiu[s], miles legionis I Italicae*, appears on an extremely fragmentary inscription discovered at Chersonesus by the end of the 19th C<sup>902</sup>. Based on the name in Nominative and the formulas *annorum* and *hic situs est*, the inscription may be dated in the second half of the 1st C.

*Ignotus Aniensi, Foro Iulio, miles legionis I Italicae*, appears on a tombstone discovered in the Roman colony at Scupi. The inscription was erected by the care of a centurion of same legion, *L. Octavius Pulcher, cognatus suus*<sup>903</sup>. The inscription dates from the Flavian period.

<sup>894</sup> CIL III 7441 = ILB 301 = Mrozewicz, *Legioniści*, p. 167–168, no. 119; p. 169, no. 122; p. 175, no. 129. The limestone funerary stela discovered in the Turkish village from Svištov, is lost.

<sup>895</sup> CIL III 7441 = ILB 301 = Mrozewicz, *Legioniści*, p. 167–168, no. 119; p. 169, no. 122; p. 175, no. 129.

<sup>896</sup> M. Zahariade, *Dacia*, N. S. 34, 1990, p. 261–262, no. 4 = AÉ 1991, 1385.

<sup>897</sup> W. Eck, A. Pangerl, *Dacia*, N. S. 50, 2006, p. 97–99, no. 2. The name appears also in late period, IGLR 188.

<sup>898</sup> CIL III 12398 = 14207<sup>40</sup> = ILB 249 = Conrad, *Grabstelen*, p. 253–254, no. 479.

<sup>899</sup> CIL XIV 3631 = InscrIt IV, 1, 164. Both names are of Thracian origin, attested in the eastern part of Macedonia (Dan Dana, personal comment).

<sup>900</sup> CIL VI 15629.

<sup>901</sup> CIL III 6232 = ILB 311 = IGLN 87 = Mrozewicz, *Legioniści*, p. 80, no. 13; p. 102–103, no. 35; p. 130, no. 130 = Conrad, *Grabstelen*, p. 234–235, no. 403 (Bucharest, MNA L 237).

<sup>902</sup> IOSPE I<sup>2</sup> 548 = Solomonik, *Latinskie nadpisi*, p. 44–45, no. 14.

<sup>903</sup> B. Dragojevič-Josifovska, *Živa Antika* 20, 1970, p. 153–157, p. 153, no. 2 = AÉ 1972, 512 = IMS VI 36 = Mrozewicz, *Legioniści*, p. 117–118, no. 48; p. 142, no. 82.

*Ignotus* emerges on a tombstone discovered at Salonae, reporting he had served for XVIII years, possibly as simple *miles* in legion I Italica Severiana. The inscription was erected for him by *Aurelius Marcianus*, soldier in the same legion and his *contubernalis*<sup>904</sup>.

*Ignotus* (*Valerianus* maybe) appears on an inscription from Chersonesus, probably an altar, in connection with legion I Italica. Unfortunately, his rank is also lost<sup>905</sup>.

Thirty-seven soldiers are recorded in legion I Italica. The *Valerii*, eight in number, are quite numerous. This is interesting as it proves the expansion of the *nomen*, military by excellence, especially by the end of the 2nd and the first half of the 3rd C. *Aurelii* are also many, indicating a prevalence of inscriptions dating from the 3rd C.

### 3.8. *Veterani*

*P. Aelius Gerrus, ex duplario veteranus (legionis I Italicae)*, appears on a tombstone discovered at Karaisen, close to Novae<sup>906</sup>. Although the legion name was lost to stone cracks, we may assume it was legion I Italica. This veteran is most likely the descendant of a former member of an auxiliary troop, who received citizenship under Hadrian. Already a citizen, *P. Aelius Gerrus* could enrol in a legion. Under such circumstances, he served in the second half of the 2nd C.

*Aelius Valerianus* appears on a limestone altar discovered in a wall in Obnova village, dedicated to *genius loci*. Most likely, he was *veteranus legionis I Italicae*, who had served as *signifer*<sup>907</sup>. Still, both readings are uncertain.

*Aurelius Ianuarius, veteranus*, is among those erecting a funerary stela for a certain *Aurelia Quieta* and for the veteran of legion I Italica Severiana, *Flavius Decebalus*, discovered at Kalma Češma, a city located 2 km South-East Novae (*vide infra*)<sup>908</sup>. Even if the legion name is not directly linked to this individual, we may presume it is the same legion.

*M. Aurelius Mucianus vet(eranus) ex b. f. leg(ati) leg(ionis) I Ital(icae)* built a structure for a tomb. The architrave of this structure discovered in the area of the Roman cemetery at Butovo (Nedan, Pavlikeni) preserved this inscription. The individual was active in the first half of the 3rd C<sup>909</sup>, being of Thracian origin.

*C. Bruttius C. f. Claudia tribu Goutus*, from *Virunum*, Noricum, *veteranus legionis I Italicae*, served in the second half of the 1st C, rather under Domitian. His funerary stela was erected at Novae by *C. Vibius Therapo*, according to veteran's will stipulations<sup>910</sup>.

*C. Caesellius Vitalis, veteranus legionis I Italicae*, dedicated a votive base to *Iupiter Optimus Maximus* and *Iuno Regina*, discovered at Novae, in *valetudinarium* area, reused in a late building<sup>911</sup>. Veteran's *nomen* is rare, however it appears once in Gallia Narbonensis and twice in Dalmatia.

<sup>904</sup> CIL III 12899: //AE / .leg(ionis) I Italic(ae) / Severianae stipend(iorum) XVIII vixit / a[nnis...Au]rel(ius) / Marcianus / miles leg(ionis) s(upra) s(criptae) contubernalis, b(ene) m(erenti) p(osuit).

<sup>905</sup> IOSPE I<sup>2</sup> 572 = Solomonik, *Latinskie nadpisi*, p. 41–42, no. 12.

<sup>906</sup> Gerov, *Romanizmat*, II, no. 55 = Ferjančić, *Settlement of Legionary Veterans*, p. 297, no. 423.

<sup>907</sup> ILB 242 = 243.

<sup>908</sup> V. Božilova, *Klio* 62, 1980, 1, p. 67–78 = ILN 54 = IGLN 395 = IDRE II 324 = Conrad, *Grabstelen*, p. 232, no. 395.

<sup>909</sup> CIL III 12408 = ILB 430 = CGLBI 649 = Ferjančić, *Settlement of Legionary Veterans*, p. 303, no. 458. ILB: “Pars dextra architravii calcarii subrotundi, quod super parietem sepulcri rotundi positum erat; reperta apud vicum Nedan in loco dicto «Pod ostricata», nunc eodem loco in pratis umidis”.

<sup>910</sup> AÉ 1939, 121 = ILB 307 = IGLN 79 = Mrozewicz, *Legioniści*, p. 87, no. 22 = Conrad, *Grabstelen*, p. 235, no. 404. Fragmentary funerary stela, lacking the upper part; inscription in *tabula ansata*.

<sup>911</sup> J. Kolendo, *ArchWarszawa* 49, 1998, p. 66–67, no. 11 = AÉ 1998, 1136.

*Tib. Claudius Tib. f. Sergia tribu Niger*, from Nicopolis, in Epirus. He is mentioned on a funerary stela discovered in the city of Gorna Orjahovica. The stela was erected for him by *Tib. Claudius Zoticus, libertus et heres* and may date from the first half of the 2nd C<sup>912</sup>.

*L. Cornelius Fronto, veteranus ex signifero legionis I Italicae*, erected together with his spouse, *Vibia Marcia*, a funerary stela for *L. Cornelius Mampsalachanus*, their son deceased at 6 years of age. The stela was discovered at Novae and was dated by the end of the 2nd C and the beginning of the 3rd C<sup>913</sup>.

*C. Crispinus C. f. Claudia tribu Firmus, veteranus legionis I Italicae*, from Aspendus, Lycia et Pamphylia. He erected a tombstone to his spouse and two nephews. The inscription was discovered at Sucidava, but it evidently comes from Oescus, where the veteran settled after discharge<sup>914</sup>. His activity dates from the first half of the 2nd C and completes the list of soldiers recruited in the Eastern part of the Empire, however from Roman colonies, serving in legions by the Lower Danube.

*C. Curtius Vegetus, veteranus legionis I Italicae*, erected at Novae an altar to honour Iupiter and *Diana Bu(---)* sometime by the end of the 2nd and the beginning of the 3rd C<sup>915</sup>.

*Q. Falcius? Q. f. Aniensi tribu Co(n)sta(n)s, veteranus legionis I Italicae* is from Ariminum<sup>916</sup>. His funerary stela was discovered at Oescus, where, considering his activity dates from the last part of the 1st and the beginning of the 2nd C, was part of the first generation of colonists settled by Trajan on the location of the former fortress of legion V Macedonica by the end of the Dacian War.

*Flavius Decebalus, veteranus legionis I Italicae Severianae*, appears on a funerary stela discovered in 1975 at Kalma Češma, 2 km South-West Novae, beside another inscription (ILN 62) and a relief coming from a funerary monument. Based on the legion surname, the funerary stela may date under Severus Alexander<sup>917</sup>. The *cognomen* is of Dacian origin, being in fact the most spread name of Dacian origin in the Roman period.

*L. Fufius Secundus, veteranus legionis I Italicae* (Λούκιος Φούφιλος [Σε]κόνδος οὐετραίνος λεγιῶνος α' Ἑιταλικῆς) appears on a tombstone discovered at Wadi Bu Nabe, 3 Km away from Cyrene<sup>918</sup>. The veteran was most likely from Cyrenaica and he retired in this region after discharge. Another possibility is that he was part of the 3.000 veterans that Trajan sent subsequent the Jews rebellion of 115–117. Upon his death, he was 60 and the inscription dates from mid 2nd C according to the paleographical features.

*M. Herennius Rufus, veteranus ex beneficiario*, appears on a funerary stela with a Greek inscription, discovered at Sadanski, Bulgaria, on the former Roman province of Macedonia territory. The inscription dates from 121<sup>919</sup>. *Herennii* are recorded in Macedonia, especially at

<sup>912</sup> CIL III 6144 = Gerov, *Romanizmät*, I, p. 76, no. 29 = ILB 376 = Mrozewicz, *Legioniści*, p. 93–94, no. 30 = Ferjančić, *Settlement of Legionary Veterans*, p. 303, no. 457.

<sup>913</sup> CIL III 756 = ILB 302 = IGLN 80 = Ferjančić, *Settlement of Legionary Veterans*, p. 296, no. 417 = Conrad, *Grabstelen*, p. 229–230, no. 384.

<sup>914</sup> CIL III 14491 = IDR II 204 = ILB 59 = Ferjančić, *Settlement of Legionary Veterans*, p. 294, no. 398 = Conrad, *Grabstelen*, p. 247–248, no. 456 (Sucidava, MNA L 169). Ferjančić, *Settlement of Legionary Veterans*, p. 88, considers that his activity should be placed either in the second half of the 2nd or in 3rd C; see also M. P. Speidel, ANRW VII/2, 1980, p. 742.

<sup>915</sup> AÉ 2004, 1249 = E. Bunsch, J. Kolendo, J. Żelazowski, ArchWarszawa 54, 2003, p. 43–64 (p. 59–60, no. 7).

<sup>916</sup> CIL III 12352 = ILB 60 = Mrozewicz, *Legioniści*, p. 110–111, no. 39 = Conrad, *Grabstelen*, p. 247, no. 455.

<sup>917</sup> V. Božilova, Klio 62, 1980, 1, p. 67–78 = ILN 54 = IGLN 395 = IDRE II 324 = Ferjančić, *Settlement of Legionary Veterans*, p. 296, no. 417 = Conrad, *Grabstelen*, p. 232, no. 395.

<sup>918</sup> M. Fadel Ali, J. Reynolds, L'Africa Romana 14, 2002, p. 1657–1660 = AÉ 2002, 1648.

<sup>919</sup> T. Ivanov, ArheologijaSofia 7, 1965, 2, p. 16–20 = AÉ 1972, 565 = IGB IV 2270 = CGLB 670: Μ(άρκω) Ἑρεννίω Ρούφω / παλαι(στρατιώτη) λεγι(ῶνος) α' Ἴταλικῆς / βενεφικιάρω καταλεγέντι / καὶ στρατευσαμένω ἔ/τη κε' βιώσαντι ἔτη / οε' μετὰ ἀπόλυσις ἔτη / κε' καὶ Ἑρεννία

Thessaloniki, Stobi and Philippi. The *beneficiarius*, born in 46 and recruited in 71, served 25 years and lived for 25 more years, between 96 and 121 after discharge. The name of his spouse, *Herennia Pyrozai* (Dative), is of Thracian origin.

*C. Iulius Magnus*, from colonia Fabia Ancyra, *veteranus legionis I Italicae*, appears on an inscription discovered at Novae<sup>920</sup>, together with the tombstone erected for one of his freedwomen<sup>921</sup>. The inscription dates from the first half of the 2nd C, as another example of legionaries' recruitment from Moesia Inferior, in the area of Eastern Roman colonies<sup>922</sup>. The phenomenon is largely spread, especially in the case of legion V Macedonica, often present in the East for various expeditions and wars.

*C. Iulius Celsus*, [*veteranus leg(ionis)? I Ital(icae)*], put a dedication for the Thracian Rider on a statuette discovered at Malāk Porovec, in the cult area "Demir baboteke", near "Sborjanovo". Nonetheless, the reading is uncertain<sup>923</sup>.

*M. Licinius M. f. Voltinia tribu Optatus*, from Lucus Augusti Vocontiorum (Gallia Narbonensis), *veteranus legionis I Italicae*, was raised in 68/69, while the legion was quartered at Lyon, discharged around 93 by Domitian and colonised at Scupi<sup>924</sup>.

*L. Papius Marcellinus*, *veteranus legionis I Italicae*, erected while still living, himself and his family a funerary monument discovered at Piranum (Pirano, Regio X)<sup>925</sup>. Given that the inscription dates by the end of the 1st C, he most likely had been part of the legion first generation of recruits or from the partial enlistments during the Year of the Four Emperors.

*P. Pompeius P. f. Aemilia tribu Magnus*, *veteranus legionis I Italicae* from Stobi, Macedonia, is recorded on the funerary stela discovered in the Roman cemetery, north-west Butovo-Nedan village (Pavlikeni)<sup>926</sup>. It is interesting that the veteran kept the *cognomen Magnus*, probably passed on from one generation to another in his family, alike this soldier to his son, whose ancestor might have been granted citizenship precisely from *Cn. Pompeius Magnus* during the civil war at Rome by mid 1st C BCE. The *nomen Pompeius* was very well spread in the north area of Macedonia, as proven by his spouse *nomen, Pompeia Marcia*. The individual was active under Trajan, while his death occurred sometime under Hadrian.

*C. Pontius Cox[...?]*, *veteranus ex beneficiario legati legionis I Italicae*, appears on another limestone altar dedicated to an unknown deity discovered by the Bulgarian-German team following the archeological excavations within the late Roman fort from Iatrus (Krivina)<sup>927</sup>.

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Πυροζαι / ζώση Μ(άρκος) Ἐρέννιος Παυ/λείνος ὁ υἱὸς καὶ Ἐρέννιοι Βασιανὸς / Ρούφος Πουλείνα / οἱ υἱόνιοι / ἔτους βnr'.

<sup>920</sup> AÉ 1932, 52 = ILB 304 = IGLN 83 = Ferjančić, *Settlement of Legionary Veterans*, p. 296, no. 415 = Conrad, *Grabstelen*, p. 229, no. 383.

<sup>921</sup> ILB 318 = IGLN 99 = Conrad, *Grabstelen*, p. 229, no. 382.

<sup>922</sup> M. P. Speidel, ANRW VII/2, 1980, p. 742, who rightfully observes that G. Forni's suggested criteria on the East-West separation are too rigid.

<sup>923</sup> B. Iliev, *Vekove* 11, 1982, 6, 1982, p. 66–72 = CCET II/2 611; Oppermann, *Der thrakische Reiter*, p. 123, has doubts concerning the reading.

<sup>924</sup> CIL III 8198 = IMS VI 37 = Mrozewicz, *Legioniści*, p. 133–134, no. 69.

<sup>925</sup> CIL V 481 = InscrIt X, III, 39; Todisco, *Veterani*, p. 135–136, no. 110. A. Degrassi, InscrIt: "Titulus primo saeculo exeunte vel altero ineunte scriptus esse videtur".

<sup>926</sup> CIL III 12409 = ILB 431 = Mrozewicz, *Legioniści*, p. 149, no. 92 = Ferjančić, *Settlement of Legionary Veterans*, p. 303, no. 456 (in the Roman cemetery north-west Nedan village). Funerary stela discovered in the same spot with ILB 432: "reperta prope vicum Nedan in necropoli antiqua septentriones et occidentem versus a vico, postea in domo quadam partis vici «Gorna Mahala» dictae stabat. Periiit". See also CIL III 12410, an architrave fragment discovered in the Roman ruins from Nedan: [P]OMP MAGNVS · BVL · C POMPEI MAG[N]I (K. Škorpil, AEM 15, 1892, 2, p. 210, no. 82: "Gebälkstück aus Kalkstein").

<sup>927</sup> S. Conrad, D. Stančev, *ArcheologiaBulgarica* 7, 2003, 2, p. 38–41, no. 2 = AÉ 2003, 1540.



*C. Staboratius, veteranus ex beneficiario consulari (legionis I Italicae)*, dedicated a plate in honour of *Concordia consacratis (Iovianorum)*, a religious collegium, for *Iupiter Optimus Maximus, Iuno Regina* and *Minerva*. The inscription, discovered at Oescus may date from 205–211<sup>928</sup>.

*Tauriscus, (ex centurione) veteranus* appears on an extremely fragmentary tombstone discovered at Novae dating from the 2nd C. *Tauriscus* is a name of Celtic origin<sup>929</sup>.

*C. Valerius Longinus, veteranus ex imaginifero*, appears on an inscription at Novae together with... *Valens, veteranus ex custode armorum*, on the occasion of the reconstruction of a cult structure. The inscription may date under Severus Alexander<sup>930</sup>.

*C. Valerius Rufus, veteranus legionis I Italicae* (a centurion *Iulius Verecundus* is recorded with legion I Italica in the 2nd C, *vide supra*), appears on a funerary stela discovered at Utus, erected by his spouse *Iulia Verecunda* and son, *Valerius Rufus*. His activity of only 20 years (*meruit annis XX*) was dated during in the 2nd C<sup>931</sup>.

*Valerius Valens, veteranus ex legione I I(talica)* was erected a limestone cippus (“Pfeilerartige Stele”) by his spouse, representing Atys on the left and the right side of the aedicule, discovered in Vălčitrăn<sup>932</sup> village. The same monument celebrates *Valerius Valentinus*, his son, who served *in legione prim[a]* as *beneficiarius leg(ati)*. It is not clear whether we deal with one and the same legion, *I Italica*, and similarly, it is not apparent why the lapicide chose to render differently the name of the legion, in case it is one and the same. The inscription was dated in the first half of the 3rd C.

*L. Vibius Valens, veteranus legionis I Italicae*, erected an inscription for himself and for *Vibia*, possibly his daughter, at Aquileia<sup>933</sup>. It is hard to establish a date, but it seems we are dealing with an Italian; therefore his activity may date from the first half of the 2nd C.

...*C. f. Papiria (tribu) Severus*, from Oescus, *veteranus legionis I Italicae* erected a funerary stela, probably to a child and his spouse *Marcia Marcella*<sup>934</sup>. The stela was dated in the second quarter of the 2nd C and it is one of the earliest examples of enrolment from the colony at Oescus and of local recruitment. Obviously, this veteran was at his turn the son of another veteran that Trajan settled there.

...*Valens, veteranus ex custode armorum*, emerges on an inscription at Novae together with *C. Valerius Longinus, veteranus ex imaginifero (vide supra)*, on the occasion of the reconstruction of a cult edifice, most likely under Severus Alexander<sup>935</sup>.

[...*Mu vel Mar]cianus, veteranus legionis I Italicae*, is attested on a votive plate fragment discovered in the Thracian Rider sanctuary from Glava Panega<sup>936</sup>. The inscription probably dates from the first half of the 3rd C.

<sup>928</sup> ILN 12 = Ferjančić, *Settlement of Legionary Veterans*, p. 297, no. 422.

<sup>929</sup> CIL III 12366 = Gerov, *Romanizmăt*, II, p. 360, no. 50 = Ferjančić, *Settlement of Legionary Veterans*, p. 297, no. 421.

<sup>930</sup> AÉ 2004, 1244 = E. Bunsch, J. Kolendo, J. Żelazowski, *ArchWarszawa* 54, 2003, p. 43–64 (p. 50–56, no. 2) = AÉ 1966, 347 (the right side of the inscription).

<sup>931</sup> CIL III 12354 = Gerov, *Romanizmăt*, II, p. 359, no. 43 = ILB 130 = Ferjančić, *Settlement of Legionary Veterans*, p. 304, no. 462 = Conrad, *Grabstelen*, p. 241, no. 430. Limestone funerary stela discovered in Gauren village (Milkovica), within Utus fort ruins.

<sup>932</sup> G. Tabakova-Canova, *ArheologijaSofia* 12, 1, 1970, p. 44–47, no. 4 = ILB 236 = CGLB 654 = Conrad, *Grabstelen*, p. 252, no. 473.

<sup>933</sup> *SupplIt* 188 = *Inscr. Aquil.* 2740; Todisco, *Veterani*, p. 125, no. 101 and p. 131.

<sup>934</sup> AÉ 1932, 51 = ILB 306 = IGLN 89 = Ferjančić, *Settlement of Legionary Veterans*, p. 296, no. 415 = Conrad, *Grabstelen*, p. 235–236, no. 408. Funerary stela broken in two parts, missing the upper part.

<sup>935</sup> AÉ 2004, 1244 = E. Bunsch, J. Kolendo, J. Żelazowski, *ArchWarszawa* 54, 2003, p. 43–64 (p. 50–56, no. 2) = AÉ 1966, 347 (the right side of the inscription).

<sup>936</sup> Gerov, *Romanizmăt*, II, p. 360, no. 59 = AÉ 1976, 612 = ILB 203 = Ferjančić, *Settlement of Legionary Veterans*, p. 305, no. 466.

*Ignotus, veteranus legionis I Italicae*, appears on a limestone column, broken in the upper part, discovered in a small barrow in the old cemetery of Morava village. The tombstone was erected by the care of his wife, *Claudia Marcel(l)ina*. B. Gerov dated this monument under the Severan dynasty<sup>937</sup>.

*Ignotus, ex imaginifero le[gi]onis I Italicae*] built or remade a building at Novae on his own expense<sup>938</sup>.

*Ignotus, veteranus legionis I Italicae*, emerges on a limestone funerary stela fragment discovered at Tomis<sup>939</sup>.

*Incertus, M. Iulius Frontinianus, veteranus Aug(ustorum) n(ostrorum duorum)* placed a dedication for *Iupiter Optimus Maximus Tamitenus*, discovered near Oescus, at Riben<sup>940</sup>. Although the unit name he served in is unknown, we may assume it is legion I Italica from Novae. Considering his name, activity within one of the auxiliary troops in the province is excluded. The inscription may be dated under Marcus Aurelius and L. Verus or Commodus joint reigns or rather under Septimius Severus and Caracalla joint reign. *Tamitenus*, assimilated to *Iupiter Optimus Maximus* seems to be of Celtic origin. Nonetheless, this is the only inscription that records it.

Thirty-four veterans of legion I Italica are recorded. Among, I mention an *ex centurione*, two former *beneficiarii consularis* and two *beneficiarii legati*, an *ex custode armorum*, two former *signiferi* and two *imaginiferi*. The inscriptions are not very precise on the legion veterans' involvement in the civil life of the province, since certain offices they held are not indicated.

#### 4. STAMPS OF I ITALICA LEGION

The types of tile stamps that legion I Italica used over the time in *figlinae* were examined by T. Sarnowski within an article published in 1983<sup>941</sup>. The typology he proposed was discussed and improved by N. Gudea in 2003<sup>942</sup>. The methodological observation that N. Gudea suggested is very useful: "I defined as *stamp type* the content of the written text (the legion main name), irrespective the frame (border), letter sizes, distances between letters, irrespective dash marks between letter groups (word abbreviations)"; additionally, the author believes that such criteria, disregarded in the type definition, must be considered in the establishment of variants and subvariants<sup>943</sup>. This observation enables us to order the types of legion I Italica stamps, as according to Sarnowski's typology, we would deal with 220 stamp types. N. Gudea suggests the following typology<sup>944</sup>:

- |                          |                    |
|--------------------------|--------------------|
| 1. <i>LEG I ITALICAE</i> | 6. <i>LEG I IT</i> |
| 2. <i>LEG I ITALIC</i>   | 7. <i>LEG ITAL</i> |
| 3. <i>LEG I ITALI</i>    | 8. <i>LEG ITA</i>  |
| 4. <i>LEG I ITAL</i>     | 9. <i>LEI ITAL</i> |
| 5. <i>LEG I ITA</i>      |                    |

<sup>937</sup> CIL III 14422 = Gerov, *Romanizmăt*, II, p. 359, no. 46 = ILB 346.

<sup>938</sup> ILN 43 = Ferjančić, *Settlement of Legionary Veterans*, p. 297–298, no. 424.

<sup>939</sup> CIL III 6555 = ISM II 250.

<sup>940</sup> AÉ 1912, 54 = Gerov, *Romanizmăt*, II, 67 = Ferjančić, *Settlement of Legionary Veterans*, p. 296, no. 413

<sup>941</sup> T. Sarnowski, *ArchWarszawa* 34, 1983, p. 17–61.

<sup>942</sup> N. Gudea, *EphemNap* 13, 2003, p. 195–216.

<sup>943</sup> N. Gudea, *EphemNap* 13, 2003, p. 199.

<sup>944</sup> N. Gudea, *EphemNap* 13, 2003, p. 202.

Type number four includes 12 variants:

1. *LEG I ITAL I* and leaf
2. *LEG I ITAL A*
3. *LEG I ITAL AL*
4. *LEG I ITAL ALE*
5. *LEG I ITAL ANT*
6. *LEG I ITAL E*
7. *LEG I ITAL S*
8. *LEG I ITAL T*
9. Upward leaf tip *LEG I ITAL* downward leaf tip
10. Downward leaf tip *LEG I ITAL*
11. *LEG I ITAL* swastika
12. Sideway leaf tip *LEG ITAL*





### III

## LEGIO XI CLAVDIA PIA FIDELIS

### 1. HISTORY OF XI CLAVDIA LEGION PRIOR DISPLACEMENT TO MOESIA INFERIOR

The legion is firstly recorded during the civil wars by mid 1st C BCE. Thus, at Perugia, in 41–40 BCE, a legion numbered XI is mentioned within the army of C. Iulius Caesar Octavianus on a few lead weights discovered in the area<sup>945</sup>.

In the battle of Actium of September 2, 31 BCE, legionaries from the legion seem to have fought commendably and were later colonised at Ateste, where two tombstones mentioned the cognomen *Actiacus*: *M. Billienus M. f. Rom(ilia) Actiacus legione XI, proelio navali facto in coloniam deductus* and *Q. Coelius L. f. leg. XI Actiacus signifer*<sup>946</sup>. Moreover at Patavium *Salvius Sempronius C. f. Rom. leg. XI Actiacus*<sup>947</sup> is also attested.

Once with the reorganization under Augustus, the legion was dispatched to Illyricum. One of the oldest proof on the legion presence in the area is the tombstone of an 85 year old veteran discovered at Poetovio (Ptuj, Slovenia): *A. Postumius Sp. f. Seneca, domo Parma, veter(anus) missi(cius) leg(ione) XI an(norum) XXCV, h(ic) s(itus) e(st)*<sup>948</sup>. It may be dated, most likely, prior the division of Illyricum in 7–8 CE and seems to evidence the displacement of the legion strenght to the area of the future province of Pannonia Inferior. In 18/19, both legions of Illyricum erected a statue to Tiberius by courtesy of governor *P. Cornelius Dolabella*. The statue base was discovered at Iader<sup>949</sup>.

Subsequent the division of Illyricum, the legion was from the very beginning displaced to Dalmatia, being quartered at Burnum, on river Kerka, close to modern Ivoševci (today in Croatia). A *prata leg(ionis)*<sup>950</sup> is recorded in this area as early as the Flavian period. Legion XI remained quartered there during its entire stationing period in Dalmatia and the majority

<sup>945</sup> EE VI 76–78 = CIL XI 6721<sup>25–27</sup>; Ritterling, RE XII, 1925, col. 1690.

<sup>946</sup> CIL V 2501; 2503. See also CIL V 2495; 2512; 890; 2389 (veterans with the same cognomen, but the legion is not specifically mentioned).

<sup>947</sup> CIL V 2839; L. Keppie, *Legions and Veterans. Roman Army Papers 1971–2000*, Mavors 12, Stuttgart, 2000, p. 97–98.

<sup>948</sup> Öster.Jahresh. XVII, col. 134; Ritterling, RE XII, 1925, col. 1691; Ferjančić, *Settlement of Legionary Veterans*, p. 239, no. 26.

<sup>949</sup> CIL III 2908: *Ti. Caesar divi Aug(usti) f. / Augustus imp(erator) pontif(ex) max(imus) / trib(unicia) potest(ate) XX / co(n)s(ule) III / leg(io) VII leg(io)XI / P. Cornelio Dolabella / leg(ato) pro pr(aetore)*.

<sup>950</sup> CIL III 13250.

of inscriptions dated prior 42<sup>951</sup>, when the legion together with legion VII were awarded the title *Claudia pia fidelis*<sup>952</sup>, come from there. Additionally, the legion stamps<sup>953</sup> were identified still at Burnum. It is possible that at the beginning, it shared accommodation with legion XX. After 42, another series of inscriptions recording legion XI Claudia p. f. were discovered at Burnum<sup>954</sup>. In the province capital, Salonae, were identified only a few inscriptions mentioning legion XI Claudia compared to those recording legion VII Claudia. Thus, are mentioned a few soldiers still in active service<sup>955</sup>, the majority with the governor's *officium*, like the case of a legion centurion<sup>956</sup> and the veterans still *sub vexillo*<sup>957</sup>. We should also mention the tombstones of veterans retired at Salonae upon the completion of their military service<sup>958</sup>. In this period, a little while after the suppression of the Pannonian revolt of 6–9, in 17, both legions of Dalmatia, VII and XI, built a road of 167 miles long (approximately 250 km), starting off from Salonae and leading to Illyricum borders<sup>959</sup>.

During Augustus or Tiberius rule, *M. Vergilius M. f. Terentina Gallus Lusius* was chief centurion of the legion, according to the inscription rendering his career found at Venafrum (Regio I)<sup>960</sup>. Pursuant the pre-Claudian promotion scheme, immediately subsequent the chief centurionate, he became prefect of an auxiliary cohort (*praefectus cohortis Ubiorum peditum et equitum*), receiving *dona militaria* from Divus Augustus and Tiberius Caesar Augustus, then *praefectus fabrum III, tribunus militum cohortis primae* and *idiologus Aegypti*. In addition, *Q. Apidius P. f. Quirina Bassus*, recorded by an inscription at Casale di Sabone (Lunghezza), Italy, Latium, must have served, still prior 42, as chief centurion, *prim[us pilus] leg(ionis) XI* and later became *VIIIvir* at Amiternum<sup>961</sup>. Still prior 42, *Q. Orfius Q. f. Flaccus Caesius* served as military tribune of equestrian rank, as mentioned by an inscription discovered at Amiternum<sup>962</sup>.

Probably prior 42 as well, served *L. Pedanius C. f. Macer*, mentioned by an inscription found at Florentia (Regio VII, Etruria), where the legion name is entered without further mentions<sup>963</sup>. In addition, we should mention [*M.*] *Moranus, miles legionis XI* as well, recorded by an inscription identified in the territory of the Roman colony at Parentium (on the Dalmatian coast, at S. Andrea di Caroiba)<sup>964</sup>. From Salonae comes a tombstone of *missicius legionis XI*,

<sup>951</sup> CIL III 2832 = 9892; 2835 = ILS 2257; 6416; 6418 = 9896 = ILS 2259 = Ferjančić, *Settlement of Legionary Veterans*, p. 281, no. 315; 14996; 14997<sup>1-2</sup>; 15000; 15001.

<sup>952</sup> Cassius Dio, LX, 15, 4.

<sup>953</sup> CIL III 14022.

<sup>954</sup> CIL III 2833; 2834 = 9893; 2839 = Ferjančić, *Settlement of Legionary Veterans*, p. 278, no. 294; 6417; 6419 = 9897; 9903; 9904 = 14321<sup>3</sup>; 9905; 9906 = 14321<sup>4</sup>; 13251; 13263; 14321<sup>19</sup>; 14997; 14998; 14999; 15004<sup>1</sup> = Ferjančić, *Settlement of Legionary Veterans*, p. 278, no. 295; 15005; 15005<sup>1</sup>; AÉ 1900, 44; 45.

<sup>955</sup> CIL III 2013; 2031; 8740 = B. Rémy, F. Kayser, *Les viennois hors de Vienne. Attestations (épigraphiques, littéraires et papyrologiques) de l'activité des Viennois(es) en dehors de leur cité*, Bordeaux, 2005, p. 100, no. 63–64: *Q Fabius Pacatus Volt. Viennae*.

<sup>956</sup> CIL III 2035; see also CIL III 8738.

<sup>957</sup> CIL III 2017.

<sup>958</sup> CIL III 2037 = ILS 2260 (*missicius* most likely *ex causa*, as he died at 35); 8579; 8758 = 2054; 2056; 2062 = V 2164.

<sup>959</sup> CIL III 3198<sup>a</sup> = 10156<sup>a</sup> + 3200 = 10158 = ILS 2478: *[viam] a colonia Salonitan(a) / [ad fl]in[e]s provinciae Illyrici / [...] / cuius viai (sic!) millia passus sunt / CLXVII munit per vexillarios / leg(ionum) VII et XI / item viam Gabiniam / ab Salonis Andetrium aperuit / et munit per leg(ionem) VII*; Saxer, *Vexillationen*, p. 88–89, no. 263.

<sup>960</sup> CIL X 4862 = ILS 2690; Pflaum, *Carrières*, p. 23, no. 7; Dobson, *Primipilares*, p. 170–171; PME, V 66; Holder, *Auxilia*, p. 247, no. E 56.

<sup>961</sup> CIL XIV 3906 = InscrIt IV, I, 152 = AÉ 1974, 151.

<sup>962</sup> CIL IX 4197.

<sup>963</sup> CIL XI 1598 = Todisco, *Veterani*, p. 87–88, no. 53.

<sup>964</sup> CIL V 8197 = InscrIt X, II, 252.

*Quartus Iuventus T. f.*, obviously an Italian who died at the age of 35<sup>965</sup>. At Burnum was found a funerary epigram for *P. Fannius Ani.*, *eques legionis XI, annorum XXIX, stipendiorum XII*, native of Cremona<sup>966</sup>. Still prior 42 served *Q. Gavius Q. f. Arn. Optatus, domo Brixel.*, whose tombstone was discovered again at Burnum. *Signifer, P. Gosselius Q. f. Ani. Cre(mona)* served prior 42 as well, as seems to indicate his tombstone identified close to Burnum<sup>967</sup>.

Archaeological excavations performed at Burnum revealed that the forum of the future city overlaid the plan of the former *principia* of the legion fortress of 69<sup>968</sup>.

Evidence on legion XI Claudia presence in the area also comes from the fortress of legion VII Claudia at Gardun, including the record of a tribune, *P. Apulanus Pf. Pollia Sabinus, domo Eporedia (Regio XI)*<sup>969</sup> and a *signifer*<sup>970</sup> as well as stamps on a lead seal<sup>971</sup> and a hypocaust tile<sup>972</sup>.

It is possible that Scardona was an early stationing location of the legion, where many inscriptions exhibiting the legion name<sup>973</sup> emerged and where, a *vexillum veteranorum* is recorded as well on a veteran tombstone<sup>974</sup>. We learn that one of the veterans settled at Scardona, *M. Fraxsanius Sex. f. Pol. domo Regio Lepido*, was decorated sometime prior 42 (*donatus phaleris torquibus armillis*)<sup>975</sup>.

Inscriptions for legion veterans were identified at Novae<sup>976</sup>, Tragurium<sup>977</sup>, Corinium<sup>978</sup> and Iader<sup>979</sup>. Inscriptions recording the legion were found in the peninsula of Istria, at Albona<sup>980</sup> as well as in other areas of the Peninsula<sup>981</sup> and even at Aquileia<sup>982</sup>.

According to an inscription from Iader dated under legate *P. Cornelius Dolabella* (18–19) and an inscription found at Salonae, dated during Tiberius reign<sup>983</sup>, legion XI Claudia was involved, together with legion VII Claudia, in the construction of roads within the province. Additionally, its centurions (*primi ordines*) would deal with border setting between various

<sup>965</sup> CIL III 2037.

<sup>966</sup> CIL III 6416.

<sup>967</sup> CIL III 15001.

<sup>968</sup> M. Kandler, in S. Zabežlicky-Scheffenecker, M. Kandler, *Burnum I. Erster Bericht über die Kleinfunde der Grabungen 1973 und 1974 auf dem Forum*, Oesterr. Akad. der Wissensch., Schriften der Balkankommission 14, Vienna, 1979, p. 9–15; R. Fellmann, in Le Bohec, *Les légions de Rome*, p. 127.

<sup>969</sup> CIL III 2711; PME A 158.

<sup>970</sup> CIL III 2708 = 9725.

<sup>971</sup> *LEG XI* (CIL III 13350).

<sup>972</sup> *LEG XI CPF* (C. Patsch, *Öster. Jahresh.*, I, col. 121–124; CIL III 14022).

<sup>973</sup> CIL III 6413 = ILS 2258; CIL III 6415; CIL III 9885 = ILS 2322 = Filow, *Legionen*, p. 51, no. 16.

<sup>974</sup> CIL III 2818 = Ferjančić, *Settlement of Legionary Veterans*, p. 281, no. 313, *T. Cillius T. f. Fabia domo Laranda, veteranus legionis XI* (Roški Slap).

<sup>975</sup> CIL III 9885 = ILS 2322 = Filow, *Legionen*, p. 51, no. 16: “Die *dona militaria* sind deshalb entweder von Augustus oder Tiberius verliehen worden, weil unter Caligula, der noch einzig in Betracht kommen könnte, in Illyricum keine Kriege geführt worden sind”. See also Ferjančić, *Settlement of Legionary Veterans*, p. 281, no. 314: *M. Fraxsanius Sex. f. / Pol. domo Regio Lepido / veteranus leg. XI eques / annorum XLIIII stipendiorum XXV donatus / phaleris torquibus / armillis h. s. e. / Primu(s) l(ibertus) pro meritis*. Decorations may date from the moment when the legion was involved in the quell of the Pannonian uprising of 6–9.

<sup>976</sup> CIL III 1914 – 1915 = Ferjančić, *Settlement of Legionary Veterans*, p. 280, no. 307–308. *C. Appuleius Etruscus, speculator veteranus legionis XI, decurio allectus Salonae* and *Ignotus*, a native of Florentia, *veteranus legionis XI Claudia* p. f.

<sup>977</sup> CIL III 9709; 9710.

<sup>978</sup> CIL III 9974.

<sup>979</sup> CIL III 2918.

<sup>980</sup> CIL III 3052.

<sup>981</sup> CIL V 314 = InscrIt X, II, 204 (at S. Lorenzo del Pasenatico, in the territory of colony Iulia Parentium); 8197.

<sup>982</sup> CIL V 927.

<sup>983</sup> CIL III 2908 = ILS 2280; CIL III 3200 = ILS 2478.

province communities<sup>984</sup> and would be assigned precisely at the head of such communities like the case of *Marcellus (centurio) leg(ionis) XI Cl[audiae piae fidelis pr]aef(ectus) civitatis Maeze[iorum item Daesid]iatium* under Nero<sup>985</sup>.

In 42, both legions were awarded by emperor Claudius the titles XI Claudia pia fidelis, respectively VII Claudia pia fidelis for their loyalty to the emperor in occasion of the revolt attempt of *Furius Camillus Scribonianus*, governor of Dalmatia, upon *Annius Vinicianus*'s provocation<sup>986</sup>.

Upon the departure of legion VII Claudia in 56/57<sup>987</sup>, legion XI Claudia remained the single legion in the garrison in Dalmatia, even sending a vexillation to secure the abandoned fortress at Gardun.

Tribune *M. Acilius M. f. Priscus*, recorded by an inscription from Ostia, was active sometime during 42–69. He was successively prefect of cohort *I Bracaraugustanorum*, tribune of cohort *VIII Voluntariorum*, both stationed in Dalmatia, and legion tribune<sup>988</sup>. In the same period must have served as well *M. Caecilius Saturninus, veteranus legionis XI Claudiae p. f.*, mentioned on a tombstone discovered in the territory of Dalmatia, at Aequum<sup>989</sup>. Additionally, *M. Antonius Maximus, signifer veteranus legionis XI Claudiae p. f.*, retired somewhere close to Narona<sup>990</sup> and died at the age of 50 after 30 years of military service. Another *signifer* and *aquilifer* of the legion, *L. Sertorius L. f. Pob. Firmus*, is attested in the nearby of Verona at Cellore d'Illasi. His brother, *Q. Sertorius*, was *centurio legonis XI Claudiae p. f.*<sup>991</sup>. Possibly still during 42–69 activated *M. Iulius M. f. Vol. Paternus, centurio legionis XI Claudiae p. f.*, an Italian native, from Aquae Sextiae, who appears on a tombstone identified at Salonae<sup>992</sup>. A legion veteran, *T. Tettenius T. f. Ste. Pansa*, obviously of Italian origin, died somewhere close to Salonae by mid 1st C (*legio XI Claudia p. f. + Nominative + hic situs est*)<sup>993</sup>. At Burnum were discovered several inscriptions for soldiers and veterans dated in legion's stationing period there: *L. Iconius L. Ani. Surio, miles*, from Caesarea Augusta, in the centuria of *Titus Silvanus*; *A. Sentius A. f. Pom.*,

<sup>984</sup> CIL III 9832 = ILS 5949 (under Caligula), Devijver, PME, II, 873; CIL III 9973 = 15045<sup>2</sup> = ILS 5953 (*per A. Resium Maximum centurionem leg. XI C. p. f. pr. posterior. et Q. Aebitium Liberalem (h)astat. posteriore. leg. eiusdem*); 2883 = ILS 5953<sup>a</sup> (under Nero).

<sup>985</sup> CIL IX 2564; Ritterling, RE XII; 1925, col. 1693; PME, M 78 bis (Bovianum Undecimanorum, Italia, Regio IV).

<sup>986</sup> Cassius Dio, LX, 15, on the entire conspiracy progress see also LX, 15, 4: τό τε ἔβδομον καὶ τὸ ἐνδέκατον, καὶ Κλαυδία καὶ πιστὰ καὶ εὐσεβῆ καὶ πρὸς τῆς ἐπονομασθῆναι; Suetonius, *Claudius*, 13, 3: *Bellum civile movit Furius Camillus Scribonianus Delmatiae legatus; verum intra quintum die oppressus est, legionibus, quae sacramentum mutaverat, in paenitentiam religione conversis, postquam, denuntiato ad novum imperatorem itinere, casu quodam ac divinitus neque aquila ornari neque signa convelli moverique potuerunt*; Tacitus, *Hist.*, II, 75, 3, on *Scribonianus*'s death, murdered by a simple soldier, *Volaginius*. See Filow, *Legionen*, p. 18.

<sup>987</sup> D. Benea, *Din istoria militară a Moesiei Superior și a Daciei. Legiunea a VII-a Claudia și legiunea IIII-a Flavia*, Cluj-Napoca, 1983, p. 33–34.

<sup>988</sup> AÉ 1955, 169; M. Le Glay, *AncSoc* 3, 1972, p. 209–221; N. Santas Yanguas, *El ejército y la romanización de Galicia*, Oviedo, 1988, p. 154; Fl. Matei-Popescu, in *Corona laurea. Studii în onoarea Luciei Țeposu Marinescu*, Bucharest, 2005, p. 313; PME, A 10.

<sup>989</sup> ILJug 748 = Ferjančić, *Settlement of Legionary Veterans*, p. 267, no. 222.

<sup>990</sup> Ferjančić, *Settlement of Legionary Veterans*, p. 269, no. 232, the inscription dates most likely from 42–69 and not the second half of the 1st C, as the author argues.

<sup>991</sup> CIL V 3375; CIL V 3374. For the first inscription see also Cr.-G. Alexandrescu, *Blasmusiker und Standartenträger im römischen Heer. Untersuchungen zur Benennung, Funktion und Ikonographie*, Cluj-Napoca, 2010, p. 325–326, no. G 61.

<sup>992</sup> CIL III 2035. Obviously based on other criteria as well, except the legion presence in this area, the inscription cannot date but from the second half of the 1st C.

<sup>993</sup> CIL III 2054.



veteran, a native of Arretium; *M. Vallius M. f. Qui. Maurinus*, miles, in the centuria of *Valerius Postumus*, a Seg(ontia) native, Hispania Tarraconensis or Seg(ovia), Baetica; *M. Cupitius M. f. Pol. Paulus*, from Amasia, who served for 17 years<sup>994</sup>; *L. Flavius L. f. Fab. Valens*, a Heraclea native, probably Lyncestis, from Macedonia, in the centuria of *Iulius Priscus*, died at the age of 42 after 22 years of military service<sup>995</sup>; *C. Cocceius C. f. Veturius Tertius*, in the centuria of *Caecilius Sabinus, beneficiarius tribuni*<sup>996</sup>; *M. Valerius Liberalis*, miles, a native of *colonia Claudia Aequum*<sup>997</sup>; *L. Valerius Maximus, veteranus*<sup>998</sup>.

By the end of Nero's reign or even by the start of the civil war, the legion was led by *L. Annius Bassus*, who together with *Pompeius Silvanus*, supervised the recruitment of 6,000 Dalmatians, as reported by Tacitus<sup>999</sup>.

During the civil war subsequent Nero's removal, legion XI Claudia remained stationed in Dalmatia, as reported by Tacitus, siding with Otho<sup>1000</sup> and being later, upon his defeat, re-sent to its fortress<sup>1001</sup>. Later, it would support the Flavians and would participate in their march on Rome following the victory at Cremona<sup>1002</sup>. Subsequently, it would be sent, together with other legions under the supreme command of *Annius Gallus*, to Germania Superior<sup>1003</sup>. It would occupy the fortress at Vindonissa (Windisch, Switzerland), where legion XXI Rapax had been quartered prior the civil war<sup>1004</sup>.

At Vindonissa were discovered tiles and bricks stamped *LEG XI CPF* and inscriptions mentioning legion officers and soldiers<sup>1005</sup>. Two inscriptions for legion soldiers were found as well at Zurzach<sup>1006</sup>, thus proving that the legion surveilled the road along the Rhine valley.

In 73–74 (according to other authors, even later, under Domitian), the legion would send an important vexillation to upper Necker, at Rottweil (Arae Flaviae), to participate in the construction of this limes sector under governor *Cn. Cornelius Pinarius Clemens*<sup>1007</sup>.

<sup>994</sup> CIL III 13263.

<sup>995</sup> CIL III 14999.

<sup>996</sup> CIL III 14997.

<sup>997</sup> CIL III 15004.

<sup>998</sup> CIL III 15004<sup>1</sup>.

<sup>999</sup> Tacitus, *Hist.*, III, 50, 2: *Undecima legio sese adiunxerat, initio cunctata, sed prosperis rebus anxia quod defuisset; sex milia Dalmatarum, recens dilectus, comitabantur; ducebat Pompeius Silvanus consularis; vis consiliorum penes Annum Bassum legionis legatum*; Franke, *Legionslegaten*, p. 221, no. 93: "L. Annius Bassus fungiert höchstwahrscheinlich 66 n. Chr. als proconsul provinciae Cypri, bevor ihn möglicherweise noch Nero an die Spitze der Legio XI Claudia stellte".

<sup>1000</sup> Tacitus, *Hist.*, II, 11, 1–2: *Laeta interim Othoni principia belli, motis ad imperium eius e Dalmatia Pannoniaque exercitibus. Fuere quattuor legiones, e quibus bina milia praemissa; ipsae modicis intervallis sequebantur, septima a Galba conscripta, veteranae undecima ac tertia decima et praecipui fama quartadecumani rebellione Britanniae compressa*.

<sup>1001</sup> Tacitus, *Hist.*, II, 67, 2: *Prima classicorum legio in Hispania missa ut pace et otio mitesceret, undecima ac septima suis hibernis redditae, tertiadecimani struere amphitheatra iussi*.

<sup>1002</sup> Tacitus, *Hist.*, III, 50, 3: *Undecima legio sese adiunxerat, initio cunctata, sed prosperis rebus anxia quod defuisset; sex milia Dalmatarum, recens dilectus, comitabantur; ducebat Pompeius Silvanus consularis; vis consiliorum penes Annum Bassianum legionis legatum*.

<sup>1003</sup> Tacitus, *Hist.*, IV, 68, 4: *Legiones victrices, octava, undecima, decima tertia Vitellianarum unaetvicensima, e recens conscriptis secunda Poeninis Cottianisque Alpibus, pars monte Graio traducuntur*; Ritterling, RE XII, 1925, col. 1694.

<sup>1004</sup> R. Fellmann, in Le Bohec, *Les légions de Rome*, p. 127; M. Hartmann, *Vindonissa. Oppidum- Legionslager-Castrum*, Windisch, 1986, p. 53–56 (XXI Rapax) and p. 71–76 (XI Claudia).

<sup>1005</sup> CIL XIII 5207; 5209–5217; 5197; 11501; 11506; 11507; 11508; 11525; 11525<sup>a-d</sup>; AÉ 1900, 115; AÉ 1901, 99; AÉ 1914, 97.

<sup>1006</sup> CIL XIII 5240; 5241.

<sup>1007</sup> CIL XIII 12237, 1–4; R. Fellmann, in Le Bohec, *Les légions de Rome*, p. 128–129; R. Franke, *Gesellschaft Pro Vindonissa Jahresbericht 1997*, p. 25–32; M. Reddé, *Gesellschaft Pro Vindonissa Jahresbericht 1997*, p. 5–12.

In 75 is recorded a certain [...] *Marcellus*, who had been legion centurion, possibly even prior Vespasian's reign, as his career including *praefectus civitatis Maezeiorum...praefectus cohortis III Alpinorum*[---] indicates. In 75, he was patron of colony Bovianum Undecimanorum (Boiano, Regio IV)<sup>1008</sup>. His career development undoubtedly points to the period Claudius-Nero.

The legion was involved, together with other legions from same province, in the war against the *Chatti* of emperor Domitian (in 83<sup>1009</sup>), operating in the area north river Main, being recorded at Friedberg Wetterau (where a *figlina legionis* was identified and where stamped tiles and bricks were manufactured under two types: *LEG XI* and *LEG XI CPF*)<sup>1010</sup>. Still under Domitian, part of the legion participated in the erection of an important construction at Baden-Baden<sup>1011</sup>. Immediately after the end of the war with *Chatti*, the legion sent a vexillation, beside other vexillations from the other four legions of Germania and vexillations of the four legions of Britannia, to the land of the Celtic tribe *Lingones*, at Mirebeau (near Dijon). There, important defensive works would be performed and legionary vexillations remained for several years. The legion name appears in fact on tile stamps discovered at Mirebeau: *VEXIL LEGION I VIII XI XIII XXI* and *VEXIL LEGION VIII XI XIV XXI*<sup>1012</sup>.

In 89, the governor of Germania Superior, *L. Antonius Saturninus*, relying on legions XIV Gemina and XXI Rapax stationed at Mogontiacum, in the most important legionary fortress of Germania Superior, and allied with the Germanic peoples on the right bank of the Rhine, claimed the imperial purple. It seems that legion XI Claudia, together with legion VIII Augusta, did not support such rebellion. Finally, the legate of Germania Inferior, *L. Appius Maximus Norbanus*, with the army of his province (named subsequently, *exercitus pius fidelis*), would defeat *Saturninus* near Mainz; the latter lost his life in battle.

Under Domitian dates the centurionate in legion XI Claudia pia fidelis of *L. Aconius L. f. Clustumina Statura*, as indicated by an inscription from Tifernum Mataurense rendering his entire career and mentioning several decorations he earned<sup>1013</sup>. It seems that the centurionate in legion XI Claudia dates from 83–84, during the war against the *Chatti*, when he is decorated *ob bellum Germanicum*. O. Richier proposed yet a different solution, suggesting the reverse reading of his career, precisely like the case of *Sex. Pilonius Modestus*. Thus, the centurionate with legion XI Claudia would be the last, while decorations *ob bellum Germanicum et Sarmaticum* would be earned as centurion with legions VII Claudia or V Macedonica, both in Moesia, under Domitian and Nerva; while decorations *ob bellum Dacicum* would be earned as centurion of legion XI Claudia or VIII Flavia Felix, in the first Dacian expedition (Trajan was not yet *Dacicus*).

During the legion's displacement to Germania might date the tribunate of a certain [*Q. Nov]ius Q. f.* mentioned on a tombstone from Antinum (Regio IV). He was tribune of legion VIII Augusta and then tribune of legion XI Claudia<sup>1014</sup>.

A tombstone discovered at Altenburg (Vindonissa, Germania Superior) records a certain *Verecundus, cornicularius Satrieni Iuvenalis, tribuni militum leg(ionis) XI C(laudiae)*

<sup>1008</sup> CIL IX 2564.

<sup>1009</sup> Suetonius, *Domitianus*, 6, 1–2: *Expeditiones partim sponte suscepit, partim necessario; sponte Chattos... de Chattis Dacisque post varia proelia duplicem triumphum egit*; Cassius Dio, LXVII, 4, 1.

<sup>1010</sup> Ritterling, RE XII, 1925, col. 1696.

<sup>1011</sup> CIL XIII 6298; Ritterling, RE XII, 1925, col. 1696.

<sup>1012</sup> CIL XIII 12359 = ILS 2285; Saxer, *Vexillationen*, p. 22–23, no. 40. See also AÉ 1995, 1148. Probably under the command of *C. Velius Rufus, praefectus vexillariorum* of the legions: VIII, I Adiutrix, II Adiutrix, II Augusta, VIII Augusta, VIII Hispana, XIII Gemina, XX Victrix, XXI Rapax (ILS 9200).

<sup>1013</sup> CIL XI 5992 = IPD<sup>4</sup> 509 = 800 a = IDRE I 125; Richier, *Centuriones ad Rhenum*, p. 285–287, no. 227. Filow, *Legionen*, p. 42–44, believed it was “das *bellum Germanicum* unserer Inschrift kann also nur der germanische Krieg Vespasians vom J. 73/74 sein”; Ritterling, RE XII, 1925, col. 1695–1696.

<sup>1014</sup> CIL IX 3834; PME, N 14.

*p. f.*, however we do not know if he was either a *laticlave* or *angusticlave* tribune<sup>1015</sup>. Still at Vindonissa was found the tombstone of *C. Valerius C. f. Vol. Campanus*, a native of Vienna (Gallia Narbonsensis), who had served for 11 years in legion XI Claudia *p. f.*<sup>1016</sup>. Still in this period must have served centurion *L. Ci[...]**L. f. Claudia Tertius*, coming from Virunum, as mentioned by a tombstone found at Kastel, not far from Vindonissa<sup>1017</sup>. At Mainz is recorded another legion centurion, *C. Memmius Martialis*, who placed a votive inscription to *I. O. M. Conservator*<sup>1018</sup>.

At Vindonissa served the following *milites*: *M. Apronius M. f. Vol. Secundus, Luco Augusti* (Lugo) in centuria of *Velius Fuscus*<sup>1019</sup>; *C. Ennius C. f. Veturia Titus*, Placentia (Piacenza) in centuria of *Novius Castor*<sup>1020</sup>; *M. Iulius M. f. Quirina Maximus*, Augustonemetum (Clermont-Ferrand), also *structor* for eight years<sup>1021</sup>; *Q. Lucilius Q. f. Vol. Pudens*, Bergomum (Bergamo) in centuria of *Gellius Agricola*<sup>1022</sup>; *M. Luxsonius M. f. Rom. Festus*, Ateste (Este), in centuria of *Attius Valens*<sup>1023</sup>; *M. Magius M. f. Pob. Maccaus*, Verona, in centuria of *Marcus Modestus*<sup>1024</sup>; *P. Tettius P. f. Cor. Vala*<sup>1025</sup>; *L. Titennius L. f. Lem. Victorinus*, Bononia (Bologna), in centuria of *Valerianus*<sup>1026</sup>; *L. Vecnadius L. f. Pollia Maximus*, Forum Cornelia (Imola), in centuria of *Gusorius*<sup>1027</sup>; *C. Vegelus C. f. Aniensis Rufus*, Cremona, centuria of *Mettus Firmus*<sup>1028</sup>; ... *Verecundus, cornicularius Satrieni Iuvenalis, tribuni militum leg. XI Cl. p. f.*<sup>1029</sup>; *T. Vitellius Sergia Felix*, Forum Claudii (Martigny)<sup>1030</sup>;

<sup>1015</sup> H. Devijver, PME II, p. 720.

<sup>1016</sup> CIL XIII 5214 = Riese, *Rheinische Germanien*, p. 106, no. 905 = Howald, Meyer, *Die römische Schweiz*, p. 290–291, no. 285 = B. Rémy, F. Kayser, *Les viennois hors de Vienne. Attestations (épigraphiques, littéraires et papyrologiques) de l'activité des Viennois(es) en dehors de leur cité*, Bordeaux, 2005, p. 101, no. 65; Richier, *Centuriones ad Rhenum*, p. 252, no. 170.

<sup>1017</sup> CIL XIII 7287 = Riese, *Rheinische Germanien*, p. 105, no. 894; Richier, *Centuriones ad Rhenum*, p. 230–231, no. 132.

<sup>1018</sup> CIL XIII 6706 = Riese, *Rheinische Germanien*, p. 105, no. 899; Richier, *Centuriones ad Rhenum*, p. 247–248, no. 161.

<sup>1019</sup> CIL XIII 5207 = Riese, *Rheinische Germanien*, p. 106, no. 903 = Howald, Meyer, *Die römische Schweiz*, p. 288, no. 277; Richier, *Centuriones ad Rhenum*, p. 221, no. 119.

<sup>1020</sup> H. Nesselhauf, 27. BerRGK, 1938, p. 67, no. 61 = Howald, Meyer, *Die römische Schweiz*, p. 288, no. 278; Richier, *Centuriones ad Rhenum*, p. 250–251, no. 167.

<sup>1021</sup> CIL XIII 5209 = Riese, *Rheinische Germanien*, p. 106, no. 907 = Howald, Meyer, *Die römische Schweiz*, p. 288–289, no. 279.

<sup>1022</sup> CIL XIII 5210 = Riese, *Rheinische Germanien*, p. 105, no. 897 = Howald, Meyer, *Die römische Schweiz*, p. 289, no. 280; Richier, *Centuriones ad Rhenum*, p. 237, no. 146.

<sup>1023</sup> H. Finke, 17. BerRGK, 1927, p. 37, no. 108 = Howald, Meyer, *Die römische Schweiz*, p. 289, no. 281: “Ateste, Este in Oberitalien; Luxonii sind dort auch sonst belegt.”; Richier, *Centuriones ad Rhenum*, p. 218–219, no. 114.

<sup>1024</sup> CIL XIII 5211 = Riese, *Rheinische Germanien*, p. 105–106, no. 901 = Howald, Meyer, *Die römische Schweiz*, p. 290, no. 282; Richier, *Centuriones ad Rhenum*, p. 247, no. 160.

<sup>1025</sup> CIL XIII 5212 = Riese, *Rheinische Germanien*, p. 106, no. 909 = Howald, Meyer, *Die römische Schweiz*, p. 290, no. 283.

<sup>1026</sup> CIL XIII 5213 = Riese, *Rheinische Germanien*, p. 106, no. 903 = Howald, Meyer, *Die römische Schweiz*, p. 290, no. 284; Richier, *Centuriones ad Rhenum*, p. 220, no. 117.

<sup>1027</sup> CIL XIII 5215 = Riese, *Rheinische Germanien*, p. 105, no. 898 = Howald, Meyer, *Die römische Schweiz*, p. 291, no. 286; Richier, *Centuriones ad Rhenum*, p. 260–261, no. 188.

<sup>1028</sup> CIL XIII 5216 = Riese, *Rheinische Germanien*, p. 105, no. 900 = Howald, Meyer, *Die römische Schweiz*, p. 291, no. 287; Richier, *Centuriones ad Rhenum*, p. 248, no. 162.

<sup>1029</sup> H. Finke, 17. BerRGK, 1927, p. 36, no. 106 = Howald, Meyer, *Die römische Schweiz*, p. 291, no. 288.

<sup>1030</sup> CIL XIII 5217 = Riese, *Rheinische Germanien*, p. 106, no. 910 = Howald, Meyer, *Die römische Schweiz*, p. 292, no. 289; Richier, *Centuriones ad Rhenum*, p. 255–256, no. 178.

*M. Masterna*, centuria of *Crispus*<sup>1031</sup>; *Valerius Tertius*, centuria of *Domitius*, who dedicates a *pullus* to *Genius legionis XI Claudiae p.f.* (the dedication was inscribed on a bronze tablet)<sup>1032</sup>; *C. Licinius Crescens*, centuria of *Coelius*<sup>1033</sup>; *L. Flavius Burrus*, centuria of *Betuvus Silo*<sup>1034</sup>; *P. Terentius Tertullus*, *signifer*, centuria of *Severinus*<sup>1035</sup>; *C. Viselius Verecundus*, *veteranus*<sup>1036</sup>; *C. Novellius Primus*, *veteranus*<sup>1037</sup>; *Q. Valerius Q. f. Fabia Libens*; Brixia (Brescia), centuria of *Attienus Maximus* (inscription found at Zurzach)<sup>1038</sup>; ...*ugiacus...f. Polia Super, Pollentia*, centuria of *Saenus Maximus* (inscription identified at Zurzach)<sup>1039</sup>; *C. Iulius Spinther natione Mac(edo)* (inscription identified at Schleithem bei Schaffhausen)<sup>1040</sup>.

Still at Vindonissa most probably served *Q. Antonius Silo*, recorded centurion of several legions among which counts also legion XI Claudia p. f., in an inscription found at Röttenberg. The centurionate with this legion dates from the second part of Domitian's reign<sup>1041</sup>.

Legion XI Claudia pia fidelis is definitely recorded at Vindonissa in the last decade of the 1st C by several *tabulae ceratae*, preserving the consular dating of 90, 91 and 94<sup>1042</sup>.

In this period (between 96 and 97), legion legate was *L. Iulius L. f. Fab. Marinus Caecilius Simplex*, as mentioned by an inscription from Italy rendering his career<sup>1043</sup>. His successor to the

<sup>1031</sup> CIL XIII 11501 = Riese, *Rheinische Germanien*, p. 105, no. 896 = Howald, Meyer, *Die römische Schweiz*, p. 294, no. 296: "Der Weihende ist nach seinem Namen Etrusker, also auch aus Oberitalien;..."; CIL XIII 5197 = ILS 9279 = Riese, *Rheinische Germanien*, p. 105, no. 895 = Howald, Meyer, *Die römische Schweiz*, p. 294, no. 297; Richier, *Centuriones ad Rhenum*, p. 234, no. 138.

<sup>1032</sup> O. Bohn, *Germania* 9, 1925, p. 134 = AÉ 1926, 69; H. Finke, 17. BerRGK, 1927, p. 34–35, no. 100 = Howald, Meyer, *Die römische Schweiz*, p. 294–295, no. 299; Richier, *Centuriones ad Rhenum*, p. 234, no. 139.

<sup>1033</sup> H. Nesselhauf, 27. BerRGK 1938, p. 66, no. 58; Richier, *Centuriones ad Rhenum*, p. 232–233, no. 135.

<sup>1034</sup> CIL XIII 11508 = Riese, *Rheinische Germanien*, p. 105, no. 893 = Howald, Meyer, *Die römische Schweiz*, p. 296–297, no. 307; Richier, *Centuriones ad Rhenum*, p. 228–229, no. 128.

<sup>1035</sup> M. A. Speidel, *Die römischen Schreiftafeln von Vindonissa. Lateinische Texte des militärischen Alltags und ihre geschichtliche Bedeutung*, Veröffentlichungen der Gessellschaft Pro Vindonissa 12, Brugg, 1996, no. 152; Richier, *Centuriones ad Rhenum*, p. 258, no. 183.

<sup>1036</sup> CIL XIII 11507 = AÉ 1914, 97 = Howald, Meyer, *Die römische Schweiz*, p. 296, no. 305.

<sup>1037</sup> Riese, *Rheinische Germanien*, p. 107, no. 911.

<sup>1038</sup> CIL XIII 5241 = Riese, *Rheinische Germanien*, p. 105, no. 892 = Howald, Meyer, *Die römische Schweiz*, p. 302–303, no. 331: "Dass in Zurzach drei Grabsteine von Soldaten der Windischer Legionen gefunden sind, kann wohl nur daraus erklärt werden, dass in diesem wichtigen Rheinübergang eine Abteilung der betreffenden Legionen ständig in Besatzung lag. Eine centuria Attieni, doch wohl dieselbe, auch einem Bronzetafelchen aus dem Schutthügel von Vindonissa"; Richier, *Centuriones ad Rhenum*, p. 228, no. 127. See also G. Forni, in *Atti del Convegno internazionale per il XIX centenario della dedizione del «Capitolium» e per il 150° anniversario della sua scoperta. Brescia 27–30 settembre 1973*, Brescia, 1974, p. 229, no. 13 ("Flavian period").

<sup>1039</sup> CIL XIII 5213 = Riese, *Rheinische Germanien*, p. 106, no. 902.

<sup>1040</sup> CIL XIII, 2, p. 6, no. 1020\* = Howald, Meyer, *Die römische Schweiz*, p. 303, no. 332: "Die Angabe der Herkunft durch das Wort natione bei Leuten, die nicht aus Stadtgemeinden stammten, das übliche. Alter und Dienstjahre des Toten zeigen, dass er im Dienst gestorben ist".

<sup>1041</sup> CIL XIII 6357; Richier, *Centuriones ad Rhenum*, p. 223–226, no. 122.

<sup>1042</sup> M. A. Speidel, *Die römischen Schreiftafeln von Vindonissa. Lateinische Texte des militärischen Alltags und ihre geschichtliche Bedeutung*, Veröffentlichungen der Gessellschaft Pro Vindonissa 12, Brugg, 1996, p. 90–93, no. 1 (*tabella honestae missionis* (Entlassungsurkunde) for several soldiers recruited in 66–67 CE and discharged in 91 under legate *L. Iavolenus Priscus*); p. 98–101, no. 3 (note on the form of a loan reimbursement, "Schuldschein"; January 25, 90: ...*in dies XXX et quamcumque ducitur. Ibi sortem et usuras probas recte dari stipulatus est Sex. Carisius Maximus, quo sponondit L. Haterius Maximus. Aes reddam tibi aut proc(uratori)aut heredi tuo. Actum Vindonissa hib(ernis) leg(ionis) XI, VIII K(alendas) Februar(ias). Imp(eratore) Domitiano V. f. Aug. Ger. XV M. Cocceio Nervae II cos.*); p. 102–105, no. 4; p. 114–115, no. 9 (letter); p. 116–117, no. 10 (letter) and p. 42–43, with a short history on the legion presence at Vindonissa. See also R. Fellmann, *11. Legion*, p. 129.

<sup>1043</sup> CIL IX 4965 = ILS 1026 = Riese, *Rheinische Germanien*, p. 104, no. 889; Alföldy, *Legionslegaten*, p. 20–21, no. 27; Franke, *Legionslegaten*, p. 222–224, no. 94; M. Zyromski, *Eos* 86, 1999, p. 122–123, no. 7, proposes 96–97.



legion command was *L. Munatius M. f. Ter. Gallus* (98–99/100?), possibly the last legate prior legion's displacement to Vindonissa, since regarding *A. Vettius Priscus*, recorded *legatus legionis* by another inscription from Vindonissa, we do not know if he commanded this legion or another and when<sup>1044</sup>. *L. Munatius Gallus* is subsequently named legate of legion III Augusta from Africa, between 100 and 102<sup>1045</sup>. In 99–101, possibly even during its dispatch to the battle field by Lower Danube, the legion was most likely commanded by the reknown *C. Iulius Quadratus Bassus*, as mentioned by the inscription from Pergamum, rendering his career, possibly even as *praepositus*, should the first's issuer completion prove accurate (πραιπόσιτου λεγλιῶνος ια' Κλαυδίας)<sup>1046</sup>.

In the beginning years of Trajan's reign dates the record of a legion vexillation at Aquae (Baden-Baden), together with a vexillation of legion I Adiutrix<sup>1047</sup>.

Most likely, the fortress at Vindonissa was deserted in 100/101, as coin finds seem to indicate<sup>1048</sup>.

It is impossible to decide whether *C. C. f. Coesius Fabia Florus*, attested by an inscription from Caesarea (Cappadocia) *praefectus (castrorum) legionis XI Claudiae*, served when the legion was at Vindonissa or in Moesia Inferior. He continued his career as *primus pilus legionis IV Scythicae*<sup>1049</sup>.

## 2. DISPLACEMENT OF XI CLAUDIA LEGION IN MOESIA INFERIOR AND ITS SUBSEQUENT HISTORY

The displacement of the XI Claudia legion occurred in the context of Trajan's Dacian war, in my view, after the Dacian attack in the winter of 101–102<sup>1050</sup>. The very first evidence of the legion presence by Lower Danube comes from Oescus, as the inscription recording *C. Cornelius Iustus, miles legionis XI C(laudiae) p(iae) f(idelis)*, dates with certainty by the beginning of the 2nd C<sup>1051</sup>. To this inscription I can also mention the stamped tile material of *LEG XI CPF* type, in *tabula ansata* (type A), found there<sup>1052</sup>. Same type stamps were identified at Novae as well (following excavations in *valetudinarium*, building dating from the beginning of the 2nd C<sup>1053</sup>). In addition, the archaeological excavations led to the discovery of an imperial dedication fragment bearing the legion name<sup>1054</sup>. Should we agree with the theory according to

<sup>1044</sup> AÉ 1953, 250b; Alföldy, *Legionslegaten*, p. 21, no. 29.

<sup>1045</sup> CIL XIII 11500; CIL VIII 10186; Alföldy, *Legionslegaten*, p. 21, no. 28; Y. Le Bohec, *La troisième légion Auguste*, Paris, 1989, p. 125; 371; 373 and 376; Franke, *Legionslegaten*, p. 62–63, no. 35; M. Zyromski, *Eos* 84, 1996, p. 124, no. 17.

<sup>1046</sup> Chr. Habicht, *Altertümer von Pergamon*, VIII 3, Berlin, 1969, p. 43 sqq., no. 21; Franke, *Legionslegaten*, p. 211–217, no. 91.

<sup>1047</sup> ILS 2286.

<sup>1048</sup> Ritterling, RE XII, 1925, col. 1697.

<sup>1049</sup> SEG 33, 1983, 1194 = AÉ 1984, 893.

<sup>1050</sup> See Addendum I, p. 261–264; Fl. Matei-Popescu, *Argesis* 13, 2004, p. 123–129.

<sup>1051</sup> ILB 62 = Conrad, *Grabstelen*, p. 242, no. 435.

<sup>1052</sup> R. Ivanov, *ArheologijaSofia* 23, 1981, 3, p. 42–48, material found in secondary position in a grave on the territory of colony Oescus. See also the material from secondary position reused in the construction of other edifices at Oescus, Zl. Morfova, *Latomus* 18, 1959, p. 640–648. See also K. Strobel, *Klio* 70, 1988, p. 503.

<sup>1053</sup> T. Sarnowski, *Germania* 65, 1987, p. 107; p. 110, fig. 3–4; p. 111. See also St. Parnicki-Pudęłko et al., *ArchWarszawa* 17, 1967, p. 178, no. 51: *LEG XI CPF*.

<sup>1054</sup> D. Dimitrov, *IzvestijaSofia* 28, 1965, p. 57 = AÉ 1965, 136: [*pro salut*]e *Imp. Caes. / [..... Au]g. / [.....]us leg. XI C(laudiae)*. On the same occasion are edited other stamps of the same legion, *IzvestijaSofia* 28, 1965, p. 47 = AÉ 1965, 135.

which legion V Macedonica was sent to Troesmis after 101, we may argue in favour of a possible permanent presence of legion XI Claudia pia fidelis in the fortress at Oescus until the end of the Dacian war<sup>1055</sup> and thereafter it was settled at Durostorum.

The earliest record of the legion at Durostorum<sup>1056</sup> dates under governor *Q. Pompeius Falco* (years 115–117)<sup>1057</sup>. In the time of Antoninus Pius, under governor *Ti. Claudius Saturninus*, the legion *canabae Aeliae* are attested<sup>1058</sup>. Probably in the time of Marcus Aurelius, the civil settlement, situated *extra leugam*, was granted municipal status. This *municipium Aurelium Durostorum* appears in an inscription found at Histria, reused in the erection of the post-Gothic enclosure. It is the bilingual funerary stela of legion I Italica beneficiarius, *Aelius Victor*, erected by his brother, *Aelius Severianus, d(ecurio) m(unicipii) Durosteri*<sup>1059</sup>. In addition, the same *municipium* is recorded in an inscription dated during 169–176, honouring Marcus Aurelius<sup>1060</sup>.

At Durostorum was also indentified an altar placed by legion veterans discharged most likely in 167. They had been recruited during 136–139<sup>1061</sup>.

It seems that a detachment of legion XI Claudia p. f. was stationed at Tropaeum Traiani or somewhere in vicinity<sup>1062</sup>. Thus, under Antoninus Pius (year 157) the tribune *M. Stabius Colonus*, a native of Luca, placed a dedication to several gods<sup>1063</sup>. During Marcus Aurelius' rule, the centurion *Annius Saturninus* dedicated a votive monument to *Deus Invictus*<sup>1064</sup>. Most likely in the 3rd C, another centurion, *Iulius Favor*, placed a dedication to *Apollo*<sup>1065</sup>. The *signifer Aelius Antonius Aeternalis* erected together with his brother, *Aelius Antonius Sabinus, duumvir* of the municipium, a tombstone to the memory of his sister and father, also *duumvir* of municipium Tropaeum Traiani<sup>1066</sup>. Still at Adamclisi was discovered the tombstone of an *exceptor* or *strator* of the legion legate or the province legate<sup>1067</sup>.

<sup>1055</sup> R. Ivanov, 78. *BerRGK*, 1997, p. 512–513, argues that legion V Macedonica sent at Troesmis only a vexillation and that another vexillation continued to be stationed at Oescus beside another vexillation of legion XI Claudia p. f., after it had previously sent a vexillation to Durostorum as well and with a vexillation of legion I Italica.

<sup>1056</sup> For the topography of the site see C. Mușețeanu, *SCIVA* 41, 1990, 3–4, p. 293–299.

<sup>1057</sup> I. I. Russu, *AISC* 2, 1933–1935, p. 217, no. 5 = *AÉ* 1936, 14; Aricescu, *Armata*, p. 37.

<sup>1058</sup> *CIL* III 7474 = *ILS* 2475 = Filow, *Legionen*, p. 65, note 4: *I. O. M. / Pro salute imp(eratoris) Caes(aris) T. Aeli Haldriani Antonini Aug(usti) Pii et V(eri) Caes(aris), templum et statuam / c(ivibus) R(omanis) et consisstantibus in / canabis Aelis leg(ionis) XI Cl(audiae) / Cn. Oppius Sotherichus et / Oppius Severus fil(ius) eius / de suo fecerunt. Dedicatum est per Tib. Cl(audium) Saturni/numleg(atum) Aug(usti) pr. pr., Tib. Cl(audio) Iulilano, leg(ato) Aug(usti).*

<sup>1059</sup> Pârvan, *Histria IV*, p. 668–671, no. 45 = *ISM* I 302. See also P. Donevski, in *Roman Frontier Studies 1989. Proceedings of the XVth International Congress of Roman Frontier Studies*, University of Exeter Press, 1991, p. 277–280.

<sup>1060</sup> V. Pârvan, *Rivista di Filologia*, N. S. 2, 1924, p. 318 = *AÉ* 1925, 110; E. Bujor, *SCIV* 11, 1960, 1, p. 145–146, no. 2: *[I. O.]M et Iun[on]i Reg(inae) / pro salu[te] i[mp]p(eratoris) M. / Aur(eli) Anto[nin]i Aug(usti) et mul[nic]i(i) D[ur]o[steri] C. Terentius Hero[di]anus et L. Nume[ri]us Ponticus II v(iri) i(ure) [d(icundo)] T. Fl(avius) Papi[ri]an[us] et Cl(audius) Satur[nin]us aed(iles) et Q. Vissellius Lol[li]anus T. Luc[re]tius Fe[lix] q(uaestores) n(ostri).*

<sup>1061</sup> V. Pârvan, *Rivista di Filologia*, N. S. 2, 1924, p. 317–318 = *AÉ* 1925, 109; E. Bujor, *SCIV* 11, 1960, 1, p. 141–144, no. 1: *I. O. M. / vet(erani) leg(ionis) XI Cl(audiae) p. f. / missi IIII co(n)s(ulatu) qui / milita(re) coeper(unt) Comodo / et Pompeiano et L. Aelio / II co(n)s(ulibus) et Nigro et / Camarino imp(eratore) / Antonino II / missi ab M. Aurelio / Ant(onino) et L. Aur(elio) / Vero augustis / sub Servil[i]o Fabiano / legato augustor(um) pr. pr. et / Cornelio Plotiano leg(ato).*

<sup>1062</sup> Aricescu, *Armata*, p. 38.

<sup>1063</sup> *AÉ* 1901, 48 = *CIL* III 14214<sup>1</sup> = Aricescu, *Armata*, p. 219, SE no. 34.

<sup>1064</sup> *CIL* III 7483 = *AÉ* 1960, 342 = *CIMRM* II, p. 366, no. 2311 = Aricescu, *Armata*, p. 219, SE no. 35, the inscription was found at Pietreni. This was most likely Mithras.

<sup>1065</sup> N. Gostar, *ArhMold* 6, 1969, p. 111–112, no. 1 = *AÉ* 1972, 522: *Apol(lini) s[ant(o)] / Iul(ius) Favor / (centurio) leg(ionis) XI Cl(audiae) / sac(rum) pro se et suis ex v(oto) fec(it)*

<sup>1066</sup> *CIL* III 14214<sup>6</sup> = Aricescu, *Armata*, p. 219, SE no. 36.

<sup>1067</sup> *CIL* III 13736 = Aricescu, *Armata*, p. 220, SE no. 43. On the office of *exceptor* (registrar) see Domaszewski, *RO<sup>2</sup>*, p. 37, no. 16: “Diese exceptores werden auf den stationes der beneficiarii consulares verwendet” (*CIL*

In the territory of Dobrudja were identified other inscriptions recording soldiers of legion XI Claudia at rather large distance from its fortress. Thus, in the territory of Histria is mentioned *Ulpus Felix, strator consularis*, but he most likely was in the area only to place a tombstone to his parents, *M. Vettius Felix, ex decurione ale* (sic !) and *Aurelia Faustina*<sup>1068</sup>. Somewhere in Histria's neighbourhood was also buried *Iulius Saturninus, centurio* of the legion, one of his freedwomen erecting a statue by the beginning of the 3rd C<sup>1069</sup> to his memory. Considering that the centurion was still on active service, we may suppose that he was either a native from the area or was together with a legion detachment in the vicinity of Histria, perhaps to control the road network. Nonetheless, from Histria comes a stamp, which supposedly, belonged to legion V Macedonica, but which most likely must be assigned to legion XI Claudia p. f., as I personally checked<sup>1070</sup>. At Tomis died, while still on active duty, centurion *M. Domitius Capetolinus, domo Capetoliade* (Capitolias, Syria) at 32 years of age<sup>1071</sup>. Still at Tomis was found the versified epitaph of *Aurelius Claudius, veteranus*, who retired in this city<sup>1072</sup>. At Slava Rusă died soldier *Valerius Valens*, of only 22 years of age, the tombstone erected by his parents rendered the *signum originis*<sup>1073</sup>. It is possible that this inscription does not record a legion detachment in the area and may be indication of a monument erection in the place of origin. From Noviodunum comes the *signifer Iulius Valens*, who placed a tombstone to his parents<sup>1074</sup>. D. Tudor identified him with the homonym *signifer* in the 155 – list of soldiers found at Montana<sup>1075</sup>. Still at Tomis is mentioned centurion *Cocceius Hortensius*, father-in-law of *Ulpus Balimber, centurio princeps* of legion I Italica<sup>1076</sup>. At Lazus, not very far from Tomis, was identified the funerary altar of *C. Nummerius Valens, miles legionis*, erected by *L. Sextilius Fuscus, centurio coh(ortis) I Trha(cum)* (sic !)<sup>1077</sup>, possibly *I Thracum Syriaca*.

An interesting discovery was made at Izvoarele, the ancient Sucidava, where tile material bearing the stamp *LEG XI PONT* (ligature between the last two letters) emerged. The editor considers that it should be completed *leg(ionis) XI Pont(icae)*, thus referring to a *figlina* insofar unknown. Unfortunately, since they are chance finds, their dating is uncertain<sup>1078</sup>. Nevertheless, given that they were preserved together with a tile stamp fragment of legion V Macedonica, of *LEV MAC* type<sup>1079</sup>, close to type 1B from Troesmis, however without ligature between *M* and *A*, they date most likely in the 2nd C. I agree they should refer to legion XI Claudia and evidently to Pontus Euxinus, however we cannot explain why the legion was awarded at some point the

VIII 17634 = Domaszewski, RO<sup>2</sup>, p. 247: *b(ene)ff(iciarius) [et] exceptores [ex]pleta statione cum suis omnibus*.

On the office of *strator consularis* or *strator legatis legionis* (shield bearer) see Domaszewski, RO<sup>2</sup>, p. 35 and p. 39.

<sup>1068</sup> ISM I 278.

<sup>1069</sup> ISM I 292.

<sup>1070</sup> D. Tudor, *Pontica* 13, 1980, p. 245, no. 22 (fig. 2/14, p. 244); Al. Suceveanu, *RRH* 13, 1974, 2, p. 226; Ionescu, Papuc, *Sistemul de apărare*, p. 52.

<sup>1071</sup> CIL III 771 = ISM II 348.

<sup>1072</sup> ISM II 383. Al. Barnea, *Dacia, N. S.* 19, 1975, p. 258–259.

<sup>1073</sup> A. Aricescu, *SCIIVA* 27, 1976, p. 531–534 = AÉ 1977, 756 = ISM V 224.

<sup>1074</sup> AÉ 1956, 213 = ISM V 276.

<sup>1075</sup> CIL III 7449; D. Tudor, *StCercSt* 4, 1953, Iași, p. 468–471.

<sup>1076</sup> ISM II 260. *Ulpus Balimber* was among *primi ordines*, ranking third centurion in the legion, Domaszewski, RO<sup>2</sup>, p. 93.

<sup>1077</sup> ISM II 263.

<sup>1078</sup> M. Irimia, *Pontica* 18, 1985, p. 142, no. 1–3 and p. 142–151.

<sup>1079</sup> *Ibidem*, p. 151–152, no. 4–5 and p. 153.

*agnomen of Pontica*<sup>1080</sup>. The single element which we may take into consideration is the famous inscription from Mactaris, reminding *Ti. Plautius Ti. f. Papiria Felix Ferruntianus, tribunus militum angusticlavius legionis I Italicae, praepositus vexillationibus Ponticis apud Scythia(m) et Tauricam*, i.e. the commander of the legionary vexillations sent from Moesia Inferior to north Pontus Euxinus<sup>1081</sup>. Should we agree that by *vexillationes Ponticae* one understands the legions from Moesia Inferior, the stamp of *LEG XI PONT* type might make reference to the involvement of this legion vexillations in the defence of the northern shore of the Black Sea.

From the above enumeration, one may easily note the relatively small number of legion XI Claudia soldiers recorded in Dobrudja compared to the number of legion I Italica soldiers. From this standpoint also, we may argue that the area north Capidava, entered after the displacement of legion V Macedonica to Potaissa under the control of legion I Italica and not of legion XI Claudia, whose control range restricted to only south Dobrudja.

At Halmyris, a vexillation composed of the two legions, I Italica and XI Claudia detachments is recorded by an altar dedicated to Hercules sometime in the second half of the 2nd C and not by its beginning as M. Zahariade argued<sup>1082</sup>. An early presence of a vexillation composed of legions from Novae and Durostorum is less likely during legion's V Macedonica stationing period at Troesmis<sup>1083</sup>. Moreover, it is curious that precisely this legion lacked record in the vexillation recorded at Halmyris. The most important argument for an inscription date in the first part of the 2nd C is the abbreviation of the legion name under the form *CPF*<sup>1084</sup>, which disappears by the start of Hadrian reign<sup>1085</sup>. Later, even the epithet *pia fidelis* is no longer entered in inscriptions. Nonetheless, there are exceptions. An inscription from Ticinum, in the north of Italy, mentioning a group of soldiers from legions I Italica and XI Claudia present in the area, record the legion name XI Claudia abbreviated as *XI CL P [F]*<sup>1086</sup>. Unfortunately, the inscription from Ticinum does not comprise definite dating elements; however it may rather date in the 3rd C, thus being proof of the epithet use also in the 3rd C. At Aquileia, an extremely fragmentary inscription that may date anytime in the 2nd – 3rd C, mentions same abbreviation of the legion name, *XI CL P F*<sup>1087</sup>. Therefore, I believe we should agree that the inscription from Halmyris would rather date after the movement of legion V Macedonica to the territory of Dacia.

In the territory of Bulgaria, at Levski, on the road linking Svištov to Loveč, was indentified the funerary stela of a *quaestionarius legionis, Aelius Iustinus*, erected by his heir *Aelius Ingenuus, beneficiarius legati legionis*<sup>1088</sup>. Most likely, the two were part of a detachment dealing with the surveillance of the southward road to Stara Planina.

An important vexillation of legion XI Claudia was active at Montana. It placed an inscription in 155, under governor *T. Flavius Longinus* and the command of *Flavius Maximus, centurio legionis*

<sup>1080</sup> C. C. Petolescu, SCIVA 40, 1989, 2, p. 167, considers it of later date, the earliest under the tetrarchy and relates it to epithets of *Scythica* type for legion I Iovia and *Moesica*, for legion I Italica.

<sup>1081</sup> CIL VIII 619 = ILS 2747 = IPD<sup>4</sup> 535; AÉ 1969–1970, 580; Saxer, *Vexillationen*, p. 42–43, no. 72; T. Sarnowski, ArchWarszawa 38, 1988, p. 77, no. 29; PME, P 41.

<sup>1082</sup> M. Zahariade, Dacia, N. S. 30, 1986, 1–2, p. 173–176 = *Halmyris*, I, p. 116, no. 2. See the discussion in *Halmyris*, I, p. 98.

<sup>1083</sup> See A. Aricescu, *Pontica* 10, 1977, p. 182, showing that inland Dobrudja, during legion V Macedonica stationing period at Troesmis, legion XI Claudia was recorded only in the southern area, especially in Tropaeum Traiani area.

<sup>1084</sup> See for instance also the inscription from Oescus, one of the earliest records of the legion in Moesia Inferior, where the legion name is abbreviated still as *CPF*, ILB 62 = Conrad, *Grabstelen*, p. 242, no. 435.

<sup>1085</sup> A last certain record seems to come still under legate *Pompeius Falco* in Moesia Inferior of, I. I. Russu, AISC 2, 1933–1935, p. 217 = AÉ 1936, 14.

<sup>1086</sup> AÉ 1992, 786.

<sup>1087</sup> CIL V 795a = CIL V 934 = InscrAquil 286.

<sup>1088</sup> CIL III 12401 = ILB 444 = Conrad, *Grabstelen*, p. 252, no. 474.



*eiusdem*, composed of a *beneficiarius consularis*, *Ulpus Alexander*; a few *principales*: *Iulius Aeternalis* (*tesserarius*), *Aurelius Postumus* (*tubicen*); *Valerius Rufus* (*cornicen*); *Aurelius Artemo* (*medicus*); a *decurio ex equite legionis*, *Pomponius Herculanus* and a number of 67 *immunes venatores*<sup>1089</sup>. It is evidently a *venatio Caesariana*, similar to *venatio Caesariana* attested for 147 and where legions I Italica and XI Claudia, cohort I *Cilicum milliaria* and *classis Flavia Moesiaca*<sup>1090</sup> were involved, possibly organized to properly celebrate, in the following year, 900 years from Rome's founding<sup>1091</sup>. To this end, vexillations of the mentioned troops were placed under the command of the tribune of the mentioned cohort, *Ti. Claudius Ulpianus*<sup>1092</sup>, "...*tribunus cohortis I Cilicum cum vexillationibus legionum I Italicae, XI Claudiae, classis Flaviae Moesiacae ob venationem Caesarianam iniunctam a Claudio Saturnino, legato Augusti pro praetore, ursis et visonibus prospere captis*". Upon completion, the participants into the mission dedicated an altar to goddess Diana. Among legion members present in the Montana area count *Q. Caecilius Larensis*<sup>1093</sup> (*centurio*, 161–169 under legate *M. Pontius Laelianus*), *P. Aelius Fronto*<sup>1094</sup> (*centurio*), *C. Aemilius Donatus*<sup>1095</sup> (*centurio*), *Cocceius Silvanus*<sup>1096</sup> (*centurio*, 198–211), *Urbanus*<sup>1097</sup> (*centurio*, 3rd C), *C. Iulius Africanus*<sup>1098</sup> (*centurio*, 157–158, under legate *T. Vitrasius Pollio*), *Aelius Severus*<sup>1099</sup> (*centurio*), *C. Valerius Valens*<sup>1100</sup> (*optio, agens regione Montanensium*, 161–163), *L. Cocceius Marcus*<sup>1101</sup> (*centurio, praepositus numeri civium Romanorum*, mid 3rd C when this *numerus* is recorded) and *Aurelius Iovinus*<sup>1102</sup> (*miles*, dated in 2nd C, however rather to the end of the 3rd C and who appears on a votive plate dedicated to the Thracian Rider found in the sanctuary at Liljače).

Members of legion XI Claudia pia fidelis were active within detachments of Moesia Inferior army sent north the Black Sea. Thus, at Chersonesus I mention *Aurelius Primus, discens armaturae*<sup>1103</sup>, *T. Flavius Celsinus, beneficiarius consularis*<sup>1104</sup>, a certain *eq(ues) Rom(anus) [praep(ositus)?] v(e)x(illationis) per qua[dr(iennium) leg(ionis) XI Cl(audiae)]*<sup>1105</sup>; (he is in fact *Ignotus, centurio legionis ex eq(uite) Rom(ano)*); *Aurelius Salvianus, tubicen legionis*<sup>1106</sup> and a certain *Sabinus, miles legionis*<sup>1107</sup>. Still at Chersonesus, an unfortunately extremely fragmentary

<sup>1089</sup> CIL III 7449 = *Montana*, II, p. 2, no. 1.

<sup>1090</sup> V. Velkov, D. Alexandrov, in *Terra Antiqua Balcanica II. Actes du IX<sup>e</sup> Congrès International d'Épigraphie Grecque et Latin*, Sofia, 1987, p. 279–283 = *Chiron* 18, 1988, p. 270–277 = *AE* 1987, 867 = *Montana*, II, p. 6–7, no. 9. See also F. Bérard, *ZPE* 79, 1989, p. 129–138.

<sup>1091</sup> Extremely important remark made by D. Knoepffler, *RÉG* 112, 1999, p. 485–509, based on Pausanias account (IX 21, 3; X 13, 1), who reported bisons on the occasion of celebrations from Rome in 148.

<sup>1092</sup> *PME*, C 190 bis.

<sup>1093</sup> *AE* 1987, 869 = *Montana*, II, p. 7–8, no. 10.

<sup>1094</sup> *AE* 1987, 876 = *Montana*, II, p. 10–11, no. 16 (for Diana); *AE* 1987, 886 = *Montana*, II, p. 18, no. 34 (for Apollo); *AE* 1987, 888 = *Montana*, II, p. 34, no. 71 (for Aesculapius and Hygia).

<sup>1095</sup> *AE* 1987, 871 = *Montana*, II, p. 11, no. 17.

<sup>1096</sup> *AE* 1987, 887 = *Montana*, II, p. 19, no. 38.

<sup>1097</sup> *AE* 1987, 883 = *Montana*, II, p. 21, no. 42.

<sup>1098</sup> *AE* 1985, 751 = *AE* 1987, 247 = *Montana*, II, p. 23, no. 47.

<sup>1099</sup> Gerov, *Romanizmăt*, II, p. 357, no. 6 = *Montana*, II, p. 39, no. 88.

<sup>1100</sup> *AE* 1969/1970, 577 = *Montana*, II, p. 27, no. 53 (the inscription was found at Almus, Lom, in the territory of Montana).

<sup>1101</sup> *AE* 1985, 746 = *Montana*, II, p. 32, no. 65.

<sup>1102</sup> *AE* 1955, 63 = Gerov, *Romanizmăt*, II, p. 358, no. 25 = *Montana*, II, p. 38, no. 84.

<sup>1103</sup> *IOSPE I<sup>2</sup>* 676 = Solomonik, *Latinskie nadpisi*, p. 36–37, no. 8.

<sup>1104</sup> *AE* 1967, 430 = Solomonik, *Latinskie nadpisi*, p. 38–40, no. 10; T. Sarnowski, *ArchWarszawa* 38, 1988, p. 80, no. 53.

<sup>1105</sup> *IOSPE I<sup>2</sup>* 550 = Solomonik, *Latinskie nadpisi*, p. 56–57, no. 29.

<sup>1106</sup> *CIL III* 782 = *IOSPE I<sup>2</sup>* 222 = *IOSPE I<sup>2</sup>* 551 = Solomonik, *Latinskie nadpisi*, p. 58–59, no. 31

<sup>1107</sup> *IOSPE I<sup>2</sup>* 552 = Solomonik, *Latinskie nadpisi*, p. 59–60, no. 32

inscription records the legion with epithet *Severiana*, awarded under Severus Alexander<sup>1108</sup>. At Chersonesus was identified as well tile material with the legion stamp *LEG XI CL*<sup>1109</sup>, of same type with the tile material discovered at Alma-Kermen and Charax (type C, *vide infra*). At Charax, in the possible inscription for a building foundation legion XI Claudia was mentioned: *...nus / [...pe]r vexillat(ionem) / [Moes(iae) inf(erioris) ? curam] agente / [...(centurione) leg(ionis)] XI Cl(audiae)*<sup>1110</sup>. Meanwhile other fragments were identified, thus allowing the dating of the inscription under the joint reign of Marcus Aurelius and Lucius Verus, in 166<sup>1111</sup>. At Tyras, under Antoninus Pius/Marcus Aurelius, the legion is part of the vexillations composed of detachments of the three legions of Moesia Inferior put under the command of legion I Italica centurion, *Ant(oni)us Pl(...)*<sup>1112</sup>. In the 3rd C, at Olbia was also active *Galerius Montanus, (discens) arm(atura)* as indicated by an inscription found on this site<sup>1113</sup>. It was additionally supposed that the Roman garrison at Olbia was under the command of a centurion of legion XI Claudia from the second half of the 2nd C<sup>1114</sup>. At Alma-Kermen, north Chersonesus a tile exhibiting the stamp of legion XI Claudia *LEG XI CL*<sup>1115</sup>, of same type with the tile material found at Charax (type C) was identified. At Charax, another inscription mentions the name of the *beneficiarius consularis, T. Flavius Celsinus*<sup>1116</sup>, already attested at Chersonesus. His presence on both sites south the peninsula of Crimea must be obviously linked to the surveillance of the road connecting the two fortifications. Additionally, at Charax was identified tile material with the legion stamp *LEG XI CL*<sup>1117</sup> (type C). At Balaklava, site by half road between Chersonesus and Charax, was discovered an altar dedicated to *Volcanus* by *Antonius Proc(ulus), centurio legionis XI Claudiae*<sup>1118</sup>, identified, presumably, with the one who placed a tombstone to daughter *Antonia Procula*<sup>1119</sup> at Chersonesus. Still in this spot, another legion stamp of same type with those from Chersonesus and Charax, *LEG XI CL*<sup>1120</sup> was indentified.

An important number of *beneficarii consularis* of this legion were sent to the Dalmatia province during the 2nd and 3rd C, as it was also the case of the I Italica legion and also V Macedonica. They are attested by Magnum (Balijina-Glavica)<sup>1121</sup>, Skelani<sup>1122</sup>, Salonae<sup>1123</sup>, Čačak (in the *territorium municipii Malves(i)atium*)<sup>1124</sup>, Komine<sup>1125</sup> and Runović (Novae)<sup>1126</sup>.

<sup>1108</sup> V. M. Zubar, I. A. Antonova, VDI 1 (230), 2000, p. 66–70; AÉ 2000, 1274.

<sup>1109</sup> T. Sarnowski, ArchWarszawa 38, 1988, p. 78, no. 32.

<sup>1110</sup> K. K. Orlov, in *Arhitekturno-arheolgičeskije issledovanija v Krymu*, Kiew, 1988, p. 19–21; T. Sarnowski, V. M. Zubar, ZPE 112, 1996, p. 229–234.

<sup>1111</sup> V. M. Zubar, T. Sarnowski, VDI 4 (223), 1997, p. 50–59; AÉ 1997, 1332.

<sup>1112</sup> Saxer, *Vexillationen*, p. 90, no. 266; T. Sarnowski, ArchWarszawa 38, 1988, p. 73, no. 15

<sup>1113</sup> IOSPE I<sup>2</sup> 236 = T. Sarnowski, ArchWarszawa 38, 1988, p. 80, no. 44. *Arm(atura)* dealt with soldiers training and were probably grouped in a *collegium armaturarum* (Aquincum, CIL III 10435 = ILS 2363), Domaszewski, RO<sup>2</sup>, p. 45, no. 53.

<sup>1114</sup> V. M. Zubar, Historia 44, 1995, 2, p. 194.

<sup>1115</sup> T. Sarnowski, ArchWarszawa 38, 1988, p. 78, no. 34.

<sup>1116</sup> IOSPE I<sup>2</sup> 675 = T. Sarnowski, ArchWarszawa 38, 1988, p. 80, no. 70.

<sup>1117</sup> CIL III 14215<sup>3</sup> = T. Sarnowski, ArchWarszawa 38, 1988, p. 79/81, no. 37.

<sup>1118</sup> T. Sarnowski, Historia 47, 3, 1998, p. 330–331, no. 6, fig. 9; AÉ 1998, 1161.

<sup>1119</sup> AÉ 1967, 435 = Solomonik, *Latinskie nadpisi*, p. 53, no. 24; O. J. Savelja, T. Sarnowski, VDI 1 (228), 1999, p. 42–45; AÉ 1999, 1348.

<sup>1120</sup> AÉ 1998, 1163d.

<sup>1121</sup> CIL III 14959 = CGLBI 434; CIL III 9790 = CGLBI 438 (discovered in the nearby, at Andetrium).

<sup>1122</sup> ILJug III 1524 = CGLBI 472; CIL III 14219<sup>4</sup> = CGLBI 473.

<sup>1123</sup> CIL III 8727 = CGLBI 483; CIL III 14703 = CGLBI 453.

<sup>1124</sup> S. Ferjančić, G. Jeremić, Al. Gojčić, *Rimski epigrafski spomenici Čačka i okoline*, Čačak, 2008, p. 51, no. 7; p. 43, no. 2; p. 59, no. 13 = S. Ferjančić, *Balcanica* 26, 1995, p. 176–181, no. 1 = AÉ 1996, 1199.

<sup>1125</sup> A. Cermanović-Kuzmanović, *Starinar*, N. S., 20, 1969, p. 25–28 = AÉ 1971, 303 = CGLBI 451.

<sup>1126</sup> CIL III 14638 = CGLBI 469.

Into the Parthian expedition of emperor Trajan were also involved members of legion XI Claudia pia fidelis, as inferred by the inscription from Rome for tribune *L. Paconius L. f. Pal. Proculus*, who, after being prefect of cohort *I Flavia Hispanorum equitata*, possibly of Dacia (still, the unit from Dacia is recorded as *milliaria*<sup>1127</sup>, therefore this was most likely the one from Germania Inferior<sup>1128</sup>), becomes tribune of legion XI Claudia p. f. and then *praepositus vexillationum equitum Moesiae inferioris et Daciae eunti* (sic!) *in expeditione Parthica*<sup>1129</sup>. R. Saxer argues that the vexillation, together with other contingents from other provinces was stationed for winter at Ancyra. An inscription discovered there, recorded that the troops involved in the Parthian expedition were stationed for winter within the city<sup>1130</sup>.

During the same Parthian expedition or rather during the Jewish war of Hadrian seems to date another inscription found at Bettir (Bethar), in Israel, mentioning a certain *Victor, centurio vexil(ationis vel -ationibus) leg(ionum) V Mac(edonicae) et XI Cl(audiae)*<sup>1131</sup>. This war was rather the Jewish war of emperor Hadrian since Bethar was one of the last resistance points of the Judeans before the Roman army<sup>1132</sup>.

The tombstone of *P. Aelius Capito, natione Macedo, miles legionis XI Claudiae*, found at Scythopolis (close to Bet Shean, Israel)<sup>1133</sup> dates evidently during the Jewish war. He died at 35 years of age, after 10 years of military service, following the involvement of a legion XI Claudia vexillation in the quell of the Jewish revolt under the lead of Simon Bar Kokhba in 132–135.

Two inscriptions, discovered at Antium and Cannae, in Italy, mention the chief centurion *M. Aquilius M. f. Fabia Felix*, a native of Rome, named *praepositus vexillationum agentium in Italia*<sup>1134</sup>. The same individual is also recorded in *Historia Augusta*, sent by Didius Iulianus to assassinate Septimius Severus<sup>1135</sup>. However, within the context of the 193 crisis, he stands by Septimius Severus, who names him chief centurion of legion XI Claudia and puts him at the command of legions vexillations by the Danube, mainly the legions of Moesia Superior and Moesia Inferior, brought to Italy.

An inscription discovered in Phrygia mentions *Nonius Felix, primus pilus legionis*. It was placed by the vexillation *sub cura Non(ii) Felicis v(iri) o(ptimi) p(rimi) p(ili) praepo(siti), vex(illatio) Aulutre(nensis) mil(itum) conducto(rum) kastelli leg(ionis) XI Cl(audiae)*<sup>1136</sup>. These are clearly events that occurred during the Eastern campaigns of Septimius Severus, considering that among the soldiers placing this inscription count also members of legion I Italica, on which we know, from the career of *L. Marius Maximus*, legion legate, that played an extremely

<sup>1127</sup> Petolescu, *Auxilia*, p. 111–112, no. 45.

<sup>1128</sup> Alföldy, *Hilfstruppen*, p. 60, no. 121.

<sup>1129</sup> CIL VI 32933 = ILS 2723 = IPD<sup>4</sup> 699: *L. Paconio L. f. Pal. / Proculol praef(ecto) coh(ortis) I Fl(aviae) Hisp(anorum) eq(uitatae) / trib(uno) mil(itum) leg(ionis) XI Cl(audiae) p(iae) f(idelis) / praef(ecto) vexillation(um) eq(uitum) Moelsiae infer(ioris) et Daciae eunti / in expeditione Parthic(a), donis / militar[ib(us)] donato* (Rome); F. A. Lepper, *Trajan's Parthian War*, London, 1948, p. 177; Saxer, *Vexillationen*, p. 26, no. 44; PME, P 5.

<sup>1130</sup> Saxer, *Vexillationen*, p. 26; IGR III 173: στρατεύματα παραχειμήσαντα ἐν τῇ πόλει καὶ προπέμψαντα ἐπὶ [τὸ]ν πρὸς Πά[ρ]θους πόλεμον.

<sup>1131</sup> CIL III 14155<sup>2</sup> = Filow, *Legionen*, p. 69; P. Schäfer, *Der Bar Kokhba-Aufstand. Studien zum zweiten jüdischen Krieg gegen Rom*, Tübingen, 1981, p. 130; Lepper, *op. cit.*, p. 177.

<sup>1132</sup> Schäfer, *op. cit.*, p. 130: "Möglicherweise handelt es sich daher um eine Inschrift aus der Zeit der Belagerung Bethars".

<sup>1133</sup> AÉ 1939, 158; Schäfer, *op. cit.*, p. 127–128.

<sup>1134</sup> CIL X 6657 = ILS 1387; AÉ 1945, 80; PIR<sup>2</sup> A 988; Pflaum, *Carrières*, p. 598–601, no. 225; Saxer, *Vexillationen*, p. 43, no. 75–76. See also M. Zahariade, *SCIVA* 33, 1982, 1, p. 48–53.

<sup>1135</sup> SHA, *Didius Iulianus*, 5, 8: *missus praeterea Aquilius centurio, notus caedibus senatoriis, qui Severum occideret; SHA, Pescennius Niger*, 2, 6: *denique etiam Aquilium centurionem notum caedibus ducum miserat (Didius Iulianus)*.

<sup>1136</sup> AÉ 1995, 1512. See also M. Christol, Th. Drew-Bear, *Un castellum romain près d'Apamée de Phrygie*, *Ergänzungsbande zu den Tituli Asiae Minoris*, no. 12, Vienna, 1987, p. 34–42, no. 6.

important role in the war against the partisans of Pescennius Niger<sup>1137</sup>. Admittedly, *Ti. Claudius Candidus* was concurrently *dux exercitus Illyrici expeditione Asiana item Parthica item Gallica*<sup>1138</sup>.

In the time of Caracalla the legion sent a vexillation North of the Danube, in the area of Pietroasele (Buzău county). Bricks and tile stamps of the type *LEG XI CL ANT* were used for the building of the military baths of the fort<sup>1139</sup>. The fort was in use in time of Trajan, a legion vexillation being also attested<sup>1140</sup>. Starting with the reign of Hadrian, this area was left outside the Roman province. Caracalla, probably in the context of exterior menaces, related to military events north the Black Sea and with possible construction of Transalutanus limes, decided to rebuild the Pietroasele fort, as it defended an important crossing point from *barbaricum* to the province<sup>1141</sup>.

The legion was possibly involved in the unrests of 235–236, as it seems that the province governor *Domitius Antigonus*<sup>1142</sup> was together with his entire family at Durostorum in the period, where he raised an altar *divinibus Romae aeternae et genio provinciae Moesiae inferioris*<sup>1143</sup>. Given that the province governor probably resided at Tomis, his presence at Durostorum beside his entire family may be related to the events of those years, when the Romans fought against the Dacians and the Sarmatians, while emperor Maximinus Thrax received the titles *Dacicus maximus* and *Sarmaticus maximus*. Or possibly, although information is lacking, the city of Tomis was in danger, reason for the governor, his family and entire staff to find refuge at Durostorum.

By the end of the 3rd C, an important number of legion's soldiers are attested at Aquileia. E. Ritterling supposed that they all were members in *sacer comitatus* (as *Valerius Thiumpus, qui militavit in legione XI Claudia, lectus in sacro comitatu lanciarius*<sup>1144</sup>) from the time of Diocletian and they all took part in Maximinus' expedition in Mauretania from 298<sup>1145</sup>. Therefore, the follow members of the legion are attested: *Iulius, centurio supernumerarius legionis XI Claudiae*<sup>1146</sup>, *Valerius Aulucentius (ex) leg(ione) XI Cl(audia), milita(vit) gregales*<sup>1147</sup>, *Valerius Longinianus, a centurion, natus in Mensi(a) infer(iore) castell(o) Abritanor(um)*<sup>1148</sup>, *Aurelius Flavinus, optio legionis XI Claudiae*<sup>1149</sup>, *Aurelius Epictetus, mensor* and *Aurelius Artemidorus, miles*<sup>1150</sup>, *Aurelius Iustinus, eques*<sup>1151</sup>, *Valerius Quintus, disce(n)s equitum*<sup>1152</sup> and *Aurelius Sud[icen]tzus, milix (!) legionis XI Claudiae*<sup>1153</sup>. In the same time, retired members of the legion remained in the area of

<sup>1137</sup> CIL VI 1450 = ILS 2935; 2936; Ritterling, REXII, 1925, col. 1414; F. Miltner, RE XIV, 1930, col. 1828–1831, no. 48.

<sup>1138</sup> CIL II 4114 = ILS 1140 (Tarraco); Filow, *Legionen*, p. 78; A. R. Birley, *The African Emperor Septimius Severus*, London, 1988, p. 110.

<sup>1139</sup> ILD 170–171.

<sup>1140</sup> IDR II 605; M. Tzony, *Materiale* 1989, p. 349 = Mousaios 3, 1981, p. 44 = ILD 117 a: *LEG XI C P F*, reverse letters.

<sup>1141</sup> C. C. Petolescu, *Argesis. Studii și comunicări. Seria Istorie* 14, 2005, p. 271–278.

<sup>1142</sup> Fitz, *Laufbahn*, p. 31; Thomasson, *Laterculi*<sup>2</sup>, p. 55, no. 20:129.

<sup>1143</sup> AÉ 1985, 726; R. Haensch, *Capita provinciarum. Statthaltersitze und Provinzialverwaltung in der römischen Kaiserzeit*, Mainz, 1997, p. 334.

<sup>1144</sup> CIL III 6194.

<sup>1145</sup> Ritterling, RE XII, 1925, col. 1700.

<sup>1146</sup> CIL V 8278 = ILS 2333 = InscrAquil 2776.

<sup>1147</sup> CIL V 940 = InscrAquil 2778.

<sup>1148</sup> CIL V 942 = ILS 2670 = InscrAquil 2779.

<sup>1149</sup> CIL V 895 = InscrAquil 2773: *D. M. / Aurelius Flavinus / optio leg(ionis) XI Claudiae / annorum XXXX qui / militavit ann(os) XIII et / optio ann(os) X posuit / titulum de suo astante civibus suis impensi(s) (denariorum vel denariis decem milibus); astante = adiuvante.*

<sup>1150</sup> Inscriptiones Graecae Siciliae et Italiae, 2340 = IGR I 481 = InscrAquil 2771.

<sup>1151</sup> CIL V 896 = ILS 2332 = InscrAquil 2774.

<sup>1152</sup> CIL V 944 = InscrAquil 2780.

<sup>1153</sup> CIL V 900 = InscrAquil 2775.



Aquileia, as it was the case of the veteran *Aurelius Fortunatus*, who raised a Christian tombstone to his wife<sup>1154</sup>.

### 3. PROSOPOGRAPHY OF XI CLAVDIA LEGION WHILE STATIONED IN MOESIA INFERIOR

#### 3.1. *Legati legionis*

*M. Annaeus Saturninus Clodianus Aelianus, legatus legionis XI Claudiae*, as his tombstone discovered in Rome attests, probably by the end of the 2nd C or at the beginning of the 3rd C. He was before *IIIvir capitalis, tribunus legionis III Italicae, quaestor, tribunus plebis, praetor* and *curator viae Latinae*<sup>1155</sup>.

*M. Claudius Ti. f. Quirina Fronto* appears on two famous inscriptions, one discovered at Ulpia Traiana Sarmizegetusa and the other (more complete) at Rome, as *legatus Augusti pr. pr. trium Daciarum et Moesiae superioris*<sup>1156</sup>. Previously, by the end of Antoninus Pius reign, he had also been legate of legion XI Claudia pia fidelis, becoming consul in 165<sup>1157</sup>.

*Ti. Claudius Ti. fil. Quirina Gordianus*, a native of Tyana, province of Cappadocia, is recorded by an inscription found at Lambaesis, headquarters of legion III Augusta, from where we learn he had been legate of legion XI Claudia p. f.<sup>1158</sup> prior being legion legate. The legation with the African legion was dated, according to the *tribunicia potestas* of Commodus between December 10, 187 and December 9, 188. He then became *praefectus aerarii Saturni* and was *consul designatus* in the inscription. Therefore, the legation with the Moesian legion may be dated in 184/185–186.

*Tib. Claudius Iulianus* appears as legion legate on the inscription recording the construction of a temple and the erection a statue to Jupiter Optimus Maximus within *canabae Aeliae* under governor *Ti. Claudius Saturninus* (145–147)<sup>1159</sup>. He became consul in 159, a rather long period, unusual yet not impossible<sup>1160</sup>.

*Ti. Claudius Saethida Caelianus Claudius Fronto* appears on an inscription discovered at Montorii (between Salerno and Avellino), as legate of legion XI Claudia pia fidelis under Marcus Aurelius (he had been *candidatus imperatorum Antonini et Veri Augustorum, quaestor provinciae Siciliae*)<sup>1161</sup>.

*Cornelius Plotianus* is recorded as legion legate by an inscription erected at Durostorum by veterans discharged in 160 (raised in 136–139), under governor *Servilius Fabianus*<sup>1162</sup>. He

<sup>1154</sup> InscrAquil 2924 = AÉ 1987, 430.

<sup>1155</sup> CIL VI 1337 = CIL VI 41204 = AÉ 2004, 191; Ritterling, RE XII, 1925, col. 1701.

<sup>1156</sup> Piso, *Fasti Daciae*, p. 94–102, no. 21.

<sup>1157</sup> CIL III 1457 = ILS 1097 = IDR III/2 90; CIL VI 1377 = ILS 1098 = IPD<sup>4</sup> 819 = IDRE I 10. For dating the legate under Antoninus Pius see Ritterling, RE XII, 1925, col. 1701; Alföldy, *Legionslegaten*, p. 37, no. 47, around 160; idem, *Konsulat*, p. 300, note 125.

<sup>1158</sup> AÉ 1954, 138; PIR<sup>2</sup>, p. 205, no. 880; Thomasson, *Laterculi*, col. 193–194; M. Corbier, *L'aerarium Saturni et l'aerarium militare. Administration et prosopographie sénatoriale*, Paris – Rome, 1974, p. 296–301, no. 59; Y. Le Bohec, *La troisième légion Auguste*, Paris, 1989, p. 126; p. 171, note 184 and p. 390.

<sup>1159</sup> CIL III 7474 = ILS 2475 = Filow, *Legionen*, p. 65, note 4.

<sup>1160</sup> PIR<sup>2</sup> C 902; Alföldy, *Konsulat*, p. 300, note 124.

<sup>1161</sup> CIL X 1123 = ILS 1086.

<sup>1162</sup> V. Pârvan, *Rivista di Filologia*, N. S. 2, 1924, p. 317–318 = AÉ 1925, 109; E. Bujor, SCIV 11, 1960, 1, p. 141–144, no. 1.

is also attested as legate of legion II Adiutrix, however we may not ascertain if this was prior or after the legation at Durostorum<sup>1163</sup>.

*L. Iulius L. f. Fabia Marinus Caecilius Simplex* was legion legate by the beginning of Trajan's reign or even under Nerva, as understood from an inscription discovered at Cures Sabini (Regio IV) rendering his career concluded with the consulate<sup>1164</sup>.

*P. Metilius P. f. Cla. Secundus Pon[tianus?]* appears on a fragmentary inscription from Alsium rendering his career. By the end of Trajan's reign or the beginning of Hadrian's reign, he was at the command of legion XI Claudia pia fidelis, becoming subsequently, under Hadrian (121–123), legate of legion III Augusta of Africa<sup>1165</sup>.

*C. Oppius C. f. Vel. Sabinus Iulius Nepos M. Vibius Sollemnis Severus* appears on an inscription discovered at Auximum (Osimo, Regio V) rendering his career ending with the consulate and that comprised the command of legion XI Claudia p.f.<sup>1166</sup> Since he was *adlectus* in Senate by Hadrian and since the emperor was still alive when the inscription was placed, we may suppose that command of legion XI Claudia must have taken place sometime by the end of Hadrian's reign (subsequent the legion legation, he was legate of Lusitania, proconsul of the province of Baetica and finally consul).

*T. Prifernius Sex. f. Quirina Paetus Rosianus Nonius Geminus Laecanius Bassus [Fron]to?* appears in a fragmentary inscription discovered at Trebula Mutuesca (Monteleone Sabino, Regio IV)<sup>1167</sup>, his name being also recorded in the letters of Pliny the Younger (*Ep.*, 10, 26). We find he was legate of legion XI Claudia pia fidelis under Trajan, as the emperor was already *Parthicus* (*legatus divi Traiani Parthici legionis XI Claudiae*). Since only *divus Traianus* is entered when recording the career lower grades, we may assume that the legion legation may be dated in 116–117.

*Ignotus*. An extremely fragmentary inscription discovered at Trebula Mutuesca (Monteleone, Regio IV) renders a reversed senatorial *cursus honorum* that mentions legion XI Claudia p. f. in that part of an inscription where one would expect a legion legation<sup>1168</sup>. Unfortunately, the identity of this individual who became *proconsul* is practically obscured. The inscription may be dated most likely in the 2nd C (post 89 as he was *tribunus militum legionis I Minerviae piae fidelis*).

*Ignotus*. An inscription found at Castel Madama (Latium) mentions an individual whose name was lost, however we learn he was *leg(atus) leg(ionis) XI Claud(iae)*. Still, we cannot state for certain whether reference is made to the stationing period in Moesia Inferior. Nonetheless, a *terminus post quem* to the inscription is the presence of a legion *Adiutrix*, which he commanded possibly as legate, given the emergence of the Genitive form, only *[---]tricis*, precisely before the mention of legion XI Claudia legation<sup>1169</sup>.

*Ignotus*. An inscription discovered at San Lorenzo (Regio XI), on fragment of marble block, mentions an individual whose name could not be identified due to cracks and who was at that time *legatus Augusti pr. pr. provinciae Thraciae* and *patronus splendissimae coloniae*

<sup>1163</sup> CIL III 10507; Pârvan, *op. cit.*, p. 318.

<sup>1164</sup> CIL IX 4965.

<sup>1165</sup> CIL XI 3718 = ILS 1053; Y. Le Bohec, *La troisième légion Auguste*, Paris, 1989, p. 125 and p. 376; Franke, *Legionslegaten*, p. 68–71, no. 39: "Nicht eindeutig zu klären ist, welcher Kaiser, ob noch Traian oder erst Hadrian, ihn zum Legionslegaten ernannt hat" (p. 69–70).

<sup>1166</sup> CIL IX 5833 = ILS 1059.

<sup>1167</sup> M. Buoncore, *Epigraphica* 65, 2003, p. 47–61 = AÉ 2003, 579.

<sup>1168</sup> M. Torelli, *Atti dell'Accademia nazionale dei Lincei* 18, 1963, p. 256 = AÉ 1964, 18: [-----] / [---] PERP · PROC II[---] / LEG · XI · CL · P · F · CVR V[iae---] / [trib. mi]L · LEG · I · M · P · F · XVIR [stlit. Iud.] / [---] IAE EIVS.

<sup>1169</sup> CIL XIV 3518.

*Mediolaniensium*. Previously, he had been in reversed order: *legatus Augusti XI Claudiae p. f., praetor, legatus pr. pr. provinciae Narbonensis, tribunus plebis, quaestor, tribunus militum legionis IIII [Flaviae]*. The inscription dates after mid 2nd C when Mediolanum is *colonia*<sup>1170</sup>.

*Ignotus*. An extremely fragmentary inscription discovered at Durostorum records a legion legate, whose named could not be identified due to cracks, during the legation of *Q. Roscius Murena Pompeius Falco* in Moesia Inferior in the interval 116–117<sup>1171</sup>.

### 3.2. *Tribuni militum legionis*

*M. Aelius Aurelius Theo* appears on an inscription from Ariminum, exercising the office of *iuridicus de infinito per Flaminiam et Umbriam Picenum*<sup>1172</sup>. An inscription found at Bostra (Arabia), records him as *legatus Augustorum pr. pr. legionis III Cyrenaicae Valerianae Gallianae*<sup>1173</sup>. He had been *tribunus militum laticlavii legionis XI Claudiae*, possibly under Maximinus Thrax or Gordianus III or no later than the beginning of Philippus Arabs reign.

*Ti. Claudius Agrippa* appears on an inscription from Termessos, Pisidia<sup>1174</sup>, as χειλιάρχος λεγεῶνος ἰα' Κλαυδίας εὐσεβοῦς πιστῆς, after having been tribune of cohort I Pannoniorum equitata veterana stationed in Moesia Superior<sup>1175</sup>, becomes angusticlavie tribune of legion XI Claudia pia fidelis under Antoninus Pius and then prefect of ala I Thracum Herculiana in Syria (still under Antoninus Pius, prior 140/145).

[*L. Eggius*] *Cor. Ambibulus Pomponius Longinus Cassianus L. Maecius Postumus* appears on an inscription from Aeclanum (Grotte, near Mirabella, Regio II), rendering his career. He was consul in 126 and previously, by the beginning of his career, he had been *tribunus militum laticlavii legionis XI Claudiae p. f.*, under Trajan<sup>1176</sup>.

*L. Fabius M. f. Gal. Cilo Septiminus Catinius Acilianus Lepidus Fulcinianus*, of Hispanic origin, appears on two statue bases from Rome and one inscription from Antiochia Pisidiae<sup>1177</sup>, consul in 193. He was *tribunus militum laticlavii* of legion XI Claudia in the last rule years of Marcus Aurelius, since around ca. 181–183, he was legate of legion *XVI Flavia Firma* from Syria. By the beginning of Severus Alexander's reign, he became *dux vexillationum per Italiam exercitus Imp. Severi*<sup>1178</sup>.

*M. Fabius M. f. Quirina Magnus Valerianus*<sup>1179</sup>. According to the inscription from Clusium, preserving his career, he had been tribune of legion XI Claudia and upon the completion of other duties, he become legate of legion I Italica. Most likely under the joint reign of Marcus Aurelius and Commodus (*legatus Augg(ustorum) legionis I Italicae*).

<sup>1170</sup> AÉ 1950, 91=AÉ 1974, 344.

<sup>1171</sup> I. I. Russu, AISC 2, 1933–1935, p. 217 = AÉ 1936, 14. The governor is mentioned by 3 inscriptions from Tomis, CIL III 7537 = ISM II 43; ISM II 44; AÉ 1957, 336 = ISM II 46; Thomasson, *Laterculi*, col. 324, no. 22.

<sup>1172</sup> CIL XI 376 = ILS 1192.

<sup>1173</sup> CIL III 89 = ILS 1193.

<sup>1174</sup> SEG VI 628 = AÉ 1929, 125; PME, C 115.

<sup>1175</sup> Spaul, *Cohors*<sup>2</sup>, p. 333; O. Țentea, Fl. Matei-Popescu, ActaMN 39–40/I, 2002–2003 (2004), p. 290.

<sup>1176</sup> CIL IX 1123.

<sup>1177</sup> AÉ 1926, 79 = AÉ 1927, 93; CIL VI 1408 = ILS 1141 = IDRE I 12 = AÉ 2003, 298; CIL VI 1409 = ILS 1142. PIR<sup>2</sup> F 27; A. Caballos Rufino, *Los senadores hispanoromanos y la romanización de Hispania (siglos I al III p. C.)*. I. Tomo I: *Prosopografía*, Monografías del Departamento de Historia Antigua de la Universidad de Sevilla, Ecija, 1990, p. 132–135, no. 66; E. Dabrowa, in D. L. Kennedy, *The Roman Army in the East*, JRA Suppl. Ser. 18, Ann Arbor, 1996, p. 291–292.

<sup>1178</sup> CIL VI 1408f = ILS 1141f; PIR<sup>2</sup> F 27; Wesch-Klein, *Soziale Aspekte*, p. 15

<sup>1179</sup> CIL XI 2106 = ILS 1138; E. Groag, RE VI, 1909, col. 1775–1776, no. 97.

*P. Maeuius Saturninus Honoratianus, tribunus militum laticlavius*, emerges on a dedication placed at Lambaesis to Hercule and the health of emperors Septimius Severus and Caracalla and to his honour (*in honorem P. Maeui Saturnini Honoratiani*)<sup>1180</sup>.

*L. Minicius L. f. Galeria Natalis Quadronius Verus* appears in the famous *cursus honorum* preserved at Tibur, by the beginning of his career as *tribunus militum legionis I Adiutricis p. f. item legionis XI Claudiae p. f. item legionis XIII Geminae Martiae Victricis*. All such military commands were also registered by an inscription discovered at Barcelona (Barcino), his place of origin, recording both him and his father, *L. Minicius Natalis*<sup>1181</sup>. He would then become consul (suff. in 139, CIL XVI 175), legate of Moesia Inferior (142–144) and proconsul of the province of Africa, after having served as legate of legion VI Victrix in Britannia and several Italian charges (*praefectus alimentorum, curator viae Flaminiae, operum publicorum et aedium sacrarum*). He was *quaestor candidatus divi Hadriani et eodem tempore legatus provinciae Africae diocesos Carthaginiensis proconsulis patris sui* (around 123). Hence, the legion tribunates may be dated precisely in the first years of Hadrian's reign<sup>1182</sup>. Still, it would be possible that the tribunate in legion XIV Gemina Martia Victrix was exercised in 113–116/117, when his father was governor of Pannonia Superior<sup>1183</sup>, therefore the tribunate in legion XI Claudia may be dated either prior 113 or even after 113, nevertheless no later than 115.

*Cl. Paternus Clementianus* appears on an inscription discovered at Epfach / Abudiacum (Raetia), recording he had been *praefectus I cohortis classica, tribunus militum legionis XI Claudiae* and then *praefectus equitum alae Silianae torquata c. R.*, pursuing subsequently a procuratorial career<sup>1184</sup>. His tribunate may date under Trajan. J. Fitz noticed that Trajan transferred several knights (PME B 21, C 162, G 8, P 107), who had completed *prima militia* in the area of the Rhine limes, as legion tribunes of legions in Pannonia, in order to participate in the Dacian war, some of them also completing *tertia militia* in the Danube area<sup>1185</sup>. Hence, although I do not

<sup>1180</sup> AÉ 1912, 17. See also CIL VIII 2741 = AÉ 1913, 11

<sup>1181</sup> Caballos Rufino, *op. cit.*, p. 227–229, no. 128.

<sup>1182</sup> CIL XIV 3599 = ILS 1061 = InscrIt IV, I, 113; CIL XIV 3600 = InscrIt IV, I, 114 (extremely fragmentary); CIL II 4509 = 6145 = ILS 1029 = IDRE I 172; PIR<sup>2</sup>, V/1, M 620. B. E. Thomasson, *Die Statthalter der römischen Provinzen Nordafrikas*, II, Lund, 1960, p. 72–74 (“Das Prokonsulat gehört folglich in den späteren Teil der Regierung des Antoninus Pius”); on the proconsulate of his father see *ibidem*, p. 62–63; Alföldy, *Konsulat*, p. 208, dates the proconsulate in Africa in 154/155; Thomasson, *Laterculi*, col. 381–382, no. 86. On the legation from Moesia Inferior see Stein, *Legaten*, p. 68; Fitz, *Laufbahn*, p. 14–15; Thomasson, *Laterculi*, col. 133, no. 82; Thomasson, *Laterculi*<sup>2</sup>, p. 50, no. 20:082 (dated 142–144, subsequent the legation of *Antonius Hiberus*, now precisely attested in 136, and prior 145 when *Ti. Claudius Saturninus* is recorded). See the fragmentary inscription from Callatis, mentioning him in this capacity (E. Ritterling, *JÖAI* 10, 1907, p. 307–311; IGR I 653 = ISM III 114; A. Avram, *SCIIVA* 47, 1996, 1, p. 5–8, no. 1, with recent propositions for completion of the Greek text and an almost complete bibliography; see the comment of same author in *ISM* III, p. 445–446.) In addition, see the inscription discovered at Troesmis, edited in 1969, *ISM* V 141 (A. Rădulescu, *Pontica* 1, 1969, p. 319–323; see also J. Reynolds, *JRS* 61, 1971, p. 144–145 = AÉ 1972, 547), dated after January 140 (Antoninus Pius is entered *cos. III* also prior 145, when he became *cos. IV*); Alföldy, *Konsulat*, p. 230. The legion command in Britannia was dated by the beginning of the fourth decade of the 2nd C (A. R. Birley, *The fasti of Roman Britain*, Oxford, 1981, p. 244–246: “This legate can be dated with some precision, to the early 130s.”).

<sup>1183</sup> PIR<sup>2</sup>, V/1, M 620: “sine dubio anno 115/117, tum cum pater eius provinciae Pannoniae superioris praerat”, with reference to Ritterling, *RE* XII, 1925, col. 1697. On his father activity as governor in Pannonia Superior see Dobó, *Verwaltung*, p. 105–106, no. 79; J. Fitz, *Die Verwaltung Pannoniens in der Römerzeit*, II, Budapest, 1993, p. 473–474, no. 281 (recorded between 113, *RMD* II 86 and 116, *CIL* XVI 64).

<sup>1184</sup> *CIL* III 5776 = *ILS* 1369 = AÉ 1968, 406 = *IDRE* II 243; see also *CIL* III 5775 = *IDRE* II 242; 5777; Pflaum, *Carrières*, 150 bis; *PME*, C 162.

<sup>1185</sup> J. Fitz, in *Akten des 14. Internationalen Limeskongresses 1986 in Carnuntum*, Vienna, 1990, p. 31–38



agree with Fitz that respective tribune was active in Pannonia, I believe that this tribunate may date during the Dacian war when the legion was quartered at Oescus.

*A. Seius Zosimus, tribunus militum angusticlavius*, emerges on a tombstone from Rome, inferring he had been prefect of a cohort *III Bracaraugustanorum* (without knowing precisely which) and then legion tribune. Unfortunately, his tribunate<sup>1186</sup> is very hard to date.

*M. Stabius M. f. Fabia Colonus, domo Luca, tribunus militum angusticlavius*, as mentioned by an inscription discovered at Tropaeum Traiani, a dedication to *I. O. M., Hercules, Ceres* and *Liber Pater*, to the health of Antoninus Pius, under governor T. Vitrasius Pollio<sup>1187</sup>.

*T. Vibius Pius, tribunus militum angusticlavius*, appears on an inscription from Pergamum, however we are not certain it was this legion (τα') or VII Claudia legion (ζ')<sup>1188</sup>. E. Birley considers it legion XI Claudia<sup>1189</sup>. He became *praefectus* of an unknown *ala* and thereafter, as his *quarta militia, praefectus alae Batavorum milliariae* (χειλίαρχος ἑλλης α' Βαρβατ[...]) in Dacia Superior. The inscription dates under the Severans<sup>1190</sup>.

*Ignotus* appears on an inscription discovered at Ephesus as *praefectus al(ae) pr(imae) A[sturum]<sup>1191</sup>, tri]b(unus) militum leg(ionis) XI Cl(audiae) (angusticlavius)*, either under Marcus Aurelius and Lucius Verus or rather under Septimius Severus and Caracalla (*procurator Augustorum nostrorum*). The inscription seems to date between 202 and 205. The individual was probably a native of Leptis Magna, alike Septimius Severus<sup>1192</sup>.

### 3.3. *Primipili legionis*

*M. Aquilius M. f. Fabia Felix* appears on two inscriptions from Antium and Cannae *primus pilus legionis XI Claudiae*<sup>1193</sup>, possibly the same with *Aquilius centurio notus caedibus senatoriis* mentioned by SHA (*Didius Iulianus*, 5, 8; *Pescennius Niger*, 2, 6). Hence, his chief centurionate may date in the first part of Septimius Severus's rule (*vide supra* complete discussion).

*Iulius Ferox, primipilus legionis XI Claudiae*, charged by governor *M. Servilius Fabianus Maximus (iussu v. r. Servili Fabiani cos.)* to set up a boundary stone in *locus Subiati*, in the territory of the legion from Durostorum. The inscription was found at Smilec (Bulgaria, region Silistra)<sup>1194</sup> and dates under the legation of the mentioned governor, in approximately 162–164<sup>1195</sup>.

*L. Flavius L. f. Palatina Victor, Ostia, primus pilus leg(ionis) XI Claudiae Alexandrianae*, erects, together with his son, *L. Flavius Italus*, who had already joined the equestrian class, an inscription for several gods at Malāk Preslavec (Nigrinianis, Candidiana), not far from Durostorum. Given the legion epithet the inscription dates under Severus Alexander<sup>1196</sup>.

<sup>1186</sup> CIL VI 3536; PME, S 14.

<sup>1187</sup> AÉ 1901, 48 = CIL III 14214<sup>1</sup> = Aricescu, *Armata*, p. 38 and SE 34; PME, S 60.

<sup>1188</sup> AÉ 1933, 270; PME, V 103; PME, VI, p. 170.

<sup>1189</sup> E. Birley, in *Roman Army. Papers 1929–1986*, Mavors 4, Amsterdam, 1988, p. 353, no. 6.

<sup>1190</sup> PME, V 103; K. Strobel, ZPE 70, 1987, p. 287, note 87.

<sup>1191</sup> This unit was stationed at Hoghiz, in Dacia Inferior, Petolescu, *Auxilia*, p. 62–63, no. 3; O. Țentea, Fl. Matei-Popescu, ActaMN 39–40, 2002–2003 (2004), p. 262.

<sup>1192</sup> CIL III 6075 = ILS 1366 = IDRE II 378; Pflaum, *Carrières*, no. 241; PME, Inc. 19.

<sup>1193</sup> CIL X 6657 = ILS 1387; AÉ 1945, 80; PIR<sup>2</sup> A 988. Pflaum, *Carrières*, p. 598–601, no. 225; Saxer, *Vexillationen*, p. 43–44, no. 75–76; See also J. H. Oliver, AJPh 67, 1946, 4, p. 311–319.

<sup>1194</sup> V. Velkov, *Studia Balcanica* 1, 1970, p. 55–58 = AÉ 1969–1970, 567; idem, *Roman Cities in Bulgaria. Collected Studies*, Amsterdam, 1980, p. 111–114.

<sup>1195</sup> Stein, *Legaten*, p. 76–77; Fitz, *Laufbahn*, p. 47; R. Syme, *Dacia*, N. S. 12, 1968, p. 337; Thomasson, *Latercul<sup>2</sup>*, p. 51–52, no. 20:093.

<sup>1196</sup> V. Velkov, *Archaeologia Classica* 23, 1971, p. 121–123, tav. XLV = AÉ 1972, 504: *I. O. M. / et Iunoni R[egi] / nae, Minervae, M[a] / tri, Patri, Urbi Roma[e] / aeternae ceterisque* (sic) / *diis immortalibus, L. / Flavius L. fil.*

*Nonius Felix* appears on an inscription discovered near Apamea, Phrygia, dated under Septimius Severus and Caracalla, placed by the vexillation *sub cura Non(ii) Felicis v(iri) o(ptimi) p(rimi) p(ili) praepo(siti) vex(illationis) Aulutre(nensis) mil(itum) conducto(rum) kastelli leg(ionis) XI Cl(audiae)*<sup>1197</sup>. These are obviously events that occurred during one of the Eastern campaigns of Septimius Severus. Admittedly, *Ti. Claudius Candidus* had been *dux exercitus Illyrici expeditione Asiana item Parthica item Gallica*<sup>1198</sup> at the time.

*C. Valerius C. Valeri f. Iulianus*, native of Colonia Ulpia Zermizegetusa, *primus pilus legionis XI Claudia III piae fidelis*, appears on a tombstone, the inner face of a sarcophagus, discovered at Ostrov / Durostorum. At 88 years of age, he was still on active duty<sup>1199</sup>. Epithet *III pia fidelis* must be related to one of the events by mid 3rd C, under Gallienus, perhaps those around 256–257<sup>1200</sup>. Additionally, one should notice the spelling *Zermizegetusa*, extremely distributed in the 3rd C, as also proven by the military diploma of a praetorian, native of same Dacian colony<sup>1201</sup>.

*Ignotus*, [*primus pilus legionis*] *XI Cl(audiae) p(iae) f(idelis)*, appears on a dedication to the *Magna Deum Mater* discovered at Aquileia<sup>1202</sup>. It seems that, as the inscription is very fragmented, he served probably in the same legion as *centurio*, being thereafter transferred in the units from Rome, into a *cohors urbana* and into *cohors V praetoria*. He was sent back to his previous legion in order to become *primus pilus* and probably *pra[e]fectus castrorum*.

### 3.4. Centuriones legionis

*M. Aebutius M. f. Ulpia Papiria Troiana Victorinus*, a native of Poetovio, in Pannonia Superior. He had served as centurion in several legions, the second centurionate being with legion XI Claudia should we agree to a direct order in rendering his career, otherwise, such centurionate is the second last and he began his career with legion XV Apollinaris. His tombstone was discovered at Ancyra and dates under Marcus Aurelius and Lucius Verus, according to O. Richier. An early dating, under Trajan, as proposed by C. C. Petolescu (IDRE II) is hard to prove<sup>1203</sup>. The way that Trajan's tribe was rendered is interesting, *Ulpia Troiana* being added beside *Papiria*.

*P. Aelius Fronto*, *centurio legionis XI Claudiae*, erected a marble altar to the honour

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*Palatina / Victor, Ostia, p(rimus) p(ilus) leg(ionis) / XI Cl(audiae) [A]lexandriana[e] / cum L. Flavio Italo, filio, equite Romano / votum solvit.*

<sup>1197</sup> M. Christol, Th. Drew-Bear, *Un castellum romain près d'Apamée de Phrygie*, *Ergänzungsbande zu den Tituli Asiae Minoris*, no. 12, Vienna, 1987, p. 34–46, no. 6 = *AE* 1987, 941 = M. Christol, T. Drew-Bear, in Y. Le Bohec, *La hiérarchie (Rangordnung) de l'armée romaine sous le Haut-Empire. Actes du Congrès de Lyon (15–18 septembre 1994) rassemblés et édités par Yann Le Bohec*, Paris, 1995, p. 69–72 = *AE* 1995, 1512: [*I. O. M.*] / *et Iun[oni] Reg.*] / *pro salu(te) D D / N N Imp(eratorum) Aug(ustorum duorum) / et Iuliae matris kas(trorum) / sub cura Non. Felicis / v(iri) o(ptimi) p(rimi) p(ili) praepo(siti) / vex(illationis) vel -illationum/-illationibus) Aulutre(nae) mil(itus) vel -itum) conducto(res) vel -rum) kastelli / leg(ionis) XI Cl. Fl. Sabinian(us) / tess(erarius), Val. Silvanus et Val. / Castus, Mucatr(a)l(is) Dolei, / Aur. Seupro et Aur. Tarsa, leg(ionis) I Ita(licae) / [I]ul. Vitalis, Iul. Firmus.*

<sup>1198</sup> CIL II 4114 = ILS 1140; Filow, *Legionen*, p. 78.

<sup>1199</sup> M. Bărbulescu, A. Rădulescu, *Pontica* 15, 1982, p. 153–159; *AE* 1983, 880 = IDRE II 333: *D. [M.] / C. Val(erio) C. Val. filio colonia Ulp(ia) / Zermizegetusa Iuliano p. p. / leg(ionis) XI Cl(audiae) III p(iae) f(idelis) qui vixit ann(is) / LXXXVIII Pompeia Aquilina coniux / et Val(erius) Aquilinus et Pomp(eia) / Iuliane (sic!) et Valerii Vibianus et Pomp(eius) Iulianus / fili(i) et heredes patri / pientissimo et merentissimo / faciendum curaverunt* (MINAC, inv. 31704); Bărbulescu, *Viața rurală*, p. 196.

<sup>1200</sup> M. Bărbulescu, A. Rădulescu, *Pontica* 15, 1982, p. 157–158.

<sup>1201</sup> RGZM, no. 59.

<sup>1202</sup> CIL V 934 = InscrAquil 286.

<sup>1203</sup> CIL III 6761 (= 260; acc. to EE V no. 48) = IDRE II 399 = Richier, *Centuriones ad Rhenum*, p. 364–366; Benea, *op. cit.*, p. 129, no. 79.

of goddess Diana at Montana<sup>1204</sup>. In addition, he erected an altar to Apollo, in the same sanctuary<sup>1205</sup>. His activity may date during the 2nd C.

*Aelius Severus, centurio legionis XI Claudiae*, erected an altar to honour god Silvanus<sup>1206</sup>. His activity may date in the second half of the 2nd C.

*C. Aemilius Donatus, centurio legionis XI Claudiae*, erected a base and statue to goddess Diana Augusta at Montana, most likely in the second half of the 2nd C<sup>1207</sup>.

[.] *Aemilius Q. fil. Pap. Pudens, centurio legionis XI Claudiae*, appears on a statue base discovered at Thina (Thenae), in Africa, while centurion of legion III Augusta from Lambaesis. We learn he was [*adl*]ectus in comitatu imp(eratoris)[Com]modi Aug(usti) Pii Felicis and the inscription mentions he was brother of *Q. Aemilius Laetus*, the famous praetorian prefect under Commodus<sup>1208</sup>.

*Annius Saturninus, centurio legionis XI Claudiae*, dedicated an altar discovered at Cogarcea, close to Adamclisi<sup>1209</sup>, to *Deus Invictus* for the health of emperor *Marcus Aurelius (M. Antoninus Verus)*.

*Antonius Proclus, centurio legionis XI Claudiae*, dedicated an altar to god *Vulcanus* at Balaklava, in the south of peninsula Crimea, identified in occasion of the archaeological excavations in the sanctuary of Dolichenus<sup>1210</sup>. The inscription dates by the end of the 2nd C.

*Aurelius Maturus, centurio legionis XI Claudiae Antoninianae*, appears on an altar dedicated to *Hero*, with *Suregethie* (Dative case) epiclesis, one of the names under which the Thracian Rider was worshiped, discovered at Durostorum<sup>1211</sup>. The centurion's *cognomen* is of Celtic origin and the moment of the altar erection may be placed under Caracalla<sup>1212</sup>.

*Aurelius Mica, centurio legionis XI Claudiae*, erected an inscription to the memory of his son, enrolled at 16 years of age and served only four years, probably still in legion XI Claudia<sup>1213</sup>. The tombstone was discovered at Ezerče and may be dated in the first half of the 3rd C, obviously after 212.

*Q. Caecilius Larensis, centurio legionis XI Claudiae*, erected an altar to goddess Diana at Montana<sup>1214</sup>, to the health of governor *M. Pontius Laelianus*, during 165–166/167<sup>1215</sup>.

<sup>1204</sup> *Montana*, I, p. 26, no. 9 = AÉ 1987, 876 = *Montana*, II, p. 10–11, no. 16.

<sup>1205</sup> *Montana*, I, p. 31, no. 23 = AÉ 1987, 886 = *Montana*, II, p. 18, no. 34.

<sup>1206</sup> Gerov, *Romanizmăt*, p. 357, no. 6 = *Montana*, II, p. 39, no. 88.

<sup>1207</sup> *Montana*, I, p. 23–34, no. 4 = AÉ 1987, 871 = *Montana*, II, p. 11, no. 17.

<sup>1208</sup> AÉ 1949, 38.

<sup>1209</sup> Gr. Tocilescu, AEM 8, 1884, p. 5, no. 11: “Ara aus gewöhnlichem Stein; befindet sich im Kirchenaltar des Dorfes Kärdscha, wo sie als Fuss für den Messtisch dient. Das Monument kommt aus den Ruinen von Adam-Clissi her, wo sich ein grosses römisches Lager mit noch sichtbaren Schutzmauern befindet”; CIL III 7483 = CIMRM II, p. 366, no. 2311 = AÉ 1960, 342.

<sup>1210</sup> T. Sarnowski, V. M. Zubar, O. J. Savelja, *Historia* 47, 1998, 3, p. 330–331, no. 5 = AÉ 1998, 1161; T. Sarnowski, O. J. Savelja, *ArchWarszawa* 49, 1998, p. 44–45, no. 35. The name of the centurion was hypothetically restituted on a funerary inscription, AÉ 1999, 1348. The name of the centurion was hypothetically restituted on a funerary inscription, AÉ 1999, 1348.

<sup>1211</sup> V. Pârvan, *Rivista di Filologia*, N. S. 2, 1924, p. 310 = AÉ 1925, 108; V. Beševliev, *Epigrafski prinosi*, Sofia, 1952, p. 68, no. 114 = AÉ 1957, 305; E. Bujor, *SCIV* 11, 1960, 1, p. 149–151, no. 5; CCET II, 1 177. See also Oppermann, *Der thrakische Reiter*, p. 116, with reference to an inscription from Philippi where the hero epiclesis is mentioned as well (P. Pilhofer, *Philippi II. Katalog der Inschriften*, Tübingen, 2000, no. 133) and to other two inscriptions from Dobroplodno, in the territory of Marcianopolis and from Prilepci, a village still in the SE of Bulgaria, IGB V 5329, 5610.

<sup>1212</sup> Fitz, *Honorific Titles*, p. 61, no. 212.

<sup>1213</sup> CIL III 12440. The *cognomen Mica* is of Thracian origin. The historical tradition assigns the same name to the father of emperor Maximinus Thrax (SHA, *Maxim.*, 1, 5–6: *hic de vico Threiciae vicino barbaris, barbaro etiam patre et matre genitus, ... et patri quidem nomen Micca*).

<sup>1214</sup> AÉ 1987, 869 = *Montana*, II, p. 7–8, no. 10.

<sup>1215</sup> Stein, *Legaten*, p. 78–79; Fitz, *Laufbahn*, p. 48; Em. Doruțiu-Boilă, *Dacia*, N. S. 36, 1992, p. 27–29; Thomasson, *Laterculi*<sup>2</sup>, p. 52, no. 20:099.

*Cocceius Hortensius, centurio legionis XI Claudiae*, appears on a tombstone from Tomis, as father of a certain *Cocceia Hortensia*, spouse of *Ulpus Balimber, (centurio) princeps legionis I Italicae*, the one who erected this inscription to the memory of her sons *Ulpus Hortensius* and *Ulpus Balimber*<sup>1216</sup>. The inscription may date either in the second half of the 2nd or the first half of the following century. The inscription does not mention them associated in the erection of the funerary monument; therefore they must have died long time before.

*L. Cocceius Marcus, centurio legionis XI Claudiae p. f., praepositus numeri civium Romanorum*, recorded at Montana by mid 3rd C<sup>1217</sup>.

*M. Cocceius Silvanus, centurio legionis XI Claudiae*, raised a marble altar to Apollo, to the health of the Severan imperial house between 198 and 211 (Geta had his name erased), discovered at Montana<sup>1218</sup>.

*Castus Attici f., centurio (legionis XI Claudiae)*, erected together with his brothers, soldiers in the same legion and their uncle a funerary stela to the memory of their parents, *Atticus CECITIAS* and *SARBIS Celsi (filia)*, discovered reused in the Constantinian enclosure from Tropaeum Traiani<sup>1219</sup>. It dates, based on the rendering of the individuals' names in the second half of the 3rd C or, according to the paleographic fonts, rather in the last quarter of the 3rd C.

*Cornelius Faustus, centurio legionis XI Claudiae*, dedicated an altar to god *Mithras Invictus*, whose find spot is unknown, yet it was ascribed to the fortress Durostorum<sup>1220</sup>. Most likely, given the dedication, the centurion must have been active in the interval between mid 2nd C and mid 3rd C.

*M. Domitius Capetolinus, centurio legionis XI Claudiae p. f., domo Capetoliade*, appears on a tombstone found at Constanța that was sent by mid 19th C to Paris<sup>1221</sup>. We learn he lived for 32 years and died after a few months after being made centurion. He came from Capetolias, Syria, however his *nomen* indicates the Italian origo of his ancestors. The mention *p. f.* allows the inscription dating in the first half of the 2nd C, most likely under Hadrian. His presence at Tomis must be related to a mission with the province governor staff.

*Flavius Maximus, centurio legionis XI Claudiae*, heading in 155 (*Severo et Sabiniano consulibus*) the legion vexillation from Almus (Lom), in the territory of Montana, dispatched to the area in order to participate in a hunt, given that among the vexillation members counted three *immunes venatores*. There also appear a *tesserarius*, a *tubicen*, a *cornicen*, a *medicus* and a *decurio ex equite legionis XI Claudiae*<sup>1222</sup>.

*M. Herennius, Tromentina, Valens*, a native of Salonae, is mentioned by an inscription identified in the territory of Pannonia Inferior, at Cibalae (Vinkovce), where he died while serving as centurion of legion IIII Flavia, *hastatus posterior*, in cohort V. By the beginning of his centurion career he had been *evocatus legionis XI Claudiae* and then centurion in the same

<sup>1216</sup> A. Rădulescu, SCIVA 14, 1963, 1, p. 97–98, no. 15; Aricescu, *Armata*, p. 220, no. 54, p. 204–205, no. 47 = ISM II 260 = AÉ 1988, 1003.

<sup>1217</sup> AÉ 1985, 746 = *Montana*, II, p. 32, no. 65. On this unit see Fl. Matei-Popescu, SCIVA 52–53, 2001–2002, p. 230–231.

<sup>1218</sup> *Montana*, I, p. 32, no. 24 = AÉ 1987, 887 = *Montana*, II, p. 19, no. 38.

<sup>1219</sup> Gh. Ștefan, *Pontica* 7, 1974, p. 252; Conrad, *Grabstelen*, p. 199–200, no. 274; Bărbulescu, *Viața rurală*, p. 192.

<sup>1220</sup> G. Tocilescu, AEM 3, 1879, p. 44, no. 15 (“Kleiner Altar von Sandstein, gef. in Bulgarien”); CIL III 7445 = CIMRM II, p. 357–358, no. 2273 (MNA L 771). CIL III, Domaszewski: “Durostorum? Huc rettuli propter argumentum”. The inscription should have been in Bucharest, however I was not able to find it in MNA collection.

<sup>1221</sup> CIL III 771 = ISM II 348.

<sup>1222</sup> CIL III 7449 = *Montana*, II, p. 2, no. 1; C. C. Petolescu, in *Prinos lui Petre Diaconu la 80 de ani*, p. 242, no. 2.



legion. He pursued his career in several legions in the Moesian – Pannonian region<sup>1223</sup>. This is an example of a centurional career started *ex caliga* and that over 55 years. Since he was 85 when he died, we may assume he became centurion around 30 years of age.

*C. Iulius Africanus, centurio legionis XI Claudiae*, placed a dedication to Apollo and Diana to the health of governor *T. Vitrasius Pollio*, found at Montana<sup>1224</sup>.

*Iulius Favor, centurio legionis XI Claudiae*, placed a dedication to *Apollo*, discovered at Tropaeum Traiani. The inscription dates, based on paleographic fonts, in the 3rd C<sup>1225</sup>.

*Iulius, centurio legionis XI Claudiae R(egionarius ?)*, appears on a marble plate mentioning the reconstruction of a temple of goddess *Diana Plestrensis*, upon the initiative of a governor of Moesia Inferior, whose name was lost to stone cracks, by the care of this centurion. The inscription was discovered by the interflow of rivers Beli Lom and Cerni Lom and was dated in the first half of the 3rd C, and, due to the erasure of the governor's name, more accurately in the period between 238 and 241, when Tullius Menophilus is recorded<sup>1226</sup>.

*Iulius, centurio supernumerarius legionis XI Claudiae*, appears on an inscription from Aquileia that dates by the end of 3rd C. He served for 24 years, being approximately 40 years old (*annorum circiter XXXX*). He had been  *tiro probitus* (sic!) at 16 and was subsequently trained to become *eques* (*discens equitum*), becomes *eques* and then *magister equitum*<sup>1227</sup>.

*Iulius Saturninus, centurio legionis XI Claudiae*, appears on a funerary monument base found at Histria, erected by two freedwomen, *Iulia Calliotea* and her daughter (possibly together with this centurion), *Iulia Glykena*, beside her husband, *Aur. Chrestus Severus*<sup>1228</sup>. Based on paleographic fonts, the Greek inscription may be dated under the Severan dynasty.

*C. Maenius Haniochus, domo Corinthi, centurio legionis XI Claudiae p. f.*, placed a dedication at Thebes, in Egypt, on April 19, 127, on one of the statues assigned to Memnon, son of Aurora<sup>1229</sup>. He had also served in legion I Italica and was later on transferred to Egypt,

<sup>1223</sup> CIL III 13360: *D. M. /Herennio / Tromentina Valenti / Salona evocato / leg. XI Cl. > leg. eiusd(em) / > leg. I Adi. > leg II Adi. / > leg. XV Apol. > leg. iteru(m) / I Adi. > leg. IIII Fl. Coh V / hast. post. stip. LV / vixit annis LXXXV / M. Herennius Helius / libertus et heres / patrono b. m. f. c. / h. m. h. n. s.*

<sup>1224</sup> AÉ 1985, 751 = AÉ 1987, 247 = *Montana*, II, p. 23, no. 47. The inscription may be dated between 156 and 158, when *T. Pomponius Proculus Vitrasius Pollio* is recorded governor of Moesia Inferior (Stein, *Legaten*, p. 72–75; Fitz, *Laufbahn*, p. 47; Thomasson, *Laterculi*<sup>2</sup>, p. 50–51, no. 20:087).

<sup>1225</sup> D. Ciurea, N. Gostar, *ArhMol* 6, 1969, p. 111–112, no. 1 = AÉ 1972, 522.

<sup>1226</sup> V. Velkov, in *Limes IX Mamaia*, p. 152, pl. 31 = idem, *Roman Cities in Bulgaria. Collected Studies*, Amsterdam, 1980, p. 56–59 = AÉ 1974, 574: *....I....R / I....us leg. / Aug. pr. pr. templum / Dianae Plestrensis vetustate con/lapsu(m) restituit per Iul(ium) / .....(centurionem) leg. / XI Cl(audiae) R(...)*. Another dedication to same divinity was identified in the same spot, N. Anghelov, *IzvestijaSofia* 17, 1950, p. 279–280; V. Velkov, in *Limes IX Mamaia*, p. 151–152 = idem, *op. cit.*, p. 55–56, dates under Hadrian. See also T. Sarnowski, *Eos* 76, 1988, p. 101 and p. 103–104 recording all *centuriones regionarii*.

<sup>1227</sup> CIL V 8278 = ILS 2333 = *InscrAquil* 2776; Domaszewski, *RO*<sup>2</sup>, p. 216; Forni, *Reclutamento*, p. 156; A. Passerini, *Legio*, DE IV, Rome, 1949–1950, p. 591; C. C. Petolescu, in *Prinos lui Petre Diaconu la 80 de ani*, Brăila, 2004, p. 243, no. 7. The historical tradition represented by Suetonius, *Claudius*, 25, 1, ascribes emperor Claudius the introduction of a stipendium on this office deemed fictional: *stipendiaque instituit et imaginariae militiae genus, quod vocatur supra numerum, quo absentes et titulo tenus fungeretur*.

<sup>1228</sup> ISM I 292: Ἰούλιον Σατουρνείνου, ἑκατόνταρχον λεγιῶνος ἰα΄ Κλαυδίας, Ἰουλία Γλυκένα θυγάτηρ Ἰουλίας Καλλιοτέρας καὶ κληρονό[μ]ος ἐκ μέρους Ἰουλίου Σ[α]τουρνίνου ἑκατον[τ]άρχου, πάτρονος ἡμῶν, ἀνέ<σ>τησα τὸν / ἀδριάντα μετὰ τοῦ ἀνδρό[σ]μου, ἦν με / ἡ μήτηρ νομίμως παρέδωκεν, Αὐρηλίου Χρηστοῦ Σευήρου.

<sup>1229</sup> CIL III 42 (“in Memnonis pede dextro summo”) = ILS 8759<sup>e</sup>: *C. Maenius Haniochus / domo Corinthi / (centurio) leg(ionis) XI Cl(audiae) p. f. item I / Ital(icae) item II Tr(aiana) f(ortis) audivi Memnonem ante semihoram / XIII K.Mai. Gallicano et Titiano cos. eodem die / hora prima et dimidia*. The monument was in fact

centurion of legion II Traiana fortis. He was a native of Corinth in Achaia, his *nomen* indicating he was a member of a family that had obtained Roman citizenship a long time before.

*Sex. Pilonius Sex. f. Stellatina Modestus*, coming from Beneventum, appears on a funerary flagstone discovered at Ulpia Traiana Sarmizegetusa; he died while serving as *centurio hastatus posterior cohortis III legionis IIII Flaviae Felicis*. The inscription renders his entire centurion career: *ordinem accepit ex equite Romano, militavit in legionibus VII Claudia p. f. et VIII Augusta, XI Claudia p. f., I Minervia p. f., stipendis centurionis XVIII*<sup>1230</sup>. It dates in the period 106–118, when legion IIII Flavia Felix was in the territory of the new north-Danubian province, having its garrison in the fortress at Berzovia (Berzobis)<sup>1231</sup>. He had probably served with legion XI Claudia when the legion was still at Vindonissa and then came to the Lower Danube together with his legion, in occasion of the second Dacian expedition of emperor Trajan, time when he was transferred to legion I Minervia p. f., also on the Dacian front. Possibly after the end of the second campaign, he was reassigned to legion IIII Flavia Felix.

At Humač, close to Bigeste, an inscription evoking the reconstruction of the temple of *Liber Pater* by *Q. Pisenius Severinus, centurio legionis XI Claudiae* (*p. f.* is omitted)<sup>1232</sup> was discovered. The inscription dates from the second half of the 2nd or the first half of the 3rd C. The presence of a legion centurion in that area must be related to the presence of *beneficiarii* and legion soldiers charged with policing on the territory of Dalmatia.

*M. Sabidius [M. f.] Aemilia Maximus, miles legionis XI Claudiae, signifer, cornucularius* (sic!), *optio at* (sic!) *spem ordinis, centurio legionis supra scriptae, promotus a divo Hadriano in legionem III Gallicam, donis donatus ab eodem* (sic!) *imperatorem ob victoriam Iudaicam*. Subsequently, this individual continued his career in legion IIII Scythica, then in a legion I and then was promoted (*promotus*) by emperor Antoninus Pius two times successively in two legions whose names were lost, finally promoted in legion XIII Gemina, from Apulum, in Dacia Superior<sup>1233</sup>. The inscription was raised to his honour by *convicani Scampenses* and was discovered at Elbasan (Albania). The place was in the territory of the city of Dyrrhachium. The career of this centurion is extremely interesting, proving that important careers could be pursued even by *ex caliga* centurions. In addition, it is worth mentioning that he was transferred to legion III Gallica from Syria, most likely in direct connection to the legion's demand for complete staff due to its involvement in the Jewish war.

*Urbanus, centurio legionis XI Claudiae*, erected an altar to Apollo Sanctus, discovered at Montana. His activity may be dated in the first half of the 3rd C<sup>1234</sup>.

*Valerius Aulucentius (ex) leg(ione) XI Cl(audia), milita(vit) gregales* (sic!) *ann(is) XIII et centurio ann(is) III*, appears on a tombstone discovered at Aquileia. He was a native from the

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one of the two giant statues of pharaoh Amenophis III that gave out certain sounds, which the visitors heard and recorded in written; the two monuments include 18 inscriptions in Latin.

<sup>1230</sup> CIL III 1480 = ILS 273 = IDR III/2 437; Richier, *Centuriones ad Rhenum*, p. 273–275, no. 210; I.-A. Petiș, *ActaMN* 41–42, 2004–2005 (2007), p. 131, no. 14; idem, in *Dacia Augusti Provincia*, p. 252, no. 6.

<sup>1231</sup> D. Benea, *Din istoria militară a Moesiei Superior și a Daciei. Legiunea a VII-a Claudia și legiunea a IIII-a Flavia*, Cluj-Napoca, 1983, p. 151–159; C. H. Opreanu, in *Dacia Augusti Provincia*, p. 51–74; Al. Flutur, in *Dacia Augusti Provincia*, p. 165–169.

<sup>1232</sup> CIL III 1789 = 6363 = 8485: *Q. Pisenius Selverinus (centurio) l[eg(ionis)] XI Cl(audia) / templum Lib(eri) Pat(ris) / vetustate corruptum porticib(us) adiec(it) / restituit*; Ritterling, *RE* XII, 1925, col. 1693.

<sup>1233</sup> *AE* 1937, 101 = A. Betz, *JÖAI* 30, 1, 1936, col. 101–108 = *IDRE* II 364 = S. Anamali, H. Ceka, E. Deniaux, *Corpus des inscriptions latines d'Albanie*, Rome, 2009 (Collection de l'École Française de Rome, 410), p. 121–122, no. 153; I.-A. Petiș, *ActaMN* 41–42, 2004–2005 (2007), p. 132, no. 18.

<sup>1234</sup> *Montana*, I, p. 30, no. 18 = *AE* 1987, 883 = *Montana*, II, p. 21, no. 42.

Lower Danube area or from Thracia, since his *cognomen* is of Thracian origin<sup>1235</sup>. Obviously, his activity dates from the end of the 3rd C.

*Valerius Longinianus, militavit optio leg(ionis) XI Clau(diae) ann(is) XV, centurio ord(inatus) ann(is) VI, natus in Mensi(a) infer(iore) castell(o) Abritanor(um)*, appears on another tombstone found at Aquileia, dating most likely by the end of the 3rd C<sup>1236</sup>. We learn that after having been optio for long time, he became centurion and served for another six years. He had been recruited in the legion from Abrittus, Razgrad and was most likely the son of a soldier since at Abrittus are recorded epigraphically veterans, together with other *cives Romani consistentes*<sup>1237</sup>. The fact would explain his speedy ascension, being placed among *optiones* most likely immediately upon the completion of his training period.

*Valentius, centurio legionis XI Claudiae*, appears on a tombstone from Durostorum, beside his spouse, *Alexandra*<sup>1238</sup>. He was active most likely in the 3rd C.

*M. Ve[...], e. g. Ve[turius], centurio legionis*, appears on a very fragmentary tombstone discovered at Durostorum and most likely erected to the memory of his spouse (r. 5–7: *CO[niugi]/PIENTI[ssimae] / F[ecit]*)<sup>1239</sup>.

*...[Val]ens, centurio legionis XI Cl(audiae) CO[hortis ?]* appears on an inscription found at Durostorum that may refer to the reconstruction of a fountain<sup>1240</sup>.

*Ignotus, centurio legionis XI Claudiae*, appears on a marble plate, broken in seven pieces, found in the *principia* of the fortification from Charax, Crimea. It is obviously, a tabula recording the erection of a building under the supervision of this centurion (*curam agente*) in 166, given the nomenclature of the two emperors, Marcus Aurelius and Lucius Verus<sup>1241</sup>.

*Ignotus, centurio legionis XI Claudiae*, appears on a very fragmented honorary inscription from Aquileia, as probably he was a native of the city<sup>1242</sup>. He served as *centurio* in the following legions: *VII Claudia p. f.*, *XI Claudia p. f.*, *XV Apollinaris* and *VI Ferrata*. Probably serving in the latter he received *dona militaria* from Trajan for the *expeditio Parthica*.

### 3.5. Principales

#### 3.5.1. Decurio

*Pomponius Herculanus, decurio ex equite legionis XI Claudiae*, appears on an inscription from 155 (*Severo et Sabiniano consulibus*), discovered at Almus (Lom), in the territory of Montana, as part of a vexillation under the command of centurion *Flavius Maximus (vide supra)*<sup>1243</sup>. The issue of legionary equites commanders is still disputed, although they were part of centurias and were under direct command of respective centurion; the presence of decurions also indicates their division upon turmae, possibly under their command.

<sup>1235</sup> CIL V 940 = InscrAquil 2778.

<sup>1236</sup> CIL V 942 = ILS 2670 = InscrAquil 2779.

<sup>1237</sup> AÉ 1957, 97: *[Her]culi sacr(um) / [p]ro salute Antoni[ni] / Aug(usti) Pii et Veri Caes(aris) / veterani et c(ives) R(omani) / et consistentes / Abrit(t)o ad c[an(abas)] vel c[ast(ellum)] / posueru[nt]*.

<sup>1238</sup> I. I. Russu, AISC 2, 1933–1935, p. 215 = AÉ 1936, 13.

<sup>1239</sup> CIL III 14435.

<sup>1240</sup> CIL III 12458: *[Aq]uae form[am ?] / [prox]umo ? com[pito ?] / [l]apidi situs / [Val]ens, l(egionis) XI Cl(audiae) co[h(ortis)] . ?*. The reading *co[h(ortis)] . ?* belongs to me (MNA L 194).

<sup>1241</sup> V. M. Zubar, T. Sarnowski, VDI 223, 1997, p. 50–59 = AÉ 1997, 1332.

<sup>1242</sup> CIL V 955 = InscrAquil 2748.

<sup>1243</sup> CIL III 7449 = *Montana*, II, p. 2, no. 1; C. C. Petolescu, in *Prinos lui Petre Diaconu la 80 de ani*, Brăila, 2004, p. 242, no. 2.

### 3.5.2. *Optiones*

*Aurelius Flavinus, optio legionis XI Claudiae*, appears on a tombstone from Aquileia by the end the 3rd C<sup>1244</sup>. We find he died at the age of 40 and that he served for 14 years, of which 10 as *optio*. A very long period indeed, for he failed to be promoted to centurionate, thus proving that although a post deemed intermediary to the centurionate, one may never be made centurion<sup>1245</sup>.

*C. Valerius Valens, optio legionis XI Claudiae, agens regione Montanensium*, erects an altar to *Diana* and *Apollo*, discovered at Lom (*Almus*)<sup>1246</sup>. The inscription dates in the interval 161–163. *C. Valerius Valens* was one of the *principales* charged with guarding Montana region where an important road junction of the province was located.

### 3.5.3. *Cornicularii*

[*Q. Carmaceus ?*] *Lae[t]us AQVER, corn(icularius) trib(uni) leg(ionis) XI Cl(audiae)*, appears on a tombstone discovered at Durostorum, erected by the care of this freeman, *Q. Carmaceus Felix*<sup>1247</sup>. The inscription dates in the 2nd C, based on the name.

*Flavius Gaius, cornicularius (legionis XI Claudiae)*, appears on an altar dedicated to several gods, discovered close to Durostorum and erected by the care of veteran *C. Antonius Herculanus, ex custode armorum* of the legion, together with other veterans and *convicani*, in the year 209 (*Pompeio et Avito consulibus*)<sup>1248</sup>.

### 3.5.4. *Beneficiarii*

*Aelius Ingenuus, beneficiarius legati legionis*, attended the erection of the funerary stela to the memory of *Aelius Iustinus, quaestionarius legionis XI Claudiae (vide infra)*, discovered in the village of Karagač, on river Osma, in the perimeter of a Roman rural settlement<sup>1249</sup>. A homonym, probably identical with the first, appears on a tombstone discovered at Râmnicu de Jos. *Ulpia Matrona* dedicated the inscription to the memory of her husband *Aelius Ingenuus, beneficiarius consularis legionis XI Claudiae*<sup>1250</sup>. If we admit their identity we may presume that he began his career as *beneficiarius* by the legion's legate, being thereafter transferred by the governor's headquarters. He was sent probably to guard a possible *statio* around Râmnicu de Jos.

*P. Ae[l(ius)]...*, *beneficiarius consularis [leg(ionis) XI vel VII] Claudiae p. f. [Anto]nini[anae]* raised an altar to the *Epona* goddess at Magnum (Balijina-Glavica), in the province of

<sup>1244</sup> CIL V 895 = InscrAquil 2773: *D. M. / Aurelius Flavinus / optio leg(ionis) XI Claudiae / annorum XXXX qui / militavit ann(os) XIII et / optio ann(os) X posuit / titulum de suo astante / te civibus suis impensi(s) (denariorum vel denariis decem milibus); astante = adiuvante.*

<sup>1245</sup> The post of simple *optio* seems not to be equivalent with *optio ad spem*, the immediate rank after the centurionate, instead was placed between *signifer* and *tesserarius*, Domaszewski, RO<sup>2</sup>, p. 43–44. Nonetheless, the situation is not at all clear and is hard to establish for lack of definite mention, *optio signiferorum* or *optio praetorii*, if we deal with *optio ad spem* or only the title of *optio* given special tasks with the legion staff. Still, in all inscriptions quoted by Domaszewski, the centurionate followed the *optio* post regardless the type, or, like the case of an inscription from Carnuntum, the intermediate decurionate, CIL III 11213 = ILS 2596 = Domaszewski, RO<sup>2</sup>, p. 214: *T. Calidius P. Cam. Sever(us) eq(ues), item optio, decur(io) coh(ortis) I Alpin(orum), item (centurio) leg(ionis) XV Apoll(inaris) annor(um) LVIII stip(endiorum) XXXVIII h. s. e.*

<sup>1246</sup> J. Mladenova, *Arheologija Sofia* 24, 1961, p. 264–265, no. 2 = AÉ 1969–1970, 576 = *Montana*, II, p. 27, no. 53.

<sup>1247</sup> Gr. Tocilescu, *AEM* 11, 1887, p. 23, no. 10, reused in the reconstruction of the enclosure from Durostorum; CIL III 7476. Tocilescu, r. 1: *A(quis) Quer(quernis) (?)*. CIL III overtakes only *Aq(uis)*.

<sup>1248</sup> G. P. Georgiev, *Bulletin of the Varna Museum* 10, 1974, p. 95–97 = AÉ 1974, 570.

<sup>1249</sup> CIL III 12401 = ILB 444 = CGLBI 636 = Conrad, *Grabstelen*, p. 252, no. 474.

<sup>1250</sup> V. Pârvan, *AARMSI*, II 35, 1913, p. 521–526; C. G. Alexandrescu, *ZPE* 164, 2008, p. 259–262. On the discovery conditions see C. G. Alexandrescu, *SCIVA* 58, 2007, 3–4, p. 216.



Dalmatia<sup>1251</sup>. Unfortunately it is impossible to tell if he was a member of XI Claudia legion or of VII Claudia legion. Nevertheless, as at Magnum another *beneficiarius consularis* of the same legion is attested (*vide infra*), probably this *beneficiarius consularis* belonged to the same unit.

C. *Aemilius Ingenuus, miles legionis XI Claudiae, beneficiarius consularis*, dedicated a small-sized altar to *Iupiter Optimus Maximus*, identified at Andetrium, close to the well-known *statio* of *beneficarii consularis* from Magnum (Balijina-Glavica), in Dalmatia<sup>1252</sup>. Since the legion's epithet *pia fidelis* is lacking, we may believe the inscription does not date from the period when the legion was stationed in the territory of Dalmatia. Hence, it is more likely that the inscription frames the series of records on *beneficarii* of legions from Moesia Inferior in the territory of Dalmatia and may be dated beginning with the half of the 2nd C. The same person is also attested by the *statio* from Skelani, raising an altar to *Iupiter Optimus Maximus*<sup>1253</sup>.

Fl. *Antonius Romanus, beneficiarius consularis legionis XI Claudiae Antoniniana*, raised an altar to the Diana goddess in Noviodunum (Isaccea), in the year 218 (*Imp. d. n. Antonino et Advento II cos.*)<sup>1254</sup>. Unfortunately the reading is not sure, as he could have also been a member of XIII Gemina legion, from Dacia.

*Aurelius Alexander, b(e)n(e)[f(i)arius] legio[n]is XI Claudi(ae)*, appears on a sarcophagus discovered at Salonae. Obviously, the inscription dates from the 3rd C<sup>1255</sup>. He was a member of the important group of *beneficarii* of Moesia Inferior legions dispatched to the Dalmatia area.

[*Au*]rel(ius) O[...], *beneficiarius consularis legionis XI Claudiae*, appears on a fragmentary inscription discovered at Čačak, in the *territorium municipii Malves(i)atium*<sup>1256</sup>. It dates from the 2nd C or 3rd C, when *beneficarii consularis* from this legion are attested in Dalmatia province.

T. *Flavius Celsinus, beneficiarius consularis legionis XI Claudiae*, dedicated an altar to the honour of *Dea Nemesis Conservatrix*, to his and his sons' health, discovered at Chersonesus, following archaeological excavations in the perimeter of the ancient theatre, reused in the erection of buildings from the 4th C<sup>1257</sup>. The altar dates from the last part of the 2nd or the beginning of the 3rd C. The same individual appears on an inscription found at Charax<sup>1258</sup>. His presence on both sites in the south of the peninsula of Crimea must be evidently related to the surveillance of the road linking the two fortifications.

*Iulius Capito, beneficiarius consularis ex legione XI Claudia*, raised a dedication to Diana goddess, discovered at Čačak, in the Dalmatia province, near the border with Moesia superior, on the *territorium municipii Malves(i)atium*<sup>1259</sup>. As the name of the legion was abridged in the form *XI CL*, the inscription dates after the reign of Hadrian.

C. *Iulius Rogatus, beneficiarius consularis legionis XI Claudiae*, already a *veteranus*, erected an altar to *Iupiter Optimus Maximus*, together with his son, of same name, discovered at Gradina (Halapić, in the nearby of Glamoč), on the territory of the Dalmatia province. It is hard to specify the chronological moment of *Rogatus* mission, but it most likely dated in the first half of the 3rd C<sup>1260</sup>.

<sup>1251</sup> CIL III 14959 = CGLBI 434.

<sup>1252</sup> CIL III 9790 = CGLBI 438; Ritterling, RE XII, 1925, col. 1693.

<sup>1253</sup> ILJug III 1524 = CGLBI 472.

<sup>1254</sup> CIL III 6161 = ISM V 247 = CGLBI 632.

<sup>1255</sup> CIL III 8727 = CGLBI 483; Ritterling, RE XII, 1925, col. 1693.

<sup>1256</sup> S. Ferjančić, G. Jeremić, Al. Gojgić, *Rimski epigrafski spomenici Čačka i okoline*, Čačak, 2008, p. 51, no. 7.

<sup>1257</sup> E. I. Solomonik, VDI 1960, 2, p. 133–139 = Solomonik, *Pamiatniki*, p. 121–132, no. 59 = AĖ 1967, 430 = Solomonik, *Latinskie nadpisi*, p. 38–40, no. 10 = CGLBI 660.

<sup>1258</sup> IOSPE I<sup>2</sup> 675 = T. Sarnowski, ArchWarszawa 38, 1988, p. 80, no. 70 = CGLBI 661.

<sup>1259</sup> S. Ferjančić, G. Jeremić, Al. Gojgić, *Rimski epigrafski spomenici Čačka i okoline*, Čačak, 2008, p. 43, no. 2.

<sup>1260</sup> CIL III 9862 = CGLBI 443; Ritterling, RE XII, 1925, col. 1693.

L. *Naeuius Maximus, beneficiarius consularis XI Claudiae pia fidelis (XI CL P F)*, erected an altar to *Iupiter Optimus Maximus*, found at Skelani, the well-known *statio beneficiariorum* in Dalmatia<sup>1261</sup>. Based on soldiers' names and the complete rendering of legion's name, the inscription dates no later than Trajan/Hadrian.

*Ulpus Alexander* appears on the inscription from 155, discovered at Almus (Lom), in the territory of Montana, recording a vexillation sent there for hunt purposes (*immunes venatores*)<sup>1262</sup>.

*Valerius Rufus* (vel -inus vel -inianus), *beneficiarius consularis legionis XI Claudiae Antoniniana*, appears on an inscription in the honour of *Dea Epona Regina, pro salute domini nostri M. Aurelii Antonini Pii felicitis Augusti* (Caracalla), identified at Abrittus, dated in 215 (*Laeto II et Ceriale consulibus*)<sup>1263</sup>. The dedication to *Epona* might be an indication of the fact that the dedicant was coming from Gaul provinces. The inscription discovered at Abrittus, together with another inscription which attests also a *beneficiarius consularis* from an unknown military unit (*Flavius Maximianus* raised the inscription for his wife *Aurelia Stratoclia, Tomitana*)<sup>1264</sup>, demonstrates the existence of possible *statio* for surveiling the road Odessus (Varna) – Abrittus (Razgrad) – Sexaginta Prista (Ruse).

C. *Valerius Valens, beneficiarius legati legionis XI Claudiae*, erected a funerary stela to the memory of his father, C. *Valerius Germanus*, aged 78. The stela was found at Axiopolis and dates most likely in the first half of the 3rd C<sup>1265</sup>. This inscription proves the fact that the limes sector up to Capidava was under the supervision of legion XI Claudia both prior and after the movement of legion V Macedonica to Dacia.

L. *Vettius Probus, beneficiarius consularis legionis XI Claudiae piae fidelis*, died in the nearby of Salonae at Kopilice. The funerary inscription was raised by his son, L. *Vettius Gratus* and his daughter, *Vettia Ianuaria*<sup>1266</sup>. The inscription dates from the beginning of the 3rd C.

*Saturninus, beneficiarius consularis XI Claudiae*, placed a dedication to *dea xant(a) Nemesis* and *genius municipii Hel(...)*, discovered at Komine, in Dalmatia<sup>1267</sup>. Probably the reading is not correct. Most likely *Hel(...)* is part of the name of the *beneficiarius consularis: Helvius* or *Helvidius*. He was part of the group of *beneficarii* detached in the area from Moesia Inferior, most likely to guard the mining regions. It dates most likely in the first half of the 3rd C.

*Ignotus* appears on an extremely fragmentary inscription found at Montana, where the sequence [...]*FCO*[...] / [*LEG*] *XI CL*<sup>1268</sup> might be understood as: [*b(ene)l(iciarius) co(n)s(ularis)*] / [*leg(ionis) XI Cl(audiae)*]. The inscription was dated by the editor in the first half of the 3rd C.

*Ignotus* appears on an fragmentary inscription discovered at Čačak, in the *territorium municipii Malves(i)atium*, province of Dalmatia, near the border with Moesia superior:[...] *FCO*[...] / [*L*]*EG · X*[*I CL*]<sup>1269</sup>. As other two *beneficarii consularis* of the XI Claudia legion are in the same place attested this soldier was also part of the same legion.

<sup>1261</sup> CIL III 14219<sup>4</sup> = CGLBI 473; Ritterling, RE XII, 1925, col. 1693.

<sup>1262</sup> CIL III 7449 = CGLBI 643 = *Montana*, II, p. 2, no. 1.

<sup>1263</sup> R. Ivanov, ZPE 100, 1994, p. 485–486, no. 2. See also R. Ivanov, *ArheologijaSofia* 35, 1993, 3, p. 27–29 (AÉ 1993, 1370).

<sup>1264</sup> R. Ivanov, ZPE 100, 1994, p. 484, no. 1; R. Ivanov, *ArheologijaSofia* 35, 1993, 3, p. 26–27 = AÉ 1993, 1369.

<sup>1265</sup> CIL III 14439 = AÉ 1939, 97 = CGLBI 617.

<sup>1266</sup> CIL III 14703 = CGLBI 453.

<sup>1267</sup> A. Cermanović-Kuzmanović, *Starinar*, N. S., 20, 1969, p. 25–28 = AÉ 1971, 303 = CGLBI 451.

<sup>1268</sup> *Montana*, I, p. 70 = *Montana*, II, p. 59, no. 148.

<sup>1269</sup> S. Ferjančić, *Balkanica* 26, 1995, p. 176–181, no. 1 = AÉ 1996, 1199; S. Ferjančić, G. Jeremić, Al. Gojgić, *Rimski epigrafski spomenici Čačka i okoline*, Čačak, 2008, p. 59, no. 13.

*Ignotus, beneficiarius consularis legionis XI Claudiae piae fidelis*, appears on a very fragmented inscription discovered at Runović (Novae), in the province of Dalmatia<sup>1270</sup>.

### 3.5.5. *Speculatores*

*Aurelius Valerianus, speculator legionis XI Claudiae*, erected an altar to the *numen* of Gordian III and *Genio loci*; discovered at Josephstal (Czarevopolje)<sup>1271</sup>. His presence in Dalmatia area must be related to the presence of *beneficiarii* in the army of Moesia Inferior.

*Ulpius Maximianus, speculator (legionis XI Claudiae ?)*, dedicated a marble plate to the Thracian Rider (*Deus sanctus hero*), discovered at Marcianopolis, at the beginning of the 3rd C<sup>1272</sup>. Unfortunately, it is impossible to tell to which legion he belonged; nevertheless as the *legio XI Claudia* was the nearest one, probably he was one of its members. His presence in the area of the Greek city of Marcianopolis must be related with its surveillance policework.

### 3.5.6. *Signiferi*

*Aelius Ant(oninus) Aeternalis, signifer legionis XI Claudiae*, appears on an inscription discovered at Tropaeum Traiani. He erected a tombstone to the memory of his father, *Aelius Ant(oninus) Firmus, duumviralis municipii Tropaensium* and daughter, *Aelia Quirilla*, together with his brother, *Aelius Ant(oninus) Sabinus, duumvir* of the same municipium<sup>1273</sup>. The inscription dates earliest under Marcus Aurelius. Their names might indicate the award of citizenship under Antoninus Pius.

...*Curtilianus, signifer legionis XI Claudiae p. f.*, erected a tombstone together with a *cornicen* from legion I Italica, *Saturninus*, to a *centurio ordinarius* of legion I Italica, whose name was lost<sup>1274</sup>. The inscription was discovered somewhere in north Italy, probably at Ticinum and possibly dates during Gallienus's reign, when vexillations of legions from Dacia and the two Moesia were dispatched in the area.

*Flavius Iulianus, signifer legionis XI Claudiae vel VII Claudiae Gordianae*, appears on a Greek inscription found at Daskalovo (former Carvka), Thracia, and dated to 241<sup>1275</sup>. Unfortunately, the legion number could not be read, yet given the find spot it is most likely legion XI Claudia from Moesia Inferior.

### 3.5.7. *Tesserarii*

*Aelius Antiochianus, tesserarius legionis XI Claudiae*, appears on a bilingual tombstone discovered at Cibyra (Phrygia), erected by the care of his spouse *Aelia Asteria*<sup>1276</sup>. Most likely,

<sup>1270</sup> CIL III 14638 = CGLBI 469.

<sup>1271</sup> CIL III 3021: *Numini / maiestatique / d. n. Gordiani / Aug. / et Genio loci / Aur. Valerianus / spec. leg. XI Cl / referens gratiam / v. s.*; Ritterling, RE XII, 1925, col. 1693.

<sup>1272</sup> CCET II, 1 194.

<sup>1273</sup> Gr. Tocilescu, AEM 19, 1896, p. 86–87, no. 23; CIL III 14214<sup>6</sup> (MNA L 1225 and 1440).

<sup>1274</sup> AÉ 1992, 786.

<sup>1275</sup> AÉ 1975, 768: Φ[λ(άβιος)] Ἰουλιανὸς σιγνίφερ [λεγ(ιῶνος) ζ' vel ια'] Κλαυδίας Γορδιανῆς... Αὐτ(οκράτορι) Γ[ορδια]νῶ Σεβ(αστῶ) καὶ Π[ρομ]πειανῶ ὑπάτοις.

<sup>1276</sup> CIL III 13665, a quadrangular altar exhibiting statue traces found in the eastern cemetery of the city at Cibyra, reading: *Aelia Asteria Aelio Anti[o]chiano, tesserario leg(ionis) IXI Cl(audiae), dulcissimo, quondo (= quondam) / marito suo, instruxit mol'nimentum et statuum / et [a]rulam (?), cum subposito in terram sarcophago / lapideo secundum voluntatem s(upra) s(cripti) Antiochiani, mel'moriae causa. Huius exemplaria in slac/s duobus (= αντίγραφα δύο) reposita sunt in archia publica Cibyratarum. / Αιλία Ἀστερία Αιλίῳ Ἀντι/οχιανῶ τεσσεραρίῳ λεγ(εῶνος) / ια' Κλαυδίας τῶ γλυκυτάτῳ γε/νομένῳ ἀνδρὶ αὐτῆς / [κ]λατασκεύασε τὸ μνεμῆ/ον καὶ τὸν ἀδριάντα σὺν / τῇ βάσει καὶ τῇ ὑποκει/μῆνη ὑπὸ γῆ σορῶ καθὼς / αὐτὸς διετάξατο μνείας / χάριν. Τούτο ἀντίγραφα / δύο εἰς τὰ ἀρχεῖ ἀπετέθη. See also M. P. Speidel, ANRW VII/2, 1980, p. 742.*

the individual was coming from this area of the Empire, where, according to his will, wish to be buried. Considering the *nomen*, we may argue he was a descendant of a former member of an auxiliary troop, who was granted citizenship under Hadrian or Antoninus Pius.

*Iulius Aeternalis* appears on the inscription from 155 found at Almus (Lom), in the territory of Montana, recording a vexillation set up for hunting purposes (*immunes venatores*)<sup>1277</sup>.

### 3.5.8. *Stratores*

*Puplius Aelius Venustinus, strator consularis legionis XI Claudiae*, dedicated an altar identified at Kolarci, region of Tolbuhin, to his health and family. The inscription editor considers that an imperial domain for horse breeding must have been located in the area<sup>1278</sup>. The inscription dates in the first half of the 3rd C.

*Ulpus Felix, strator consularis legionis XI Claudiae*, erected a funerary altar to the memory of his parents, *M. Vettius Felix, ex decurione al(a)e* and *Aurelia Faustina*<sup>1279</sup>. Being the son of a former member of auxiliary troops, he could join a legion. Little may be said concerning the inscription dating. The different *nomina*, *Vettius* and *Ulpus* are curious and make me suppose a possible discharge of the father under Trajan. Therefore, the inscription may date under Hadrian or Antoninus Pius.

### 3.5.9. *Mensor*

*Aurelius Epictetus, miles legionis XI Claudiae, mensor*, appears on a tombstone in Greek discovered at Aquileia, erected by one of his comrades, *Aurelius Artemidorus, miles*<sup>1280</sup>. The inscription could date by the end of the 3rd C.

### 3.5.10. *Quaestionarius*

*Aelius Iustinus, quaestionarius legionis XI Claudiae*, who served for 23 years and died at 45, as mentioned by an inscription found at Karagač. The inscription was placed by the care of his heir *Aelius Ingenu(u)s, beneficiarius legati legionis*<sup>1281</sup>. According to the two *nomina*, they seem to be sons of former soldiers in auxiliary troops, discharged under Hadrian or Antoninus Pius.

### 3.5.11. *Tubicines*

*Aurelius Salvianus, tubicen legionis XI Claudiae*, appears on a tombstone found at Chersonesus dated, most likely, in the first half of the 3rd C<sup>1282</sup>.

*Aurelius Postumus* appears on the inscription of 155 found at Almus (Lom), in the territory of Montana, recording a vexillation set up for hunting purposes (*immunes venatores*)<sup>1283</sup>.

### 3.5.12. *Cornicen*

*Valerius Rufus* appears on the inscription of 155 found at Almus (Lom), in the territory of Montana, recording a vexillation set up for hunting purposes (*immunes venatores*)<sup>1284</sup>.

<sup>1277</sup> CIL III 7449 = *Montana*, II, p. 2, no. 1.

<sup>1278</sup> S. B. Torbatov, *Arheologija Sofia* 31, 1989, 1, p. 34–37 = *AÉ* 1991, 1379.

<sup>1279</sup> ISM I 278.

<sup>1280</sup> *Inscriptiones Graecae Siciliae et Italiae*, 2340 = IGR I 481 = *InscrAquil* 2771: Αὐρήλιος Ἄρτε/μίδωρος στρα/τιώτης Αὐρ. Ἐπικτήτω/ στρατιώτη λεγιῶνος / οὐνδεκίμης / Κλαυδίας μέ/σωρι μνήμης χάριν.

<sup>1281</sup> CIL III 12401 = ILB 444 = Conrad, *Grabstelen*, p. 252, no. 474.

<sup>1282</sup> CIL III 782 = IOSPE I<sup>2</sup> 551 = Solomonik, *Latinskie nadpisi*, p. 58–59, no. 31. See also Cr.-G. Alexandrescu, *Blasmusiker und Standartenträger im römischen Heer. Untersuchungen zur Benennung, Funktion und Ikonographie*, Cluj-Napoca, 2010, p. 322, no. G 37.

<sup>1283</sup> CIL III 7449 = *Montana*, II, p. 2, no. 1.

<sup>1284</sup> CIL III 7449 = *Montana*, II, p. 2, no. 1.



### 3.5.13. *Medicus*

*Aurelius Artemo* appears on the inscription of 155 found at Almus (Lom), in the territory of Montana, recording a vexillation set up for hunting purposes (*immunes venatores*). The Greek origin of this *medicus legionis* is worth mentioning<sup>1285</sup>.

### 3.6. *Immunes*

*Flavius Valerius* and *Iulius Longinus*, *immunes venatores*, appear on the inscription of 155 found at Almus (Lom), in the territory of Montana, recording a vexillation set up for hunting purposes<sup>1286</sup>.

### 3.7. *Equites*

*Aurelius Iustinus equ<e>s [e] leg(ione) XI Cl(audia)*, appears on a tombstone discovered at Aquileia. He had been *probatus* at the age of 18, served for 7 years as *munifex* and as *eques* for another four years<sup>1287</sup>. The inscription dates from the start of the period of the Tetrarchy, as the other inscriptions attesting legion's members. A. von Domaszewski notices that this is one of the first two records in inscriptions of the term *munifex* on one who is not freed from duties, like the case of *principales* and *immunes* and partially even of *equites*, especially within the new context by the end of the 3rd C when cavalry is gradually more important on the battle field, as this inscription may also infer<sup>1288</sup>.

*Valerius Quintus, disce(n)s equitum, legionis XI Claudiae*, emerges on another fragmentary tombstone discovered at Aquileia. The inscription dates by the end of the 3rd, beginning of the 4th C when this legion sent horsemen to form the *comitatenses*<sup>1289</sup>.

### 3.8. *Milites gregarii*

A number of 65 soldiers composed the vexillation mentioned by the inscription of 155 found at Almus (Lom), in the territory of Montana, set up for hunting purposes (*immunes venatores*)<sup>1290</sup>. Here is their list: *coh. I: Calpur(nius) Tertianus, Val. Felix, Fla. Valens, Aurel. Pedro*,

<sup>1285</sup> CIL III 7449 = *Montana*, II, p. 2, no. 1.

<sup>1286</sup> CIL III 7449 = *Montana*, II, p. 2, no. 1.

<sup>1287</sup> CIL V 896 = ILS 2332 = InscrAquil 2774: *Aurelius Iustinus equ<e>s [e] leg(ione) / XI Cl(audia), provitu(s) annoro(m) XVII et / militavit munif<e>x annis VII, equ(e)s/ annis IIII, militavit in corte / statu posteriore ex pluris / maecis derisus ipsius in ipso / titulo XCI*; provitus = probatus. See also Domaszewski, RO<sup>2</sup>, p. 218: *Aurelius Iustinus eques a leg(ione) XI Cl(audia) probatus annorum XVII et militavit munifex annis VII, eques annis IIII, militavit in cohorte centuria hastati posterioris ex plurismaticis depend [---] ipsius in titulo (decem milia centum unum)*.

<sup>1288</sup> Domaszewski, RO<sup>2</sup>, p. 2: "Doch findet sich die Bezeichnung *munifex* erst auf den Inschriften des ausgehenden dritten Jahrhunderts, und zwar im Gegensatz zu *eques*. Dies entspricht der neuen Bedeutung, die die Reiterei in dem barbarisierten Heere jener Zeit gewonnen hat". In addition, he quotes the text from Vegetius II, 7, that fundamentally differentiates between *principales* and *munifices*: *Hi sunt milites principales, qui privilegiis muniuntur. Reliqui munifices appellantur, quia munera facere coguntur*. Still, the other mention is much earlier within an inscription from Rome for a praetorian, dating no latter than mid 3rd C, former *signifer legionis I Italicae, Aurelius Bithus, signifer in legione I Italicae annos II, in cohorte II pr(a)etoria munifex annos XIII, factus eques militavit menses X* (CIL VI 2601 = ILS 2055 = Domaszewski, RO<sup>2</sup>, p. 230).

<sup>1289</sup> CIL V 944 = InscrAquil 2780. InscrAquil, p. 936: "Legio, quae, ut iam dixi, exeunte III vel ineunte IV p. Chr. saec. in sacro comitatu, nempe imperatoris erat, Aquileiae commorabatur, ibique Valerius Quintus vita excessit".

<sup>1290</sup> CIL III 7449 = *Montana*, II, p. 2, no. 1.

*Fla. (H)eracl(a), Aurel. Tiberinus, Iul. Marcus, Aurelius Cerfonius (?)*; *coh. II: Aurelius Appianus, Fla. Reginus, Aurel. C(h)aireas, Val. Fronto, Iulius Claudianus*; *coh. III: Iuliu(s) Horte(n)sis, Aelius Marcial[i]s, Val. Valens, Anton(iu)s Valens, Ponti(us) Pontianus, Val. Antonius, Val. Rufus, Clau(dius) Ianuarius*; *coh. IIII: Ael. Paulus, Aurel(ius) Germanus, Aurel(ius) Sanctus, Val. Maximus, Anto(nius) Valens, Iul. Valens, Val. Longus, Ulp. Bassus, Fl. Primus*; *coh. V: Ael. Apollodoru(s), Aeli(us) Sabinus, Iul. Flaccus, Aur. Helenus, Aur. Artemo (identic cu medicus vexillationis ?), Cocceius Long(us), Atil(ius) Crispus, Aur. Quadratus, Ael. Apelles, Fl. Alexander, Iul. Nigrinus, Ael. Antullinus, Ael. Victorinus, Cervius Maximus, Val. Firmus, Ael. Flavius, Petro(nius) Valens, [Aur. Longinus, Val. Valens, Iul. Alexander, Aur. Agatho[c]les, Iul. C[a]pito, Umi(dius) Quadratus, Mum(mius) Celer, Tri[...] Valens, [F]l. Tertius, Aur. [Te]rtulianus, Fl. Po[n]tianus, Mu[mm(ius)] Niger, Val. Valens, Fl. Lon[g]inus, Iul. V[.....], Aur. Vindex, Aur. Decimus, Quintus Val[erius].*

*P. Aelius Capito, natione Macedo, miles legionis XI Claudiae*, appears on an inscription from Scythopolis (Beth Shean), in Palaestina; he died at the age of 35 after 10 years of military service<sup>1291</sup>. The individual is evidently the descendant of a member of the auxiliary troops, discharged by Hadrian and retired somewhere in the territory of the province of Macedonia. He died most likely during the Jewish war of emperor Hadrian.

*Antonius Valens, miles legionis XI Claudiae, miletavit (sic!) annis XXIII*, appears on a tombstone erected by *Natalis* and *Suro*, probably two of his slaves. The inscription was identified at Čumakovci, incorporated in the wall of a mill on Isker river bank<sup>1292</sup>. Obviously, it may be dated in the first half of the 3rd C. A homonym appears on the list of soldiers composing the vexillation from *Almus*, in the territory of *Montana*, mentioned above<sup>1293</sup>.

*Atilius Vale(n)s, miles legionis [VII vel XI] Claudiae* (Ἀτίλιος Οὐάλης, στρατιώτης λεγ. [ζ' vel ια'] Κλ.), placed a dedication to the Thracian Rider, in Greek, identified at *Zornica* (close to *Jambol*, in *Thracia*), sometime in the first half of the 3rd C<sup>1294</sup>. Given its find spot, the individual was most likely part of legion XI Claudia from *Moesia Inferior* and not from legion VII Claudia stationed at *Viminacium*, on the territory of *Moesia Superior*. Under this name of definitely military origin may hide a soldier of Thracian origin.

*Aurelius Artemidorus, miles (legionis XI Claudiae?)*, erected at *Aquileia* a tombstone in Greek to one of his comrades, *Aurelius Epictetus, miles legionis XI Claudiae, mentor (vide supra)*<sup>1295</sup>. The inscription dates by the end of the 3rd C.

*Aurelius Buris, miles legionis XI Claudiae*, appears on an inscription identified at *Aulutrene*, close to *Apamea*, *Phrygia*. The funerary altar was erected by *Aurelius Auluzenus*, his heir and possibly comrade or freedman. Unfortunately, the last lines in the inscription field are strongly affected<sup>1296</sup>. The individual must have been present in the East concurrently with several members of the legion led by chief centurion *Nonius Felix* and other members of legion I *Italica* and legion IV *Flavia Felix*, from *Moesia Superior*, involved in one of the Parthian expeditions of *Septimius Severus (vide supra)*. His name is of local origin, Thracian or Dacian-Moesian; I mention here the toponym *Buridava*, recorded by both ancient geographers and *Hunt papyrus*.

<sup>1291</sup> AÉ 1939, 158.

<sup>1292</sup> CIL III 7453 (= 6130).

<sup>1293</sup> CIL III 7449 = *Montana*, II, p. 2, no. 1.

<sup>1294</sup> IGB III/2 1845; Oppermann, *Der thrakische Reiter*, p. 242 and p. 354, no. 1014.

<sup>1295</sup> *Inscriptiones Graecae Siciliae et Italiae*, 2340 = IGR I 481 = *InscrAquil* 2771: Αὐρήλιος Ἄρτε/μίδωρος στρα/τιώτης Αὐρ. Ἐπικτήτω/ στρατιώτη λεγιῶνος / οὐνδεκίμης / Κλαυδίας μέ/σωρι μνήμης χάριν.

<sup>1296</sup> M. Christol, Th. Drew-Bear, *Un castellum romain près d'Apamée de Phrygie*, *Ergänzungsbande zu den Tituli Asiae Minoris*, no. 12, Vienna, 1987, p. 55–56, no. 10 = AÉ 1987, 945: *D. M. / Aurel. Buris / mil. leg. XI Cl. q/ui militavit / annis XXII, pos/uit memoriam A/urel. Auluzenu/s ERESHERES[.] / b. m.*

*Aurelius Dizo, milix (!) legionis XI Claudiae*, appears on a funerary stela found at Aquileia, recording he died in Mauretania<sup>1297</sup>. This is the inscription taking into consideration for a possible legion's vexillation sent in 298, by Maximinus, in Mauretania<sup>1298</sup>. His *cognomen* indicates a Thracian origin.

*Aurelius Iovinus, miles legionis XI Claudia (sic!)*, appears on a dedication discovered at Montana<sup>1299</sup>. The accurate date is hard to establish, however it could frame either in the second half of the 2nd C or, rather, in the first half of the 3rd C.

*Aurelius Marcelus, miles legionis XI Claudiae*, erected together with *Valerius Maximus, eques alae I Gaetulorum* a tombstone to the memory of *Valerius Valerianus, eques* in the same auxiliary unit<sup>1300</sup>. The inscription was found near Apamea, Phrygia and this *miles legionis* was part of the vexillation of Moesia Inferior troops led by chief centurion *Nonius Felix*, dispatched to this area during one of the Parthian expeditions of Septimius Severus. Hence, the cavalry troop is rather *ala I Flavia Gaetulorum* from Moesia Inferior and not *ala Gaetulorum veterana*, stationed at the time in Arabia.

*Aurelius [Primus], discens armaturae legionis XI Claudiae*, placed a dedication, preserved extremely fragmentary, discovered at Chersonesus<sup>1301</sup>. He was on trial period, training to become soldier in legion XI Claudia.

*Aurelius Sud[icen]tzus, milix (!) legionis XI Claudiae*, appears on another tombstone from Aquileia, dated still by the end of the 3rd C<sup>1302</sup>. The *cognomen* is evidently of Thracian origin.

*Aurelius Valens, miles legionis XI Claudiae*, placed a dedication to the Thracian Rider, worshipped under the name *Theos Megas Aularchenos* (the epithet is further attested on the territory of Bulgaria, IGB II 841), discovered in the territory of Thracia, at Augusta Traiana<sup>1303</sup>. The inscription dates from the 3rd C and it is possible that the soldier was a native of the place.

*C. Cornelius Iustus, Moecia (tribu), Pel(agonia), miles legionis XI C(laudiae) p(iae) f(idelis)*, appears on a tombstone discovered at Oescus, being one of the very first evidence of the presence of the legion at the Lower Danube, at the beginning of the 2nd C (*vide supra*). The tombstone was erected by his son, *C. Cornelius Iustus*<sup>1304</sup>. The soldier was recruited from Macedonia, probably between 85–95, when the legion was at Vindonissa, as he served sixteen years and died between 102–110.

*Galerius Montanus, (discens) armatura legionis XI Claudiae*, erected at Olbia a funerary stela to the memory of his mother, *Galeria Montana* and to a certain *Procula*. This individual was on probationary period and would later join the legion<sup>1305</sup>.

*C. Iulius Crescens, miles legionis XI Claudiae, vixit annos XXXV, militavit annis XV*, appears on a tombstone found at Thyatira, in the province of Asia (in Lydia), erected by the

<sup>1297</sup> CIL V 893 = InscrAquil 2772: *D. M. / Aurel(ius) Dizo milix / leg(ionis) XI Claud(ia) vixit / ann(is) XXVII milit(avit) ann(is) / quinque obitus in / Mauretania bene / merenti cives et / commanipuli de suo / fecerunt.*

<sup>1298</sup> E. Ritterling, RE XII, 1925, col. 1700.

<sup>1299</sup> AÉ 1955, 63 = Gerov, *Romanizmät*, II, p. 358, no. 25 = *Montana*, II, p. 38, no. 84.

<sup>1300</sup> M. Christol, T. Drew-Bear, *Inscriptions militaires d'Aulutrene et d'Apamée de Phrygie*, in Y. Le Bohec, *La hiérarchie (Rangordnung) de l'armée romaine sous le Haut-Empire. Actes du Congrès de Lyon (15–18 septembre 1994) rassemblés et édités par Yann Le Bohec*, Paris, 1995, p. 79–84 = AÉ 1995, 1515.

<sup>1301</sup> IOSPE I<sup>2</sup> 748 = Solomonik, *Latinskie nadpisi*, p. 36–37, no. 8.

<sup>1302</sup> CIL V 900 = InscrAquil 2775.

<sup>1303</sup> IGR I 1491 = AÉ 1908, 138 = Kazarow, p. 157, no. 916 = AÉ 1939, 251 = IGB III/2 1597: Ἀγαθῆι τύχηι / Θεῶ ἐπηκόω Με/γίστω Αὐλαρχη/νωι. Αὐρ. Οὐά/λης στρατιώ/της λεγ(ιῶνος) ια' Κλ(αυδίας) / ἐὺχῆς χάριμ ἀνέθηκα. / Εὐτυχῶς. Mihailov, IGB: "Tabula calcaria parte superiore fracta, ornata anaglypho, quod equitem Thracium exhibet".

<sup>1304</sup> AÉ 1935, 78 = ILB 62 = Conrad, *Grabstelen*, p. 242, no. 435. See also Forni, *Reclutamento*, p. 183.

<sup>1305</sup> AÉ 1909, 167 = IOSPE I<sup>2</sup> 236.

brother of *Fl. Castus* and first heir (he might be in fact a comrade)<sup>1306</sup>. The inscription dates most likely from the second half of the 2nd C, however circumstances of this soldier presence at Thyatira remain obscure, yet one may not forget that the province of Asia was in the action range of the Moesian legions, if need be<sup>1307</sup>.

*C. Numerius Valens, miles legionis XI Claudiae*, appears on a tombstone erected for him and a certain *C. Domitius* by *L. Sextilius Fuscus, centurio cohortis I Thracum (Syriaca)*, identified at Tomis<sup>1308</sup>.

*Valerius Marcus, miles legionis XI Claudiae*, appears on a tombstone discovered at Durostorum, recording he served for 26 years in the legion and was 45 upon his death. The tombstone was erected by the care of his spouse *Aurelia Faustina*, together with all their children: *Valerius Decibalus, Valeria Seiciper, Valerius Mamutzis, Valeria Matidia* and *Valeria Macaria*<sup>1309</sup>. The first two names are of Dacian-Moesian origin. The inscription dates most likely in the first half of the 3rd C.

*Valerius Valens, miles legionis XI Claudiae*, appears on a funerary stela discovered at Slava Rusă (Ibida); aged 23, he died after 3 years of military service<sup>1310</sup>. The inscription proves the presence of a vexillation of legion XI Claudia also in the central-north area of Dobrudja, subsequent the transfer of legion V Macedonica at Potaissa, in Dacia<sup>1311</sup>.

...[*Sa*]binus, mil(es) [*leg(ionis) XI Cl(audiae)*] erected a tombstone to his homonym son at Chersonesus, where he was part of the vexillation defending the city. His activity most likely dates by the end of the 2nd C<sup>1312</sup>.

### 3.9. *Veterani*

*C. Aemilius Viator* appears on the inscription discovered at Odessus, probably already as veteran of legion XI Claudia. He erected a funerary stela to his spouse *Valentina Valentis filia*, who died at the age of 20. It dates from the second half of the 2nd C, possibly the third quarter, according to the dating proposed by S. Conrad<sup>1313</sup>.

*C. Antonius Herculanus, veteranus, ex custode armorum legionis XI Claudiae*, appears on two inscriptions<sup>1314</sup>, discovered close to the fortress at Durostorum, making dedications to

<sup>1306</sup> CIL III 404: *C. Iulius Crescens / mil(es) leg(ionis) XI Cl(audiae) vixit annos XXXV / militavit annis XV. Fl. Castus / frater et primus heres ex / testamento iussus posuit / εὐτυχείτε.*

<sup>1307</sup> M. Zahariade, SCIVA 33, 1982, 1, p. 53–54, links the soldier presence in the area with the legion involvement in the campaign against Pescennius Niger during the civil war. Alas, no argument directly supports such interpretation.

<sup>1308</sup> ISM II 263 = AÉ 1988, 1004. On this cohort see Fl. Matei-Popescu, SCIVA 52–53, 2001–2002, p. 227–229, no. 36, where I erroneously argued that *L. Sextilius Fuscus* was a former centurion of this cohort and not still on active service.

<sup>1309</sup> Gr. Tocilescu, AEM 11, 1887, p. 23, no. 11, reused in the reconstruction of the enclosure at Durostorum: “Ueber der Inschrift soll ein Ornament oder eine Sculptur angebracht gewesen sein; leider wurde der Stein oben und unten abgeschnitten, um als Baustein zu dienen”; CIL III 7477 = IPD<sup>4</sup> 875 = IDRE II 332 (MNA 788).

<sup>1310</sup> A. Aricescu, SCIVA 27, 1976, 4, p. 531–534 (p. 526–527, fig. 3–4); idem, *Armata*, p. 219, SE no. 38 = ISM V 224 = Conrad, *Grabstelen*, p. 188, no. 236.

<sup>1311</sup> A. Aricescu, SCIVA 27, 1976, 4, p. 533; idem, *Pontica* 10, 1977, p. 183–184.

<sup>1312</sup> IOSPE I<sup>2</sup> 552 = Solomonik, *Latinskie nadpisi*, p. 59–60, no. 32.

<sup>1313</sup> M. Mirtchev, *Izvestija Varna* 11, 1960, p. 55–58, no. 11 = BÉ 75, 1962, 180 = AÉ 1969–1970, 574 = IGB I<sup>2</sup> 175 bis = Conrad, *Grabstelen*, p. 136, no. 35: Γ(άιος) Αιμίλιος Βιάτορ καὶ ἡ γυ/νὴ αὐτοῦ Οὐάλεντέϊνα Οὐάλεντος θυγά/τηρ, λεγιῶνος αὐ’ ζήσασα ἔτη κ’. Χαίρε.

<sup>1314</sup> G. P. Georgiev, *Bulletin of the Varna Museum* 10, 1974, p. 95–97 = AÉ 1974, 570 = Ferjančić, *Settlement of Legionary Veterans*, p. 298, no. 425b; G. P. Georgiev, *Bulletin of the Varna Museum* 10, 1974, p. 97–101 = AÉ 1974, 571 = Ferjančić, *Settlement of Legionary Veterans*, p. 298, no. 425a.



several gods together with other veterans (*veterani consistentes huius loci*), certain *vicani* and other soldiers in active service. One of the inscriptions preserves one of the consul pairs of 209 (*Pompeio et Avito consulibus*). The following veterans, legion soldiers in active service and simple inhabitants of respective *vicus*, headed by *Valerius Vilanus, sacerdos* are mentioned on one of the inscriptions: *Iulius Iulianus (veteranus)*, *Aurelius Asclepiades (veteranus)*, *Cocceius Herculanus (veteranus)*, *Valerius Valerianus (veteranus)*, *Cornelius Lycius (veteranus)*, *Bellicius Aelianus (veteranus)*, *Flavius Gaius (cornicularius)*, *Flavius Valerius, [...]V[...] Quintus, Valerius Apollinaris, Cocceius Ae[lianus?], Sempro[nius] ?*, *Valerius Valentinianus, Val(erius)[...]*.

*Aurelius Claudius, veteranus legionis XI Claudiae*, appears on a tombstone erected at Tomis to his memory and possibly to a certain *Certus* (in that part, the text is rather unclear), by one of his *alumni, Hermes*. Evidently the inscription dates from the first half of the 3rd C<sup>1315</sup>.

*Aurelius Fortunatus, veteranus legiorum (!) XI Claudiae*, erected a Christian tombstone to his wife at Aquileia, at the beginning of the 4th C. He was part of the *sacer comitatus* and probably was involved in the expedition of Maximinus in Mauretania, in 298<sup>1316</sup>.

*M. Aurelius Saturninus, veteranus legionis XI Claudiae*, appears on a fragmentary funerary stela discovered following archaeological excavations at Sacidava<sup>1317</sup>. The funerary monument dates in the first half of the 3rd C.

*M. Aurelius Silvanus, veteranus legionis XI Claudiae*, erected a tombstone to the memory of his spouse, *Valeria Marcia*, to her son, *Aurelius Sabinus*, her daughter *Aurelia* and nephew *Silvanus*, as well as to himself, while still alive. The inscription was discovered close to Oescus (Ghighen) and dates most probably in the first half of the 3rd C<sup>1318</sup>.

*Aurelius Verus, miles legionis XI Claudiae p. f. militavit annis XXV* (scil. *veteranus*), *decurio municipii Rideri*, appears on a tombstone discovered not far from Saloniae, between Jesenice and Podstrana, in a church on mountain Perun<sup>1319</sup>. Evidently, the inscription dates from the second half of the 2nd or the first half of the 3rd C.

*Aurelius Victor, [veteranus qui militavit] in legione XI Claudia*, died at the age of 70 at Abrittus (Razgrad)<sup>1320</sup>. The inscription dates in the first half of the 3rd C, evidently after 212. In case the reading *XI Cl(audia) S(everiana) A(lexandriana)* confirms, the inscription dates during the rule of this emperor.

*T. Flavius Rufus, veteranus legionis XI C(laudiae) p(iae) f(idelis), domo Amas(ia)* appears on an inscription discovered at Răhău (place that today belongs to the city of Sebeș, Alba

<sup>1315</sup> ISM II 383. See also I. I. Russu, *StCl* 8, 1966, p. 221–225; Al. Barnea, *Dacia*, N. S. 19, 1975, p. 258–259. Here is the inscription text: *D. M. / et perpetuae securitatis hic [...] / vis... er est semper quem [...] / de (?) querentem questus [a]dque que / [brevis (?)] lectu [Cl]audius nomine / quem [in]flor[entem] posuerunt parentes prenomen Aurel(ius) nomenque / Claudiu[s] habebat, veteranus quidem / leg(ionis) XI Cl(audiae). Certus octiens decies / subito fata rapuerunt tenebris / et li[c]et sine liberos alumnos / heredes remisi et modo post / ob[it]um reddo meae vitis rationem / [n]unc opto ut hic lapes aeternal[m] sedem quiescat et me salvum. / [Pi]us et heres Hermes patrono titulum posuit honorandum sepulcro.*

<sup>1316</sup> *InscrAquil* 2924 = *AÉ* 1987, 430.

<sup>1317</sup> C. Scorpan, *Limes Scythiae. Topographical and Stratigraphical Research on the Late Roman Fortifications on the Lower Danube*, Oxford, 1980 (*BAR Int. Ser.* 88), p. 209–210 = *AÉ* 1998, 1138 = Conrad, *Grabstelen*, p. 204, no. 288.

<sup>1318</sup> Gerov, *Romanizmat*, II, no. 68 = Ferjančić, *Settlement of the Legionary Veterans*, p. 295, no. 410 and p. 88.

<sup>1319</sup> *CIL* III 12815<sup>a</sup> = Ferjančić, *Settlement of Legionary Veterans*, p. 274, no. 267. *Municipium Ridentarum* is mentioned only by Anonymus of Ravenna (5, 14), however other inscriptions recording him were also discovered in the area (*CIL* III 2774, *CIL* III 2026), see *CIL* III, p. 363.

<sup>1320</sup> *AÉ* 1919, 78 = Gerov, *Romanizmat*, II, no. 90 = Ferjančić, *Settlement of Legionary Veterans*, p. 304–305, no. 465.

county)<sup>1321</sup>. Supposedly, he was one of the owners of the *villa rustica* where the inscription was found. Given the soldier's name, descendant of a veteran discharged under Vespasian and the legion name *CPF* acronym, the veteran was obviously part of the first generation of Roman colonists settled in Roman Dacia. The inscription was placed by *Iulia Maxima*, his spouse, whose epitaph was discovered nearby<sup>1322</sup> and by *Flavii Venusta, Maximus* and *Rufinus*, the veteran's offspring.

*Iulius Iulianus, veteranus ex equite legionis XI Claudiae*, appears on an inscription found at Durostorum in the inter-war period and transferred to Călărași in 1940<sup>1323</sup>. It is a funerary stela dated, based on stylistical features, in the third quarter of the 2nd C<sup>1324</sup>. C. C. Petolescu draws attention to an inscription from Tropaeum Traiani, where a *C. Iulius Iulianus* erected, together with his mother and a brother, a funerary stela to the memory of *C. Iulius Valens*, centurion in legion V Macedonica. The author supposes the latter is the individual in this inscription<sup>1325</sup>. Nevertheless, the fact is less likely as, in general, centurion sons usually joined the equestrian rank and legions directly as centurions or if not, they nevertheless passed quickly through various steps to the centurionate. However, this was not the case of our individual.

*Iulius Lucilius, veteranus legionis XI Claudiae p. f.*, appears on an inscription found at Split, which may be dated in the second half of the 2nd C<sup>1326</sup>.

*Iulius Valens, ex signifero legionis XI Claudiae*, erected at Noviodunum a funerary stela to his parents, in fact two couples, probably parents and grandparents<sup>1327</sup>. Thus, are mentioned successively, *P. Aelius Celsus*, also a veteran, however probably of an auxiliary troop, wherefrom he was discharged under Hadrian or a descendant of a veteran discharged under this emperor, and his spouse *Flavia Alexandria*. Additionally, *P. Alexander*, probably the son of the above couple and his spouse *Iulia Ianuaria*, possibly mother of this veteran. Interestingly, he is affiliated to his mother family and not to the father's family. On both internal basis and stylistical criteria, the stela may be dated in the first half of the 3rd C.

*...Firmus, veteranus legionis XI Claudiae*, erected a funerary stela to the memory of a certain *P. Aelius [...]*; discovered at Reselec (Vraca region)<sup>1328</sup>. Most likely, the inscription dates in the second half of the 2nd or the beginning of the 3rd C.

*Ignotus, (Aurelius Sabinus ?) [ex imm]une? veteranus legiones XI Claudie pia fidelis*, appears on a tombstone erected by *Aurelius Sabinus* son<sup>1329</sup>. The mention of epithet *pia fidelis* could date the inscription in the 2nd C, nonetheless not in the 3rd C, as supposed by Aricescu and even less likely by its end, as suggested by I. Stoian. The Genitive *legiones*, as well as forms *Claudie*, *immune* and especially *pia fidelis* are worth mentioning.

<sup>1321</sup> CIL III 971 = AÉ 1944, 44 = IDR III/4 8; M. P. Speidel, ANRW VII/2, 1980, p. 742. For a general presentation of the finds from the villa rustica at Răhău see N. Gudea, *Așezări rurale în Dacia romană (106–275 p. Chr.)*. *Schiță pentru o istorie a agriculturii și satului daco-roman*, Oradea, 2008, p. 120, no. 10.

<sup>1322</sup> IDR III/4 9.

<sup>1323</sup> The first edition dates from 1925, P. Papahagi, in Dunărea. *Revistă științifică-literară*, II, Silistra, p. 89–90. The text is overtaken in the novel issue of C. C. Petolescu, in *Prinos lui Petre Diaconu la 80 de ani*, Brăila-Călărași, 2004, p. 237–246 (p. 244–245).

<sup>1324</sup> Conrad, *Grabstelen*, p. 207, no. 301 = Petolescu, *op. cit.*, p. 237–246 = AÉ 2004, 1268; see also S. Conrad, D. Stančev, *ArchBulg* 3, 1999, p. 61–63.

<sup>1325</sup> CIL III 14214<sup>10</sup>; Petolescu, *op. cit.*, p. 239–240.

<sup>1326</sup> ILJug 2096 = Ferjančić, *Settlement of Legionary Veterans*, p. 274, no. 266.

<sup>1327</sup> AÉ 1956, 213 = ISM V 276 = Conrad, *Grabstelen*, p. 184, no. 223.

<sup>1328</sup> B. Gerov, *Epigraphica* 38, 1976, p. 65, no. 7 = AÉ 1976, 613.

<sup>1329</sup> CIL III 7554 = Aricescu, *Armata*, p. 220, no. 44 (p. 204–205) = ISM II 374 (MNA L 223).

### 3.10. Auxiliary personnel

*Q. Samacius Serenus, architectus salariarius legionis XI Claudiae*, appears on a Mithraic relief found probably at Durostorum. The *nomen Samacius* is of Italian origin<sup>1330</sup>. *Architecti legionis*, beside other professions, like *interpretes legionis*, were not proper members of the legion, instead were part of the salaried auxiliary staff.

### 3.11. Unknown rank

A member of the legion, most probably a veteran, raised an inscription to *Iupiter Optimus Maximus Dolichenus*, discovered at Novae, for the good health of an unknown emperor ([...]*Jus leg(ionis) XI C[l(audia)]*)<sup>1331</sup>.

## 4. STAMPS OF XI CLAUDIA LEGION

In a first phase, V. Culică approached the typology of legion XI Claudia stamps. He edited, in a first article, the tile material discovered on the Romanian bank of the Danube, in front of Ostrov<sup>1332</sup>, place that in Antiquity belonged to the territory of the fortress at Durostorum. The same author attempted a first systemisation of the material within an article published in 1978, wherein, beside the issue of a new set of tile material, also proposed a typological sketch<sup>1333</sup>. Thus, the author identified 10 stamp types<sup>1334</sup>:

1.	LE XI	Durostorum
2.	LE XI CL	Durostorum
3.	LEG XI	Durostorum
4.	LEG XI C	Durostorum
5.	LEG XI CPF	Durostorum; Pannonia; Oescus; Drajna de Sus; Târșorul Vechi; Pietroasele
6.	LEG XI CL	Durostorum
7.	LEG XI CL PF	Durostorum
8.	LEG XI FIG KAS	Durostorum (4th C?, by analogy with FIG TRA MA and FIG CAN)
9.	LEG XI CL ANT	Durostorum; Pietroasele
10.	LEGIONIS XI	Durostorum

However, V. Culică studies are in fact a systematic publication of the tile material discovered in the territory of the fortress at Durostorum. The first and single typology of legion XI Claudia stamps belongs to Cr. Mușețeanu, M. Zahariade and D. Elefterescu<sup>1335</sup>. In 1979, they proposed the following typology<sup>1336</sup>:

<sup>1330</sup> I. I. Russu, AISC 2, 1933–1935, p. 213–214, no. 3 = AÉ 1936, 12 = CIMRM II, p. 367, no. 2313–2314 (Dionysopolis). Russu believes it was discovered most likely at Durostorum. On *salararii* see Wesch-Klein, *Soziale Aspekte*, p. 43. See additionally the two inscriptions from Brigetio, Pannonia Inferior, recording *M. Ulpius Celerinus, salariarius legionis I Adiutricis p. f., interpres* (sic!) *Dacorum*, IDRE II 272–273; G. Stoian, SCIVA 58, 2007, 1–2, p. 168–169.

<sup>1331</sup> V. Božilova, Al. Fol et al. (eds.), *Studia in memoriam Velizari Velkov Univ. Prof. D. Dr. Collegae et discipuli dedicaverunt*, Thracia 13, Sofia, 2000, p. 41–42 = AÉ 2001, 1733 (= ILB 297 = ILN 15).

<sup>1332</sup> V. Culică, Pontica 3, 1970, p. 365–377 (49 items).

<sup>1333</sup> Idem, Dacia, N. S. 22, 1978, p. 225–237.

<sup>1334</sup> *Ibidem*, p. 228–231.

<sup>1335</sup> C. Mușețeanu, M. Zahariade, D. Elefterescu, SMMIM 12, 1979, p. 164–185 and SMMIM 13, 1980, p. 85–105 (epigraphic catalogue).

<sup>1336</sup> *Iidem*, SMMIM 12, 1979, p. 165–173.

A	LEG XI C P F	Germania Superior; Pannonia Superior (different variants); Moesia Inferior (Durostorum, Oescus, Novae, Sexaginta Prista, Madara); Muntenia (Drajna de Sus, Târgșorul vechi, Pietroasele, Voinești); Oltenia (Romula); this type is in used until Hadrian.	A. 1: vertical letters without ligature, <i>tabula ansata</i> . A. 2: retrograde stamp, comprises ligations, simple, rectangular cartouche.
B	LEG XI CLPF	At Durostorum were identified two stamps. Moesia Inferior (Tegulicium, Sexaginta Prista); Hadrian – mid 2nd C and first part of the second half.	B. 1: rectangular cartouche with concave ends, thin letters, retrograde stamp. B. 2: PF in ligature and always <i>tabula ansata</i> . B. 3: LEG in ligation, vertical letters and rectangular cartouche with rounded corners. B. 4: special letters type, thin; <i>tabula ansata</i> , retrograde stamp.
C	LEG XI CL	Durostorum, Gura Canliei, Cuza Vodă, Charax, Chersonesus. The type generalises in the second half of the 2nd C. The large number of variants suggests the long chronological persistence of the type also in the 3rd C.	8 variants, different from letter spelling point of view and cartouche type (pl. III, 1–15; pl. IV, 1–15).
D	LEGIONIS XI CL	Form <i>LEGIONIS</i> seldom appears on the stamps of other legions. Definite dating elements are missing, however the lack of CP pleads for a dating in the second half of the 2nd C (possibly contemporary with type C, however shortlived, only 6 items are known). Durostorum and Sexaginta Prista. All stamps appear retrograde.	D. 1: irregular letters, of variable sizes with ligations, simple cartouche. D. 2: double cartouche.
E	LEG XI / FIG KAS	The type appears only at Durostorum, the tile being produced in the legion fortress. The stamp is applied only on 4–6 cm thick bricks, uniform from the fabric composition standpoint. Possibly after mid 2nd C.	E. 1 and E. 2 different by normal or reverse location of numeral XI; without ligations, always simple cartouche, rectangular and rounded by the ends.
F	LEG XI CL F TRAM	Dated by the end of the 3rd – beginning of the 4th C. Present at Durostorum, Tegulicium, Candidiana, Popina.	Single variant: short, thick letters with many ligations; simple, rectangular cartouche.
G	LEG XI CL F CAND		
H	LE XI CL	Durostorum, Charax; contexts datable by the end of the 2nd – beginning of the 3rd C.	Retrograde, simple, rectangular cartouche, thick letters. The stamp from Charax has thin letters, the cartouche has concave ends, possible variant.



I	LEG XI CL ANT	Durostorum, Pietroasele; Caracalla	I. 1: tall, vertical and thin letters with ligations, <i>tabula ansata</i> with concave small wings.
			I. 2: small, thick letters, with many ligations; simple, rectangular cartouche.
J	LEG XI C	Durostorum	Single variant, simple, rectangular cartouche.
K	LEG XI	The type cannot be framed chronologically with precision. It appears at Durostorum and Sexaginta Prista.	K. 1: retrograde stamp, short letters with ligations, simple, rectangular cartouche with rounded corners.
			K. 2: large, thick letters; same cartouche type.
			K. 3: cartouche with <i>tabula ansata</i> with frame, thin letters, irregular spelling.
L	LE XI	Durostorum. All exemplars exhibit a round incision on the left side of X, due most likely to the stamp.	A single variant: small letters, thick, vertical, simple, rectangular cartouche.

The tile material of legion XI Claudia pia fidelis may be divided into 12 types that may be chronologically framed in the 2nd and 4th C. Type A, LEG XI CPF, is mostly spread, being identified in Germania Superior, Pannonia Superior, Moesia Inferior and the fortifications that Trajan built north the Danube in Muntenia (Drajna de Sus, Târgșorul Vechi, Voinești and Pietroasele). Type I, LEG XI CL ANT, emerges also at Pietroasele and is related to military events north the Black Sea and possibly, according to C. C. Petolescu<sup>1337</sup>, even to the construction of the Transalutanus limes.

<sup>1337</sup> C. C. Petolescu, Argeșis. Studii și comunicări. Seria Istorie 14, 2005, p. 271–278.



## IV

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### AVXILIA

#### 1. ALAE

##### 1. *Ala I Asturum*<sup>1338</sup>

The unit was raised from the inhabitants around the city of Asturica Augusta of Hispania<sup>1339</sup>. It is recorded in Moesia as early as under Vespasian, evidenced by a tombstone discovered at Tomis<sup>1340</sup>. Another tombstone found at Chalons-sur-Saône (Cavillonum, the province of Gallia Lugdunensis) mentions a horseman of the unit: *Albanus Excingi f. natione Ubius*<sup>1341</sup>. Moreover, an inscription from Cologne reminds a certain *Victor, eques alae I Astur(um)*, who had served in Moesia (*militat in Mysia*)<sup>1342</sup>. It is possible that the unit was stationed for a while in Germania Inferior, perhaps even in a fort close to Cologne, wherefrom it was transferred by Vespasian in the territory of Moesia during the civil wars aftermath, as proven by the origin of an *eques, Primus Marci f., Ubius*, discharged on August 14, 99<sup>1343</sup>. Also, the unit is directly attested in Germania by an inscription discovered at Vatican, in fact a dedication of the unit

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<sup>1338</sup> Cichorius, *Ala*, col. 1230–1231; Christescu, *Ist. militară*, p. 178; Wagner, *Dislokation*, p. 10–11; Kraft, *Rekrutierung*, p. 141 (no. 140–143); V. Gerasimova, *ArheologijaSofia* 12, 1970, 4, p. 22; I. I. Russu, *SCIV* 23, 1972, 2, p. 65; Roldan Hervas, *Ejercito*, p. 103–104; Aricescu, *Armata*, p. 50–51; Tudor, *OR*<sup>4</sup>, p. 338; Beneš, *Auxilia*, p. 6; N. Gudea, M. Zahariade, *Archivo español de arqueologia* 53, 1980, p. 62, no. 1; Vlădescu, *Armata*, p. 38; Suceveanu, *Dobroudja*, p. 63; Spaul, *Ala*<sup>2</sup>, p. 37–38; Petolescu, *Auxilia*, p. 62–63; Fl. Matei-Popescu, *SCIVA* 52–53, 2001–2002 (2004), p. 175–176, no. 1; O. Țentea, Fl. Matei-Popescu, *ActaMN* 39–40, 2002–2003 (2004), p. 261–262; R. Petrovszky, *Mitteilungen des historischen Vereins der Pfalz* 102, 2004, p. 19–20, no. 2.

<sup>1339</sup> Wagner, *Dislokation*, p. 10. A very early inscription could be the one discovered at Pedraza-Segovia (within *conventus Cluniensis*) mentioning a name [---]n[.]nius Natalis, *decurio alae Asturum* and no number (AÉ 1997, 893). See M. Millett, *Oxford Journal of Archaeology* 20, 2001, 2, p. 166–168 on recruitment fashion in the area. At least three *alae Asturum* are known, Holder, *Auxilia*, p. 265–266. It is worth mentioning that at the beginning, *ala Asturum* was recorded without numeral, the other two being rendered as *ala Asturum III/III*.

<sup>1340</sup> V. Pârvan, *ArchAnz* 1914, p. 437–438 = ISM II 172.

<sup>1341</sup> CIL XIII 2613 = ILS 2509; Holder, *Auxilia*, p. 265, no. 121; idem, in Z. Visy (ed.), *Limes XIX. Proceedings of the XIX<sup>th</sup> International Congress of Roman Frontier Studies, Pécs, Hungary, September 2003*, University of Pécs, 2005, p. 79.

<sup>1342</sup> Fr. Vittinghof, in *Atti dei Convegni dei Lincei* 23. *Convegno Internazionale Renania Romana (Roma April 14–16 1975)*, Rome, 1976, p. 78–79; B. Galsterer, H. Galsterer, *KölnerJahrb* 20, 1987, p. 92 no. 13 = AÉ 1990, 732; D. Bălțeanu, *AO* 14, 1999, p. 44, no. 3.

<sup>1343</sup> RGZM, no. 8.

prefect to *P. Cornelius P. f. Scipio* [...], probably former imperial legate to the Rhine limes under Tiberius<sup>1344</sup>. In the Claudian-Neronian period the unit was commanded by *L. Baebius L. f. Gal. Iuncinus*, recorded by an inscription found at Messana, Sicily<sup>1345</sup>. The unit seems to appear on the military diploma of 82/83 for Moesia, ranking first among *alae: equitibus [et peditibus qui militant in alis sex] / et cohortibus [septem? quae appellantur I Astu]rum et[...]*<sup>1346</sup>.

Consequent the administrative reform of Domitian, *ala I Asturum* remained in the eastern part of the province, in the new administrative unit, Moesia Inferior. Here it is firstly attested in 99 by the imperial constitution of August 14 and by two military diplomas, both granted to horsemen in the unit<sup>1347</sup>. Additionally, it appears on the constitution of May 13, 105, recorded by two diplomas, one identified at Sexaginta Prista (currently with the Museum of Speyer) and the other, found by Lower Danube<sup>1348</sup>, granted to a troop horseman.

It was involved in the Dacian war and remained quartered in the new territory<sup>1349</sup>, while subsequent the administrative reforms of Hadrian, it was displaced in the new province of Dacia Inferior<sup>1350</sup>, having its garrison at Hoghiz<sup>1351</sup>. An *AL·F·AL·AS* type stamp discovered at Boroşneul Mare<sup>1352</sup> was completed by I. Piso as *al(a) F(lavia) al(a) As(turum)*<sup>1353</sup>. The first unit, one *ala Flavia* would be identical with *ala I Flavia Gaetulorum* from Moesia Inferior (*vide infra*), while the second would be *ala I Asturum*, recorded, as mentioned, at Hoghiz.

Three troop commanders are known from the period when it was stationed in Moesia Inferior: *Ti. Iulius Ti. f. Pup. Agricola*, listed within the imperial constitution of August 14, 99<sup>1354</sup>, *P. Prifernius Paetus Memmius Apollinaris*, decorated in the first Dacian expedition of emperor Trajan<sup>1355</sup> and *L. Seius L. f. Tro. Avitus*, the commander attested by the imperial constitution of May 13, 105<sup>1356</sup>.

<sup>1344</sup> M. Castelli, MEFRA 104, 1992, 1, p. 195 (p. 178, fig. 1) = AÉ 1992, 186. See complete discussion on the identification of this unit at p. 181–183, without clear mention of the unit identity on the inscription with the one recorded in the territory of Moesia and then Moesia Inferior. See also D. B. Saddington's comment, ZPE 104, 1994, p. 73–77, especially p. 74. The character honoured by this inscription could have been one of Germanicus legates of 14–16, according to Saddington (p. 75–77).

<sup>1345</sup> CIL X 6976 = ILS 1434: *praef. fabr., praef. coh. IIII Raetorum, trib. mil. leg. XXII Deiotariana, praef. alae Astyrum, praef. vehiculorum, iuridicus Aegypti*; Pflaum, *Carrières*, no. 121; PME, B 10–11; PME, VI, p. 2; Holder, *Auxilia*, p. 248, no. E 64.

<sup>1346</sup> P. Weiss, Chiron 38, 2008, p. 275–279, no. 3.

<sup>1347</sup> CIL XVI 45; RGZM, no. 8.

<sup>1348</sup> R. Petrovsky, Mitteilungen des historischen Vereins der Pfalz 102, 2004, p. 10–17; RGZM, no. 11.

<sup>1349</sup> Rossi, *Trajan's Column*, p. 94; Strobel, *Dakerkriege*, p. 106; Fl. Matei-Popescu, O. Ţentea, in *Dacia Augusti Provincia*, p. 80.

<sup>1350</sup> Appears in the military diplomas of 125–126 (M. Ilkić, *Vjesnik za Arheologiju i Povijest Dalmatinsku* 102, 2009, p. 59–73); 130 (P. Weiß, ZPE 117, 1997, p. 243–246, no. 8 = AÉ 1997, 1764 = RMD V 376); 140 (IDR I 13 = RMD 39); 146 (RMD IV 269) 150 (W. Eck, A. Pangerl, *ActaMN* 43–44/I, 2006–2007 (2008), p. 192–193, no. 3); Petolescu, *Auxilia*, p. 63. For the administrative reform, see idem, *Dacia*, N. S. 29, 1985, p. 50–55.

<sup>1351</sup> Christescu, *loc. cit.*; I. I. Russu, *SCIV* 23, 1972, 2, p. 63; M. Zahariade, *SCIVA* 27, 1976, 4, p. 485; Vlădescu, *Armata*, p. 38; idem, *Fortificațiile*, p. 81–82; TIR L 35, p. 46; Bogdan-Cătănciu, *Muntenia*, p. 76; Petolescu, *loc. cit.*

<sup>1352</sup> IDR III/4, 328.

<sup>1353</sup> I. Piso, *ActaMN* 36/I, 1999, p. 83, fig.2–3 = AÉ 1999, 1287.

<sup>1354</sup> CIL XVI 45; RGZM, no. 8; PME, I 14; PME, VI, p. 2.

<sup>1355</sup> CIL IX 4753 = 1350 = IPD<sup>4</sup> 7960 = 432 = IDRE I 112; Christescu, *Ist. militară*, p. 214; Pflaum, *Carrières*, p. 166–167, no. 71; Strobel, *loc. cit.*; PME, P 107; PME, VI, p. 2; Petolescu, *loc. cit.*

<sup>1356</sup> RGZM, no. 11.



An inscription discovered at Ariminum notes a troop *decurio*, *C. Valerius Saturninus*, recruited according to P. Holder<sup>1357</sup>, during the Domitian/Trajanic period.

One inscription from Novae preserves the name of *Ti. Bassus*, former decurion or perhaps simple veteran, should we agree with the *Dec(imus)* reading of the second line, who retired somewhere around the fortress of legion I Italica<sup>1358</sup>. *Ti. Claudius Arrenti f. Saturninus*, former *duplicarius* retired at Tomis probably in the second part of the 1st C<sup>1359</sup>. The fact is not however indicative of the troop possible stationing in the Pontic city<sup>1360</sup>.

A former troop horseman, *Meticus*, son of *Sola*, of Thracian origin<sup>1361</sup> is mentioned within the already quoted diploma. In addition, another diploma, copy of the same imperial constitution, lists *Primus Marci f., Ubius*<sup>1362</sup>, thus furthermore confirming that the *ala* was dislocated from Germania Inferior to Moesia Inferior. One copy of the imperial constitution of May 13, 105 was granted to *Urbanus Ateionis f. Trevirus*, married to *Crispina Eptacenti fil.* and having four children<sup>1363</sup>. It is interesting that upon the patronymic, his spouse was of Thracian origin, which proves they got married while he was already serving in this unit. Moreover, it is worth mentioning that after the troop was dislocated north the Danube, recruitment from Thracian milieu continued, around 200 being attested at Serdica *M. Aurelius Teres veteranus ex ala prima Astrorum (sic), natione Bessus*<sup>1364</sup>.

Unfortunately, we have no current information on the possible location of the troop fort in Moesia Inferior<sup>1365</sup>.

## 2. *Ala I Vespasiana Dardanorum*<sup>1366</sup>

Supposedly, it was formed under Vespasian and sent probably immediately afterwards to the Lower Danube<sup>1367</sup>. Then, it was recorded for the first time on the territory of Moesia by a diploma fragment of 75 or 78<sup>1368</sup>. Interestingly, during Vespasian's reign, Moesian *alae* and

<sup>1357</sup> CIL XI 393; Holder, *Auxilia*, p. 265, no. 124.

<sup>1358</sup> ILB 305 = ILN 56 = IGLN 78 = Conrad, *Grabstelen*, p. 231, no. 389. I believe that the reading *decurio veteranus* is preferable in this case. For *decurio alae*, see Domaszewski, RO<sup>2</sup>, p. 53 (p. XVI); D. Breeze, BJ 174, 1974, p. 283.

<sup>1359</sup> V. Pârvan, ArchAnz 1914, p. 437–438 = ISM II 172 = Conrad, *Grabstelen*, p. 159–160, no. 129; Aricescu, *Armata*, p. 50; Holder, *Auxilia*, p. 265, no. 122. For dating the stela see G. Bordenache, Dacia, N. S. 9, 1965, p. 259–260. The stela is part of group X, according to the typology proposed by M. Alexandrescu-Vianu, Dacia, N. S. 17, 1973, p. 221; p. 225 (no. 106) or type B 3, variant 1, according to the typology proposed by Conrad, *Grabstelen*, p. 159. See also M. Alexandrescu-Vianu, Dacia, N. S. 29, p. 63; p. 71–72 and Conrad, *Grabstelen*, p. 160 (“Eine Datierung in flavische Zeit dürfte aufgrund des männlichen Porträts und der Angabe der *tribus Quirina* sowie unter Beachtung des Lebensalters gesichert sein”).

<sup>1360</sup> Aricescu, *Armata*, p. 51; Kraft, *Rekrutierung*, p. 141, no. 141; D. Bălteanu, AO 14, 1999, p. 43–44, no. 2.

<sup>1361</sup> CIL XVI 45; Kraft, *Rekrutierung*, p. 141, no. 142; I. I. Russu, *Limba traco-dacilor*<sup>2</sup>, Bucharest, 1967, p. 123; Holder, *Auxilia*, p. 265, no. 123; D. Bălteanu, AO 14, 1999, p. 41–43, no. 1.

<sup>1362</sup> RGZM, no. 8.

<sup>1363</sup> RGZM, no. 11.

<sup>1364</sup> IDRE II 353; Kraft, *Rekrutierung*, p. 141, no. 143 and p. 52–54, for a discussion on recruitment among the auxiliaries from Dacia during the 2nd C.

<sup>1365</sup> Beneš, *Auxilia*, p. 6.

<sup>1366</sup> Cichorius, *Ala*, col. 1240; Wagner, *Dislokation*, p. 33–34; Kraft, *Rekrutierung*, p. 146–147, no. 260–262; Aricescu, *Armata*, p. 51; Beneš, *Auxilia*, p. 8; Suceveanu, *Dobroudja*, p. 63; Spaul, *Ala*<sup>2</sup>, p. 102–103; C. C. Petolescu, A. T. Popescu, in *Studia Historica et Theologica*, p. 80–81; Fl. Matei-Popescu, SCIVA 52–53, 2001–2002 (2004), p. 177–178, no. 2; O. Țentea, Fl. Matei-Popescu, ActaMN 39–40, 2002–2003(2004), p. 265.

<sup>1367</sup> Wagner, *Dislokation*, p. 33; M. M. Roxan, ZPE 118, 1997, p. 293.

<sup>1368</sup> RMD IV 209: [et I] *Vespasia[na Dardanorum]*.

*cohortes* were registered on different constitutions<sup>1369</sup>. The unit is also attested by a diploma fragment for the province of Moesia, dated March 82/March 83<sup>1370</sup>.

In Moesia Inferior it appears for the first time listed within the diploma from Cataloi of 92<sup>1371</sup>. Since the diploma was granted for 25 and probably even more years of service, elements recruited no later than 67 were discharged. Two options become apparent: either some of the discharged soldiers on this occasion had been in service with other troops prior its formation; or, more likely, the troop was earlier established, receiving the surname *Vespasiana*, as during the civil war of 68–69 it promptly came over to the emperor proclaimed in the East<sup>1372</sup>. Once the civil war was over, the surname become name. Lately, the latter seems to gain ground owing to the troop's listing in the constitution under Vespasian. At the same time, we should not ignore that *centuriones*, *decuriones*, *principales* and even simple soldiers were transferred from other troops within all newly raised troops, as the passage from Tacitus on the adventures of *Usiporum* cohort clearly states<sup>1373</sup>.

The *ala* name was also completed on the military diploma of 97<sup>1374</sup>. The troop appears again in the diplomas for this province in 99, 105, 113, 114 (112–114), 118–119, 120, 127, 134, 135, 138, 145, 146, 157<sup>1375</sup>, recorded thus as active in this province during the entire 2nd C. The diploma of 156 proves that the entire unit or probably only certain vexillations were dislocated to Mauretania Tingitana, together with horsemen from *ala IGallorum Aetectorigiana*<sup>1376</sup>.

It was involved in Trajan's Dacian expeditions<sup>1377</sup>, but returned to Moesia Inferior, being garrisoned at Arrubium (Măcin)<sup>1378</sup>. It was quartered there at least until the end of the 3rd C, being recorded by inscriptions<sup>1379</sup>. Last certain record from Moesia Inferior dates from

<sup>1369</sup> RMD IV, p. 407, note 9.

<sup>1370</sup> P. Weiss, Chiron 38, 2008, p. 275–279, no. 3.

<sup>1371</sup> C. C. Petolescu, A. T. Popescu, ZPE 148, 2004, p. 269–276 (June 14, 92). This military diploma if of Alföldy-Mann II type; G. Alföldy, Historia 17, 1968, p. 215–227; J. C. Mann, EpigrSt 9, 1972, p. 233–241.

<sup>1372</sup> Among the Dardani, recruitment were made for auxiliaries as early as the 1st C BCE, Saddington, *Development*, p. 8.

<sup>1373</sup> Tacitus, *Agr.*, 28, 1: *occiso centurione ac militibus, qui ad tradendam disciplinam immixti manipulis exemplum at rectores habebantur*. See P. Holder's view in Z. Visy (ed.), *Limes XIX. Proceedings of the XIX<sup>th</sup> International Congress of Roman Frontier Studies held in Pécs, Hungary, September, 2003*, University of Pécs, 2005, p. 81: "This *ala I Vespasiana Dardanorum* is likely to have been a new creation of Vespasian because of its name and so those who had served 25 years or more at this time would have been transferred to the unit".

<sup>1374</sup> D. MacDonald, A. Mihaylovich, ZPE 138, 2002, p. 225–228 = AÉ 2002, 1775 = RMD V 337.

<sup>1375</sup> August 14, 99 (diploma of Plovdiv, CIL XVI 45); May 13, 105 (diploma discovered in Hungary, CIL XVI 50); 113 (P. Weiss, Chiron 38, 2008, p. 293–296, no. 9); 112–114 (diploma of Tropaeum Traiani, CIL XVI 58); 118–119 (W. Eck, P. Weiß, Chiron 32, 2002, p. 453–457, no. 2 = AÉ 2002, 1763 = RMD V 349); October 19, 120 (W. Eck, A. Pangerl, Chiron 39, 2009, p. 533–537, no. 9); August 20, 127 (M. M. Roxan, ZPE 118, 1997, p. 287–295 = AÉ 1997, 1780 = RMD IV 241); April 2, 134 (diploma of Giurgiu, CIL XVI 78); 135 (W. Eck, A. Pangerl, Chiron 39, 2009, p. 541–542, no. 12); February 28, 138 (diploma of Târnovo, CIL XVI 83); April 7, 145 (RMD III 165 + P. Weiß, ZPE 134, 2001, p. 261–262 = RMD V 399; P. Weiss, Chiron 38, 2008, p. 314–316, no. 16); 146 (P. Weiß, ZPE 124, 1999, p. 279–286 = AÉ 1999, 1359 = RMD IV 270); in addition, on another military diploma fragment which, most likely, belongs to the same imperial constitution (C. C. Petolescu, A. T. Popescu, *Dacia*, N. S. 51, 2007, p. 149–151, no. 2); 157, diploma of Brestovene (RMD I 50).

<sup>1376</sup> C. Chiriac, L. Mihailescu-Birliba, I. Matei, in S. Conrad et al. (eds.), *Pontos Euxeinus. Beiträge zur Archäologie und Geschichte des antiken Schwarzmeer- und Balkansraumes*, Langenweißbach, 2006, p. 383–389.

<sup>1377</sup> Rossi, *Trajan's Column*, p. 94; Strobel, *Dakerkriege*, p. 110–111; Fl. Matei-Popescu, O. Țentea, in *Dacia Augusti Provincia*, p. 81.

<sup>1378</sup> CIL III 7512 = ISM V 251; ISM V 218; Wagner, *Dislokation*, p. 33; Aricescu, *Armata*, p. 51; Beneš, *Auxilia*, p. 8; TIR L 35, p. 24; Zahariade, Gudea, *Fortifications*, p. 80; N. Gudea, JRGZM 52, 2005, p. 453 (III. 46).

<sup>1379</sup> ISM V 218, wherein the *ala* bears the name *Antoniniana*, granted most probably by Caracalla.

241<sup>1380</sup>. Probably a vexillation was present at Histria due to the barbarian attacks around 170. As I attempted to prove recently, the name of a troop component is preserved on a marble plate fragment discovered following excavations in the Roman baths area (*Thermae II*)<sup>1381</sup>.

Among the commanders who accomplished a third equestrian militia with the troop, I mention firstly *C. Mulvius C. f. Pomptina tribu Ofillius Restitutus*, from an inscription at Grumentum, Italy, during the Flavian period<sup>1382</sup>; *T. Flavius Apollinaris*, from one inscription at Măcin, dated in the 2nd C<sup>1383</sup>. During the Dacian war, probably the second expedition, the troop was led by *P. Besius P. f. Quirina tribu Betuinianus C. Marius Memmius Sabinus*<sup>1384</sup>. In 118–119, it was commanded by a certain *P. Baebius P.[f. ...]*, attested by a diploma fragment<sup>1385</sup>.

Under Antoninus Pius, one Greek inscription from Attaleia, in Pamphylia, mentions the name of a former troop prefect, specifically *Creperius*<sup>1386</sup>. An inscription from Acholla (Botria) in Africa Proconsularis<sup>1387</sup> mentions an unknown individual, but who was however *praefectus alae I Vespasianae Dardanorum*, active sometime in the 2nd C, however without certain date. Another unknown commander of the unit is possible attested by an inscription discovered at Noreia (Wildbad Einod, Noricum)<sup>1388</sup>.

Among the soldiers who served in this cavalry troop we should mention firstly *M. Antistius Caecina, eques alae I Dardanorum Antoniniana* noted within the inscription from Cerna<sup>1389</sup>. At Troesmis, *M. Ulpius Marcianus, veteranus* and probably former *summus curator* (or *singularis consularis*) of *ala I Dardanorum*<sup>1390</sup> is mentioned. Within an inscription discovered at Casimcea appears a veteran, whose name preserved only the *cognomen*, *Victor*. He might have served within this troop, should the editor's proposed completion proves accurate<sup>1391</sup>. Ultimately, the

<sup>1380</sup> CIL VI 31164 = ILS 2189, within an inscription from Rome, wherein appear 14 soldiers, placing a dedication to *Sabadius*.

<sup>1381</sup> Fl. Matei-Popescu, SCIVA 54–56, 2003–2005, p. 308–310, no. 2. The inscription had been published by Al. Suceveanu, *Histria VI. Les thermes romaines*, Bucharest, 1982, p. 131–132.

<sup>1382</sup> A. Donati, *Epigraphica* 33, 1971, p. 70–74 = AÉ 1972, 148, regio III; PME, M 71; PME, VI, p. 11.

<sup>1383</sup> Gr. Tocilescu, *AEM* 6, 1882, p. 39, no. 81: “der Stein wurde schon vor mehr als 15 Jahren mit anderen Steinen ohne Inschrift aus den Ruinen der Festung Arrubium in der Nähe von Matschin dahin gebracht”; CIL III 7512 = ISM V 251 (MNA L 1053); PME, F 41; PME, VI, p. 11.

<sup>1384</sup> CIL VIII 9990 = ILS 1352 = IPD<sup>4</sup> 796 = IDRE II 468; PIR I<sup>2</sup>, p. 364, no. 112; T. Nagy, *ActaAntHung* 16, 1968, p. 289–295; J. Fitz, *Klio* 52, 1970, p. 99–106; Pflaum, *Carrières*, p. 108–169, no. 73; PME, B 21; PME, VI, p. 11; Maxfield, *Military Decorations*, p. 173–176; Fl. Matei-Popescu, O. Țentea, in *Dacia Augusti Provincia*, p. 81.

<sup>1385</sup> W. Eck, P. Weiß, *Chiron* 32, 2002, p. 453–457, no. 2 = AÉ 2002, 1763 = RMD V 349.

<sup>1386</sup> IGR III 777; Pflaum, *Carrières*, p. 347–348, no. 147; PME, C 254; PME, VI, p. 11.

<sup>1387</sup> AÉ 1949, 37; M. G. Jarrett, *EpigrSt* 9, 1972, p. 219 no. 147; PME, Inc. 149. Unfortunately, the inscription is very poorly preserved and we cannot argue for certain that it referenced this troop. Considering that it is the single troop within the Empire bearing this name, we may suppose that this character was *praefectus alae I Vespasianae Dardanorum*.

<sup>1388</sup> CIL III 5044 = CIL III 5049; PME, Inc. 55 bis; PME, VI, p. 12; [*trib.*] *mil. leg. II Adiu[tr(icus)]* (Pannonia inferior) and [*praef. eq. al(ae) I Da[rdan(orum)]*].

<sup>1389</sup> ISM V 218; D. Bălțeanu, *AO* 14, 1999, p. 52, no. 2; Bărbulescu, *Viața rurală*, p. 83. The presence of the imperial surname allows us to date the inscription during Caracalla's reign, Fitz, *Honorific Titles*, p. 61, no. 212a.

<sup>1390</sup> CIL III 7504 = ILS 7184 = ISM V 148; Kraft, *Rekrutierung*, p. 146 no. 261; D. Bălțeanu, *AO* 14, 1999, p. 51–52, no. 1; D. Aparaschivei, *Studia Antiqua et Archaeologica* 9, 2003, p. 332, no. 7. The dating of the inscription is post 169/170, when Troesmis is attested as *municipium*; Suceveanu, *Dobroudja*, p. 49–50; Zahariade, Gudea, *Fortifications*, p. 80. The reading *s(ummus) c(urator)* is preferable to that proposed by Doruțiu-Boilă, ISM V, p. 179: *s(ingularis) c(onsularis)*.

<sup>1391</sup> V. H. Bauman, SCIV 22, 1971, 4, p. 597–598, no. 5 = AÉ 1972, 540 = ISM V 131 = Conrad, *Grabstelen*, p. 181, no. 211: [*... Vic[tor] vet(eranus) ala(e) / Dal[rd(anorum)]*]. See in ISM V, p. 153, doubt expressed by Em. Doruțiu-Boilă regarding this reading.

list of 14 ala soldiers, who became *equites singulares Augusti*, placing a dedication at Rome on August 2, 241, to *Deus Sabadius*<sup>1392</sup>, a divinity of Phrygian origin assimilated to *Iupiter Optimus Maximus*<sup>1393</sup>.

### 3. *Ala I Flavia Gaetulorum*<sup>1394</sup>

It was raised from the *Gaetuli* living in the southern area of Mauretania and Numidia<sup>1395</sup>.

It is present for the first time in the diplomas for Moesia Inferior in 92, diploma discovered at Cataloi<sup>1396</sup>. Alike the already discussed case of *ala I Vespasiana Dardanorum*, this discharge pushes recruitment of the troop to no later than 67–68. As already known, another *ala Gaetulorum*, which is however *veterana*<sup>1397</sup> is recorded in Iudaea in 86, 87 and 90. The same unit was then transferred to Arabia, probably once with the creation of this province, however the earliest record is from 142<sup>1398</sup>. It would remain on the territory of this province until the 3rd C, evidenced by the inscription of *Sedatius Apollonius* discovered at Tomis, stating he was prefect of *ala Gaetulorum* from Arabia<sup>1399</sup>. Probably *ala I Flavia Gaetulorum* was recruited prior the

<sup>1392</sup> CIL VI 31164 = ILS 2189: in the front: *I. O. M. / Deo Sabadio sacrum / Iulius Faustus dec(urio) n(umeri) / eqq(uitum) sing(ularium) d. n. ex votum (sic!) / posuit et conalarium / nomina inseruit / ex ala prima Darda(norum) prov(inciae) Moesiae inf(erioris)*; on the left side: *Fl. Bassus dec(urio) / Fl. Valens dupl(icarius) / Aelius Bonus dupl(icarius) / Aurel(ius) Vitalis ducl(icarius) (sic!) / Iulius Longinus tab(ularius) / Aelius Severus si(n)g(ularis) / Aurelius Victor tur(marius) / Iulius Valentinus / Aurelius Pistus / Aurelius Suidius / Aurelius Mestrius / Aurelius Mucianus / Aurelius Diogenes*; on the right side: *dedicata / IIII non(as) Aug(ustas) / domino n(ostro) Gordiano Aug(usto) / II et Pompeiano co(n)s(ulibus)*; Kraft, *Rekrutierung*, p. 146–147, no. 262; D. Bălțeanu, AO 14, 1999, p. 52–53, no. 3.

<sup>1393</sup> Fr. Cumont, *Les religions orientales dans le paganisme romain*, Paris, 1929<sup>4</sup>, p. 60–62; R. Turcan, *Les cultes orientaux dans le monde romain*, Paris, 1989, p. 313–322. The cult of this god is spread also in Moesia Inferior, as proven for instance by the discovery at Fântânele, Al. Suceveanu, SCIVA 31, 1980, 4, p. 572–579 and fig. 8; idem, *Fântânele. Contribuții la studiul vieții rurale în Dobrogea romană*, Bucharest, 1998, p. 179–182. See also Z. Covacef, Pontica 32–34, 2000–2001, p. 378–379.

<sup>1394</sup> Cichorius, *Ala*, col. 1234; Wagner, *Dislokation*, p. 35; Aricescu, *Armata*, p. 51–52; Beneš, *Auxilia*, p. 8; Al. Suceveanu, *Dobroudja*, p. 63; Ch. Hamdoune, *Les auxilia externa africains des armées romaines. III<sup>e</sup> siècle av. J. –C. – IV<sup>e</sup> siècle ap. J. –C.*, Montpellier, 1991, p. 118; Spaul, *Ala*<sup>2</sup>, p. 124–125; C. C. Petolescu, A. T. Popescu, in *Studia Historica et Theologica*, p. 81–83; Fl. Matei-Popescu, SCIVA 52–53, 2001–2002 (2004), p. 179–183; O. Țentea, Fl. Matei-Popescu, ActaMN 39–40/I, 2002–2003(2004), p. 265–267; R. Petrovsky, Mitteilungen des historischen Vereins der Pfalz 102, 2004, p. 17–19, no. 1.

<sup>1395</sup> H. Dessau, RE VII, 1912, col. 464–465; Wagner, *loc. cit.*; Hamdoune, *op. cit.*, p. 120.

<sup>1396</sup> C. C. Petolescu, A. T. Popescu, ZPE 148, 2004, p. 269–276.

<sup>1397</sup> CIL XVI 33, of May 13, 86; H. M. Cotton, W. Eck, B. Isaac, Israel Museum Studies in Archaeology 2, 2003, p. 17–31 (= RMD V 332), where the 90 diploma is edited and that of 87, mentioned (p. 19, note 13). See another inscription in Greek from under Domitian, discovered at Sagalassos, in the province of Lycia et Pamphylia, recording *M. Iulius Sanctus Maximinus, praefectus alae Gaetulorum* (H. Devijver, in M. Waelkens, J. Problome (eds.), *Sagalassos II. Report on the third excavation campaign of 1992*, Leuven, 1993, p. 108, no. 7 = AÉ 1993, 1561; PIR<sup>2</sup> VII, 2, p. 62–63, S no. 173). See the inscription honouring the primipilar *C. Valerius C. f. Stel. Clemens* by the *decuriones alae Gaetulorum quibus praefuit bello Iudaico sub divo Vespasiano Aug* (CIL V 7007 = ILS 2544; PME, V 8; Dobson, *Primipilares*, no. 90; Holder, *Auxilia*, p. 252, no. E 100). On the history of this troop see P. Weiss, M. P. Speidel, ZPE 150, 2004, p. 257.

<sup>1398</sup> P. Weiss, M. P. Speidel, ZPE 150, 2004, p. 253–264, editing a military diploma fragment for this province and mentioning another diploma of 145, forthcoming (p. 253, note 6). See also M. P. Speidel, ANRW VIII, 1977, p. 705–706 = idem, *Roman Army Studies*, I, Amsterdam, 1984, p. 247–248.

<sup>1399</sup> SEG, 24, 1964, 1064 = AÉ 1974, 579 = ISM II 127 (*vide infra* complete discussion). See also M. P. Speidel, ANRW VIII, 1977, p. 705–706 = idem, *Roman Army Studies*, I, Amsterdam, 1984, p. 247–248, e: “*Sedatius Apollonius*, sojourning in Lower Moesia, apparently had just been appointed prefect to the *ala*, – there is no need to assume the unit itself had come to the Lower Danube”.



beginning of Vespasian's reign, however subsequent the troop mentioned as *veterana*, receiving the imperial gentilicium due to its position during the civil war, once Vespasian acceded to the throne. An inscription from Oescus offers a clue that things might have been as such. Thus, a certain *Magius Ver(us)* or *Vir(unus)* is recorded horseman of *ala G(a)etulorum*, without further mentions<sup>1400</sup>. Thus, it would be possible that the *ala* is recorded prior becoming *Flavia* and being stationed probably at Oescus, together with the cohorts *II Flavia Bessorum* and *IV Gallorum*, in 62–71<sup>1401</sup>.

It is subsequently attested by a diploma of 97<sup>1402</sup>. It was assumed that it could be also completed within the diploma of Salsovia, however the discovery of two diplomas dating from 97 led to the conclusion that this fragment did not probably refer to the province troops<sup>1403</sup>. Next, it is mentioned in the diploma from Plovdiv of 99 and on a *tabella II*, copy of the same constitution (discovered still in Bulgaria, on the territory of the Roman province of Thracia), in the diploma from Speyer (found at Sexaginta Prista) of 105, in the diploma of 107 and from Tropaeum Traiani of 112–114<sup>1404</sup>. In addition, a former horseman of the unit received a diploma, which was fragmentarily discovered, dated from 99/110<sup>1405</sup>. In-between, it participated together with the province troops in Trajan's Dacian expeditions<sup>1406</sup>.

Surprisingly it is recorded subsequently in Pannonia Inferior, in 114<sup>1407</sup> and possibly in 115 (or 113)<sup>1408</sup>. For long it was believed it stationed there until the arrival of Antoninus Pius based on two diplomas where the troop name was thought to be read<sup>1409</sup>. Yet, the discovery of the diploma of 125 invalidated such theory<sup>1410</sup>. Under such circumstances, one may argue that

<sup>1400</sup> Gerov, *Beiträge*, II, p. 72 (p. 190, no. 14) = AÉ 1961, 318 = ILB 57 = Conrad, *Grabstelen*, p. 243, no. 439. Conrad dates this inscription in the first decade of the 2nd C.

<sup>1401</sup> Filow, *Legionen*, p. 20–23; E. Ritterling, RE XII, 1925, col. 1271; col. 1574–1575. In the period 67–69, legion III Gallica, which fought in Italy for Vespasian, was also quartered in this fortress, Filow, *Legionen*, p. 23–25; Ritterling, RE XII, 1925, col. 1521–1523; Sarnowski, *Wojsko rzymskie*, p. 26.

<sup>1402</sup> D. MacDonald, A. Mihaylovich, ZPE 138, 2002, p. 225–228 = AÉ 2002, 1775 = RMD V 337.

<sup>1403</sup> CIL XVI 41; P. Weiß, ZPE 117, 1997, p. 233–238, no. 4 = AÉ 1997, 1774 = RMD V 338; D. MacDonald, A. Mihaylovich, *loc. cit.* = AÉ 2002, 1775 = RMD V 337. From the same year and same province comes the diploma fragment RMD III 140 (dated by B. Lőrincz, Z. Visy, ZPE 63, p. 241–249, in September 97). It is possible that the two diploma fragments were copies of the same imperial constitution. The view that the diploma from Salsovia was not for Moesia Inferior, W. Eck, G. Paci, E. Percossi Serenelli, Picus. Studi e ricerche sulle Marche nell'antichità 23, 2003, p. 80–82, observing that a governor named *Iulius Mar[inus?]* should no longer be looked in 97 in Moesia Inferior. In fact, the individual from this military diploma was hypothetically identified with *Ti. Iulius Candidus (A.) Marius Celsus*. The latter, consul in 86, was attested as legate of the province of Galatia et Cappadocia between 93–94 (R. K. Sherk, *The Legates of Galatia from Augustus to Diocletian*, Baltimore, 1951, p. 52–53; RGZM, p. 18–19, no. 7, a military diploma of 94). In addition, the same authors identify correctly the governor present in these diplomas, i.e.: *Sex. Octavius Fronto* (PIR<sup>2</sup> O 35) and not *Ti. Catius Caesius Fronto* (PIR<sup>2</sup> C 194), as proposed by Lőrincz, Visy, *art. cit.*, p. 248–249 and overtaken by D. MacDonald, A. Mihaylovich, *art. cit.*, p. 226–227. This diploma might make reference to the auxiliaries of Moesia Superior, as proposed in a recently published article, Fl. Matei-Popescu, *EphemNap* 16–17, 2006–2007, p. 31–48 (especially p. 39–43).

<sup>1404</sup> CIL XVI 45; W. Eck, A. Pangerl, *Dacia*, N. S. 50, 2006, p. 97–99, no. 2; R. Petrovszky, *Mitteilungen des historischen Vereins der Pfalz* 102, 2004, p. 10–17; RGZM, no. 14; CIL XVI 58.

<sup>1405</sup> RMD IV 221.

<sup>1406</sup> Strobel, *Dakerkriege*, p. 111.

<sup>1407</sup> CIL XVI 61; RMD 87; 152 = W. Eck, D. MacDonald, A. Pangerl, *Chiron* 32, 2002, p. 403–406, no. 2; CIL VI 3520 = ILS 2731; Lőrincz, *Hilfstruppen*, p. 19; p. 81; p. 158, no. 14–15 and p. 194, no. 121.

<sup>1408</sup> B. Lőrincz, *Specimina Nova* 16, 2000, p. 31–33, no. 1 = RMD V 347.

<sup>1409</sup> CIL XVI 112; 113; Wagner, *loc. cit.*; Aricescu, *Armata*, p. 52.

<sup>1410</sup> M. M. Roxan, W. Eck, ZPE 116, 1997, p. 193–203 (especially p. 196–197) = AÉ 1997, 1772 = RMD IV 235.

the ala was dislocated for a short time span to Pannonia Inferior, more precisely when *ala I Flavia Augusta Britannica milliaria civium Romanorum* partook the Parthian war<sup>1411</sup>.

In 1997, P. Weiß edited a diploma fragment preserving the troop name, which he dated broadly between 106/117–124 and considered it either belonged to Pannonia Inferior or Moesia Inferior<sup>1412</sup>. Meanwhile, another fragment most likely of the same military diploma was discovered, which allows for a very certain dating: October 19, 120<sup>1413</sup>. Finally, another copy of the same constitution was recently published, where it is clear that it belonged to Moesia Inferior<sup>1414</sup>. The unit was most probably brought back to its original province during the reorganization under Hadrian. This unit is also recorded on the territory of Moesia Inferior in May/December 121<sup>1415</sup>.

I. Piso argued, based on the founding inscription of the fort at Boroşneul Mare<sup>1416</sup> that the unit passed through Dacia by the beginning of Hadrian's reign. On this inscription, I. I. Russu had initially read *ala I Lat[obicornum]*, however he later corrected it to *ala I Bat[avorum]*, a unit which was part of the troops of Dacia Superior. I. Piso noticed, without a shadow of doubt, that the last line reads *ALA·FLA[...]* and completed the name of the unit as *ala Fla[via Gaetulorum]*. The hypothesis is evidently seducing, yet unfortunately there is no information on a possible presence of the unit in Dacia Inferior<sup>1417</sup>. Recently, F. Marcu, resuming a theory proposed by P. Holder, prefers to complete the name of the ala as *Gallorum Flaviana* (*vide infra*). Further on, I. Piso considers, and this time justly, that the name of an *ala Flavia* should also be read on an inscription discovered at Căşei<sup>1418</sup>, where a hypothetical *ala elec(torum)*<sup>1419</sup> was identified. Given that the inscription dates from the 3rd C, I. Piso supposes this is rather *ala I Flavia Augusta Britannica milliaria*, from Pannonia Inferior and less likely *ala I Flavia Gaetulorum*, recorded definitely for the 3rd C in Moesia Inferior (*vide infra*). Unfortunately, unless new finds emerge, we cannot entirely agree or disagree with the hypothesis proposed by I. Piso. We would like to bring a rather counter argument. Evidence, including stone inscriptions discovered so far proving the unit presence in Moesia Inferior, specifies almost always the numeral, except for the early inscription from Oescus, which however records it only as *ala G(a)et(ulorum)*<sup>1420</sup>. On the

<sup>1411</sup> CIL XVI 61 – *item ala Britannica (milliaria) missa in expeditionem*; CIL III 6748; AÉ 1908, 23, inscriptions which definitely record it in the East; Cichorius, *Ala*, col. 1235; Wagner, *Dislokation*, p. 20–24 (p. 22); Beneš, *Auxilia*, p. 7; Spaul, *Ala*<sup>2</sup>, p. 68–73; Lörincz, *Hilfstruppen*, p. 16–17 and p. 79; Petolescu, *Auxilia*, p. 66–68; idem, *Argesis 11*, 2002, p. 67–71.

<sup>1412</sup> P. Weiß, *ZPE* 117, 1997, p. 239–243, no. 6.

<sup>1413</sup> W. Eck, D. MacDonald, A. Pangerl, *Chiron* 32, 2002, p. 461–468, no. 5 = AÉ 2002, 1766 = RMD V 356.

<sup>1414</sup> W. Eck, A. Pangerl, *Chiron* 39, 2009, p. 533–537, no. 9.

<sup>1415</sup> P. Weiss, *Chiron* 38, 2008, p. 296–300, no. 10: *I FLAVIA [GAETVLORVM]*, ranking second among *alae*.

<sup>1416</sup> AÉ 1974, 564 = AÉ 1978, 696 = IDR III/4 325 = ILD 433; I. Piso, *ActaMN* 36/I, 1998, p. 81–89; idem, *ActaMN* 37/I, 1999, p. 235–236; C. C. Petolescu disagrees, *Argesis 11*, 2002, p. 67–71 and idem, *Auxilia*, p. 67–68, considering that the inscription mentions *ala I Flavia Augusta Britannica milliaria civium Romanorum*, the troop being brought back for a short while to Dacia by the end of the Parthian campaign. Unfortunately, the author's arguments are not very convincing, the troop's crossing through Dacia being still hypothetical. Recently, F. Marcu, *EphemNap* 14–15, 2004–2005, p. 73–80, based on a view expressed by P. Holder, *Auxiliary Deployment in the Reign of Hadrian*, Reprinted from *Documenting the Roman Army*, *BICS Supplement* 81, 2003, p. 105, note 14, considers that the founding inscription of the fort mentions *ala Gallorum Flaviana*

<sup>1417</sup> I. Piso, *ActaMN* 36/I, 1999, p. 86, considers that the mysterious *Egnatio Q?* [...] could be one of the first procurators of Dacia inferior and hypothetically identifies him with a certain *L. Egnatius L. f. Terentina Quartus* (PME, E 3)

<sup>1418</sup> I. Piso, *ActaMN* 36/I, 1999, p. 86–89 = AÉ 1999, 1285.

<sup>1419</sup> I. I. Russu, *ActaMN* 4, 1967, p. 90; AÉ 1957, 331 = ILD 783.

<sup>1420</sup> Gerov, *Beiträge*, II, p. 72 (p. 190, no. 14) = AÉ 196 1, 318 = ILB 57.

inscription from Boroşneul Mare, the numeral is missing; hence it most likely refers to another unit, possibly a mysterious *ala Flavia*, so far unknown<sup>1421</sup>. The impressive number of diplomas lately edited, generated significant disclosures, like the presence of a *cohors Flavia* in Moesia Superior<sup>1422</sup> or the presence of *ala I Ulpia contariorum milliaria* among the troops of Dacia Superior in April 5, 121<sup>1423</sup>, so that such hypothesis may not be completely discarded. It could be supported by *AL·F·AL·AS* type stamps with the Museum of Sf. Gheorghe, interpreted by the same author as *al(a) F(lavia) al(a) As(turum)*<sup>1424</sup>. However, should we agree that the *AL FL* type stamps discovered at Carsium refer to this unit (*vide infra*), then they could also contain the name of *ala I Flavia Gaetulorum*.

The troop is successively attested in this province by the diplomas of 127, 135, 140, 145, 146<sup>1425</sup>, consequently in 152 by an inscription mentioning a pair of consuls<sup>1426</sup> and on December 13, 215, within *tabula honestae missionis*<sup>1427</sup>. The last certain mention of the *ala* on the territory of Moesia Inferior dates from around 240<sup>1428</sup>. Thus it was proven that the troop stationed almost during the entire 2nd – 3rd C in Moesia Inferior, however the location of its fort is still unidentified<sup>1429</sup>.

During the joint reign of Septimius Severus and Caracalla, at Aulutrene in Pisidia, two inscriptions record four *equites* and one *decurio*<sup>1430</sup>, who were part of the vexillation composed of legions I Italica and XI Claudia pia fidelis under the command of the chief-centurion of legion XI Claudia, *Nonius Felix*, sent subsequently to Asia Minor<sup>1431</sup>.

<sup>1421</sup> An *ala Flavia (Numidica)* is continuously recorded in Numidia from the 1st C until the 3rd C, Y. Le Bohec, *Les unités auxiliaires de l'armée romaine en Afrique Proconsulaire et Numidie sous le Haut Empire*, Paris, 1989, p. 28–33. Still, an inscription discovered at Scupi mentions a certain *Iulius Vanno / missicius / ex ala Flavia / militavit annis XXIII / vixit annis XXXV / h. s. e. / Flavius Antiochus / h. f. c.*, ILJug I 37 = ISM VI 59; Holder, *Auxilia*, p. 272, no. 371, considers it is *ala Gallorum Flaviana*, without providing any argument.

<sup>1422</sup> W. Eck, A. Pangerl, *Chiron* 38, 2008, p. 355–363, no. II, 8–9, copies of the same imperial constitution and p. 363–370, no. II, 10, the diploma of 115.

<sup>1423</sup> W. Eck, A. Pangerl, *ZPE* 166, 2008, p. 276–284.

<sup>1424</sup> AÉ 1974, 565b = IDR III/4 328 = ILD 434; I. Piso, *ActaMN* 36/I, 1999, p. 83 = AÉ 1999, 1287.

<sup>1425</sup> M. M. Roxan, *ZPE* 118, 1997, p. 287–297 = AÉ 1997, 1780 = RMD IV 241 (August 20, 127); 135 (W. Eck, A. Pangerl, *Chiron* 39, 2009, p. 541–542, no. 12); April 7, 145 (RMD III 165 + P. Weiß, *ZPE* 134, 2001, p. 261–262 = RMD V 399; P. Weiss, *Chiron* 38, 2008, p. 314–316, no. 16); January/November 140 (P. Weiss, *Chiron* 38, 2008, p. 302–307, no. 12); 146 (P. Weiß, *ZPE* 124, 1999, p. 279–286 = AÉ 1999, 1359 = RMD IV 270).

<sup>1426</sup> Al. Suceveanu, *Pontica* 31, 1998, p. 109–114, no. 1 = AÉ 1998, 1148.

<sup>1427</sup> W. Eck, M. M. Roxan, *ArchKorr* 28, 1998, 1, p. 96–100, no. 1. On this document type, see J. C. Mann, M. M. Roxan, *Britannia* 19, 1998, p. 341–347.

<sup>1428</sup> IGR I 623 = ILS 8851 = ISM II 106.

<sup>1429</sup> Beneš, *loc. cit.*; Aricescu, *Armata*, p. 52. The discovery of a *AL FL* type stamp at Carsium could lead to the conclusion that the unit was stationed within this fortification, at least for a period (C. Chiriac, C. Nicolae, G. Talmaşchi, *Pontica* 31, 1998, p. 140–141; M. Zahariade, C. Muşţeanu, C. Chiriac, *Pontica* 14, 1981, p. 259–260; V. Nicolae, C. Nicolae, *SCIIVA* 42, 1991, 1–2, p. 79–80; C. Nicolae, *Pontica* 26, 1993, p. 216 and p. 224; idem, *Pontica* 28–29, 1995–1996, p. 137–138). The quoted articles suppose it was *ala Gallorum Flaviana*, however stamps published in 1998 were taken over in AÉ 1998, 1145–1147 (C. C. Petolescu), with the remark that it would be most likely *ala I Flavia Gaetulorum* (C. C. Petolescu, *Argesis* 11, 2002, p. 70). For Carsium see TIR L 35, p. 30 and Zahariade, Gudea, *Fortifications*, p. 79.

<sup>1430</sup> M. Christol, T. Drew-Bear, in Y. Le Bohec, *La hiérarchie (Rangordnung) de l'armée romaine sous le Haut-Empire. Actes du Congrès de Lyon (15–18 septembre 1994) rassemblés et édités par Yann Le Bohec*, Paris, 1995, p. 79–80 = AÉ 1995, 1515; AÉ 1976, 666 = Christol, Drew-Bear, *op. cit.*, p. 81 (this inscription recorded *AL G*, which is definitely *ala I Flavia Gaetulorum*).

<sup>1431</sup> Christol, Drew-Bear, *op. cit.*, p. 69–74 = AÉ 1995, 1512. For entire discussion on the *castellum* from Aulutrene see p. 57–92.

Among the active commanders of the unit while stationed in Moesia Inferior count *Q. Planius C. f.* in the diploma of 97, recorded subsequently in 99 with full name, *Q. Planius Sardus Q. f. Pup. Trutedius Pius*<sup>1432</sup>, *Q. Naevius*, recorded by the fragmentary diploma of 107<sup>1433</sup> and *[B]etuuus Cilo*, who emerges in the diploma of October 19, 120<sup>1434</sup>. The diploma fragment dated broadly between 99/110 still preserves part of a cognomen of a unit prefect: *Quint[...]*<sup>1435</sup>. Then, by a happy turn of events, the full name of prefect *M. Ulpius Attianus* surfaced, preserved complete in the diploma of 127, without the mention of the origin and only the *cognomen* within the diploma of 125, however with the mention of the origin<sup>1436</sup>. Before going further in time, let us not forget mentioning *L. Flavius T. f. Quirina tribu Saecularis, praefectus alae primae Flaviae Gaetulorum in Pannonie (sic) Inferiore*, from an inscription at Rome<sup>1437</sup>. The up-to-date list of *ala* prefects confirms the theory according to which auxilia commanders were in charge for at least three years.

Little prior the Judean war of Emperor Hadrian, *Sextus Attius Senecio* was the *ala* prefect<sup>1438</sup>.

During the invasion of the Costoboci from 170, the famous *T. Antonius Claudius Alfenus Arignotus*, who, while tribune of cohort *I Cilicum* was also *praepositus alae I Flaviae Gaetulorum*<sup>1439</sup>.

Around 240, an inscription from Tomis records *P. Aelius Ammonius* who was also a troop prefect and had a remarkable career<sup>1440</sup>. Moreover, he also commanded a formation of irregular troops raised from the provincials of Moesia Inferior or, more likely, a vexillation formed of soldiers from several auxiliaries<sup>1441</sup>. He exercised in Cappadocia a very similar command, while tribune of cohort *I Germanorum milliaria*<sup>1442</sup>. I shall not include *Sedatius Apollonius* within this list, on which we have information regarding its command of *ala Gaetulorum* from Tomis, clearly specifying it was the one stationed in Arabia and not the one under discussion herein<sup>1443</sup>.

<sup>1432</sup> D. MacDonald, A. Mihaylovich, ZPE 138, 2002, p. 225–228 (p. 228) = AÉ 2002, 1775 = RMD V 337; W. Eck, A. Pangerl, Dacia, N. S. 50, 2006, p. 97–99, no. 2.

<sup>1433</sup> RGZM, no. 14.

<sup>1434</sup> P. Weiß, ZPE 117, 1997, p. 239–243, no. 6, especially p. 241; W. Eck, D. MacDonald, A. Pangerl, Chiron 32, 2002, p. 461–468, no. 5 = AÉ 2002, 1766 = RMD V 356. See also W. Eck, A. Pangerl, Chiron 39, 2009, p. 533–537, no. 9 (especially p. 536).

<sup>1435</sup> RMD IV 221.

<sup>1436</sup> M. M. Roxan, W. Eck, ZPE 116, 1997, p. 193–203 (especially p. 196–197) = AÉ 1997, 1772 = RMD IV 235; M. M. Roxan, ZPE, 118, 1997, 287–297 (especially p. 294–295) = RMD IV 241.

<sup>1437</sup> CI VI 3520 = ILS 2731; PME, F 68; PME, VI, p. 13.

<sup>1438</sup> CIL VI 3505; Saxer, *Vexillationen*, p. 28, no. 49; PME, A 188; PME, VI, 13.

<sup>1439</sup> CIG 3497 = IGR IV 1213 = ILS 8853 = L. Robert, Istros 1, 1934, p. 1–5 = IDRE II 383 (πραϊπόσιτος σπείρας πρώτης Γαιτούλων), inscription from Thyatira, Asia. PME, A 132; Devijver, PME I, p. 107, made the following remark: “praepositus cohortis primae Gaetulorum Moesia Inferior”, with reference to Cichorius, *Cohors*, col. 286–287. Nevertheless, we agree with the scholars who observed that it must have been confused with the cavalry troop: C. C. Petolescu, ZPE 110, 1996, p. 256.

<sup>1440</sup> Gr. Tocilescu, AEM 11, 1884, p. 22–23, no. 61; IGR I 623 = ILS 8851 = ISM II 106; Pflaum, *Carrières*, p. 854–855, no. 329; Stein, *Legaten*, p. 115; PIR I<sup>2</sup> p. 20, no. 135; PME, A 21; PME, VI, p. 13; I. Piso, Dacia, N. S. 20, 1976, p. 251–257 = AÉ 1977, 673 (MNA L 250).

<sup>1441</sup> ISM II 106, r. 11–13: ἡγησάμενον στρατιωτικοῦ τῆς ἐπαχίας ταύ/της.

<sup>1442</sup> ISM II 106, r. 7–9: ἡγησάμενος στρατιωτικῶν ἐν παρατάξει Ἀρμενικῆ στρατιωτῶν ἐπαρχίας Καππαδόκων. See comment in I. Piso, Dacia, N. S. 20, 1976, p. 252–253 and 256–257.

<sup>1443</sup> SEG, 24, 1964, 1064 = AÉ 1974, 579 = ISM II 127: Σηδάτιος [Ἀ]πολλώνιος ἑπαρχος ἱππέων εἴλης Γαιτούλων τῶν ἐν Ἀραβίᾳ. A. Aricescu argued on many occasions that this was the troop from Moesia Inferior, in *Epigraphica. Travaux dédiés au VII<sup>e</sup> Congrès d'épigraphie grecque et latine (Constantza 9–15 septembre 1977)*, Bucharest, 1977, p. 239–248; idem, *Armata*, p. 52; followed by Suceveanu, RRH 13, 1974, 2, p. 232; idem, Pontica 31, 1998, p. 113–114. Correct interpretation is offered by Devijver, PME, S 13, p. 724:



Commonly, as M. P. Speidel properly observes, new assignments are mentioned precisely where respective individual was located at that time<sup>1444</sup>.

The names of several horsemen, actives within this *ala* are also known. *Magius Ver(us)* or *Vir(unus)*, from the inscription at Oescus<sup>1445</sup>, for instance. A not long ago discovered inscription from Histria mentions veteran *T. Aelius Mucatralis*, who was awarded citizenship most probably under Antoninus Pius. The inscription dates from 152 (*Glabrione et Homullo cos.*)<sup>1446</sup>. Within the diploma of 97 appears a certain *Lucius Satur[i.f.]*<sup>1447</sup>. The diploma of August 14, 99, records *Dolazenus, Mucacanthi f., Bessus*, together with his spouse, *Deneusis, Esiaetralis fil., Bessa*, son, *Flavus* and his sisters, *Nene* and *Benzis*<sup>1448</sup>. The fragmentary diploma of 107 attests *C. Annius [...]*, together with three sons<sup>1449</sup>. The diploma of June 1, 125 mentions a *Loiresis f. Bessus*, whose name however, is hard to recompose<sup>1450</sup>. The holder of the diploma of August 20, 127 is still a component of this troop, i.e. *Veladatus Dialonis f. Eraviscus*, this population inhabiting areas somewhere south Aquincum, in Pannonia Inferior, amongst which he was recruited. M. M. Roxan believes that he might have served firstly in another troop, from which he was transferred when *ala I Flavia Gaetulorum* was in Pannonia Inferior<sup>1451</sup>.

During the joint reign of Septimius Severus and Caracalla, at Aulutrene, in Pisidia, are recorded *Valerius Valerianus, eques alae I Gaetulorum*, deceased during the troop's movement there and *Valerius Maximus, eques* of the same troop, who sets up together with *Aurelius Marcellus*, soldier of legion XI Claudia pia fidelis<sup>1452</sup> a tombstone for the first horseman. Moreover, *Aurelius Marcellinus, eques alae Gaetulorum*, also died during the eastern passage of the troop, the inscription being set up by *Aelius Victor*, horseman of the same troop. The inscription also mentions the name of *Domitius M(...), decurio* of the turma where *Aurelius Marcellinus* had served<sup>1453</sup>. One inscription from Mauretania Caesariensis, close to Sidi Mohammed Ben Ali (Algeria) records a certain *Aurelius Masfelus, explorator et signifer alae Gaetulae I, turma Saturnini*<sup>1454</sup>. The inscription seems to be very late, probably from even the third quarter of the 3rd C (it could be also read *ex e[q(uite)] signifer alae Gaetulae I*<sup>1455</sup>). Additionally, one may not specify in which of the two *alae Gaetulorum* this veteran had served, either in the one from Arabia or that from Moesia Inferior.

Sometime during the 2nd C, an *ala* veteran retired to the metropolis of the left Pontus, at Tomis. Unfortunately, his name was lost to cracks in the stone, which preserved hypothetically, only his son name, *Posidonius*, indication of a possible Eastern or Balcanic origin

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“praefectus equitum alae Gaetulorum in Arabia”, with reference to M. P. Speidel, *Latomus* 33, 1974, p. 934–939; *PME*, VI, p. 13. See also *idem*, *ANRW* VIII, 1977, p. 706.

<sup>1444</sup> M. P. Speidel, *ANRW* VIII, 1977, p. 706, note 58.

<sup>1445</sup> Gerov, *Beiträge*, II, p. 72 (p. 190, no. 14) = *AÉ* 1961, 318 = *ILB* 57.

<sup>1446</sup> Al. Suceveanu, *Pontica* 31, 1998, p. 109–114, no. 1 = *CEpR* XVIII 814 = *AÉ* 1998, 1148. See also Al. Suceveanu, *Histria XIII. La basilique épiscopale*, Bucharest, 2007, p. 147–148, no. 5.

<sup>1447</sup> D. MacDonald, A. Mihaylovich, *ZPE* 138, 2002, p. 225–228 (p. 228) = *AÉ* 2002, 1775 = *RMD* V 337.

<sup>1448</sup> W. Eck, A. Pangerl, *Dacia*, N. S. 50, 2006, p. 97–99, no. 2.

<sup>1449</sup> *RGZM*, no. 14.

<sup>1450</sup> M. M. Roxan, W. Eck, *ZPE* 116, 1997, p. 193–203 (p. 201–202) = *AÉ* 1997, 1772 = *RMD* IV 235, note 7; D. Bălteanu, *AO* 14, 1999, p. 66, no. 1.

<sup>1451</sup> M. M. Roxan, *ZPE* 118, 1997, p. 287–295 (p. 295) = *AÉ* 1997, 1780 = *RMD* IV 241, note 7.

<sup>1452</sup> Christol, Drew-Bear, *op. cit.*, p. 79–80 = *AÉ* 1995, 1512.

<sup>1453</sup> *AÉ* 1976, 666 = Christol, Drew-Bear, *op. cit.*, p. 81.

<sup>1454</sup> *CIL* VIII 21516; H. Devijver, *The Equestrian Officers of the Roman Imperial Army*, *Mavors* 6, Amsterdam, 1989, p. 251.

<sup>1455</sup> The inscription photo is available at the following link: <http://www1.ku-eichstaett.de/epigr/uah-bilder.php?bild=PH0000275>, checked on 19. 02. 2009.

of the veteran<sup>1456</sup>. Finally, *tabella honestae missionis* of 215 mentions the name of one *eques*, *Claudius Marcianus*<sup>1457</sup>.

#### 4. *Ala I Gallorum Aetectorigiana*<sup>1458</sup>

It is one of the oldest auxiliary units of the Roman Empire, being established under Augustus, if not even during the Civil Wars of the 1st C BCE and probably named after *Aetectorix*, the king of the Picts<sup>1459</sup>. An inscription from Aquitania, at Mediolanum Santonum, noting a certain *C. Iulius Macer, duplicarius alae Aetectorigianae*, who must have been recruited in 16 BCE<sup>1460</sup>, proves that the troop dates from an extremely early period. Supposedly, it was stationed in Germania; however such displacement is not directly evidenced<sup>1461</sup>.

The first certain record from Moesia Inferior dates from 92, through the diploma of Cataloi<sup>1462</sup>, under the form of *ala Gallorum Aetectorigiana*<sup>1463</sup>. An *ala I GAL[...]* emerges on the diploma fragment of 75 or 78<sup>1464</sup>. Most likely, it references this unit and not *ala I Claudia Gallorum* recorded under Vespasian and earlier as *ala Capitoniana*. It is then present in the diploma of 97<sup>1465</sup>. Subsequently, it appears on a fragmentary diploma of 116<sup>1466</sup> and on the diploma of October 19, 120<sup>1467</sup>. It fails to emerge on diplomas until 127, when it is again present among province troops<sup>1468</sup>. Thus, speculation that the troop was not in Moesia Inferior during the first part of the 2nd C was dismissed<sup>1469</sup>, however the discovery of the diploma of July 17, 122 confirms that for at least a while, the unit was among the auxiliaries of Dacia Inferior<sup>1470</sup>. Such record allows, furthermore, suppositions on its involvement in Trajan's Dacian expeditions<sup>1471</sup> and implicitly the fact that it stationed somewhere in the north Danube territory of Moesia inferior. W. Eck and A. Pangerl related the troop's stationing to *Q. Marcius Turbo's* activity in Dacia, by

<sup>1456</sup> Gr. Tocilescu, AEM 8, 1884, p. 7, no. 18; CIL III 7557 = ISM II 247; Aricescu, *Armata*, p. 52 (MNA L 1220).

<sup>1457</sup> W. Eck, M. M. Roxan, ArchKorr, 28, 1998, p. 96–100 (p. 100), no. 1.

<sup>1458</sup> Cichorius, *Ala*, col. 1231; Stein, *Truppen.*, p. 123; Wagner, *Dislokation*, p. 12–13; Kraft, *Rekrutierung*, p. 141–142, no. 160–164; Aricescu, *Armata*, p. 53; Beneš, *Auxilia*, p. 8; Suceveanu, *Dobroudja*, p. 63; Spaul, *Ala<sup>2</sup>*, p. 48–49; C. C. Petolescu, A. T. Popescu, in *Studia Historica et Theologica*, p. 84; Fl. Matei-Popescu, SCIVA 52–53, 2001–2002 (2004), p. 183–185, no. 4; O. Țentea, Fl. Matei-Popescu, ActaMN 39–40/I, 2002–2003(2004), p. 267; F. Gayet, *Historia* 55, 2006, 1, p. 79 (unfortunately outdated from issue date).

<sup>1459</sup> Cichorius, *loc. cit.*; Wagner, *Dislokation*, p. 12; Saddington, *Development*, p. 73; p. 150–151; E. Birley, *AncSoc* 9, 1978, p. 265: “This is the clearest instance of a title that can be linked with the name of a Gallic chief, rather than that of a Roman officer”.

<sup>1460</sup> CIL XIII 1041 = ILS 2531 = CIL XVI, *Appendix*, p. 146, no. 15; Holder, *Auxilia*, p. 46 and p. 272, no. 51; Saddington, *Development*, p. 58; p. 153; E. Birley, in Eck, Wolf (eds.), *Heer und Integrationspolitik*, p. 254; P. Holder, in Z. Visy, *Limes XIX. Proceedings of the XIX<sup>th</sup> International Congress of Roman Frontier Studies, Pécs, Hungary, September 2003*, University of Pécs, 2005, p. 83.

<sup>1461</sup> Stein, *Truppen.*, p. 123: “Es ist nicht unwahrscheinlich, dass die Truppe in nachaugusteischer Zeit in Deutschland gestanden ist; ausdrücklich bezeugt ist es allerdings nicht”; Wagner, *Dislokation*, p. 131.

<sup>1462</sup> June 14, 92, C. C. Petolescu, A. T. Popescu, ZPE 148, 2004, p. 269–276.

<sup>1463</sup> Wagner, *loc. cit.*, on the Gallic troops custom to also preserve the name of the first commander; E. Birley, *AncSoc* 9, 1978, p. 257–273.

<sup>1464</sup> RMD IV 209.

<sup>1465</sup> D. MacDonald, A. Mihaylovich, ZPE 138, 2002, p. 225–228 = AÉ 2002, 1775 = RMD V 337.

<sup>1466</sup> W. Eck, A. Pangerl, Dacia, N. S. 50, 2006, p. 99–102, no. 3.

<sup>1467</sup> W. Eck, A. Pangerl, *Chiron* 39, 2009, p. 533–537, no. 9.

<sup>1468</sup> M. M. Roxan, ZPE 118, 1997, p. 287–295 (p. 290–291) = AÉ 1997, 1780 = RMD IV 241.

<sup>1469</sup> Beneš, *loc. cit.*

<sup>1470</sup> RGZM, no. 20.

<sup>1471</sup> Fl. Matei-Popescu, O. Țentea, in *Dacia Augusti Provincia*, p. 82.

the beginning of Hadrian's reign<sup>1472</sup>. Under such circumstances, the discovery of *ALA-GAL* tile stamps in the fort at Boroşneul Mare<sup>1473</sup> and the civil settlement at Reci<sup>1474</sup>, assigned either to *ala I Claudia Gallorum Capitoniana* or *ala Gallorum Flaviana*<sup>1475</sup>, could be connected to the unit's presence there (evidently, should we agree with the theory of *ala Gallorum Flaviana* occurrence of the founding inscription of the fort at Boroşneul Mare<sup>1476</sup>). It is then re-displaced south the Danube on the territory of Moesia Inferior, being recorded by the diplomas of 140, 145, 146 and 157<sup>1477</sup>. In 156, horsemen of this *ala* or possibly the full strength (hard to believe, though) were sent to Mauretania Tingitana, as recorded by an imperial constitution of the same year<sup>1478</sup>. Probably, vexillations had been active for a long time in North Africa, should we admit the completions of a diploma fragment proposed by P. Holder<sup>1479</sup>. The fragment seems to date under *T. Varius Clemens* (most likely September 24, 151), governor of Mauretania Caesarensis and to register the soldiers release from the *alae* of Moesia Inferior (under governor *Egrilius Plarianus*) and Moesia Superior (under governor *P. Sisenna Rutilianus*). The single name preserved is of one *ala Gallorum*<sup>1480</sup>. Based on the diploma of 156 and on the inscription discovered in Rome, where the wife of the *ala* decurion, *C. Valerius Maximus*, is mentioned as having her origins in Mauretania Caesarensis (*vide infra*)<sup>1481</sup>, this is most likely *ala Gallorum Aetectorigiana*; however, *ala I Gallorum et Pannoniorum* cannot be totally excluded. In the meantime, the unit is attested also on September 27, 154, by a fragmentary *tabella II* of a diploma<sup>1482</sup>.

Sometime during the second half of the 2nd C or the beginning of the 3rd C, a soldier appears at Balaklava (Crimea), where an entire *ala* detachment had been sent under the command of a decurion<sup>1483</sup>.

The unit is recorded in the same province also under Caracalla<sup>1484</sup> and Severus Alexander<sup>1485</sup>.

<sup>1472</sup> W. Eck, A. Pangerl, *Dacia*, N. S. 50, 2006, p. 101: "Möglicherweise gehörte die Einheit zu einer Einsatztruppe, die Marcus Turbo zu Beginn der hadrianischen Regierungszeit in Dacia zur Verfügung stand, und die bald danach wieder nach Moesia inferior zurückging".

<sup>1473</sup> IDR III/4 326–327.

<sup>1474</sup> IDR III/4 315.

<sup>1475</sup> F. Marcu, *EphemNap* 14–15, 2004–2005, p. 75–77.

<sup>1476</sup> *AE* 1974, 564 = IDR III/4 325; F. Marcu, *EphemNap* 14–15, 2004–2005, p. 77.

<sup>1477</sup> January/ November 140 (P. Weiss, *Chiron* 38, 2008, p. 302–307, no. 12, granted to a unit horseman); April 7, 145 (RMD III 165 + P. Weiß, *ZPE* 134, 2001, p. 261–262 = RMD V 399; P. Weiss, *Chiron* 38, 2008, p. 314–316, no. 16); 146 (P. Weiß, *ZPE* 124, p. 279–286); diploma fragment, probably copy of the same constitution (C. C. Petolescu, A. T. Popescu, *Dacia*, N. S. 51, 2007, p. 149–151, no. 2); 157 (RMD I 50, diploma of Brestovene).

<sup>1478</sup> C. Chiriac, L. Mihailescu-Bîrliba, I. Matei, in S. Conrad et al. (eds.), *Pontos Euxeinus. Beiträge zur Archäologie und Geschichte des antiken Schwarzmeer- und Balkansraumes*, Langenweißbach, 2006, p. 383–389.

<sup>1479</sup> S. Dušanić, *ZPE* 122, 1998, p. 219–228 = *AE* 1998, 1116; P. Holder, *ZPE* 156, 2006, p. 255–260, no. 1 = RMD V 405.

<sup>1480</sup> P. Holder, *ZPE* 156, 2006, p. 260 = RMD V 405: *[equit(ibus) qui mil(itaverunt) i]n alis [---quae app(ellantur) --- et] Gall(orum) [---quae sunt in Moes(ia) infer(iore)?] sub Egr[ilio Plariano ? legat(o) item ala ---] quae est [in Moes(ia) super(iore) ? sub Sisenna Rutilia]no ? legat(o) [quinis et vicenis plurib(us)ve stipen]dis emer[itis dimissis honest(a) mission(e) per] Varium C[lementem procuratorem] cum essent in expe[dit]ione ? Maur(etaniae) Caesar(ensis).*

<sup>1481</sup> *AE* 1890, 27 = *CIL* VI 33032 = *ILS* 2537.

<sup>1482</sup> W. Eck, A. Pangerl, *Chiron* 39, 2009, p. 557–561, no. 17.

<sup>1483</sup> T. Sarnowski, in Y. Le Bohec éd., *La hiérarchie (Rangordnung) de l'armée romaine sous le Haut-Empire. Actes du congrès du Lyon (15–18 septembre 1994)*, Paris, 1995, p. 327 = *AE* 1995, 1351; T. Sarnowski, O. J. Savelja, *Balaklava. Römische Militärstation und Heiligtum des Jupiter Dolichenus*, Warsaw, 2000, p. 191–192 = *AE* 2000, 1278; V. M. Zubar, *Historia* 44, 1995, 2, fig. 1

<sup>1484</sup> *CIL* III 12452 = Conrad, *Grabstelen*, p. 224, no. 363, la Appiaria (Rjahovo); Velkov, *IzvestijaSofia* 1, 1921–22, 2, p. 246–247 = Fitz, *Honorific Titles*, p. 66, no. 244, la Svalenik.

<sup>1485</sup> *CIL* III 6154 = *ILS* 1174 = *ISM* II 93, la *Tomis*, the troop bearing the surname *Severiana* and the name *ala Aetectorum*; Fitz, *Honorific Titles*, p. 115, no. 464.

Although no further records come from the 3rd C, we may state this troop stationed there until Diocletian.

Based on the inscription found at Appiaria<sup>1486</sup> it was supposed that its fort was located there, at least for a while. In addition, based on the inscription from Tomis<sup>1487</sup> it was supposed that probably prior 224 it was quartered there or close or that a vexillation had a mission to fulfil in the Pontic city<sup>1488</sup>. However, there is not enough evidence to successfully locate the *ala* fort.

From the period when it was stationed on the territory of Moesia Inferior dates the name of *T. Flavius Marcianus, praefectus equitum alae Aetectorigianae*, who erected a tombstone at Appiaria to his spouse, *Cornelia Alexandra*<sup>1489</sup>. In the diploma of 140, granted to a former horseman of the unit, *[Fa]bius Fabi f. Regu[lus]*, appears the name of another commander, *[...]lvius Futianus Sa[...]*<sup>1490</sup>. Another commander, a certain *Flavius*, is attested by the diploma of September 27, 154, awarded to the former horseman *Flavius Valentis f.*<sup>1491</sup>. In addition, *C. Valerius Maximus*, an *ala* decurion (*decurio alae Aetectorigianae exercitus Moesia inferioris*) appears on inscription from Rome in the 2nd C, more specifically sometime after the middle of the century<sup>1492</sup>. As his wife, *Ulpia Dana*, was *ex Mauretania Caesarensi*, they were probably married when a vexillation of the unit was send to this province, and also in Mauretania Tingitana, in the reign of Antoninus Pius (*vide supra* the military diploma of 151). The inscription of Balaklava mentions a certain *Celsus* who commanded a *turma*<sup>1493</sup>. Under Caracalla, an inscription from Svalenik (Bulgaria, Rouse district), records a certain *Macedo*, veteran and former decurion<sup>1494</sup>. At Tomis, in 224, emerges *Flavius Severianus*, decurion and candidate of legate *L. Annius Italicus Honoratus*<sup>1495</sup>.

The same inscription from Balaklava preserves the name of *Iul(ius) Vale(n)s, eq(ues) alae Aetecto(rigianae)*, the epitaph being placed by a homonym, probably a heir<sup>1496</sup>. One inscription from Isauria (Akkise, Gorgoromeis) mentions an *ala* soldier, who fulfilled several tasks, among

<sup>1486</sup> AÉ 1895, 50 = CIL III 12452; TIR L 35, p. 23; Zahariade, Gudea, *Fortifications*, p. 75; N. Gudea, JRGZM 52, 2005, p. 429 (II. 22).

<sup>1487</sup> CIL III 6154 = ILS 1174 = ISM II 93; TIR L 35, p. 72; Zahariade, Gudea, *Fortifications*, p. 86; N. Gudea, JRGZM 52, 2005, p. 482–483 (VI. 69)

<sup>1488</sup> Aricescu, *Armata*, p. 53.

<sup>1489</sup> AÉ 1895, 50 = CIL III 12452 = Conrad, *Grabstelen*, p. 224, no. 363 (profilgerahmte Stele, type IV, p. 50); PME, F. 59; PME, VI, p. 3 (aet. Severi Alexandri); H. Devijver, *The Equestrian Officers of the Roman Imperial Army*, Mavors 6, Amsterdam, 1989, p. 110, no. 10.

<sup>1490</sup> P. Weiss, *Chiron* 38, 2008, p. 302–307, no. 12.

<sup>1491</sup> W. Eck, A. Pangerl, *Chiron* 39, 2009, p. 557–561, no. 17.

<sup>1492</sup> AÉ 1890, 27 = CIL VI 33032 = ILS 2537; Kraft, *Rekrutierung*, p. 142, no. 162; D. Bălțeanu, AO 14, 1999, p. 46, no. 3, who prefers a broader dating, the 2nd and 3rd C.

<sup>1493</sup> T. Sarnowski, in Le Bohec éd., *La hiérarchie (Rangordnung) de l'armée romaine sous le Haut-Empire. Actes du congrès du Lyon (15–18 septembre 1994)*, Paris, 1995, p. 327 = AÉ 1995, 1351; Sarnowski, Savelja, *op. cit.*, p. 191–192 = AÉ 2000, 1278. He commanded one of the *ala* 16 *turmae*, fulfilling the post of a decurion, see: Domaszewski, RO<sup>2</sup>, p. 53; G. Webster, *The Roman Imperial Army of the First and second centuries A. D.*<sup>2</sup>, London, 1969, p. 146–148; Y. Le Bohec, *L'armée romaine sous le Haut-Empire*<sup>2</sup>, Paris, 1990, p. 27.

<sup>1494</sup> V. Velkov, *IzvestijaSofia* 1, 1921–22, 2, p. 246–247; Kraft, *Rekrutierung*, p. 142, no. 163; D. Bălțeanu, AO 14, 1999, p. 46, no. 2. See also, Fitz, *Honorific Titles*, p. 66, no. 244, mentioned near the province of Thracia.

<sup>1495</sup> CIL III 6154 = ILS 11734 = ISM II 93 = IDRE II 345: *decurio alae I Aetectorum* (sic!); Kraft, *Rekrutierung*, p. 142, no. 164; D. Bălțeanu, AO 14, 1999, p. 46, no. 2. Suceveanu, *loc. cit.*, argues that at least a while it stationed at Tomis, which is hard to prove only based on this honorific inscription. For the moment of *Honoratus* legation see Stein, *Legaten*, p. 94–95; Fitz, *Laufbahn*, p. 51. In general, for *decurio alae*, see Domaszewski, RO<sup>2</sup>, p. 53, where circumstances when the decurion is *candidatus* to become a legion centurion are also discussed, the case of *Fl. Severianus*. See also, Webster, *op. cit.*, p. 148.

<sup>1496</sup> T. Sarnowski, in Le Bohec éd., *La hiérarchie (Rangordnung) de l'armée romaine sous le Haut-Empire. Actes du congrès du Lyon (15–18 septembre 1994)*, Paris, 1995, p. 327 = AÉ 1995, 1351; Sarnowski, Savelja, *op. cit.*, p. 191–192 = AÉ 2000, 1278.



which those of *librarius*, *actarius* and *cornicularius*. He seems to have also served in a *cohors I Montanorum*, from Phrygia (Galatia), as *equus singularis*, being thereafter transferred to Lower Moesia, in the ala in question. However the reading is far from being clear<sup>1497</sup>.

### 5. *Ala I Claudia Gallorum Capitoniana*<sup>1498</sup>

It was supposed this unit took the name from one of its first commanders, *C. Herennius T. f. Capito*, mentioned in one inscription from Teate Marrucinorum (Chieti, Regio IV), under Tiberius<sup>1499</sup>. This ala stationed in Moesia from very early, as a tombstone from Augusta (Härlec), mentioning *Iulius Saturio Iuli l(ibertus) dom(o) Haed(uus) miss(icius) ala Capit(onianae)*<sup>1500</sup> and another from Variana (Leskovec), recording *Primus Asalus d[uplicarius] ala Capitoniana*<sup>1501</sup> seem to imply. The name of *Claudia* was added probably following the military campaigns coordinated by *A. Didius Gallus* in the Bosporan Kingdom in 44–45, considering that the troop already stationed there and the fact that earliest inscriptions mention it as *ala Capitoniana*<sup>1502</sup>.

After the province division under Domitian, the unit appears in Moesia Inferior listed within the diploma from Cataloi of 92 (on both sides *II Claudia Gallorum*)<sup>1503</sup>. Subsequently, it appears in the diploma of 97<sup>1504</sup>.

Surprisingly, the unit appears on the territory of the province of Galatia et Cappadocia within a diploma of 101<sup>1505</sup>. The circumstances of this transfer are difficult to establish, although we should underline that Moesia Inferior auxilia were, during the entire 2nd C, reservoir for the provinces from Asia Minor. Within the context of the winter attack of 101–102, the unit is brought again to Moesia Inferior to participate in its defence. Precisely the unit's presence in

<sup>1497</sup> AÉ 1926, 24 = AÉ 1973, 538; Kraft, *Rekrutierung*, p. 146; Spaul, *Ala*<sup>2</sup>, p. 49, n. 4. For fulfilled tasks, see Domaszewski, RO<sup>2</sup>, p. 55–56; D. Breeze, BJ 174, 1974, p. 280–282, had common carrier in the prefect office (D. Breeze even quotes the case of this *Maximus*); M. P. Speidel, *Guards of the Roman Army. An Essay on the Singulares of the Provinces*, Antiquitas, Band 28, Bonn, 1978, p. 101–102, no. 57.

<sup>1498</sup> Cichorius, *Ala*, col. 1232; Wagner, *Dislokation*, p. 37, Kraft, *Rekrutierung*, p. 142, no. 180–181; V. Gerasimova, *ArheologijaSofia* 12, 1970, 4, p. 24; I. I. Russu, SCIV 23, 1972, 2, p. 163; M. P. Speidel, in *In memoriam Constantin Daicoviciu*, Cluj, 1974, p. 375–379 = idem, *Roman Army Studies*, I, Amsterdam, 1984, p. 217–221; Aricescu, *Armata*, p. 52–53; Beneš, *Auxilia*, p. 8; Tudor, OR<sup>4</sup>, p. 320–321; Gerov, *Beiträge*, I, p. 152–153; Vlădescu, *Armata*, p. 52–53; Spaul, *Ala*<sup>2</sup>, p. 80–81; Petolescu, *Auxilia*, p. 69–70; Fl. Matei-Popescu, SCIVA 52–53, 2001–2002 (2004), p. 185–186, no. 5; O. Țentea, Fl. Matei-Popescu, ActaMN 39–40/I, 2002–2003(2004), p. 264; F. Marcu, in *Orbis antiquus*, p. 571, no. 1; F. Gayet, *Historia* 55, 2006, 1, p. 80 (identifying erroneously two alae: *ala I Claudia Gallorum* and *ala I Claudia Gallorum Capitoniana*).

<sup>1499</sup> AÉ 1941, 105; PIR<sup>2</sup>, H 103; Pflaum, *Carrières*, p. 23–26, no. 9; M. P. Speidel, in *In memoriam Constantin Daicoviciu*, Cluj, 1974, p. 375–376 = idem, *Roman Army Studies*, I, Amsterdam, 1984, p. 217–218; E. Birley, *AncSoc* 9, 1978, p. 266, no. 6 = idem, *The Roman Army. Papers 1929–1986*, Mavors 4, Amsterdam, 1988, p. 377, no. 6; Holder, *Auxilia*, p. 243, no. E 15; PME, H 13.

<sup>1500</sup> AÉ 1912, 187 = Conrad, *Grabstelen*, p. 255, no. 485; Gerov, *Beiträge*, I, p. 153; Saddington, *Development*, p. 61; Petolescu, *Auxilia*, p. 69. On Härlec, see TIR K 34, p. 19; N. Gudea, JRGZM 52, 2005, p. 411 (l. 5). In addition, for *missicii*, see Domaszewski, RO<sup>2</sup>, p. 78–80 (p. XX).

<sup>1501</sup> AÉ 1967, 425 = Gerov, *Beiträge*, I, p. 153 = Conrad, *Grabstelen*, p. 255, no. 484. For *duplicarius alae* see Domaszewski, RO<sup>2</sup>, p. 53–54; D. Breeze, BJ 174, 1974, p. 278–286.

<sup>1502</sup> E. Birley, *AncSoc* 9, 1978, p. 266, no. 6 = idem, *The Roman Army. Papers 1929–1986*, Mavors 4, Amsterdam, 1988, p. 377, no. 6.

<sup>1503</sup> June 14, 92, C. C. Petolescu, A. T. Popescu, ZPE 148, 2004, p. 269–276, where appears *ala II Claudia Gallorum*, obviously a mistake.

<sup>1504</sup> P. Weiß, ZPE 117, 1997, p. 233–238, no. 4 = AÉ 1997, 1774 = RMD V 338.

<sup>1505</sup> RGZM, p. 18, note 1 (*ala I Claudia Gallorum* ranks second). See also M. A. Speidel, in A. S. Lewin, P. Pellegrini (eds.), *The Late Roman Army in the Near East from Diocletian to the Arab Conquest. Proceedings of a colloquium held at Potenza, Acerenza and Matera, Italy (May 2005)*, BAR Int. Ser. 1717, 2007, p. 78–79, no. 4.

Cappadocia in 101, the year of the first Dacian expedition, proves that Trajan did not intend to also involve the army of Moesia Inferior in the initial stage of the first Dacian expedition<sup>1506</sup>. The winter attack of the same year confirmed however that the army had to intervene for blocking a possible Barbarian invasion of the Balkans. M. A. Speidel disagrees though. The scholar considers that *ala I Claudia Gallorum* never left the territory of Moesia Inferior and that the diploma from Cappadocia mentions in fact *ala II Claudia Gallorum*. This unit is present, according to the author, on the diploma from Cataloi of 92 and could be then transferred on the territory of Cappadocia, where starting from 110 an *ala II Gallorum* is attested. However, by the end of his argument, the author calls for caution<sup>1507</sup>. Trajan might have thought in a first phase about the dislocation of this unit on the territory of Cappadocia, during the inspection of the Danube limes in 99. The troop was moved, however hastening events in the winter of 101–102 required its re-dislocation to the territory of Moesia Inferior. The subsequent course of events changed the unit destiny.

The issue was furthermore obscured when the 82/83 diploma for the province of Moesia recording among ale one *ala II GAL[...]*<sup>1508</sup> was edited. The diploma editor, starting with the quoted article of M. A. Speidel on *exercitus Cappadocicus*, considers the troop here identical with *ala II Claudia Gallorum*, which would appear on the diploma of Cataloi. Thus, two units with the same name are supposed to be present in the same period on the territory of Moesia and then of Moesia Inferior. This unit would be subsequently transferred to Cappadocia, where it appears on the new diploma of 101, however again erroneous under the form *I Claudia Gallorum* and then under the form *II Gallorum* in other documents<sup>1509</sup>. The first record insofar, of a unit with this name on the territory of Cappadocia comes from an inscription at Caesarea, Mauretania Caesarensis, preserving the carrier of *Ti. Claudius L. f. Helvius Secundus*, who among other offices was also *iterum praefectus alae II Gallorum*, after he had already been prefect of *ala VII Phrygum* from Syria. The command of the *ala* from Cappadocia was placed around 110 (he had been *adlectus a divo Nerva in quinque decuriis*)<sup>1510</sup>.

Still, I believe that this *ala II Gallorum* could be identical with *ala Gallica* from an inscription at Ratiaria, dated by mid 1st C or as early as Tiberius's reign<sup>1511</sup>. Considering that during the first half of the 1st C, the unit numeral was not rendered at all times, we could equate this unit with *ala II Gallica*, which appears on a Greek inscription from Thessaloniki dated in the Flavian – Trajanic period<sup>1512</sup>. One of the *alae* appearing on the diploma fragment of 78 or of 75 could also be equated with this unit<sup>1513</sup>. Sometime after 83, it was moved to Cappadocia. First record on the territory of the province of Cappadocia (Galatia et Cappadocia) could be an inscription from Posala, on the territory of Galatia, recording ἵππευς ἑλλης β' Γαλλικῆς<sup>1514</sup>. Around 120–130, at the command of this unit, *ala II Gallorum*, is recorded *Q. Baienus P. fil.*

<sup>1506</sup> See complete discussion at Fl. Matei-Popescu, *Argesis* 13, 2004, p. 123–129.

<sup>1507</sup> M. A. Speidel, *op. cit.*, p. 78–79.

<sup>1508</sup> P. Weiss, *Chiron* 38, 2008, p. 275–279, no. 3.

<sup>1509</sup> *Ibidem*, p. 277–278. See also M. A. Speidel, in A. S. Lewin, P. Pellegrini (eds.), *The Late Roman Army in the Near East from Diocletian to the Arab Conquest. Proceedings of a colloquium held at Potenza, Acerenza and Matera, Italy (May 2005)*, BAR Int. Ser. 1717, 2007, p. 78–79, no. 4 and p. 79, no. 5.

<sup>1510</sup> AÉ 1925, 44; PME, C 143; Holder, *Auxilia*, p. 258, E 145; M. A. Speidel, *op. cit.*, p. 79.

<sup>1511</sup> Gerov, *Beiträge*, I, p. 164; Holder, *Auxilia*, p. 271, no. 291.

<sup>1512</sup> ILS 8873: Λ. Ἀννίῳ Μακεδόνι δεκουρίῳι ἑλλης β' Γαλλικῆς; see also Holder, *Auxilia*, p. 271, no. 321.

<sup>1513</sup> RMD IV 209: [...]*ET I GAL[...]* / [...]*G]ALLORVM [...]* / [...]*VESPASIANA [DARDANORVM]*. Equation of *ala I Gallorum* with *ala I Claudia Gallorum Capitoniana* is totally uncertain, as long as within earliest records the unit appears only as *Capitoniana*.

<sup>1514</sup> IGR III 272; Holder, *Auxilia*, p. 272, no. 322.

*Pup. Blassianus*<sup>1515</sup>. M. A. Speidel believes, following E. Ritterling's identification, that this *ala* is recorded by Arrian (*Ekt.* 9) as ἡ εἴλη ἡ Γαλατικὴ<sup>1516</sup>. The lack of name *Claudia* within all unit records makes its equation with the supposed *ala II Claudia Gallorum* from the diploma at Cataloi almost impossible. Although I do not deem resolved the issue of *ala II Gallorum* from Cappadocia identification with its homonym recorded by Lower Danube in the 1st C, I consider that it has no connection with *ala I Claudia Gallorum*, which is mistakenly transcribed on the diploma of Cataloi and which for a short while was dislocated to the province of Galatia et Cappadocia in 101. Precisely this dislocation undoubtedly proves that Trajan did not foresee, by the beginning of the first expedition against the Dacians, the possible involvement of the units from Moesia Inferior. The course of events, especially the Sarmatian and possibly Dacian attack over Moesia Inferior required the involvement of this province army in the conflict. On this occasion, *ala I Claudia Gallorum*, which had been transferred for a short while to another province, is recalled to its former province and sent, most probably, north the Danube.

Subsequently, *ala I Claudia Gallorum Capitoniana* participated in the second part of Trajan's first and second expedition of the Dacian war<sup>1517</sup>, remaining in the territory north the Danube controlled by Moesia Inferior, as indicated by the diplomas of 105, 111 and 118–119<sup>1518</sup> and confirmed by the diplomas for Dacia Inferior in the years following Hadrian's reforms<sup>1519</sup>. It seems it was stationed at Boroşneul Mare (Covasna county), where stamps of this troop emerged<sup>1520</sup>, in case they do not belong to *ala Gallorum Aetorigiana* (*vide supra*). It was stationed in Dacia Inferior until the 3rd C as an inscription from Mauretania Caesarensis seems to imply; it might have been transferred there by Septimius Severus<sup>1521</sup>.

There is no indication on whether it changed or not the quartering location from Augusta<sup>1522</sup> or Variana<sup>1523</sup> when stationed in Moesia Inferior, in the first part of the 1st C, however, this was most likely the case. In addition, there is no information on any commander or soldier of the troop, except for *P. Curtius P. f. Palatina tribu Aburianus*, who appears earliest under Hadrian within an inscription from Rome, although at that time the *ala* was already in Dacia<sup>1524</sup>.

<sup>1515</sup> AÉ 1972, 70 = AÉ 1992, 689; PME, B 14.

<sup>1516</sup> M. A. Speidel, *op. cit.*, p. 79.

<sup>1517</sup> Strobel, *Dakerkriege*, p. 111; Fl. Matei-Popescu, O. Ţentea, in *Dacia Augusti Provincia*, p. 81; stamp from Slăveni, IDR II 525.

<sup>1518</sup> May 13, 105 (diploma from Hungary, CIL XVI 50); September 25, 111 (RMD IV 222) W. Eck, D. MacDonald, A. Pangerl, *Chiron* 32, 2002, p. 406–409, no. 3 = AÉ 2002, 1729 = RMD V 350.

<sup>1519</sup> 130 (P. Weiß, *ZPE* 117, 1997, p. 243–246, no. 8 = AÉ 1997, 1764 = RMD V 376; 134 (W. Eck, A. Pangerl, *ActaMN* 43–44/I, 2006–2007 (2008), p. 190–192, no. 2); December 13, 140 (diploma from Palamarcia, Bulgaria, IDR I 13 = RMD 39); 146 (RMD IV 269); Petolescu, *Auxilia*, p. 69, with complete name of *ala I Claudia Gallorum Capitoniana*.

<sup>1520</sup> IDR III/4 326–327; TIR L 35, p. 28, Vlădescu, *Armata*, p. 39; Vlădescu, *Fortificațiile*, p. 82–83; F. Marcu, in *Orbis antiquus*, p. 571, no. 1. A vexillation activated also at Reci, where stamps were identified: IDR III/4 315; TIR L 35, p. 61.

<sup>1521</sup> CIL VIII 8828 = 20633 = ILS 6889; M. P. Speidel, in *In memoriam Constantin Daicoviciu*, Cluj, 1974, p. 378–379 = idem, *Roman Army Studies*, I, Amsterdam, 1984, p. 220–221; Bensedik, *Troupes auxiliaires*, p. 32–33; H. Devijver, *Latomus* 43, 1984, 3, p. 586.

<sup>1522</sup> TIR K 34, p. 19; R. Ivanov, 78. BerRGK, 1997, p. 543–548; Zahariade, Gudea, *Fortifications*, p. 71, together probably with *ala Augusta* (Wagner, *Dislokation*, p. 14–15; V. Gerasimova, *ArheologijaSofia* 12, 1970, 4, p. 24; Beneš, *Auxilia*, p. 6).

<sup>1523</sup> Leskovec (*Variana*), Zahariade, Gudea, *Fortifications*, p. 71; N. Gudea, *JRGZM* 52, 2005, p. 412 (l. 6).

<sup>1524</sup> CIL VI 3517; PME, C 263; PME, VI, p. 17.

## 6. *Ala Gallorum Flaviana*<sup>1525</sup>

It is obviously a unit raised in an early period, receiving a surname which brings into mind a connection with the Flavian dynasty<sup>1526</sup>, although relation with *Flavus*, brother of *Arminius* was supposed, circumstances that could be placed in the same category with those for *ala Gallorum Aetorigiana*<sup>1527</sup>. I believe though that it refers rather to the civil war from 69 when, probably, like *ala I Vespasiana Dardanorum*, the troop defected to Vespasian, thus receiving the surname. It was believed it was stationed on the Rhine limes; however there is no certain data to that effect<sup>1528</sup>. It was displaced to Moesia, possibly as early as under Vespasian. Its name was supposedly completed on the fragment of a military diploma of 75 or 78<sup>1529</sup>.

It appears for the first time in the diploma from Cataloi of 92, as part of Moesia Inferior *alae*<sup>1530</sup>. Next, it is present in Nerva's constitution of 97<sup>1531</sup>. It appears successively in the province diplomas of 99, 105, 107 and 118–119<sup>1532</sup>. It is possible that a soldier had received the extremely fragmentary diploma of 99 (September/October?), although *ala Gallorum Aetorigiana* could not be dismissed from discussion<sup>1533</sup>.

Although evidence is not supportive, its involvement in Trajan's Dacian war was assumed<sup>1534</sup>.

The moment of its transfer to Moesia Superior is unknown, appearing for the first time in a diploma of September 9, 132/133 discovered at Carnuntum<sup>1535</sup> and subsequently in the diplomas of 145/154, 150/157, 151, 157, 159–160 and 161<sup>1536</sup>. The troop was also supposed within the constitution of 125/126 for Moesia Superior<sup>1537</sup>; however there are no supplemental elements that would certify it. No further information on the unit's presence on the territory of Moesia Inferior is available, it remaining in Moesia Superior<sup>1538</sup>.

<sup>1525</sup> Cichorius, *Ala*, col. 1243; Stein, *Truppen.*, p. 137; Wagner, *Dislokation*, p. 37–38; Aricescu, *Armata*, p. 54; Beneš, p. 9; Suceveanu, *Dobroudja*, p. 63; Spaul, *Ala*<sup>2</sup>, p. 115–116; Fl. Matei-Popescu, SCIVA 52–53, 2001–2002 (2004), p. 186–187, no. 6; O. Țentea, Fl. Matei-Popescu, ActaMN 39–40/I, 2002–2003(2004), p. 264–265; F. Gayet, *Historia* 55, 2006, 1, p. 80–81.

<sup>1526</sup> Saddington, *Development*, p. 147–149. S. Lambrino, *Revue Philologique* 5, 1931, p. 250, apud Saddington, *Development*, p. 237, n. 64, took in consideration *Flavius Sabinus*, brother of Vespasian, who could have led a *census* in Gaul, under Claudius (ILS 984), however the theory is based on conjecture.

<sup>1527</sup> Stein, *Truppen.*, p. 137, assuming an idea from E. Ritterling, (*C. Iulius*) *Flavus*, PME, I 63; PME, VI, p. 14. However, it should be rather related to a certain *Flavius*, E. Birley naming emperor Vespasian's father, *T. Flavius Petro*, E. Birley, *AncSoc* 9, 1978, p. 266–267, no. 8 = idem, *The Roman Army. Papers 1929–1986*, Mavors 4, Amsterdam, 1988, p. 377–378, no. 8.

<sup>1528</sup> Wagner, *Dislokation*, p. 37.

<sup>1529</sup> RMD IV 209: [*et Gallorum Flaviana*].

<sup>1530</sup> June 14, 92, C. C. Petolescu, A. T. Popescu, ZPE 148, 2004, p. 269–276.

<sup>1531</sup> P. Weiß, ZPE 117, 1997, p. 233–238, no. 4 = AÉ 1997, 1774 = RMD V 338.

<sup>1532</sup> August 14, 99 (diploma from Oltina, CIL XVI 44); May 13, 105 (diploma from Hungary, CIL XVI 50); September–December 107, two copies after the same constitution (W. Eck, A. Pangerl, *Chiron* 39, 2009, p. 514–519, no. 4; iidem, *Chiron* 39, 2009, p. 519–522, a fragment of the *tabella II*); 118–119 (W. Eck, D. MacDonald, A. Pangerl, *Chiron* 32, 2002, p. 406–409, no. 3 = AÉ 2002, 1729 = RMD V 350).

<sup>1533</sup> P. Weiß, ZPE 124, 1999, p. 287–289 = AÉ 1999, 1360 = RMD IV 217: [*alae Gallorum Flav]ianae cu[i] praest...]* f. *Nem. Ces[...], grega]li [...]* ci f. [...]. See also RMD IV, p. 423, note 5.

<sup>1534</sup> Rossi, *Trajan's Column*, p. 94; Strobel, *Dakerkriege*, p. 111.

<sup>1535</sup> RMD IV 247.

<sup>1536</sup> W. Eck, A. Pangerl, *Chiron* 38, 2008, p. 371–372, no. 11; W. Eck, D. MacDonald, A. Pangerl, *Chiron* 32, 2002, p. 401–426, no. 6 (for the two new diplomas); January 20, 151 (RGZM, no. 31); April 23, 157 (RGZM, no. 37; W. Eck, A. Pangerl, *Chiron* 38, 2008, p. 380–381, no. 14 and p. 383–384, no. 17); 159–160 (CIL XVI 111); February 8, 161 (RMD I 55).

<sup>1537</sup> P. Weiss, *Chiron* 38, 2008, p. 280–286, no. 5 (especially p. 284). The fragment edited on this occasion by P. Weiss is part of the same diploma with the fragment previously edited by W. Eck, A. Pangerl, *Dacia*, N. S. 50, 2006, p. 102–104, no. 4.

<sup>1538</sup> It was never dislocated to Mauretania Caesarensis, as supposed by Bensedik, *Troupes auxiliaires*, p. 31–32; H. Devijver, *Latomus* 43, 1984, 3, p. 586; Spaul, *Ala*<sup>2</sup>, p. 115.



The one of the diplomas copied after the imperial constitution from 107 (September-December) was given to a former horseman of this unit, *Zicodaisae/Zicolaisae, Auluz[...] f.*, probably of Thracian origin. In that moment the unit was under the command of a certain *M. Arruntius [...]*<sup>1539</sup>, probably related with *M. Arruntius Claudianus, praefectus classis et ripae Danuvii*, attested at the Lower Danube at the end of Domitian's reign<sup>1540</sup>. The troop commander mentioned by the inscription from Caesarea (Cherchel) held office in Moesia Superior or even in Moesia Inferior and by no means, in Mauretania Caesarensis<sup>1541</sup>. However, it is also possible to admit the unit presence among the detachment sent in expedition from Moesia Superior in the reign of Antoninus Pius<sup>1542</sup>. Except for this individual, other information on troop commanders or soldiers when stationed in Moesia Inferior is missing. Furthermore, there is no indication on its quartering location, although, based on certain stamps, it was deemed Carsium. Yet, respective stamps seem to belong to another troop, i.e. *ala I Flavia Gaetulorum*<sup>1543</sup>.

## 7. *Ala I Gallorum et Pannoniorum*<sup>1544</sup>

A troop named as such appears for the first time in the military diplomas for the province of Moesia Inferior in October 19, 120<sup>1545</sup> and 121, May/December<sup>1546</sup>. It is then mentioned in the diplomas of 125, 127 and 134<sup>1547</sup>. It is also recorded under same name in 145, 146 and 157<sup>1548</sup>. An inscription from Italy, dated under Antoninus Pius, records the troop's full name: *ala I Gallorum et Pannoniorum catafracta*<sup>1549</sup>.

Since there is no information on the unit from earlier periods, it was supposed it was established earliest during Trajan's reign derived from *ala I Pannoniorum* (*vide infra*), which had stationed in Moesia Inferior<sup>1550</sup>. F. Gayet believes it was formed of *ala I Claudia Gallorum* (different in his view, from *ala I Claudia Gallorum Capitoniana*) and of *ala I Pannoniorum*<sup>1551</sup>.

<sup>1539</sup> W. Eck, A. Pangerl, Chiron 39, 2009, p. 519–522, no. 5.

<sup>1540</sup> AÉ 1969–1970, 595 = IDRE II 373; Em. Doruțiu-Boilă, StCl 17, 1977, 89–100.

<sup>1541</sup> CIL VIII 21037; M. G. Jarrett, EpigrSt 9, 1972, p. 115, no. 91; Bensedik, *Troupes auxiliaires*, p. 31–32; PME, I 7.

<sup>1542</sup> P. Holder, ZPE 156, 2006, p. 260 = RMD V 405: [*equit(ibus) qui mil(itaverunt) i]n alis [---quae app(ellantur) --- et] Gall(orum) [---quae sunt in Moes(ia) infer(iore)?] sub Egr[ilio Plariano ? legat(o) item ala ---] quae est [in Moes(ia) super(iore) ? sub Sisenna Rutilia]no ? legat(o) [quinis et vicenis plurib(us)ve stipen]dis emerit[is dimissis honest(a) mission(e) per] Varium C[lementem proc(uratorem) cum essent in expe]d[it(ione) ? Maur(etaniae) Caesar(ensis)].*

<sup>1543</sup> To that effect, Suceveanu, *loc. cit.* For complete discussion *vide supra*, with *ala I Flavia Gaetulorum*.

<sup>1544</sup> Cichorius, *Ala*, col. 1245–1246; Christescu, *Ist. militară*, p. 180; Wagner, *Dislokation*, p. 38–39, Kraft, *Rekrutierung*, p. 27 and p. 32–34; Aricescu, *Armata*, p. 54; Beneš, *Auxilia*, p. 9; Spaul, *Ala<sup>2</sup>*, p. 82–84; Fl. Matei-Popescu, SCIVA 52–53, 2001–2002 (2004), p. 187–188, no. 7; O. Țentea, Fl. Matei-Popescu, ActaMN 39–40/I, 2002–2003(2004), p. 267–268; F. Gayet, *Historia* 55, 2006, 1, p. 82.

<sup>1545</sup> W. Eck, A. Pangerl, Chiron 39, 2009, p. 533–537, no. 9.

<sup>1546</sup> P. Weiss, Chiron 38, 2008, p. 296–300, no. 10: [*I GALLORVM ET PANNO]NIORVM*.

<sup>1547</sup> June 1, 125 (M. M. Roxan, W. Eck, ZPE 116, 1997, p. 193–203 (p. 195–196) = AÉ 1997, 1772 = RMD IV 235); August 20, 127 (M. M. Roxan, ZPE 118, 1997, p. 287–295 = AÉ 1997, 1780 = RMD IV 241); April 2, 134 (diploma from Giurgiu, CIL XVI 78).

<sup>1548</sup> April 7, 145 granted to a unit soldier, whose name did not preserve (RMD III 165 + P. Weiß, ZPE 134, 2001, p. 261–262 = RMD V 399; P. Weiss, Chiron 38, 2008, no. 16); 146 (P. Weiß, ZPE 124, 1999, p. 279–286 = AÉ 1999, 1359 = RMD IV 270); and another diploma fragment, which could be another copy of the same imperial constitution of 146 (C. C. Petolescu, A. T. Popescu, *Dacia*, N. S. 51, 2007, p. 149–151, no. 2); 157 (RMD I 50).

<sup>1549</sup> CIL XI 5632 = ILS 2735 = IPD<sup>4</sup> 348, from Camerinum, Regio VI.

<sup>1550</sup> Cichorius, *Ala*, col. 1246; Wagner, *Dislokation*, p. 39, however, resuming an older view, according to which the military unit had been raised from Pannonia, where Celtic peoples lived as well. M. M. Roxan, W. Eck, ZPE 116, 1997, p. 196, agree with C. Cichorius. Kraft, *Rekrutierung*, p. 33 argue the opposite, believing that the troop, alike other double troops (p. 27) dates from earlier period.

<sup>1551</sup> F. Gayet, *Historia* 55, 2006, 1, p. 80 and p. 82.

Such a solution is hard to accept, given that F. Gayet failed to convincingly prove that one could identify two *alae* named *I Claudia Gallorum*, only one bearing also the name *Capitoniana*. Most likely, in this case we deal again with the replenishment of *ala I Pannoniorum* strength with recruits of Gallic origin, alike *ala II Pannoniorum* recorded in Dacia and then in Dacia Porolissensis, named *ala II Gallorum et Pannoniorum*.

Further information on the troop history is lacking, but it is by no means identical with *ala II Gallorum et Pannoniorum* and *ala nova firma catafractaria*, as J. Spaul attempts to prove<sup>1552</sup>.

Additionally, there are no data on the location of the troop fort within the territory of Moesia Inferior<sup>1553</sup>.

The name of a single troop commander, i.e. *M. Maenius C. f. Cor. Agrippa L. Tusidius Campester* was identified in the above adduced inscription<sup>1554</sup>.

## 8. *Ala Hispanorum*<sup>1555</sup>

Prior its displacement to the territory of Moesia, the unit apparently stationed in Germania<sup>1556</sup> and then at Aquincum, in Pannonia<sup>1557</sup>. It could have also stopped for a short

<sup>1552</sup> Spaul, *loc. cit.*; Wagner, *Dislokation*, p. 34 and p. 39; Kraft, *Rekrutierung*, p. 147 and p. 157; Petolescu, *Auxilia*, p. 74–76 (*ala II Gallorum et Pannoniorum*). This *ala nova firma milliaria catafractaria* is attested in Germania (CIL XIII 7323; Stein, *Truppen.*, p. 128) and by one inscription from Pannonia at Intercisa, mentioning a *decurio* coming from *Osrhoene* (CIL III 10307 = RIU 1073). This is a troop set up in the 3rd C, bearing under Philippus Arabs the *cognomen* of *Philippiana* (CIL III 99) and which was involved in several Eastern campaigns under Severus Alexander, Maximinus Thrax and Gordian III (Stein, *Truppen.*, p. 127–128, for complete history of the troop).

<sup>1553</sup> Aricescu, *loc. cit.*, possible, in his view, on the territory of Dobrudja.

<sup>1554</sup> CIL XI 5632 = ILS 2735 = IPD<sup>4</sup> 348; PIR<sup>2</sup> II, p. 321, no. 53; Pflaum, *Carrières*, p. 292–295, no. 120; PME, M 5; PME, VI, 17; M. G. Jarrett, *Britannia* 25, 1994, p. 46–48.

<sup>1555</sup> Cichorius, *Ala*, col. 1247–1248; Stein, *Truppen.*, p. 140–141; Christescu, *Ist. militară*, p. 179; Wagner, *Dislokation*, p. 43–45; I. I. Russu, *SCIV* 23, 1972, 2, p. 66; Roldan Hervás, *Ejército*, p. 91–93 and p. 106–107 (erroneously interpreted as *ala I Hispanorum pia fidelis* and not identical with the troop from Moesia, emerging only in Dacia Inferior in 129); Beneš, *Auxilia*, p. 10; Tudor, *OR*<sup>4</sup>, p. 331–332; N. Gudea, M. Zahariade, *Archivo español de arqueología* 53, 1980, p. 63, no. 3; Vlădescu, *Armata*, p. 39; Spaul, *Ala*<sup>2</sup>, p. 144–146; Petolescu, *Auxilia*, p. 71–72; C. C. Petolescu, A. T. Popescu, in *Studia Historica et Theologica*, p. 84; Fl. Matei-Popescu, *SCIVA* 52–53, 2001–2002 (2004), p. 188–189, no. 8; O. Țentea, Fl. Matei-Popescu, *ActaMN* 39–40/I, 2002–2003(2004), p. 268.

<sup>1556</sup> Stein, *Truppen.*, p. 140–141; Wagner, *Dislokation*, p. 44; Spaul, *Ala*<sup>2</sup>, p. 145. See CIL XIII 6234 = Riese, *Rheinische Germanien*, p. 159, no. 1455 = Howald, Meyer, *Die römische Schweiz*, p. 350, no. 474, inscription discovered at Worms mentioning *Licinus Clossi f. Helvetius, eques alae [I] Hispanorum*, most likely without numeral; CIL XIII 7026 = Riese, *Rheinische Germanien*, p. 160, no. 1456 = Howald, Meyer, *Die römische Schweiz*, p. 351, no. 475, inscription discovered at Mainz recording *Rufus Coutusvati f., natione Elvetius, eques alae Hispanae*; CIL XIII 6233 = Riese, *Rheinische Germanien*, p. 159, no. 1454: *Q. Carminius Ingtenuus, eques* and then *signifer ala I? Hispanorum*, inscription from Worms as well, also most likely without numeral; CIL XIII 7027 = Riese, *Rheinische Germanien*, p. 160, no. 1467: *Ignotus, eques ala Hispanorum*, inscription again from Mainz. At Kaiseraugst an inscription dated under Tiberius was discovered, mentioning a *vexillarius alae Hispanae* whose name did not preserve (AÉ 1971, 277 = 1992, 1276; M. A. Speidel, *ZPE* 91, 1992, p. 165–174). See also Stein, *op. cit.*, p. 141: “Der angegeben epigraphische Befund erlaubt die Vermutung, dass damals zuerst Trier, dann Worms Garnisonort der Truppe war”. Probably in this period (Claudius-Nero) the troop was commanded by *Sex. Caecilius Sex. f. Fab. Senecius*, recorded as *praefectus equitum alae Hispanorum*, without a numeral, within an inscription from Mantua, Regio X (CIL V 4058; PME, C 25; Holder, *Auxilia*, p. 248, no. E 65; H. Devijver, *The Equestrian Officers of the Roman Imperial Army*, *Mavors* 6, Amsterdam, 1989, p. 71; the order of the equestrian militias indicates the period of Claudius, as after he completed the office of *ala* prefect, he become tribune of legion XX, according to the chart conveyed by Suetonius, *Claudius*, 25, 1).

<sup>1557</sup> The Museum from Pécs houses the inscriptions of a Batavian origin soldier who served in *ala Hispanorum* (CIL III 3681 = 10513 = Riese, *Rheinische Germanien*, p. 160, no. 1458) and also the inscription of *Nertus Dumnotali f., veteranus ala Hisp. I* (CIL III 10514 = Riese, *Rheinische Germanien*, p. 160, no. 1459, which could refer yet to

while in Dalmatia, at Burnum (close to Ivoševci), where a tombstone of an *equus* of Batavian origin was found<sup>1558</sup>.

On a marble plate discovered at Vatican appears the name of *P. Cornelius Orestinus, comes Tiberii Caesaris* and his father, *P. Cornelius P. f. Scipio*, who had been praetor, proconsul and later, legion legate; dedications were placed by the prefects of five *alae*, all stationing in Germania at the date. Among, we find *ala Hispanorum veterana* and *ala Hispanorum tironum*<sup>1559</sup>. Most likely, the troop which was subsequently displaced to Moesia and then Moesia Inferior may be identified with *ala Hispanorum veterana* from the inscription above.

It emerges in Moesia Inferior firstly in 92 and then in 97<sup>1560</sup>. However, a unit *veteranus, Sulpicius Massa* is mentioned within an inscription from Utus<sup>1561</sup>, where it was probably quartered, therefore lowering the date of first record under Vespasian or more precisely by the end of Nero's reign, should we agree that the soldier, of Germanic origin (*natione Tunger*), was released in 68 during emperor Galba's short reign.

It was involved in Trajan's Dacian expeditions<sup>1562</sup> and probably remained on the newly conquered territory attached to the Moesia Inferior province, as it appears on a military diploma from 107 (September-December)<sup>1563</sup>. Probably in the connection with the military unrest after Trajan's death, the unit was moved in Dacia and thereafter in Dacia Superior, where it is recorded for the first time in the diploma of November 12, 119 and thereafter on a diploma of June 29, 120, rewarded to a horseman of the unit<sup>1564</sup>. The first diploma editors considered, firstly, that it could be in fact *ala I Hispanorum Campagonum* mentioned subsequently on the diplomas for Dacia Superior. Still, the absence of the numeral within this diploma strongly suggests that it is the troop under discussion (the numeral is never entered within the documents recording the unit in Moesia Inferior and the diplomas for Dacia Inferior and identified on single occasion in the re-founding inscription of the fort at Slăveni of 205<sup>1565</sup>). In fact, in 119, although in March/April, *ala I Hispanorum Campagonum* is still recorded among the auxiliaries of Pannonia Inferior,

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the future *ala I Hispanorum Campagonum* considering the numeral). For the presence of this unit in Germania and then Pannonia see also P. Holder, in Z. Visy (ed.), *Limes XIX. Proceedings of the XIX<sup>th</sup> International Congress of Roman Frontier Studies Pécs, Hungary, September 2003*, University of Pécs, 2005, p. 79.

<sup>1558</sup> Z. Rakuić, *Diadora* 3, 1965, p. 71–77, no. 1 = AÉ 1971, 299: *Imerix Sevofredi f. Batavos / eq(ues) ala Hispano(rum) / [a]nnor(um) XXVIII / stip(endiorum) VIII / h. s. e.*; see also J. E. Bogaers, *Een Bataaf in Dalmatia*, Numaga. Tijdschrift gewijd aan heden en verleden van Nijmegen en omgeving 13, 1966, 4, p. 161–181 ([http://repository.ubn.ru.nl/bitstream/2066/26467/1/26467\\_\\_\\_\\_.PDF](http://repository.ubn.ru.nl/bitstream/2066/26467/1/26467____.PDF)). Noticeably, the horseman appearing on the inscription from Aquincum has the same origin.

<sup>1559</sup> M. Castelli, *MEFRA* 104, 1992, p. 195 (p. 178, fig. 1) = AÉ 1992, 186. For the identification of the two units see also p. 183–184.

<sup>1560</sup> June 14, 92 (diploma of Cataloi, C. C. Petolescu, A. T. Popescu, *ZPE* 148, 2004, p. 269–276); 97 (P. Weiß, *ZPE* 117, 1997, p. 233–238, no. 4 = AÉ 1997, 1774 = RMD V 338).

<sup>1561</sup> AÉ 1895, 42 = CIL III 12361 = Riese, *Rheinische Germanien*, p. 160, no. 1460 = Gerov, *Beiträge*, II, p. 77–78 (p. 195–196, no. 36) = ILB 122; Zahariade, Gudea, *Fortifications*, p. 72.

<sup>1562</sup> Strobel, *Dakerkriege*, p. 111–112; Fl. Matei-Popescu, O. Țentea, in *Dacia Augusti Provincia*, p. 82.

<sup>1563</sup> W. Eck, A. Pangerl, *Chiron* 39, 2009, p. 514–519, no. 4. The units were under the governor *L. Fabius Iustus*, attested governor from 105 (W. Eck, *Chiron* 12, 1982, 341–346; Thomasson, *Laterculi*<sup>2</sup>, p. 48, no. 20:070).

<sup>1564</sup> W. Eck, D. MacDonal, A. Pangerl, *ActaMN* 38/I, 2001, p. 27–36, no. 1 (see discussion at p. 32) = AÉ 2001, 2150; W. Eck, D. MacDonal, A. Pangerl, *ActaMN* 39–40/I, 2002–2003 (2004), p. 48–50 = RMD V 351. Meanwhile, additional diploma fragments were identified, proving these units were under the command of governor *Q. Marcius Turbo*, occasion for the authors to endorse P. Holder's view (RMD V 351, note 2), according to which this is *ala Hispanorum* from Moesia Inferior, W. Eck, A. Pangerl, *ActaMN* 41–42/I, 2004–2005 (2007), p. 61–67, with complete discussion at p. 62–63. W. Eck, A. Pangerl, *ActaMN* 43–44/I, 2006–2007 (2008), p. 194–198 (the diploma of 120 – awarded to *Adiutor Psi f. Bessus*, under the command of *C. Fidus Q. f. Gal. Loreianus*).

<sup>1565</sup> CIL III 13800 = IDR II 496.

evidenced by a relatively recently edited military diploma<sup>1566</sup>. The displacement history of *ala I Hispanorum Campagonum* complicated following its record on a military diploma of 112 for Moesia Superior<sup>1567</sup>. The lack of the numeral, under such circumstances, strongly suggests that the diploma of November 12, 119 records *ala Hispanorum* from Moesia Inferior and not *ala I Hispanorum Campagonum* from Moesia Superior and then Pannonia Inferior.

Subsequently, it appears in the diplomas for Dacia Inferior of 125–126, 129, 130, 140, 146 and 150<sup>1568</sup>, being garrisoned at Slăveni<sup>1569</sup>.

No information on any of the unit commanders while stationing in Moesia Inferior was preserved. Most likely, *L. Dudisti L. f. Voltinia Novanus*, recorded as *praefectus alae Hispanae* by one inscription discovered at Massalia (Marseille) refers to the period when the troop was stationed in Germania<sup>1570</sup>.

We know, however the name of two soldiers who served in this province with *ala Hispanorum: Sulpicius Massa, veteranus natione Tunger*, from the inscription at *Utus*, discharged most likely under the short reign of *Sulpicius Galba*<sup>1571</sup> and an *ex statore*, whose name can be restored with difficulty<sup>1572</sup>, from an inscription fragment found close to Montana. The Germanic origin of *Massa* moreover proves that the unit was present in Germania Inferior around 43, should we agree he was released in 68.

## 9. *Ala II Hispanorum et Aravacorum*<sup>1573</sup>

This military unit, initially raised from the *Arevaci*, from the central Iberian Peninsula area<sup>1574</sup>, stationed for while in Pannonia<sup>1575</sup>, wherefrom it was moved by Domitian to Moesia

<sup>1566</sup> W. Eck, D. MacDonald, A. Pangerl, *ActaMN* 38/I, 2001, p. 25–34, no. 1.

<sup>1567</sup> W. Eck, A. Pangerl, *Chiron* 38, 2008, p. 355–360, no. 8.

<sup>1568</sup> 125–126 (M. Ilkić, *Vjesnik za Arheologiju i Povijest Dalmatinsku* 102, 2009, p. 59–73); 129 (CIL XVI 75 = IDR I 10); 130 (P. Weiß, *ZPE* 117, 1997, p. 243–246, no. 8 = AÉ 1997, 1764 = RMD V 376); 140 (IDR I 13 = RMD 39); 146 (RMD IV 269); 150 (W. Eck, A. Pangerl, *ActaMN* 43–44/I, 2006–2007 (2008), p. 192–193, no. 3); Petolescu, *Auxilia*, p. 71.

<sup>1569</sup> CIL III 13800 = IDR II 496; D. Tudor, *Drobeta* 1, 1974, p. 47–53 = IDR II 499; CIL III 14216<sup>14</sup> = IDR II 498; IDR II 500; IDR II 510; IDR II 526 a, b; Christescu, *loc. cit.*; TIR L 35, p. 67–68; D. Tudor, in *Studien zu den Militärgrenzen Roms. II. Vorträge des 10. Internationalen Limeskongresses in der Germania Inferior 1974*, Cologne – Bonn, 1977, p. 399–403; idem, *OR*<sup>4</sup>, p. 101 and p. 301–307; Vlădescu, *Fortificațiile*, p. 30–34; Bogdan-Cătănciu, *Muntenia*, p. 62–64.

<sup>1570</sup> CIL XII 408 = Riese, *Rheinische Germanien*, p. 159, no. 1453; Stein, *Truppen.*, p. 141; PME, D 36; PME, VI, p. 21.

<sup>1571</sup> CIL III 12361 = Riese, *Rheinische Germanien*, p. 160, no. 1460 = Gerov, *Beiträge*, II, p. 77–78 (p. 195–196, no. 36) = ILB 122 = Conrad, *Grabstelen*, p. 240, no. 425; Kraft, *Rekrutierung*, p. 150–151, no. 352 and p. 43; D. Bălțeanu, *AO* 14, 1999, p. 57, no. 1. See the case of a certain *Sulpicius Florus*, part of cohort *Britannica* or *Brittonum* and who received citizenship under Galba (Tacitus, *Hist.* I, 43, 2: *Sulpicius Florus e Britannicis cohortibus, nuper a Galba civitate donatus*).

<sup>1572</sup> CIL III 12378 = Gerov, *Beiträge*, II, p. 78 (p. 196, no. 38); D. Bălțeanu, *AO* 14, 1999, p. 57, no. 2. For *stator praefecti alae*, see Domaszewski, *RO*<sup>2</sup>, p. 55.

<sup>1573</sup> Cichorius, *Ala*, col. 1229–1230; Wagner, *Dislokation*, p. 47–48; Kraft, *Rekrutierung*, p. 151, no. 370–378; Roldan Hervas, *Ejercito*, p. 101–103; Aricescu, *Armata*, p. 55–56; Beneš, *Auxilia*, p. 10; Suceveanu, *Dobroudja*, p. 64; Spaul, *Ala*<sup>2</sup>, p. 34–36; Fl. Matei-Popescu, *SCIIVA* 52–53, 2001–2002 (2004), p. 189–191, no. 9; O. Țentea, Fl. Matei-Popescu, *ActaMN* 39–40/I, 2002–2003(2004), p. 268–269; R. Petrovsky, *Mitteilungen des historischen Vereins der Pfalz* 102, 2004, p. 20–26, no. 3.

<sup>1574</sup> L. A. Curchin, *The Romanization of Central Spain. Complexity, diversity and change in a provincial hinterland*, London-New York, 2004, p. 35, with quote of written sources. This population emerges for the first time in history in 153 BCE on the occasion of its involvement into the Celtiberian uprising. It seems that the form *Aravaci* mirrors a late period, when the recruits were no longer of Spanish origin, but rather of local, provincial origin.

<sup>1575</sup> June 13, 80 (CIL XVI 26); September 13, 84 (CIL XVI 30); September 5, 85 (CIL XVI 32). See also the inscriptions from Mursa (CIL III 3268, *Niger Bataronis f. Sueitrius, eques ala Aravacorum*; based on internal



Inferior<sup>1576</sup>. Nevertheless its history is even earlier<sup>1577</sup>. We should also mention that earliest forms under which the two known *alae* bearing this name are *ala I et II Aravacorum*. The forms *ala I et II Hispanorum et Aravacorum* seem to indicate a subsequent completion of their stenght with recruits coming from one of the Spanish provinces, at a date that cannot be established with precision.

It is recorded in Moesia Inferior for the first time within the diploma of 97<sup>1578</sup>. It is then present in the diploma from Oltina of 99 and that of Speyer (discovered at Sexaginta Prista) of 105<sup>1579</sup>. It seems it was involved in both Dacian expeditions; however it has not remained in the newly conquered territories<sup>1580</sup>. It was supposed that it constructed, between the two Dacian expeditions, the fort at Carsium<sup>1581</sup>. The discovery of several stamps exhibiting the legend *AL · FL* does not confirm however such hypothesis<sup>1582</sup>.

Nevertheless, at Carsium or elsewhere the troop continued its activity on the territory of the province and especially in Dobrudja, leaving numerous traces<sup>1583</sup>.

It is also present in the diplomas of 111, 113, 116, 120, 121, 127, 138, 145, 146 and 157<sup>1584</sup>. It would station until the end of the 3rd C on the territory of Moesia Inferior, in 200 being recorded at Carsium<sup>1585</sup>.

Two prefects of the *ala* are known. The first, *L. Fabius L. f. Pal. Fabullus*, appears on the diploma of 105 awarded to a horseman: *Atrectus Capitonis f.*, a Germanic from the *Nemetae*<sup>1586</sup>.

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characters, the epitaph dates the latest by mid 1st C), Teutoburgium (CIL III 3271, *Ti. Claudius, Britti f. Valerius, dec. alae II Aravacorum, domo Hispanus*, was probably part of the first generation of recruits. See also Cheesman, *Auxilia*, p. 120; E. Tóth, G. Vékony, *ActaArchHung* 22, 1970, p. 156–157) and Sopianae (CIL III 14039 = RIU 982); A. Mocsy, *RE Suppl IX*, 1962, col., 619; P. Kos, *Germania*, 62, 1984, 1, p. 47–54; D. Knight, *ZPE* 85, 1991, p. 190; Lőrincz, *Hilfstruppen*, p. 21 and p. 198–199, no. 133–137.

<sup>1576</sup> Wagner, *Dislokation*, p. 47; Saddington, *Development*, p. 95; Strobel, *Dakerkriege*, p. 112; D. Knight, *ZPE* 85, 1991, p. 199; Lőrincz, *Hilfstruppen*, p. 21 and p. 67.

<sup>1577</sup> Holder, *Auxilia*, p. 113; Saddington, *Development*, p. 67; D. Knight, *ZPE* 85, 1991, p. 189.

<sup>1578</sup> P. Weiß, *ZPE* 117, 1997, p. 233–238, no. 4 = *AE* 1997, 1774 = *RMD V* 338.

<sup>1579</sup> August 14, 99 (CIL XVI 44); May 13, 105 (R. Petrovsky, *Mitteilungen des historischen Vereins der Pfalz* 102, 2004, p. 10–17).

<sup>1580</sup> Strobel, *loc. cit.*

<sup>1581</sup> *ISM V* 94 = V. Pârvan, *AARMSI* 35, 1913, p. 480–489, no. 4, completed based on late information, especially the milestone of 200 (CIL III 7603 = *ISM V* 93), *ala [II Hispanorum et Aravacorum]*. On the fortification from Carsium, see *TIR L* 35, p. 30; Zahariade, Gudea, *Fortifications*, p. 79; N. Gudea, *JRGZM* 52, 2005, p. 449 (III. 42).

<sup>1582</sup> For complete discussion *vide supra*, with *ala I Flavia Gaetulorum*. Still, Suceveanu, *loc. cit.*, considers it might have been stationed there beginning with the 2nd C.

<sup>1583</sup> Aricescu, *loc. cit.* (especially p. 56).

<sup>1584</sup> September 25, 111 (*RMD IV* 222); 113 (P. Weiss, *Chiron* 38, 2008, p. 293–296, no. 9); 116 (W. Eck, A. Pangerl, *Dacia, N. S.* 50, 2006, p. 99–102, no. 3); October 19, 120 (W. Eck, A. Pangerl, *Chiron* 39, 2009, p. 533–537, no. 9); May/December 121 (P. Weiss, *Chiron* 38, 2008, p. 296–300, no. 10); August 20, 127 (M. M. Roxan, *ZPE* 118, 1997, p. 287–295 = *AE* 1997, 1780 = *RMD IV* 241); February 2, 138 (diploma of Târnovo, CIL XVI 83); April 7, 145 (*RMD III* 165 + P. Weiß, *ZPE* 134, 2001, p. 261–262 = *RMD V* 399; P. Weiss, *Chiron* 38, 2008, p. 314–316, no. 16); 146 (P. Weiß, *ZPE* 124, 1999, p. 279–286 = *AE* 1999, 1359 = *RMD IV* 270; in addition, another fragment of a military diploma, copied after the same imperial constitution, C. C. Petolescu, A. T. Popescu, *Dacia, N. S.* 51, 2007, p. 149–151, no. 2); 157 (*RMD I* 50).

<sup>1585</sup> Gr. Tocilescu, *AEM* 8, 1884, p. 29–30, no. 6: “Meilenstein, gefunden auf dem türkischen Friedhofe zu Hirschova”; CIL III 7603 = *ISM V* 93 (MNA L 263).

<sup>1586</sup> R. Petrovsky, *Mitteilungen des historischen Vereins der Pfalz* 102, 2004, p. 10–17. The soldier was recruited around 80, nevertheless before the beginning of Domitian's reign. On this population, probably a branch of the *Suebi* and their centre from Noviomagus (Speyer) see, A. Franke, *RE XVI*, 1935, col. 2382–2385. A cohort formed of *Nemetae* (Tacitus, *Ann.* XII, 27; Cichorius, *Cohors*, col. 318; Franke, *loc. cit.*, col. 2383) is also recorded.

The second, *L. Marcius Sabula*, a Rome native, appears in the diploma of 111 granted to *Taurinus Verecundi f., Sequanus*<sup>1587</sup>. This horseman of Gallic origin was supposedly recruited following larger scale conscription on the occasion of Domitian's Dacian campaign<sup>1588</sup>. The inscriptions discovered in Dobrudja provide information on an important number of soldiers and veterans of the unit. Thus, at Arrubium the decurion *C. Iulius Pr[imus]* together with his brother of same name, however who was *beneficiarius procuratoris*, placed a tombstone to their father by the end of the 2nd C<sup>1589</sup>. In 161–169, at Capidava retired *Aelius Longinus*<sup>1590</sup>. Some of the soldiers or veterans of the unit appear in the territory of Histria, like the case of *Titinius Severinus sescuplicarius*<sup>1591</sup>, *Aurelius Firmus, veteranus ex decurione*<sup>1592</sup> by the beginning of the 3rd C and *M. Vettius Felix*<sup>1593</sup>, *veteranus ex decurione* by mid 2nd C. At Carsium, only an inscription, apparently discovered at Hârșova<sup>1594</sup>, records a *singularis consularis* or a *summus curator, Ulpius Demetrius*.

At Tomis is recorded a certain *Lupus*, who sets up, together with his brother, a funerary monument to his family<sup>1595</sup>. Finally, at Cius established *C. Val(erius) Her[c]ulanus ex statore praefecti alae II Aravacorum*, together with his spouse, born in the *vicus Rami[...]*<sup>1596</sup>. Probably *Iulius Valens*, whose tombstone stone was erected at Cius<sup>1597</sup> was also part of the troop. We must also mention, *Ti. Claudius Victor* recorded by an inscription from Utus<sup>1598</sup>, according to K. Kraft, precisely by the end of the 1st C and *Aurelius Cotus* (Thracian *cognomen*) at Sexaginta Prista<sup>1599</sup>, in the 3rd C.

<sup>1587</sup> RMD IV 222.

<sup>1588</sup> RMD IV, p. 435, note 15.

<sup>1589</sup> CIL III 6218 = ISM V 253 = CGLBI 640, r. 2–3: *C. Iulius Pri[imus] / dec(urio) alae II Ar(avacorum)*; Kraft, *Rekrutierung*, p. 151, no. 367; D. Bălțeanu, AO 14, 1999, p. 57–58, no. 1.

<sup>1590</sup> ISM V 23; Kraft, *Rekrutierung*, p. 151, no. 375; A. Aricescu, Pontica 9, 1976, p. 83; D. Bălțeanu, AO 14, 1999, p. 59, no. 5; Bărbulescu, *Viața rurală*, p. 184–185.

<sup>1591</sup> ISM I 273 = Conrad, *Grabstelen*, p. 179, no. 202; Kraft, *Rekrutierung*, p. 151, no. 377; D. Bălțeanu, AO 14, 1999, p. 58, no. 2. The individual set up this stela together with his brother, *Titinius Ianuaris* to the memory of one of his parents,

<sup>1592</sup> ISM I 297; D. Bălțeanu, AO 14, 1999, p. 59, no. 8.

<sup>1593</sup> ISM I 278 (?), V. Pârvan's supposition, Pârvan, *Histria IV*, p. 38, 1916, p. 664–668, no. 44, that this could be *ala II Hispanorum et Aravacorum*; D. Bălțeanu, AO 14, 1999, p. 58–59, no. 4.

<sup>1594</sup> ISM V 102: *Deo inv(icto) / Ulpius / Demetrius L P s(ingularis) c(onsularis) allae II Ara(vacorum) / v. s. l. m.* Evidently *Ulpius Demetrius* office may be also completed as *s(ummus) c(urator)*.

<sup>1595</sup> CIL III 14214<sup>29</sup> = ISM II 225; D. Bălțeanu, AO 14, 1999, p. 59, no. 6.

<sup>1596</sup> CIL III 14214<sup>22</sup> = ISM V 117 = Conrad, *Grabstelen*, p. 186–187, no. 230 (profilgerahmte Stele, foma Iia, p. 47: "Diese Stelenform ist im unteren Donaauraum ebenso wie die Form Ia zunächst im Umkreis der Militärstandorte für Soldaten, Veteranen und Bewohner der *canabae* aufgestellt worden"); D. Bălțeanu, AO 14, 1999, p. 59, no. 9. For *vicus Rami[...]* see Em. Doruțiu-Boilă, in *Epigraphica. Travaux dédiés au VII<sup>e</sup> Congrès d'épigraphie grecque et latine (Constantza 9–15 septembre 1977)*, Bucharest, 1977, p. 180–185; Bărbulescu, *Viața rurală*, p. 99 and p. 181; and also TIR L 35, p. 78.

<sup>1597</sup> CIL III 7495 = ISM V 121. Em. Doruțiu-Boilă, ISM V, p. 144; Bărbulescu, *Viața rurală*, p. 181. It is interesting that our character has, except for his *cognomen*, unknown in this case, the same name with *C. Iulius Valens*, recorded by a different inscription discovered at Cius, as veteran of legion *V Macedonica* and *magister vici* (CIL III 12479 = ISM V 115; Bărbulescu, *Viața rurală*, p. 98–99 and p. 181, n. 519, believes he is a successor of the ala veteran).

<sup>1598</sup> CIL III 12359 = Gerov, *Beiträge*, II, p. 78 (p. 196, no. 37) = ILB 120; Kraft, *Rekrutierung*, p. 151, no. 374; D. Bălțeanu, AO 14, 1999, p. 58, no. 3. For Utus see Zahariade, Gudea, *Fortifications*, p. 72.

<sup>1599</sup> AÉ 1911, 219 = AÉ 1940, 34 = Conrad, *Grabstelen*, p. 224–225, no. 365; Kraft, *Rekrutierung*, p. 151, no. 378; D. Bălțeanu, AO 14, 1999, p. 59, no. 7. For Sexaginta Prista, see R. Ivanov, 78. BerRGK, 1997, p. 582; Zahariade, Gudea, *Fortifications*, p. 74.

## 10. *Ala I Pannoniorum*<sup>1600</sup>

It was supposed it had stationed in Dalmatia and subsequently on the territory of Pannonia<sup>1601</sup>, before being moved to Moesia.

In Moesia it is recorded by the tombstone of *T. Flavius Capito veteranus ex decurione* of Tomis, who received *dona militaria* from Vespasian<sup>1602</sup>. Additionally, one inscription from Thracia, where an unknown person is *praefectus alae Pannoniorum* during Nero's last reign years, seems to record the troop, however it remains uncertain<sup>1603</sup>. It was most likely quartered in the eastern part of the province, as in 92 is listed among the troops of Moesia Inferior<sup>1604</sup>. Also, it is noted in the diploma of 99 from Oltina<sup>1605</sup> and probably on the diploma fragment from Adamclisi, dated 112–114<sup>1606</sup>.

It is possible that it was garrisoned at Troesmis<sup>1607</sup>, prior the arrival here of V Macedonica legion<sup>1608</sup>. It participated in the Dacian war<sup>1609</sup> and is recorded among the auxiliaries of Moesia Inferior in 107 (September-December)<sup>1610</sup>. Thereafter, it is attested on September 25, 111<sup>1611</sup> and next, rather surprisingly, among the auxiliaries of Dacia in 114<sup>1612</sup>. The presence of the unit among Dacian auxilia may be related to a possible displacement of certain auxiliaries or rather vexillations made up amongst in order to take part in the Parthian expedition<sup>1613</sup>. Such displacement is directly recorded only for *ala I Flavia Augusta Britannica milliaria* from Pannonia Inferior (*vide supra* with *ala I Flavia Gaetulorum*) and several units from Moesia Superior<sup>1614</sup> and not for Dacia. Another explanation could be the possible inclusion of territory

<sup>1600</sup> Cichorius, *Ala*, col. 1253; Wagner, *Dislokation*, p. 56–58; Kraft, *Rekrutierung*, p. 155–156, no. 470–477; V. Gerasimova, *ArheologijaSofia* 12, 1970, 4, p. 23; Aricescu, *Armata*, p. 54–55; Beneš, *Auxilia*, p. 11–12; Suceveanu, *Dobroudja*, p. 63–64; J. Spaul, *ZPE* 105, 1995, p. 63–73; idem, *Ala*<sup>2</sup>, p. 167–172; Fl. Matei-Popescu, *SCIVA* 52–53, 2001–2002 (2004), p. 191–192, no. 10; O. Țentea, Fl. Matei-Popescu, *ActaMN* 39–40/I, 2002–2003(2004), p. 269–270.

<sup>1601</sup> CIL III 8577 = ILS 2530 = IPD<sup>4</sup> 287; CIL III 2016 (Salonae: *Cloutius Clutami f., duplicarius ala Pannoniorum, Susarrus, domo Curunniace*; the soldier came from northwest Spain, where *gens Susarrum* are recorded by the famous decree of Augustus, discovered at El Bierzo, G. Alföldy, *ZPE* 131, 2000, p. 179–181, r. 15–18: *castellanis Paemeiobrigensibus ex / gente Susarrorum, quibus ante ea / immunitatem omnium rerum dedelram*; r. 20–23: *eosque / castellanos Aiiobrigiaecinos om/ni munere fungi iubeo cum / Susarris*); see discussion on the ethnonym at p. 187–188, where another inscription is discussed beside the present one: *Tillegus Ambati f. Susarrus c(astelo) Aiobaigiaeco*. See also for the displacement of this unit on the territory of Dalmatia: Wagner, *Dislokation*, p. 58; Kraft, *Rekrutierung*, p. 155; G. Alföldy, *ActaArchHung* 14, 1962, 3–4, p. 262–263; Beneš, *Auxilia*, p. 11.

<sup>1602</sup> CIL III 14453 = IPD<sup>4</sup> 289 = ISM II 170 = Conrad, *Grabstelen*, p. 158, no. 126.

<sup>1603</sup> AÉ 1973, 485 = AÉ 1976, 583; L. Moretti, *RIFC* 102, 1974, p. 454–458; W. Eck, *Chiron* 5, 1975, p. 365–392 (p. 368–371); PME, *Inc.* 75; PME, VI, p. 26; Saddington, *Development*, p. 71; Holder, *Auxilia*, p. 252, no. E 96.

<sup>1604</sup> June 14, 92 (military diploma of Cataloi, C. C. Petolescu, A. T. Popescu, *ZPE* 148, 2004, p. 269–276).

<sup>1605</sup> August 14, 99 (CIL XVI 44).

<sup>1606</sup> CIL XVI 58.

<sup>1607</sup> CIL III 6242 = ISM V 214, stamped tile, broken in both parts: [...]*ALAE I PAN*[...]; TIR L 35, p. 73–74; Suceveanu, *Dobroudja*, p. 64; Zahariade, Gudea, *Fortifications*, p. 80; N. Gudea, *JRGZM* 52, 2005, p. 451–453 (III. 45).

<sup>1608</sup> Aricescu, *Armata*, p. 32–37.

<sup>1609</sup> Strobel, *Dakerkriege*, p. 113; Fl. Matei-Popescu, O. Țentea, in *Dacia Augusti Provincia*, p. 82–83.

<sup>1610</sup> W. Eck, A. Pangerl, *Chiron* 39, 2009, p. 514–519, no. 4.

<sup>1611</sup> RMD IV 222.

<sup>1612</sup> RMD IV 225.

<sup>1613</sup> Fl. Matei-Popescu, O. Țentea, in *Dacia Augusti Provincia*, p. 83.

<sup>1614</sup> W. Eck, A. Pangerl, *Chiron* 35, 2005, p. 49–67; iidem, *Chiron* 38, 2008, p. 363–370, no. II, 10.

of the responsibility area of Moesia Inferior governor in that of Dacia governor, the troop preserving therefore its stationing location in the north Danube territory of Moesia Inferior. Nevertheless, the presence of *ala I Pannoniorum* in Dacia and then of *ala Gallorum Aetectorigiana* in Dacia Inferior, as well as their subsequent emergence of the territory of Moesia Inferior, obviously proves that the defensive system by Lower Danube was not yet completed following the conquest of Dacia, not until under emperor Hadrian.

After this moment, it simply vanishes from history. Most likely, it emerges later under the name of *ala I Gallorum et Pannoniorum* (*vide supra*). It is by no means identical with its homonym from Africa during the 2nd C, as J. Spaul tried to prove<sup>1615</sup>. A *decurio* and a *duplicarius al(a)e Pan(n)oniorum* appear on a dedication to *Iupiter Optimus Maximus Dolichenus* discovered at Acumincum, in the province of Pannonia Inferior<sup>1616</sup>. The names of the two persons, *Aurelius Iustianus* and *Ulpus Silvinianus*, allow the inscription dating after 212. Still, most recent in-depth analysis of the inscription framed it within the repertory of *classis Flavia Pannonica*<sup>1617</sup>.

Among troop commanders during the troop stationing in Moesia and then in Moesia Inferior, probably counts *M. Artorius Priscillus Vicasius Sabidianus*, who after being tribune of legion VII Claudia p. f. becomes *ala* prefect, as shown by an inscription in Rome<sup>1618</sup>. In addition, an *ignotus* is recorded by the inscription discovered in colonia Claudia Aprensis from Thracia, on whom we cannot state for certain he led this *ala Pannoniorum*<sup>1619</sup>. Probably this *ala* was also commanded by *C. Iulius Fal. Ianuarius*, who is *praefectus a[lae] Pannoniorum* in an inscription discovered at Cremona<sup>1620</sup>. It is interesting that he was also prefect of *alae Hispanorum Auriana* and *Aravacorum*, probably *I Hispanorum et Aravacorum*.

Among the troop soldiers who activated during the same period, the only one who might have served in the area is *T. Flavius Capito*, retired at Tomis in late Flavian period<sup>1621</sup>.

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<sup>1615</sup> J. E. H. Spaul, ZPE 105, 1995, p. 63–73; idem, *Ala*<sup>2</sup>, p. 167–172. Appears in Hadrian's speech from Lambaesis, ILS 9134; M. Le Glay, in *Akten des XI. Internationalen Limeskongresses (Székesfehérvár, 30. 8. – 6. 9. 1976)*, Budapest, 1977, p. 545–557; M. P. Speidel, *Emperor Hadrian's Speeches to the African Army – a New Text*, Monographien des Römische-Germanischen Zentralmuseums, Mainz, 2006, p. 14 and p. 60–62, the special speech addressed to *ala I Pannoniorum* on July 13, 128 (*III idus Iulias. Ala I Pannoniorum*, p. 60, fig. 31). For the troop history see Y. Le Bohec, *Les unités auxiliaires de l'armée romaine en Afrique Proconsulaire et Numidie sous le Haut-Empire*, Paris, 1989, p. 33–48.

<sup>1616</sup> CIL III 3252.

<sup>1617</sup> Lőrincz, *Hilfstruppen*, p. 46.

<sup>1618</sup> CIL VI 32929 = ILS 2700; PIR I<sup>2</sup>, p. 238, no. 1188; Pflaum, *Carrières*, p. 185–186, no. 88; PME, A 168; PME, VI, p. 26.

<sup>1619</sup> AÉ 1973, 485 = AÉ 1976, 583; L. Moretti, RIFC 102, 1974, p. 454–458; Eck, *Chiron* 5, 1975, p. 365–392 (p. 368–371); PME, Inc. 75; PME, VI, p. 26.

<sup>1620</sup> CIL V 4095; PME, I 68; PME, VI, p. 22.

<sup>1621</sup> CIL III 14453 = IPD<sup>4</sup> 289 = ISM II 170 = Conrad, *Grabstelen*, p. 158, no. 126; Kraft, *Rekrutierung*, p. 156, no. 477; Maxfield, *op. cit.*, p. 123; D. Bălăceanu, AO 14, 1999, p. 61, no. 1.



## 2. COHORTES

### 11. *Cohors II Flavia Bessorum*<sup>1622</sup>

It was argued that this cohort was raised together with its “sister”, cohort *I Flavia Bessorum* by Vespasian<sup>1623</sup>. Such supposition is today challenged by its listing among province cohorts in 92<sup>1624</sup>, thus the understanding of the recruitment time, like the case of alae *I Vespasiana Dardanorum* and *I Flavia Gaetulorum*, becomes an issue. The cohort was assembled no later than 67, unless it was raised earlier<sup>1625</sup>. Nonetheless, as also pointed out in the case of the other two mentioned troops, for lack of clear evidence, soldiers transferred from other units upon its establishment might have been released.

If the reading is correct, an inscription records it at Oescus, most likely prior 71<sup>1626</sup>. In Moesia Inferior it is also recorded by the constitution, of 97, 105 and 116 (awarded to a former soldier of the unit)<sup>1627</sup>. It seems to have been involved in the two Dacian expeditions and remained displaced north the Danube under Trajan<sup>1628</sup>. Subsequent the territorial reorganization under emperor Hadrian, the unit is recorded in Dacia Inferior by a series of diplomas<sup>1629</sup>. It was quartered on Upper Olt river, at Cincșor (Brașov county)<sup>1630</sup>.

From the period when it was stationed in Moesia Inferior, one prefect is attested, *D. Iunius D. f. [...]* by the *tabella II* of the fragmentary diploma of 116, awarded to the former soldier, *L. Valerius L. f. Pi[...]*, together with the one of his sons, *Tertullinus*<sup>1631</sup>. The other known soldier is the one from the inscription at Oescus, above mentioned<sup>1632</sup>.

<sup>1622</sup> Cichorius, *Cohors*, col. 254; Christescu, *Ist. militară*, p. 183; Wagner, *Dislokation*, p. 97; Russu, *SCIV* 23, 1972, 2, p. 68; Aricescu, *Armata*, p. 64–65; Beneš, *Auxilia*, p. 18; Vlădescu, *Armata*, p. 37; Spaul, *Cohors*<sup>2</sup>, p. 342; Petolescu, *Auxilia*, p. 84–85; C. C. Petolescu, A. T. Popescu, in *Studia Historica et Theologica*, p. 88; Fl. Matei-Popescu, *SCIVA* 52–53, 2001–2002 (2004), p. 192–193, no. 11; O. Țentea, Fl. Matei-Popescu, *ActaMN* 39–40/I, 2002–2003(2004), p. 273; F. Marcu, in *Orbis antiquus*, p. 573, no. 5.

<sup>1623</sup> Wagner, *Dislokation*, p. 96–97; Saddington, *Development*, p. 161.

<sup>1624</sup> June 14, 92 (diploma of Cataloi, C. C. Petolescu, A. T. Popescu, *ZPE* 148, 2004, p. 269–276).

<sup>1625</sup> Saddington, *Development*, p. 161, on recruitment of Thracian cohorts under Claudius.

<sup>1626</sup> V. Beševliev, *Epigrafski prinosi*, Sofia, 1952, p. 56, no. 91 = AÉ 1957, 299 = ILB 64 = Conrad, *Grabstelen*, p. 244, no. 444 (considers this is cohort *II Flavia Brittonum* and dates the inscription by mid 2nd C). Prior the return to Moesia of legion V Macedonica, Filow, *Legionen*, p. 35; Ritterling, *RE* XII, 1925, col. 1271 and 1575. Between 67–69 this fort also accommodated legion III Gallica which supported Vespasian during the civil war, Filow, *op. cit.*, p. 23–25; Ritterling, *RE* XII, 1925, col. 1521–1523; Sarnowski, *Wojsko rzymskie*, p. 26.

<sup>1627</sup> P. Weiß, *ZPE* 117, p. 233–238, no. 4 = AÉ 1997, 1774 = RMD V 338; W. Eck, A. Pangerl, *Chiron* 39, 2009, p. 510–512, no. 2; *CIL* XVI 50; W. Eck, A. Pangerl, *Chiron* 39, 2009, p. 525–530, no. 7.

<sup>1628</sup> Tile stamps were discovered at Stolniceni, Bârsești and Rucăr, *IDR* II 561–562; 571; 607; D. Tudor, *SCIV* 6, 1955, 1–2, p. 90–94 (Rucăr); idem, *Dacia*, N. S. 8, 1964, p. 347–348; I. Bogdan-Cătănciu, *SCIVA* 25, 1975, 2, p. 277–288 (Rucăr); Tudor, *OR*<sup>4</sup>, p. 101–102; Strobel, *Dakerkriege*, p. 122; Gh. Bichir, *Thraco-Dacica* 6, 1985, 1–2, p. 95–99 = *ILD* 150; Gh. Bichir, A. Sion, P. Bardașu, *Materiale* 17, 1983 (Ploiești), 1992, p. 255 (Stolniceni, discovered within the *thermae*); Sarnowski, *Wojsko rzymskie*, p. 58; Bogdan-Cătănciu, *Muntenia*, p. 45–47 (Rucăr) and p. 68–69 (Stolniceni); Petolescu, *Auxilia* p. 23 (Rucăr) and p. 84; F. Marcu, in *Orbis antiquus*, p. 573, no. 5; Fl. Matei-Popescu, O. Țentea, in *Dacia Augusti Provincia*, p. 84.

<sup>1629</sup> From 125–126 (M. Ilkić, *Vjesnik za Arheologiju i Povijest Dalmatinsku* 102, 2009, p. 59–73); 129 (*CIL* XVI 75 = *IDR* I 10); 130 (P. Weiß, *ZPE* 117, 1997, p. 243–246, no. 8 = AÉ 1997, 1764 = RMD V 376); 140 (*IDR* I 13 = RMD 39) and 146 (RMD IV 269).

<sup>1630</sup> *IDR* III/4 181 = *ILD* 424; AÉ 1971, 379 = *IDR* III/4 179; Christescu, *loc. cit.*; *TIR* L 35, p. 32; I. I. Pop, *Cumidava* 12, 1983, 2, p. 43–48 = *CEpR* VI, 386 = *ILD* 425; *ILD* 426; Vlădescu, *Fortificațiile*, p. 81; D. Isac, A. Isac, *EphemNap* 4, 1994, p. 103–112; F. Marcu, in *Orbis antiquus*, p. 573, no. 5.

<sup>1631</sup> W. Eck, A. Pangerl, *Chiron* 39, 2009, p. 525–530, no. 7.

<sup>1632</sup> AÉ 1957, 299 = ILB 64 = Conrad, *Grabstelen*, p. 244, no. 444, *Mucatra(lis) Site f. natio(ne) B(essus)*.

## 12. *Cohors I Bracaraugustanorum equitata*<sup>1633</sup>

Before Vespasian's reign, it seems to have been stationed in Dalmatia<sup>1634</sup>. It is thereafter attested in Moesia as early as April 28, 75<sup>1635</sup>. It is subsequently recorded in Moesia Inferior in 92, then in 99 and 105<sup>1636</sup>. It is possible that the same unit appeared on the diploma fragment from Adamclisi, dated 112–114, but it might as well mention *cohors I Bracarorum c. R.*, part of Moesia Inferior army in the 2nd C<sup>1637</sup>. Together with other military units of its province, took part in the Dacian war<sup>1638</sup> and remained in the newly conquered territory where it would be recorded, even after the reorganization under Hadrian, in the province of Dacia Inferior<sup>1639</sup>. Based on tile stamps of *COHI BRAC* type, it was established that the unit was quartered in the fort at Brețcu<sup>1640</sup>, probably, as F. Marcu notices, together with cohort *I Hispanorum veterana*, given the fortification sizes<sup>1641</sup>. Another tile stamp of same type with the ones at Brețcu was discovered at Oituz (Covasna County)<sup>1642</sup>.

The main issue regarding this cohort was its identification with *cohors I Bracarorum c. R.*<sup>1643</sup>. Although B. Gerov observed as early as 1959, once the diploma found at Palamarcia (December 13, 140) was edited, that the troop recorded in the diploma from Giurgiu of April 2, 134, is different from *cohors I Bracaraugustanorum* located at that moment, in Dacia Inferior<sup>1644</sup>.

<sup>1633</sup> Cichorius, *Cohors*, col. 255–256; Christescu, *Ist. militară*, p. 183; Wagner, *Dislokation*, p. 97–100; Kraft, *Rekrutierung*, p. 170, no. 1990–1992 and p. 37; I. I. Russu, *SCIV* 23, 1972, 2, p. 69; Roldan Hervas, *Ejercito*, p. 107–108; Aricescu, *Armata*, p. 57; Tudor, *OR*<sup>4</sup>, p. 332; Beneš, *Auxilia*, p. 18–19; Vlădescu, *Armata*, p. 33–34; Gudea, *Zahariade*, *Archivo español de arqueología* 53, 1980, p. 65–66, no. 7; N. Santos Yanguas, *El ejército y la romanización de la Galicia*, Oviedo, 1988, p. 147–155; M. M. Roxan, W. Eck, *ZPE* 116, 1997, p. 197–198; Spaul, *Cohors*<sup>2</sup>, p. 88–90; Petolescu, *Auxilia*, p. 85–86; C. C. Petolescu, A. T. Popescu, in *Studia Historica et Theologica*, p. 85; Fl. Matei-Popescu, *SCIVA* 52–53, 2001–2002 (2004), p. 193–194, no. 12; O. Țentea, Fl. Matei-Popescu, *ActaMN* 39–40/I, 2002–2003(2004), p. 273–274; R. Petrovsky, *Mitteilungen des historischen Vereins der Pfalz* 102, 2004, p. 28–32, no. 2; Fl. Matei-Popescu, in *Corona laurea. Studii în onoarea Luciei Țeposu Marinescu*, Bucharest, 2005, p. 313–318.

<sup>1634</sup> CIL III 1773 = ILS 3245, the inscription is from Narona and mentions the name of a troop prefect, *Ti. Claudius Claudianus* (Cichorius, *Cohors*, col. 255; G. Alföldy, *ActaArchHung* 14, 1962, p. 267; *PME*, C 133; *PME*, VI, p. 54); *M. Acilius Priscus* is also recorded prefect of the unit on an inscription discovered at Ostia, *AÉ* 1955, 16; *PME*, A 10. In addition, two inscriptions from same place, recording two Spanish soldiers, see G. Alföldy, *ActaArchHung* 14, 1962, p. 293, no. 8, 2–3. See also, E. Marin, M. Mayer, G. Paci, I. Rodà, in *Le Bohec, Les légions de Rome*, p. 513, no. 9–10 = *AÉ* 2000, 1178–1179, attesting two troop horsemen.

<sup>1635</sup> W. Eck, A. Pangerl, *Chiron* 39, 2009, p. 506–509, no. 1. See also the fragmentary diploma, RGZM 1, which belonged to the same constitution.

<sup>1636</sup> June 14, 92 (military diploma of Cataloi, C. C. Petolescu, A. T. Popescu, *ZPE* 148, 2004, p. 269–276); August 14, 99 (military diploma of Oltina, CIL XVI 44); R. Petrovsky, *Mitteilungen des historischen Vereins der Pfalz* 102, 2004, p. 10–17 (military diploma of Sexaginta Prista of May 13, 105), the troop being transferred from Dalmatia, D. Knight, *ZPE* 85, 1991, p. 200.

<sup>1637</sup> CIL XVI 58. For *cohors I Bracarorum c. R.* vide *infra*.

<sup>1638</sup> Rossi, *Trajan's Column*, p. 94; Strobel, *Dakerkriege*, p. 123.

<sup>1639</sup> Military diplomas of 130 (P. Weiß, *ZPE* 117, 1997, p. 243–246, no. 8 = *AÉ* 1997, 1764 = *RMD* V 376); 131/132 (P. Weiß, *ZPE* 141, 2002, 245–246 = *AÉ* 2002, 1743 = *RMD* V 380); 140 (*IDR* I 13 = *RMD* 39); 146 (*RMD* IV 269) and a fragment of 167–168 (W. Eck, D. MacDonald, A. Pangerl, *ActaMN* 38/I, 2001, p. 45–48, no. 5); M. Zahariade, *SCIVA* 27, 1976, 4, p. 487; Petolescu, *Auxilia*, p. 85–86.

<sup>1640</sup> *IDR* III/4, 336–338. On the fort at Brețcu, see *TIR* L 35, p. 25; I. I. Russu, in *Limes IX Mamaia*, p. 224; N. Gudea, *ActaMP* 4, 1980, p. 255–366; Vlădescu, *Fortificațiile*, p. 83–85.

<sup>1641</sup> F. Marcu, in *Orbis antiquus*, p. 579, no. 13.

<sup>1642</sup> *ILD* 435 (Z. Székely, *Musaios* 8, 2003, p. 75–76, fig. 9/2).

<sup>1643</sup> See complete discussion with Fl. Matei-Popescu, in *Corona laurea. Studii în onoarea Luciei Țeposu Marinescu*, Bucharest, 2005, p. 313–318.

<sup>1644</sup> Gerov, *Beiträge*, I, p. 51–52. See also G. Bakó, *SCIVA* 31, 1980, 4, p. 631–635. Military diploma of Giurgiu, CIL XVI 78.

Several authors still supported previous interpretation, persistently ignoring the obvious<sup>1645</sup>. The large number of diplomas discovered recently, pertaining to soldiers from Moesia Inferior auxilia, confirmed B. Gerov's view creditably (*vide infra*).

From the period of its stationing in Moesia Inferior, no commanders or soldiers of the unit are known<sup>1646</sup>.

### 13. *Cohors I Bracarorum civium Romanorum*<sup>1647</sup>

The troop, different from cohort *I Bracaugustanorum*, emerges for the first time within Moesia Inferior diplomas in 120 and 125<sup>1648</sup>, being displaced from Mauretania Tingitana where it is recorded in 88 and 103–104<sup>1649</sup>. It is then successively recorded in 105/127, 127, 134, 145, 146 and 157<sup>1650</sup>. Sometime during the 2nd C, a cohort vexillation was quartered at Chersonesus<sup>1651</sup>. A Greek inscription from Gorna Bešovica lets implies that in the 3rd C, the troop fort should be located somewhere in Montana city surroundings<sup>1652</sup>. Recently, tile stamps of the unit were found at Trimammium within archaeological contexts dating from the 3rd C<sup>1653</sup>. The archaeologists assigned the apparently *COH I BR* type tile stamps (only mentioned in the quoted article), to cohort *I Bracaraugustanorum*. Still, if the given archaeological information is accurate, then it is the cohort in question.

<sup>1645</sup> See, M. Zahariade, SCIVA 28, 1977, 2, p. 262–263; Santos Yanguas, *op. cit.*, p. 151–152; M. M. Roxan, W. Eck, ZPE 116, 1997, p. 197–198 where, when editing the diploma of June 1, 125, complete *coh(ors) I Bracar(augustan)or(um) c. R.*; similarly M. M. Roxan, ZPE 118, 1997, p. 287–295, when editing the diploma of August 20, 127. Spaul, *loc. cit.*, treats both cohorts as one, adding the one recorded in 88 in Mauretania Tingitana, CIL XVI 159.

<sup>1646</sup> The soldier recorded at Chersonesus, *M. Maecilius*, IOSPE I<sup>2</sup> 553 = ILS 9160 = Solomonik, *Latinskie nadpisi*, p. 60–61, no. 33 is part of *cohors I Bracarorum c. R.* and not of *cohors I Bracaraugustanorum*, as Kraft believed, *Rekrutierung*, p. 170, no. 1192. The name of another troop soldier is known, *Meduttus Caturonis f.*, recorded at Bigeste, in Dalmatia (Humac, AÉ 1907, 249); Kraft, *Rekrutierung*, p. 170, no. 1191; D. Bălteanu, AO 15, 2000, p. 18), however from a much earlier period.

<sup>1647</sup> Roldan Hervas, *Ejercito*, p. 126–127 (only the record from Africa, as the author does not consider it identical with *I Bracaraugustanorum*); M. M. Roxan, Latomus 32, 1973, 4, p. 849; Aricescu, *Armata*, p. 47; Beneš, *Auxilia*, p. 19–20; Spaul, *Cohors*<sup>2</sup>, p. 88–90 (treated together with *cohors I Bracaraugustanorum*, under its name); Fl. Matei-Popescu, SCIVA 52–53, 2001–2002 (2004), p. 194–195, no. 13; O. Țentea, Fl. Matei-Popescu, ActaMN 39–40/I, 2002–2003(2004), p. 274; Fl. Matei-Popescu, in *Corona laurea. Studii în onoarea Luciei Țeposu Marinescu*, Bucharest, 2005, p. 313–318.

<sup>1648</sup> October 19, 120 (W. Eck, A. Pangerl, Chiron 39, 2009, p. 533–537, no. 9); June 1, 125 (M. M. Roxan, W. Eck, ZPE 116, 1997, p. 193–203 = AÉ 1997, 1772 = RMD IV 235).

<sup>1649</sup> CIL XVI 159; E. Papi, ZPE 146, 2004, p. 255–258. See also M. M. Roxan, Latomus 32, 1973, 4, p. 849; D. Knight, ZPE 85, 1991, p. 200 and Fl. Matei-Popescu, in *Corona laurea. Studii în onoarea Luciei Țeposu Marinescu*, Bucharest, 2005, p. 314.

<sup>1650</sup> 105/127 (RMD V 369); August 20, 127 (M. M. Roxan, ZPE 118, 1997, p. 287–295 = AÉ 1997, 1780 = RMD IV 241); 134 (CIL XVI 78); April 7, 145 (RMD III 165 + P. Weiß, ZPE 134, 2001, p. 261–262 = RMD V 399; P. Weiss, Chiron 38, 2008, p. 314–316, no. 16); 146 (P. Weiß, ZPE 124, 1999, p. 279–286 = AÉ 1999, 1359 = RMD IV 270; C. C. Petolescu, A. T. Popescu, Dacia, N. S. 51, 2007, p. 149–151, no. 2); 149–153; 157 (RMD I 50); ca. 155 (P. Weiß, ZPE 134, 2001, p. 262–265 = RMD V 414).

<sup>1651</sup> The soldier recorded at Chersonesus, *M. Maecilius*, IOSPE I<sup>2</sup> 553 = ILS 9160 = Solomonik, *Latinskie nadpisi*, p. 60–61, no. 33; T. Sarnowski, ArchWarszawa 38, 1988, p. 80, no. 61.

<sup>1652</sup> T. Ivanov, ArheologijaSofia 4, 1962, 2, p. 38–47 = SEG 24, 1969, 952 = IGB V 5180 = Conrad, *Grabstelen*, p. 263–264, no. 516, r. 3–5: Αὐρ. Οὐαλεριανῶ στρ(ατιώτη) χῶρ(της) α' Βρακάρου πεπτωκότι ἐν πολέμῳ.

<sup>1653</sup> V. Varbanov, D. Dragoev, N. Rusev, Cultură și Civilizație la Dunărea de Jos 24, 2008, p. 159–169 (p. 160–161 and p. 169, fig. 4, a-b).

Insofar, we know the name of a centurion *Bicanus*<sup>1654</sup> and, in addition, the full names of two soldiers, *M. Maecilius* la Chersonesus<sup>1655</sup> and *Aurelius Valerianus* at Gorna Bešovica<sup>1656</sup>.

The cohort might have remained in Moesia Inferior, possibly until the reforms under the Tetrarchy.

#### 14. *Cohors II Bracaraugustanorum equitata*<sup>1657</sup>

Until recently, the first record of the troop in this area was considered a diploma for the province of Thracia from 114, wherein, beside *cohors IV Gallorum*, *cohors II Bracaraugustanorum* is also mentioned<sup>1658</sup>. However, once the diploma of Cataloi was discovered, it is certain that in 92 the cohort was in Moesia Inferior<sup>1659</sup>. Displaced prior 114 to Thracia<sup>1660</sup>, it would not remain there for long and would be transferred again to Moesia Inferior prior 145<sup>1661</sup>, probably even under Hadrian, since it no longer appears among the Thracian troops within the diploma dated 138, listing only cohorts *I Cisipadensium* and *II Lucensium*<sup>1662</sup>. A recently published diploma attests the unit in Moesia Inferior, starting with 136, under the command of *T. Statius Lupus*, a native of Risinium (Dalmatia)<sup>1663</sup>. On April 7, 145 it emerges once again among the troops of Moesia Inferior, where it remained in fact at least until the 3rd C<sup>1664</sup>.

An inscription from Šipka, near Kazanlak, in northern Thracia, placed for a troop *equus*, *Celsus Marius*, implies that the unit was *equitata*<sup>1665</sup>. The same inscription contains possible indication on the quartering location, since the soldier died on duty at the age of 24, thus it may be inferred that this was its quartering location in the period when it was part of the Thracian army.

Two cohort commanders are known, both active while it was garrisoned in Thracia, i.e. *A. Atinius Paternus*<sup>1666</sup> and *Ti. Claudius Helvius Secundus*<sup>1667</sup>. Two inscriptions from Africa

<sup>1654</sup> IOSPE I<sup>2</sup> 553 = ILS 9160 = Solomonik, *Latinskie nadpisi*, p. 60–61, no. 33, centurion *Bicanus*.

<sup>1655</sup> IOSPE I<sup>2</sup> 553 = ILS 9160 = Solomonik, *Latinskie nadpisi*, p. 60–61, no. 33; T. Sarnowski, *ArchWarszawa* 38, 1988, p. 80, no. 61.

<sup>1656</sup> T. Ivanov, *ArheologijaSofia* 4, 1962, 2, p. 38–47 = SEG 24, 1969, 952 = IGB V 5180 = Conrad, *Grabstelen*, p. 263–264, no. 516 (dates the inscription by the end of the 3rd C, which seems to me slightly too late); Oppermann, *Der thrakische Reiter*, p. 158–159; D. Bălteanu, *AO* 15, 2000, p. 19. The inscription was found at Gorna Bešovica, TIR K 34, p. 57. It could date from the second half of the 3rd C.

<sup>1657</sup> Roldan Hervas, *Ejercito*, p. 109–110; Beneš, *Auxilia*, p. 19; Santos Yanguas, *op. cit.*, p. 155–158, no. 2; E. Paunov, M. M. Roxan, *ZPE* 119, 1997, p. 269–279; Spaul, *Cohors*<sup>2</sup>, p. 91; P. Weiß, *ZPE* 134, 2001, p. 262–265; C. C. Petolescu, A. T. Popescu, in *Studia Historica et Theologica*, p. 88; Fl. Matei-Popescu, *SCIVA* 52–53, 2001–2002 (2004), p. 195–196, no. 14; O. Țentea, Fl. Matei-Popescu, *ActaMN* 39–40/I, 2002–2003(2004), p. 274.

<sup>1658</sup> E. Paunov, M. M. Roxan, *ZPE* 119, 1997, p. 269–279 = RMD IV 227/14.

<sup>1659</sup> C. C. Petolescu, A. T. Popescu, *ZPE* 148, 2004, p. 269–276.

<sup>1660</sup> E. Paunov, M. M. Roxan, *ZPE* 119, 1997, p. 269–279 = AÉ 1997, 1334 = RMD IV 227/14.

<sup>1661</sup> Recorded in the diploma of April 7, 145, RMD III 165 + P. Weiß, *ZPE* 134, 2001, p. 261–262 = RMD V 399; P. Weiss, *Chiron* 38, 2008, p. 314–316, no. 16.

<sup>1662</sup> October 10, 138, RMD V 385/260. See also M. M. Roxan, P. Weiß, *Chiron* 28, 1998, p. 373–381.

<sup>1663</sup> N. Schindel, *ZPE* 174, 2010, p. 259–263.

<sup>1664</sup> Subsequent this first record, the cohort appears in the diplomas of 146 (P. Weiß, *ZPE* 124, 1999, p. 279–286 = AÉ 1999, 1359 = RMD IV 270); 147 (P. Weiss, *Chiron* 38, 2008, p. 307–309, no. 13); ca. 155 (P. Weiß, *ZPE* 134, 2001, p. 262–265 = RMD V 414) and 157 (RMD I 50; P. Weiss, *Chiron* 38, 2008, p. 309–312, no. 14). Within the diploma of 146, ranking 10th appears noted *I BRACAR*, which is probably, an error (P. Weiß, *ZPE* 124, 1999, p. 283–285).

<sup>1665</sup> Chr. Bujukliev, L. Getov, *ArheologijaSofia* 6, 1964, 1, p. 31–32 = IGB III/2, 1471 bis = AÉ 1965, 347 = IDRE II 350. The inscription was discovered at Šipka.

<sup>1666</sup> CIL VI 1838 = ILS 2727; PME, A 182; PME, VI, p. 54. The date of this office is around 110.

<sup>1667</sup> An inscription from Caesarea (Cherchel) from Mauretania Caesarensis, the individual appears as *praef. coh. equitatae II Bracaraugustanorum*, AÉ 1925, 44; PME, C 143; PME, VI, p. 54; M. G. Jarrett, *EpigrSt* 9, 1972, p. 167–168.



also mention two prefects of a *II BRA(---)* cohort, however we are not certain that it is the same cohort from Moesia Inferior or Thracia or a homonym that stationed in Africa<sup>1668</sup>. As it was mentioned above, in the year 136 the unit was under the command of *T. Staius Lupus*, a native of Risinium (Dalmatia)<sup>1669</sup>. Among the troop sous-officers we can mention *Petronius* within the already quoted inscription from Šipka<sup>1670</sup> and the *ex centurione*, *Ti. Claudius Communis*, a native of Camala (Hispania Tarraconensis)<sup>1671</sup>. *Celsus Marius* is the single identified soldier<sup>1672</sup>.

### 15. *Cohors I Augusta Nerviana Pacensis milliaria Brittonum*<sup>1673</sup>

The cohort appears, surprisingly, on three diplomas for Moesia Inferior from 105<sup>1674</sup>, 111<sup>1675</sup> and 116<sup>1676</sup>. It is evidently identical with the troop which emerges later in Dacia Inferior<sup>1677</sup>. It is worth mentioning that, based on the diploma of 105, the troop's full and accurate name was recorded for the first time. Still, I should underline that diplomas of 111 and 116 (also in 125–126 in Dacia Inferior<sup>1678</sup>) mention the unit only as *I milliaria Brittonum* (it is also possible to be another unit). Its presence in this province is obviously related to Trajan's attempt to reinforce the garrison of Moesia Inferior in the aftermath of the Dacian and Sarmatian winter attack of 101–102. It would also be involved in the following year campaign against Decebalus and Trajan's second Dacian expedition<sup>1679</sup>.

A tile stamp discovered at Dolno Rjahovo, within the perimeter of a small-sized Roman fort was recently published, thus adding to another five exemplars discovered at Tutrakan (Transmarisca), displaying the inscription *COHI ∞ B*<sup>1680</sup>. L. F. Vagalinski completes the cohort name as *I Batavorum milliaria*, believing it participated in the military operations by Lower Danube under emperor Domitian. C. C. Petolescu considers justly within the note from AÉ that one could rather consider that the tile stamp belonged to the cohort recorded as mentioned above by diplomas for this province during the reign of Trajan.

<sup>1668</sup> AÉ 1956, 123 = IPD<sup>4</sup> 750 a = 513 = IDRE II 451, at Lambaesis, mentioning *Ti. Cl. Proculus Cornelianus*, PME, C 174; PME, VI, p. 54; Le Bohec, ZPE 93, 1992, p. 107–116. AÉ 1978, 851, mentioning *M. Lurius M. f. Arn. Faustus Caecilianus praef.*, PME, L 38 bis; PME, VI, p. 54; Santos Yanguas, *op. cit.*, p. 158, considers it is the same troop, which was transferred at some point to northern Africa.

<sup>1669</sup> N. Schindel, ZPE 174, 2010, p. 259–263.

<sup>1670</sup> Chr. Bujukliev, L. Getov, ArheologijaSofia 6, 1964, 1, p. 31–32 = IGB III/2, 1471 bis = AÉ 1965, 347 = IDRE II 350.

<sup>1671</sup> N. Schindel, ZPE 174, 2010, p. 259–263.

<sup>1672</sup> Chr. Bujukliev, L. Getov, ArheologijaSofia 6, 1964, 1, p. 31–32 = IGB III/2, 1471 bis = AÉ 1965, 347 = IDRE II 350.

<sup>1673</sup> Tudor, OR<sup>4</sup>, p. 333; Beneš, *Auxilia*, p. 22; Vlădescu, *Armata*, p. 34, no. 2 and p. 35, no. 4; Petolescu, *Auxilia*, p. 90; O. Țentea, Fl. Matei-Popescu, ActaMN 39–40/I, 2002–2003(2004), p. 276–277.

<sup>1674</sup> RGZM, no. 10.

<sup>1675</sup> RMD IV 222.

<sup>1676</sup> W. Eck, A. Pangerl, Dacia, N. S. 50, 2006, p. 99–102, no. 3.

<sup>1677</sup> Petolescu, *loc. cit.*

<sup>1678</sup> M. Ilkić, Vjesnik za Arheologiju i Povijest Dalmatinsku 102, 2009, p. 59–73: *I Brittonum (milliaria)*.

<sup>1679</sup> Strobel, *Dakerkriege*, p. 125; Fl. Matei-Popescu, O. Țentea, in *Dacia Augusti Provincia*, p. 84.

<sup>1680</sup> L. F. Vagalinski, Novensia 15, 2004, p. 39–45 = AÉ 2004, 1267.

## 16. *Cohors II Augusta Nerviana Pacensis Brittonum milliaria*<sup>1681</sup>

This troop is recorded by the diploma of 105 as part of Moesia Inferior army<sup>1682</sup>. This is indeed the same military unit that appears in Pannonia Inferior in 114<sup>1683</sup> and then in Dacia Porolissensis in 123 and 131<sup>1684</sup>, where it would remain during the entire 2nd C<sup>1685</sup>. The cohort name appears also in a diploma fragment dated broadly between 99/110: *II Britto[rum Augusta Nerviana Pacensis (milliaria)]*. Evidently, the cohort name could have been slightly abbreviated or entered fully alike in the diploma of 105 (however, it is rather non-abbreviated, given that the cohort *I Lusitanorum Cyrenaica* is rendered fully). Nonetheless, its presence on the fragment is ensured by the presence of the ethnycon immediately after the numeral, precisely like in the diploma of 105, above mentioned. Certainly, the equation of the cohort on this diploma with *II Flavia Brittonum*, which is never mentioned in Moesia Inferior diplomas without the imperial name, is excluded.

The presence of the cohort under discussion on the territory of Moesia Inferior may be connected to preparations for the second campaign of Trajan's first Dacian expedition, as well as the reinforcement of Roman presence in the already conquered territory.

## 17. *Cohors II Flavia Brittonum equitata*<sup>1686</sup>

It is recorded in Moesia Inferior in 99 by the diploma of Plovdiv<sup>1687</sup>. It was supposed, based on an inscription from Durostorum, that it was garrisoned there together with other troops, prior the arrival of legion XI Claudia<sup>1688</sup>. It is mentioned during the 2nd C within several diplomas for the same province<sup>1689</sup>, where it would remain in fact also in

<sup>1681</sup> Wagner, *Dislokation*, p. 111–112; Russu, SCIV 10, 1959, 2, p. 305–317; C. Daicoviciu, D. Protase, ActaMN 1, 1964, p. 169–170; Beneš, *Auxilia*, p. 22; Strobel, *Dakerkriege*, p. 125; Spaul, *Cohors*<sup>2</sup>, p. 201; Petolescu, *Auxilia*, p. 90–91; O. Țentea, Fl. Matei-Popescu, ActaMN 39–40/I, 2002–2003(2004), p. 277.

<sup>1682</sup> RGZM, no. 10.

<sup>1683</sup> CIL XVI 61; RMD 87; Lőrincz, *Hilfstruppen*, p. 32; p. 81; p. 111; p. 158, no. 14–15; p. 241, no. 279 (Alisca).

<sup>1684</sup> W. Eck, A. Pangerl, ZPE 176, 2010, p. 234–242; P. Weiß, ZPE 141, 2002, p. 248–251, no. 5 = AÉ 2002, 1745 = RMD V 378.

<sup>1685</sup> Diploma fragment Porolissum dated 120–140 (IDR I 23 = C. C. Petolescu, SCIVA 31, 1980, 1, p. 105–106 = AÉ 1980, 756 = RMD 40); diploma of Domașnea of 154 (CIL XVI 110 = IDR I 17 = RMD 47); diploma fragment from Gilău of October 26, 161 (RMD 177); the three diplomas of Căței (IDR I 20 = RMD 63), Gilău (IDR I 18 = RMD 64) and Palatovo (CIL XVI 185 = IDR I 19) of July 21, 164.

<sup>1686</sup> Cichorius, *Cohors*, col. 264; Wagner, *Dislokation*, p. 110–112; Kraft, *Rekrutierung*, p. 172; Aricescu, *Armata*, p. 48–49; Beneš, *Auxilia*, p. 21–22; Saddington, *Development*, p. 158–159; Suceveanu, *Dobroudja*, p. 65–66; Spaul, *Cohors*<sup>2</sup>, p. 199–200; Fl. Matei-Popescu, SCIVA 52–53, 2001–2002 (2004), p. 196–197, no. 15; O. Țentea, Fl. Matei-Popescu, ActaMN 39–40/I, 2002–2003(2004), p. 276; R. Petrovsky, Mitteilungen des historischen Vereins der Pfalz 102, 2004, p. 39–40, no. 6.

<sup>1687</sup> CIL XVI 45.

<sup>1688</sup> CIL III 6152 = 7478, a centurion tombstone, *Antonius Valerius* on duty: (*centurio*) *c(ohortis) II [Fl(aviae)] Britt[onum]*; Wagner, *Dislokation*, p. 110; Beneš, *Auxilia*, p. 21. For Durostorum, see TIR L 35, p. 40; Zahariade, Gudea, *Fortifications*, p. 76–77; N. Gudea, JRGZM 52, 2005, p. 434–440 (II. 30), especially p. 434, for the first level (Holz-Erde-Lager).

<sup>1689</sup> Possibly within even a fragment of 99 (P. Weiß, ZPE 124, 1999, p. 287–289 = RMD IV 217); May 13, 105 (R. Petrovsky, Mitteilungen des historischen Vereins der Pfalz 102, 2004, p. 10–17, diploma of *Sexaginta Prista*); September 25, 111 (RMD IV 222); October 19, 120 (W. Eck, A. Pangerl, Chiron 39, 2009, p. 533–537, no. 9); May/December 121 (P. Weiss, Chiron 38, 2008, p. 296–300, no. 10); June 1, 125 (on two copies, M. M. Roxan, W. Eck, ZPE 116, 1997, p. 193–203 = AÉ 2002, 1772 = RMD IV 235; W. Eck, D. MacDonald, A. Pangerl, Chiron 32, 2002, p. 409–413, no. 4 = AÉ 2002, 1730 = RMD V 364); August 20, 127 (M. M. Roxan, ZPE 118, 1997, p. 287–295 = AÉ 1997, 1780 = RMD IV 241); April 7, 145 (RMD

the 3rd C<sup>1690</sup>. Sometime during the 2nd C, the unit was transferred from Durostorum, in case it was garrisoned there for a while, to Sexaginta Prista, where it is recorded firstly by two milestones in 162–164<sup>1691</sup>, then in 230<sup>1692</sup>, on the occasion of the baths reconstruction works under governor *Anicius Faustus Paulinus*<sup>1693</sup> and finally, in 273–275 under governor *M. Aurelius Sebastianus*<sup>1694</sup>. From the second half of the 3rd C also dates a tile stamp of *CH II F BR* type discovered at Aegyssus, recording a short time presence of a unit vexillation (the author of the discovery considered that the entire cohort was moved in Aegyssus area; its mention at Sexaginta Prista also under Aurelian seems to invalidate such supposition)<sup>1695</sup>. In conclusion, we may argue that the cohort definitely belonged during the entire period of the Principate to the army of Moesia Inferior, being different from the homonym troop from Mauretania Caesarensis, although Spaul chose to review them together<sup>1696</sup>.

Among troop commanders count *M. Maenius Agrippa L. Tusidius Campester* (*electus a divo Hadriano et missus in expeditionem Britannicam* – together with a possible auxiliary vexillation from Moesia Inferior)<sup>1697</sup> from an inscription at Camerinum and *Septimius Agathonicus*, from Sexaginta Prista (*praefectus cohortis II Flaviae Brittonum Alexandrianae*, a. 230)<sup>1698</sup>. A centurion, *Antonius Valerius* is also known at Durostorum<sup>1699</sup> and a *curator* from an inscription placed in a sanctuary at Draganovec, named *M. Marcellinus*<sup>1700</sup>.

A fragmentary inscription, of unknown find spot, identifies a supposed *praepositus* of same cohort<sup>1701</sup>. Nonetheless, latest examination of the inscription in the collection of the National Museum of Antiquities (MNA) proved undoubtedly that the individual was a *praepositus vexillationum*. Hence, there is no connection between this inscription and cohort *II Flavia Brittonum*<sup>1702</sup>.

III 165 + P. Weiß, ZPE 134, 2001, p. 261–262 = RMD V 399; P. Weiss, Chiron 38, 2008, p. 314–316, no. 16); 146 (P. Weiß, ZPE 124, 1999, p. 279–286 = AÉ 1999, 1359 = RMD IV 270); 147 (P. Weiss, Chiron 38, 2008, p. 307–309); ca. 155 (P. Weiß, ZPE 134, 2001, p. 262–265 = RMD V 414).

<sup>1690</sup> CIL III 7473, dated precisely in 230; Sarnowski, *Wojsko rzymskie*, p. 122.

<sup>1691</sup> AÉ 1915, 137; 138.

<sup>1692</sup> CIL III 7473: ...[b]alnea coh(ortis) II Fl(aviae) Britt(onum) [Alexa]n[d]rianae / a so[l]lo restitutae sub Anicio Fausto Paulino leg(ato) Aug(usti) pr(o) pr(aetore) / per Septimium Agathonicum praefectum).

<sup>1693</sup> Stein, *Legaten*, p. 97; Fitz, *Laufbahn*, p. 51; PIR<sup>2</sup> A 595. For Sexaginta Prista, see A. Dimitrova-Milčeva, in *Akten des 14. Internationalen Limeskongresses 1986 in Carnuntum*, Vienna, 1990, p. 868–869; Zahariade, Gudea, *Fortifications*, p. 74; N. Gudea, JRGZM 52, 2005, p. 427–428 (II. 20).

<sup>1694</sup> AÉ 1915, 139; PIR<sup>2</sup> A 1605; Stein, *Legaten*, p. 106–107, dated 270–271 and corrected by Fitz, *Laufbahn*, p. 37–38, 273–275. See also Thomasson, *Laterculi*<sup>2</sup>, p. 56, no. 20:149.

<sup>1695</sup> A. Opaït, SCIVA 32, 1981, 2, p. 297–299; N. Gudea, JRGZM 52, 2005, p. 460 (IV. 52).

<sup>1696</sup> The diploma of this province dating from September 24, 107 (CIL XVI 56), recording a cohort, *II Brittonum*, which is definitely different from *cohors II Flavia Brittonum* (Cichorius, *loc. cit.*; Bensedik, *Troupes auxiliaires*, p. 221, no. 5; H. Devijver, *Latomus* 43, 1983, 3, p. 588); *vide contra* Spaul, *loc. cit.*

<sup>1697</sup> CIL XI 5632 = ILS 2735 = IPD<sup>4</sup> 348; Pflaum, *Carrières*, p. 292–295, no. 120; PME, M 5; PME, VI, 59.

<sup>1698</sup> CIL III 7478; PME, S 28; PME, VI, p. 59.

<sup>1699</sup> CIL III 7478; Kraft, *Rekrutierung*, p. 172, no. 1271; D. Bălceanu, AO 15, 2000, p. 22.

<sup>1700</sup> SEG 30, 1980, 818 = CCET II, 2 494 = IGB V 5290; Oppermann, *Der thrakische Reiter*, p. 128. The inscription dates from mid 3rd C. For *curator cohortis*, see Domaszewski, RO<sup>2</sup>, p. 55–56; D. Breeze, BJ 174, 1974, p. 281–282. For the sanctuary from Draganovec (close to Târgoviște) overlaid by a basilica erected in early Christian period, see Oppermann, *Der thrakische Reiter*, p. 124–128 (p. 125, Abb. 3, sanctuary layout). The sanctuary was in use beginning with the last decades of the 2nd C and continued during the entire following century.

<sup>1701</sup> CIL III 6227 = CIL III 7594 (MNA L 1250).

<sup>1702</sup> Fl. Matei-Popescu, Oltenia. Studii și comunicări. Arheologie și istorie veche 16, 2008, p. 109–111, no. 3.

## 18. *Cohors II Chalcidenorum sagittariorum*<sup>1703</sup>

This troop is recorded in Moesia Inferior on June 14, 92 by the diploma from Cataloi<sup>1704</sup>. It is attested in Moesia as early as April 28, 75<sup>1705</sup>. It is possible that the same unit is also mentioned on the diploma fragment of 78 for the army of Moesia, copy after a parallel imperial constitution of February 7<sup>1706</sup>. Therefore, we may infer that it could have been displaced to Moesia Inferior<sup>1707</sup> upon its recruitment. The unit is also mentioned in the diploma of 99 from Plovdiv<sup>1708</sup> and subsequently listed within the diplomas for this province until 157<sup>1709</sup>. The diplomas of 138 as well as the one from Malāk Preslavec mistakenly enter the unit as *I Chalcidenorum*<sup>1710</sup> obviously the same troop and not *I Chalcidenorum*, like Aricescu believed<sup>1711</sup>.

There is no information on the probable location of its garrison during the period it stationed in Moesia Inferior. Possible indication could, however, be provided by tile and brick stamps exhibiting *COH II C* discovered at Gura Canliei and Izvoarele (Sucidava) and which were interpreted as belonging to this troop<sup>1712</sup>. Unfortunately, for lack of other more conclusive documents, we cannot ascertain garrison locations as long as not even the reading is definite (it might well be *cohors II Gallorum*) and as long as discoveries resulted from field walking.

Data regarding the active commanders or soldiers of the cohort while on the territory of Moesia Inferior are thin, except for an inscription from colonia Claudia Aprensis in Thracia, completed [*praef. coh. II*] *equ[itatae Chalcide]nor[um]*, dated under Vespasian<sup>1713</sup>. Should we agree with this view, cohort *II Chalcidenorum* was *equitata*, consisting of horsemen as well.

<sup>1703</sup> Cichorius, *Cohors*, col. 269; Wagner, *Dislokation*, p. 118–119; Aricescu, *Armata*, p. 65; Beneš, *Auxilia*, p. 24; M. M. Roxan, ZPE 118, 1997, p. 294; Spaul, *Cohors*<sup>2</sup>, p. 429; C. C. Petolescu, A. T. Popescu, in *Studia Historica et Theologica*, p. 87; Fl. Matei-Popescu, SCIIVA 52–53, 2001–2002 (2004), p. 198, no. 16; O. Țentea, Fl. Matei-Popescu, ActaMN 39–40/I, 2002–2003(2004), p. 278; R. Petrovsky, Mitteilungen des historischen Vereins der Pfalz 102, 2004, p. 37–38, no. 5.

<sup>1704</sup> C. C. Petolescu, A. T. Popescu, ZPE 148, 2004, p. 269–276.

<sup>1705</sup> W. Eck, A. Pangerl, Chiron 39, 2009, p. 506–509, no. 1.

<sup>1706</sup> W. Eck, D. MacDonald, A. Pangerl, KölnerJahrb 35, 2002, p. 227–231, no. 1 = AÉ 2002, 1723 = RMD V 325, mentioning *II C*[...]. The parallel constitution is recorded by the diplomas from Montana, Berkovica and another diploma fragment with unknown find spot (CIL XVI 22; RMD IV 208; W. Eck, A. Pangerl, Chiron 38, 2008, p. 318–321, no. 1).

<sup>1707</sup> Wagner, *Dislokation*, p. 118; Beneš, *loc. cit.*; Spaul, *loc. cit.*

<sup>1708</sup> CIL XVI 45.

<sup>1709</sup> May 13, 105 (R. Petrovsky, Mitteilungen des historischen Vereins der Pfalz 102, 2004, p. 10–17, diploma of Sexaginta Prista); September/December 107 (W. Eck, A. Pangerl, Chiron 39, 2009, p. 514–519, no. 4); October 19, 120 (W. Eck, A. Pangerl, Chiron 39, 2009, p. 533–537, no. 9); May/December 121 (P. Weiss, Chiron 38, 2008, p. 296–300, no. 10, presence supposed); August 20, 127 (M. M. Roxan, ZPE 118, 1997, p. 287–295 = AÉ 1997, 1780 = RMD IV 241); April 2, 134 (CIL XVI 78), 146 (P. Weiß, ZPE 124, 1999, p. 279–286 = AÉ 1999, 1359 = RMD IV 270); 147 (P. Weiss, Chiron 38, 2008, p. 307–309, no. 13); 157 (diploma of Brestovene, RMD I 50); ca. 155 (P. Weiß, ZPE 134, 2001, p. 262–265 = RMD V 414).

<sup>1710</sup> CIL XVI 83; RMD III 165. See to this effect P. Weiß, ZPE 134, 2001, p. 263; RMD V 399.

<sup>1711</sup> Aricescu, *Armata*, p. 57, approaches cohort *I Chalcidenorum* separately, identifying it with the one emerging in Syria in 157 (CIL XVI 106). Cohort *I Chalcidenorum equitata* was stationed in Numidia, Y. Le Bohec, *Les unites auxiliaires de l'armée romaine en Afrique Proconsulaire et Numidie sous le Haut-Empire*, Paris, 1989, p. 70–73.

<sup>1712</sup> M. Irimia, Pontica 21–22, 1988–1989, p. 113–121; idem, Pontica 35–36, 2002–2003, p. 161–176. For Roman traces in the two sites see TIR L 35, p. 29 (Canlia) and p. 47 (Sucidava); Zahariade, Gudea, *Fortifications*, p. 77 (both sites).

<sup>1713</sup> AÉ 1973, 485 = AÉ 1976, 583; L. Moretti, RIFC 102, 1974, p. 454–458; W. Eck, Chiron 5, 1975, p. 365–392 (p. 368–371); PME, Inc. 75; PME, VI, p. 62; Saddington, *Development*, p. 71; Holder, *Auxilia*, p. 252, no. E 96.



## 19. *Cohors I Cilicum milliaria equitata sagittariorum*<sup>1714</sup>

It is possible that this cohort was stationed in Moesia as early as the Augustan age as shown by the inscription from Uxama, Hispania Tarraconensis, recording *M. Magius M. f. Antiquus, praefectus cohortis Cilicum*<sup>1715</sup>. The first certain record of this cohort on the territory of Moesia dates from April 28, 75<sup>1716</sup>. Later on, the cohort is recorded in 78 through the diploma of Montana granted to a former footsoldier, *Perasis Publi f. Aeg.*, under the command of *P. Seppienus P. f. Pollia Aelianus*<sup>1717</sup> and the diploma of Berkovica, copy of the same imperial constitution<sup>1718</sup>. During this period it probably stationed at Naissus, where a soldier tombstone was uncovered<sup>1719</sup>. After Moesia was divided, cohort *I Cilicum* remained in the territory of Moesia Superior<sup>1720</sup>. One of the diplomas of the period was granted to a *pedes* of the unit, *L. Titius L. f.*, a native from *Phil(adelphia)*, probably Philadelphia Aspera, in Cilicia. Nevertheless, other possible places of origin should also be taking into consideration (e. g. Philippi, Macedonia; Philippopolis, Thracia). The unit was under the command of *M. Claudius M. f. Pal. Regulus*<sup>1721</sup>. It was considered to have been involved in the Dacian expeditions of emperor Trajan<sup>1722</sup>. It remained on the territory of Moesia Superior, as recorded by a constitution of 112<sup>1723</sup> and was part of the units sent (or only vexillations) in the Parthian campaign, as confirmed by the imperial constitution of 115<sup>1724</sup>. Although there is no direct evidence on its participation into the Dacian expeditions as well, the fact it was detached to the Parthian campaign could let us believe that it was also involved in the Dacian war.

<sup>1714</sup> Cichorius, *Cohors*, col. 270; Wagner, *Dislokation*, p. 119–120; Kraft, *Rekrutierung*, p. 173; D. Tudor, AUB 5, 1956, p. 45–74; V. Gerasimova, ArheologijaSofia 12, 1970, 4, p. 26; Aricescu, *Armata*, p. 57–59; Beneš, *Auxilia*, p. 24–25; Devijver, ZPE 47, 1982, p. 173–183 = idem, *The Equestrians Officers of the Roman Army*, Amsterdam, 1989, p. 209–219; C. Scorpan, JRS 71, 1981, p. 98–102; F. Bérard, ZPE 79, 1989, p. 130–132; Suceveanu, *Dobroudja*, p. 64–65; Fl. Matei-Popescu, SCIVA 52–53, 2001–2002 (2004), p. 199–202, no. 17; O. Țentea, Fl. Matei-Popescu, ActaMN 39–40/I, 2002–2003 (2004), p. 279.

<sup>1715</sup> ILS 8968; PME, M 9; PME, VI, p. 64; Holder, *Auxilia*, p. 244, no. E 24. The fact that the individual in this inscription might have commanded this cohort and not *cohort I Flavia Cilicum* is also endorsed by Cichorius, *loc. cit.*, Wagner, *Dislokation*, p. 120 and eventually by H. Devijver, ZPE 47, 1982, p. 177–178.

<sup>1716</sup> RGZM, no. 1; P. Weiss, Chiron 38, 2008, p. 270–273, no. 1; W. Eck, A. Pangerl, Chiron 39, 2009, p. 506–509, no. 1. The diplomas are copies of the same imperial constitution, parallel to the one recorded by the diploma from Taliata, RMD I 2.

<sup>1717</sup> February 7, 78 (diploma from Montana, CIL XVI 22); Holder, *Auxilia*, p. 304, no. 1302; PME, S 26; PME, VI, p. 64.

<sup>1718</sup> RMD IV 208. Another diploma fragment, copy of the same constitution was recently published, however the name of the cohort was lost to stone fractures, W. Eck, A. Pangerl, Chiron 38, 2008, p. 318–321, no. 1.

<sup>1719</sup> CIL III 8250 = IMS IV 33, mentioning *C. Iulius Plato*, deceased at the age of 20. Saddington, *Development*, p. 80; 138; 212, n. 23 considers that the inscription belongs to the Augustan period. Holder, *Auxilia*, p. 304, no. 1302, believes he was recruited under Nero and died under the Flavians/ Trajan.

<sup>1720</sup> September 16, 94 (diploma from Negovanovci, CIL XVI 39; copy of the same constitution, RMD V 335, *vide infra*); July 12, 96 (diploma found at Viminacium, RMD 6); May 8, 100 (diploma of Siscia, CIL XVI 46; copy of the same constitution, W. Eck, A. Pangerl, Chiron 38, 2008, p. 326–329, no. 1); two military diplomas, copies after one constitution of 100 for 3 *alae* and 19 cohorts, W. Eck, A. Pangerl, Chiron 38, 2008, p. 340–345, no. 4–5.

<sup>1721</sup> N. Schindel, Tyche 13, 1998, p. 221–224 = AÉ 1998, 1616 = RMD V 335, copy of the same constitution like the diploma from Negovanovci.

<sup>1722</sup> Rossi, *Trajan's Column*, p. 94; Strobel, *Dakerkriege*, p. 127.

<sup>1723</sup> W. Eck, A. Pangerl, Chiron 38, 2008, p. 355–363, no. 8–9.

<sup>1724</sup> W. Eck, A. Pangerl, Chiron 35, 2005, p. 50–51 and p. 60. See also the new fragment of the same diploma, edited by the same two authors, which ensures the cohort presence among the units sent to the Parthian expedition, W. Eck, A. Pangerl, Chiron 38, 2008, p. 363–370, no. 10.

It was subsequently transferred by Hadrian in the province of Moesia Inferior<sup>1725</sup>. The transfer did not probably take place during the reorganization of 117–118, but slightly later as cohort *I Cilicum* is not mentioned within the two diplomas of 125 and 127<sup>1726</sup>, but emerges in the one of 134, of which cohort *II Lucensium* is missing. A diploma<sup>1727</sup> records that the latter was transferred to Thracia prior 138–140, such date confirming information from a long time identified inscription recording the cohort in Thracia as early as 136<sup>1728</sup>. Thus we may consider that cohort's *I Cilicum* transfer took place sometime between 127 and 134, at the same time or immediately after *cohors II Lucensium* was sent to Thracia. Starting with this moment, the cohort would remain in Moesia Inferior at least until the end of the 3rd C. It is recorded by the diplomas of 145, 146, 147, 148/153, 157<sup>1729</sup> and numerous inscriptions that would be overviewed below.

First of all we must specify that dating the cohort presence at Sacidava in the interval between the two Dacian expeditions<sup>1730</sup> is no longer topical, as H. Devijver proves<sup>1731</sup>.

Inscriptions recording this cohort were identified on the entire territory of Moesia Inferior. In 147, cohort's tribune, *Ti. Claudius Ulpianus*, acts in Montana area together with vexillations of legions I Italica and XI Claudia p. f. as well as the fleet (*classis Flavia Moesica*), under the orders of governor *Ti. Claudius Saturninus*, at an imperial hunt (*venatio Caesariana*)<sup>1732</sup>, held probably to properly celebrate in the following year, 900 years from the founding of Rome<sup>1733</sup>.

The cohort garrison would have been, at least for a while, at Sacidava, where several inscriptions dating from both the 2nd and 3rd centuries emerged<sup>1734</sup>. In addition, in the same place was discovered a tile exhibiting the cohort stamp *[COH] I CIL*<sup>1735</sup>. For long it was considered that the troop garrison was at Cetatea, where an inscription dated 176–177<sup>1736</sup> was found, mentioning that a cohort tribune ends the dispute between the *Ausdecenses* and the Dacians in the region, upon the order of *P. Helvius Pertinax*, province governor<sup>1737</sup>. The most fierce supporter

<sup>1725</sup> Mentioned for the first time by the military diploma from Giurgiu, on April 2, 134, CIL XVI 78.

<sup>1726</sup> M. M. Roxan, W. Eck, ZPE 116, 1997, p. 193–203 = AÉ 1997, 1772 = RMD IV 235; M. M. Roxan, ZPE 118, 1997, p. 287–295 = AÉ 1997, 1780 = RMD IV 241.

<sup>1727</sup> M. M. Roxan, P. Weiß, Chiron 28, p. 373–381; P. Weiß, ZPE 134, 2001, p. 265.

<sup>1728</sup> V. Velkov, ActaArchHung 41, 1989, p. 247–256. *Vide infra* with *cohors II Lucensium*.

<sup>1729</sup> April 7, 145, RMD III 165 + P. Weiß, ZPE 134, 2001, p. 261–262 = RMD V 399; P. Weiss, Chiron 38, 2008, p. 314–316, no. 16); 146 (P. Weiß, ZPE 124, 1999, p. 279–286 = AÉ 1999, 1359 = RMD IV 270); 147 (P. Weiss, Chiron 38, 2008, p. 307–309, no. 13); 148/153, *tabella II* (P. Weiß, ZPE 117, 1997, p. 252–254 = AÉ 1997, 1778 = RMD V 412); 157 (RMD I 50; P. Weiss, Chiron 38, 2008, p. 309–312, no. 14).

<sup>1730</sup> C. Scorpan, JRS 71, 1981, p. 98, overtaken from Strobel, *loc. cit.*

<sup>1731</sup> H. Devijver, ZPE 47, 1982, p. 184–192 = idem, *The Equestrian Officers of the Roman Imperial Army*, Amsterdam, 1989, p. 220–228 = AÉ 1982, 850, identifying *Priscus* from the inscription at Sacidava with *Capitonius Priscus*, recorded in Britannia between 155–158; after PME, C 78.

<sup>1732</sup> V. Velkov, D. Alexandrov, in *Terra Antiqua Balcanica II. Actes du IX<sup>e</sup> Congrès International d'Épigraphie Grecque et Latin*, Sofia, 1987, p. 279–283 = Chiron 18, 1988, p. 270–277 = AÉ 1987, 867 = *Montana*, II, 9. See also F. Bérard, ZPE 79, 1989, p. 129–138.

<sup>1733</sup> Extremely important observation made by D. Knoepffler, RÉG 112, 1999, p. 485–509, based on the text of Pausanias (IX 21, 3; X 13, 1), who saw buffalos on the occasion of Rome celebrations of 148. See also H. Devijver, *The Equestrian Officers of the Roman Imperial Army*, II, Mavors 9, Stuttgart, 1992, p. 142–143.

<sup>1734</sup> C. Scorpan, JRS 71, 1981, p. 98–102, no. 1–4 = AÉ 1981, 741–744; AÉ 1981, 741 = AÉ 1982, 850, only the first three directly mentioning the cohort; Suceveanu, *loc. cit.*; Zahariade, Gudea, *Fortifications*, p. 78; N. Gudea, JRGZM 52, 2005, p. 443–445 (III. 36).

<sup>1735</sup> A. Rădulescu, Pontica 6, 1973, p. 131. See also C. Scorpan, Pontica 6, 1973, p. 312, fig. 35 and p. 320, who dates the item based on the discovery context in the 2nd C.

<sup>1736</sup> CIL III 14437<sup>2</sup> = AÉ 1957, 333 = IPD<sup>4</sup> 843 = IDRE II 338; D. Tudor, AUB 5, 1956, p. 50–57; Suceveanu, *Viața economică*, p. 74–75; Bărbulescu, *Viața rurală*, p. 125–126 and p. 193.

<sup>1737</sup> Stein, *Legaten*, p. 80–81; Fitz, *Laufbahn*, p. 49, dated within 175–176. See also Pflaum, *Carrières*, p. 451–454, no. 179 and Alföldy, *Konsulat*, p. 189 and p. 230–233, considers he was the governor of Moesia Inferior, between ?176-?177.

of this theory was Aricescu, who proposed the identification of a late toponym from Procopius of Caesarea reports (*De aedificiis* IV, 7: φρούριον δὲ τὸ Τιλικίων) with a possible *castellum Cilicum* from a previous period<sup>1738</sup>. Though Aricescu's observations may be accurate<sup>1739</sup> and a small-sized fortification would have been located in the Cetatea area, where a cohort vexillation would have been stationed, the inscriptions from Sacidava prove that the cohort was garrisoned there in the 2nd and 3rd centuries<sup>1740</sup>. The unit is also recorded at Tomis by two inscriptions of which one is dated in the interval 244–249 since the cohort bears the surname *Philippiana*<sup>1741</sup>. A dedication placed by the cohort for *Philippus Caesar* during the legation of *C. Prastina Messalinus* to Moesia Inferior (245–247)<sup>1742</sup> discovered at Sacidava<sup>1743</sup>, dates again under Philippus Arabs, thus confirming that the unit preserved garrison until mid 3rd C, at least<sup>1744</sup>. Outside the province, a vexillation was apparently stationed at Chersonesus<sup>1745</sup> while a recent find ascertained a vexillation at Olbia during a period which was very exactly dated based on another surname, *Deciana*<sup>1746</sup>. Noticeably, this is one of the most mobile units of Moesia Inferior army, being present in several locations during its stationing within the province<sup>1747</sup>. Although, the tile stamps of the type *CIC* discovered at Dinogetia (Garvăn)<sup>1748</sup> and Tyras<sup>1749</sup> were not used by this unit<sup>1750</sup>.

The activity of several troop commanders from the stationing period in Moesia Inferior is known, without taking into account the ones known from other periods<sup>1751</sup>. Chronologically, first is *Ti. Claudius Ulpianus*, attested by the inscription from Montana of 147<sup>1752</sup>.

*Tabella II* of the 148/153 diploma records the tribune *Q. Castricius Manilianus*, a native of Carthage. He was no longer at the command of the cohort when this imperial constitution was issued (*coh. I Cilicum sag. cui praefuit*)<sup>1753</sup>.

Based on Devijver's observations, supplemental definite chronological interval for tribune *Capitonius Priscus* was obtained, i.e. post 158<sup>1754</sup>. The following commander, most likely during

<sup>1738</sup> A. Aricescu, *Dacia*, N. S. 14, 1970, p. 305–306; idem, *Pontica* 5, 1972, p. 333–334; idem, *Armata*, p. 58.

<sup>1739</sup> Em. Doruțiu-Boilă, *SCIVA* 41, 1990, 3–4, p. 269, rejects the arguments.

<sup>1740</sup> See to this effect F. Bérard, *ZPE* 79, 1989, p. 132. For the fort at Sacidava, see C. Scorpan, in *Limes IXMamaia*, p. 109–116; Zahariade, Gudea, *Fortifications*, p. 78.

<sup>1741</sup> *ISM* II 345; 452.

<sup>1742</sup> Stein, *Legaten*, p. 71; Fitz, *Laufbahn*, p. 34–36; Thomasson, *Laterculi*<sup>2</sup>, p. 50, no. 20:084.

<sup>1743</sup> C. Scorpan, *JRS* 71, 1981, p. 101, no. 3.

<sup>1744</sup> *Ibidem*, p. 102: “Taken as a whole, the new evidence suggests that *cohors I Cilicum* may have built the fort at Sacidava in the second century and remained in garrison there until the middle of the third century”.

<sup>1745</sup> *CIL* III 13751 b = *IOSPE* I<sup>2</sup> 554 = Solomonik, *Latinskie nadpisi*, p. 64–65, no. 39; D. Tudor, *AUB* 5, 1956, p. 59–60; T. Sarnowski, *ArchWarszawa* 38, 1988, p. 80, no. 58–59.

<sup>1746</sup> V. M. Zubar, V. V. Krapivina, *Vita antiqua* 2, 1999, Kiev, p. 76–83 = *Iidem*, *VDI* 251 (4), 2004, p. 166–178 = *AÉ* 2004, 1289: [---] *Jet coh(ortis) I Cilicum Del[cianae---ex] voto posuit*.

<sup>1747</sup> See to this effect Aricescu, *Armata*, p. 106.

<sup>1748</sup> *ISM* V 264. See also Gh. Ștefan, *Dacia* 7–8, 1937–1940, p. 410; idem, *Dacia*, N. S. 2, 1958, p. 324; D. Tudor, *AUB* 5, 1956, p. 57.

<sup>1749</sup> P. Nicorescu, *ARMSI* 26, mem. 16, p. 501, fig. 1.

<sup>1750</sup> Em. Doruțiu-Boilă, *SCIVA* 41, 1990, 3–4, p. 267–270.

<sup>1751</sup> *ILS* 8968; *PME*, M 9 (*M. Magius M.f. Gal. Antiquus*). The diploma of Montana, which was granted to a cohort soldier, also mentions the troop commander, *P. Sepienus P.f. Pol. Aelianus* (*CIL* XVI 22; *PME*, S 26).

<sup>1752</sup> Velkov, Alexandrov, *op. cit.*, p. 279–283 = Chiron 18, 1988, p. 270–277 = *AÉ* 1987, 867. See also F. Bérard, *ZPE* 79, 1989, p. 129–138. *Ti. Claudius Ulpianus*, *PME*, C 190 bis; *PME*, VI, p. 64.

<sup>1753</sup> P. Weiß, *ZPE* 117, 1997, p. 252–254 = *AÉ* 1997, 1778 = *RMD* V 412.

<sup>1754</sup> H. Devijver, *ZPE* 47, 1982, p. 184–192 = idem, *The Equestrians Officers of the Roman Imperial Army*, Amsterdam, 1989, p. 220–228 = *AÉ* 1982, 850, identifying *Priscus* from the inscription at Sacidava with *Capitonius Priscus*, recorded in Britannia between 155–158; after *PME*, C 78; *PME*, VI, p. 63–64. He commanded first *cohors I Aquitanorum*, in Britannia (F. Gayet, *Historia* 55, 2006, 1, p. 74) within 155–158, only to become later prefect of a *cohors milliaria*, in Moesia Inferior. No further details on his career are known.

the Costoboci invasion of Moesia Inferior, is *T. Antonius Claudius Alfenus Arignotus*<sup>1755</sup>. The next known commander is *Anternius Antoninus* who, during the legation of *P. Helvius Pertinax* to Moesia Inferior, ends the territorial conflict between the Dacians and the *Ausdecenses*<sup>1756</sup>. Finally, the name of another troop commander is known, however his office cannot be dated for certain. He is *Iulius Faustinus* at Sacidava<sup>1757</sup>.

Still from Sacidava comes the name of a cohort sous-officer, *Iulius Iulianus*, who was a *s(ummu)s c(urator)*, probably in the second half of the 2nd C<sup>1758</sup>.

In addition, records surviving until nowadays preserved the name of certain cohort soldiers on duty during the cohort stationing in Moesia Inferior<sup>1759</sup>. The diploma of 148/153 records an *ex pedite*, *Valerius Longi f. Longus, Isaurus*. This is direct proof that a troop of archers replenished the cohort strength with recruits from other areas of the Empire (especially the East), given the high degree of specialisation required. At Tomis two inscriptions mention troop soldiers: *Cornelius Valentinus*<sup>1760</sup> and *Valens, eques vexillarius*<sup>1761</sup>. An inscription from Chersonesus conveys the names of two soldiers of a vexillation sent by this cohort sometime by the end of the 2nd and beginning of the 3rd centuries<sup>1762</sup>. Finally, an inscription mentioning the name of a veteran, *Diurdanus Decibali f.* at Sacidava, was discovered, however we are not certain he served within this cohort or *cohors IV Gallorum* which was stationed there prior cohort *ICilicum*<sup>1763</sup>. Sometime by the beginning of the 3rd C, in the area of Iatrus (Krivina) retired a cohort *missicius*, whose name did not preserve<sup>1764</sup>.

<sup>1755</sup> CIG 3497 = IGR IV 1213 = ILS 8853; PIR<sup>2</sup>, A 821; L. Robert, *Istros* 1, 1934, 2, p. 1–5; D. Tudor, *AUB* 5, 1956, p. 57; Pflaum, *Carrières*, p. 567–579, no. 218 *ter* = no. 309; PME, A 132; PME, VI, p. 63; Fr. Bérard, *MEFRA* 96, 1984, p. 319–323. The inscription was placed at Thyatira, in Lydia. For dating and comments see C. C. Petolescu, *Dacia*, N. S. 31, 1987, p. 161–165; idem, *AUB* 45, 1995, p. 13–16; idem, *ZPE* 110, 1996, p. 253–258.

<sup>1756</sup> CIL III 14437<sup>2</sup> = D. Tudor, *AUB* 5, 1956, p. 54–55 = AÉ 1957, 333 = IPD<sup>4</sup> 843 = IDRE II 338; PME, A 124; PME, VI, p. 63.

<sup>1757</sup> C. Scorpan, *JRS* 71, 1981, p. 98–102, no. 4 = AÉ 1981, 744; PME, I 59 bis; PME, VI, p. 64. See AÉ 1982, p. 277: “De la seconde moitié du II<sup>e</sup> s. date aussi AÉ 1981, 744, qui nomme un autre tribun de cette même cohorte, Iulius Faustinus”.

<sup>1758</sup> C. Scorpan, *JRS* 71, 1981, p. 98–102, no. 2 = AÉ 1981, 742.

<sup>1759</sup> For soldiers recorded prior the troop displacement to Moesia Inferior, see CIL III 8250 = IMS IV 33; CIL XVI 22; Kraft, *Rekrutierung*, p. 173, no. 1311–1312; D. Bălteanu, *AO* 15, 2000, p. 22–23, no. 1–2.

<sup>1760</sup> D. Tudor, *AUB* 5, 1956, p. 45–46, no. 1 = idem, *Materiale* 2, 1956, p. 582, no. 51 = ISM II 452; D. Bălteanu, *AO* 15, 2000, p. 22–23, no. 6. The inscription dates from 244–249, since the cohort bears the imperial surname *Philippiana*.

<sup>1761</sup> D. Tudor, *AUB* 5, 1956, p. 46–49, no. 2 = idem, *Materiale* 2, 1956, p. 583–584, no. 52 = ISM II 345 = Conrad, *Grabstelen*, p. 172, no. 175 (profilgerahmte Stele, type I, variant 2, p. 43; this type comes from the area of the colony at Scupi); D. Bălteanu, *AO* 15, 2000, p. 22–23, no. 5. Supposedly, the inscription dates from the second half of the 2nd C (Conrad, *Grabstelen*, p. 172, dates the stela rather in the 3rd C), at the same time clear indication that this cohort was *equitata*. The stela was placed together with another *Val[ens vel entinus]* to a certain *Claudia Matrona*. On *vexillarius cohortis*, see Domaszewski, *RO*<sup>2</sup>, p. 55–56 and p. 58–59, with the remark that each *turma* hold a *vexillum* (after idem, *Aufsätze zur römischen Heeresgeschichte*, Darmstadt, 1972, p. 26, with n. 2).

<sup>1762</sup> CIL III 13751 b = IOSPE I<sup>2</sup> 554 = Solomonik, *Latinskie nadpisi*, p. 64–65, no. 39; *Aelius Iulius* and *Aurelius Valens*; Kraft, *Rekrutierung*, p. 173, no. 1313 a-b; D. Tudor, *AUB* 5, 1956, p. 59–60; T. Sarnowski, *ArchWarszawa* 38, 1988, p. 80, no. 57–58; D. Bălteanu, *AO* 15, 2000, p. 22–23, no. 3–4.

<sup>1763</sup> C. Scorpan, *Limes Scythiae. Topographical and Stratigraphical Research on the Late Roman Fortifications on the Lower Danube*, *BAR Int. Ser.* 88, Oxford, 1980, p. 212–213, no. 3 = IDRE II 339 = AÉ 1998, 1141 = Conrad, *Grabstelen*, p. 202, no. 282 (profilgerahmte Stele, Form Ic, p. 44–45). This veteran is of Dacian origin; see to this effect D. Dana, *ZPE* 143, p. 176–177. *Vide infra* with *cohors IV Gallorum*.

<sup>1764</sup> Conrad, *Grabstelen*, p. 226, no. 372 = AÉ 2004, 1252. The funerary stela was dated by S. Conrad on the stylistic ground. In AÉ it was dated by the end of the 1st C, or in the beginning of the 2nd C, based on the mention of *missicius*.



In conclusion, *cohors I Cilicum milliaria equitata sagittariorum* was located in Moesia from very early in its history. After a period when it was displaced to Moesia Superior, it was transferred prior 134 to Moesia Inferior, where it remained until the end of the 3rd C. Quartered at Sacidava and being 1000 strong, the unit was involved in various actions on the province territory being practically its most mobile unit.

## 20. *Cohors I Cisipadensium*<sup>1765</sup>

This cohort was in Moesia from a very early period, as proven by an inscription from the peninsula of Istria, at Pola (Ruginium, Regio X), which preserved the career of *L. Campanius L. f. Pol. Verecundus*, former soldier of legion *IV Scythica*, promoted to *signifer* and then *centurio* of a *cohors Cisipadensium*<sup>1766</sup>. After the province division, the cohort remains on the territory of Moesia Superior, being recorded by imperial constitutions of 94 and 100<sup>1767</sup>. It was probably involved together with troops from its province in the Dacian expeditions of emperor Trajan<sup>1768</sup>. In 115, it was among the troops of Moesia Superior sent to the Parthian expedition<sup>1769</sup>. The fate of this troop is unknown in the Parthian war aftermath until 138, when it is recorded by the diploma for Thracia<sup>1770</sup>, together with *cohors II Lucensium*. However, when and under what circumstances cohort *I Cisipadensium* reached the territory of Thracia remains unknown. Considering it is not mentioned by the diploma of 114<sup>1771</sup>, it may be supposed that its displacement took place under Hadrian. It is subsequently transferred to Moesia Inferior between 146 and 155<sup>1772</sup>. It remained there until mid 3rd C, when under Maximinus Thrax and Gordian III is recorded at Sostra (Lomec) with the mission to surveil the important road linking the city of Philippopolis with the Danube line<sup>1773</sup>. When exactly the unit was transferred to Sostra is impossible to assert, probably sometime after 198 when the *II Mattiacorum* cohort is for the last time attested (*vide infra*). Where it was again transferred in the reign of Gallienus, when another cohort, *II reducum* is attested within the Sostra fort (*vide infra*), it is still unknown.

<sup>1765</sup> Cichorius, *Cohors*, col. 271; Wagner, *Dislokation*, p. 121; Kraft, *Rekrutierung*, p. 173, no. 1320–1321; V. Gerasimova, *ArheologijaSofia* 12, 1970, 4, p. 24–25; Aricescu, *Armata*, p. 49; Beneš, *Auxilia*, p. 25–26; Hamdoune, *Auxilia externa*, p. 118 (without mentioning its stationing in Thracia and Moesia Inferior); Fl. Matei-Popescu, *SCIWA* 52–53, 2001–2002 (2004), p. 202–203, no. 18; O. Țentea, Fl. Matei-Popescu, *ActaMN* 39–40/I, 2002–2003 (2004), p. 279.

<sup>1766</sup> CIL V 8185 = ILS 9172 = InscrIt X, I, 644; Ritterling, *RE* XII, 1925, col. 1558; Wagner, *loc. cit.*; Holder, *Auxilia*, p. 304, no. 1321; Saddington, *Development*, p. 162, who dates the inscription under Nero; Todisco, *Veterani*, p. 136–137, no. 112. The cohort is definitely recorded within this province by the diploma of April 28, 75 from Taliata, (RMD 2); M. Mirković, *EpigrSt* 5, 1968, p. 181, no. 10.

<sup>1767</sup> It appears in the diploma of September 16, 94 from Negovanovci, granted to a cohort footsoldier, *L. Cassius, Cassi f., Larisenus*, under the command of *L. Cilnius L. f. Pom. Secundus* (CIL XVI 39; Kraft, *Rekrutierung*, p. 173, no. 1321; Holder, *Auxilia*, p. 304, no. 1322; D. Bălțeanu, *AO* 15, 2000, p. 24–25; PME, C 109; PME, VI, p. 64; see another copy of the same constitution RMD V 335) also within the diploma from Siscia, of May 8, 100 (CIL XVI 46). Another copy of the constitution was recently edited, W. Eck, A. Pangerl, *Chiron* 38, 2008, p. 326–329, no. 1.

<sup>1768</sup> Rossi, *Trajan's Column*, p. 94 and 115; Strobel, *Dakerkriege*, p. 127.

<sup>1769</sup> W. Eck, A. Pangerl, *Chiron* 35, 2005, p. 50–51 and p. 60; *idem*, *Chiron* 38, 2008, p. 363–370, no. 10.

<sup>1770</sup> RMD V 385/260, gathering no less than five fragments, published separately.

<sup>1771</sup> E. Paunov, M. M. Roxan, *ZPE* 119, 1997, p. 269–279 = RMD IV 227/14.

<sup>1772</sup> Definitely recorded by a new diploma dated around 155, P. Weiß, *ZPE* 134, 2001, p. 262–265 = RMD V 414 and supposed for the diploma at Brestovene, 157, RMD I 50. The unit is recorded now by a single fragment of diploma, copy of the same imperial constitution, P. Weiss, *Chiron* 38, 2008, p. 309–312, no. 14. See also P. Weiß, *ZPE* 134, 2001, p. 266.

<sup>1773</sup> CIL III 14429 = ILB 261: *Maximiana*, A. Bellezza, *Massimino il Trace*, Genoa, 1964, p. 99; CIL III 14430 = ILB 262: *Gordiana*; Beneš, *loc. cit.*

No cohort commanders or soldiers are known from the period of its stationing in Moesia Inferior<sup>1774</sup>.

## 21. *Cohors III collecta civium Romanorum*<sup>1775</sup>

Information on this cohort comes from 253 and 258. Thus, two inscriptions from Montana preserve the names of two tribunes of a cohort rendered as *COH III COLL*<sup>1776</sup>. Unfortunately, no further information on this troop is available and we cannot establish the relation between it and *numerus civium Romanorum* recorded precisely in the same period at Montana<sup>1777</sup>. The first tribune chronologically recorded is *Aelius Maximus* in 253<sup>1778</sup>, followed by *P. Aelius Antoninus* in 258<sup>1779</sup>. According to the commanders' declared rank it was a *milliaria* cohort, however for lack of evidence we cannot further speculate. It is interesting that in the first half of the 3rd C another cohort, *Gemina Dacorum milliaria* (*vide infra*) was stationed at Montana.

## 22. *Cohors I Flavia Commagenorum equitata sagittariorum*<sup>1780</sup>

It was supposed that together with its "sister", *cohors II Flavia Commagenorum*<sup>1781</sup> was raised from the soldiers sent to help by king Antiochus of Commagena during Titus's campaign in Iudaea<sup>1782</sup>. Such view needs reappraisal following the discovery of the diploma from Cataloi of 92<sup>1783</sup>. Hence, the cohort was enrolled no later than 67. Possibly, recruitment envisaged soldiers sent by the same king to *Cestius Gallus* in 66<sup>1784</sup>.

<sup>1774</sup> In PME, D 14; PME, VI, p. 64, it was assumed that a certain *Domitius* is attested by the one of the inscription from Sostra (CIL III 14429 = ILB 261). In fact, on that inscription the governor of Moesia inferior, *Domitius Antigonus*, from the reign of Maximinus Thrax, is attested.

<sup>1775</sup> Cichorius, *Cohors*, col. 273; Wagner, *Dislokation*, p. 122; Beneš, *Auxilia*, p. 26; Spaul, *Cohors*<sup>2</sup>, p. 495; Fl. Matei-Popescu, SCIVA 52–53, 2001–2002 (2004), p. 203–204, no. 19.

<sup>1776</sup> CIL III 7450 = ILS 2622; V. Velkov, *ArheologijaSofia* 7, 1955, 1, p. 94–96, no. 4 = AÉ 1957, 340; TIR K 34, p. 23, Zahariade, Gudea, *Fortifications*, p. 89–90.

<sup>1777</sup> On *NCR*, interpreted as possibly *n(umerus) c(ivium) R(omanorum)*, see Wagner, *Dislokation*, p. 205–206; Beneš, *Auxilia*, p. 57–58. Speidel thinks differently and completes *N(umerus) C(ollectorum) R(egionarium)*, M. P. Speidel, *Roman Army Studies*, II, Stuttgart 1992, *Mavors* 8, p. 143.

<sup>1778</sup> CIL III 7450 = ILS 2622; V. Velkov, *ArheologijaSofia* 7, 1955, 1, p. 94–96, no. 4 = AÉ 1957, 340 = *Montana*, II, no. 4; PME, A 45; PME, VI, p. 67.

<sup>1779</sup> CIL III 7450 = ILS 2622 = *Montana*, II, p. 5, no. 6: *P. Ael. Antoninus [trib.?] / coh. III coll. [[Valerianae Gallianae]] portam praetoriam / cum turre a fundamento / sumptibus suis et instantia fabricavit Tusco et Basso cos.; PME, A 23; PME, VI, p. 67. The same person also appears on an inscription honouring *Alcaeus* (probably referring to Hercules): *Alcidi s[al]/vatori domus / divinae et loci / P. Ael(ius) Antonin(us) trib(unus) coh(ortis) / renovav[it...]* (*Montana*, II, p. 37, no. 80) and an extremely fragmentary inscription (AÉ 1985, 754 = *Montana*, II, p. 55, no. 133).*

<sup>1780</sup> Cichorius, *Cohors*, col. 273–274; Christescu, *Ist. militară*, p. 183; Wagner, *Dislokation*, p. 123–124; Kraft, *Rekrutierung*, p. 60–61; 173, no. 1330–1331 a, b; Russu, SCIV 23, 1972, 2, p. 70; Aricescu, *Armata*, p. 59–60; Tudor, *OR*<sup>4</sup>, p. 334; Beneš, *Auxilia*, p. 26–27; Vlădescu, *Armata*, p. 25; Suceveanu, *Dobroudja*, p. 65; Spaul, *Cohors*<sup>2</sup>, p. 404–405; Petolescu, *Auxilia*, p. 95–96; C. C. Petolescu, A. T. Popescu, in *Studia Historica et Theologica*, p. 86; Fl. Matei-Popescu, SCIVA 52–53, 2001–2002 (2004), p. 204–205, no. 20; F. Marcu, in *Orbis antiquus*, p. 577, no. 9; O. Țentea, Fl. Matei-Popescu, *ActaMN* 39–40/I, 2002–2003(2004), p. 279; O. Țentea, *ActaMN* 41–42/I, 2004–2005 (2007), p. 143–148.

<sup>1781</sup> Wagner, *Dislokation*, p. 123; Beneš, *Auxilia*, p. 26; Saddington, *Development*, p. 48–49.

<sup>1782</sup> Cichorius, *Cohors*, col. 274; Wagner, *Dislokation*, p. 124–126; Beneš, *Auxilia*, p. 27; Spaul, *Cohors*<sup>2</sup>, p. 404–405; Petolescu, *Auxilia*, p. 97–99.

<sup>1783</sup> June 14, 92, military diploma of Cataloi (C. C. Petolescu, A. T. Popescu, *ZPE* 148, 2004, p. 269–276).

<sup>1784</sup> Flavius Josephus, *BJ* II, 18, 9; Saddington, *Development*, p. 48.

It is successively recorded in 97, 105 and 111<sup>1785</sup>. A tombstone records the cohort at Tomis during this period<sup>1786</sup>. It participated in the Dacian war<sup>1787</sup> and remained in the territory of Dacia Inferior after Hadrian's reforms. In the period 106–117/118, the cohort was accommodated in the fort at Drajna de Sus<sup>1788</sup>, tile and brick stamps appearing also at Târgșor and Voinești<sup>1789</sup>. After leaving Muntenia, the troop recorded by diplomas in Dacia Inferior<sup>1790</sup> appears on the lower course of Olt river, at Romula, Slăveni and Acidava (Enoșești)<sup>1791</sup>. In the first half of the 3rd C, part of the cohort or a vexillation is recorded in the fort at Jidova-Câmpulung, on limes Transalutanus<sup>1792</sup>.

From the time it was stationed in Moesia Inferior, no unit commanders were identified, except for *M. Antonius Modianus* office as prefect, however impossible to precisely delimit chronologically<sup>1793</sup>. The names of two soldiers are known, both recorded by the already mentioned inscription from Tomis: *M. Iulius Tertullus* and *Mitridates*<sup>1794</sup>. However, the inscription provides insufficient data to allow for speculation on the cohort's possible quartering location in the city by the Black Sea, as the tombstone beneficiary was a veteran and not on active duty<sup>1795</sup>.

### 23. *Cohors Gemina Dacorum milliaria*<sup>1796</sup>

The unit is attested at Montana by an inscription placed in the honour of empress *Sabinia Tranquillina*, dated 241–244 and discovered in-between villages Čeljustnika and Belimel<sup>1797</sup>. The same troop could be mentioned by another fragmentary inscription from

<sup>1785</sup> P. Weiß, ZPE 117, 1997, p. 233–238, no. 4 = AE 1997, 1774 = RMD V 338; CIL XVI 50; RMD IV 222.

<sup>1786</sup> V. Pârvan, ArchAnz 29, 1914, col. 433 = AE 1938, 6 = ISM II 176 = Conrad, *Grabstelen*, p. 173, no. 181 (erroneously, this work quotes ISM II 196 instead of ISM II 176).

<sup>1787</sup> Rossi, *Trajan's Column*, p. 94; Strobel, *Dakerkriege*, p. 127; Sarnowski, *Wojsko rzymskie*, p. 60.

<sup>1788</sup> CIL III 12530 = IDR II 603; Christescu, *loc. cit.*; Gh. Ștefan, Dacia 11–12, 1945–1947, p. 115–144; D. Tudor, SCIV 6, 1955, 1–2, p. 94–95 (together with an explanation of the fortification strategic function); M. Zahariade, T. Dvorski, *The Lower Moesian Army in Northern Walachia* (A.D. 101–118). *An Epigraphical and Historical Study on the Brick and Tile Stamps Found in The Drajna de Sus Roman Fort*, Bucharest, 1997, p. 23 and *passim* = AE 1997, 1323.

<sup>1789</sup> M. Bădescu, SCIVA 32, 1981, 2, p. 291–292 = CEpR II, 116 = ILD 166; C. C. Petolescu, in *Studien zu den Militärgrenzen Roms III. 13. Internationaler Limeskongress, Aalen, 1983. Vorträge*, Stuttgart, 1986, p. 511; Petolescu, *Auxilia*, p. 96; F. Marcu, in *Orbis antiquus*, p. 577, no. 9; M. Zahariade, D. Lichiardopol, in *Dacia Augusti Provincia*, p. 126–127, fig. 5, a–g.

<sup>1790</sup> Military diplomas of 125–126 (M. Ilkić, *Vjesnik za Arheologiju i Povijest Dalmatinsku* 102, 2009, p. 59–73); 130 (P. Weiß, ZPE 117, 1997, p. 243–246, no. 8 = AE 1997, 1764 = RMD V 376); 140 (IDR I 13 = RMD 39); 146 (RMD IV 269) 150 ((W. Eck, A. Pangerl, *ActaMN* 43–44/I, 2006–2007 (2008), p. 192–193, no. 3).

<sup>1791</sup> IDR II 382 (Romula); Tudor, OR<sup>4</sup>, 98–99; 194; IDR II 528 (Slăveni); CIL II 8074<sup>14d</sup> = IDR II 551 (Acidava – Enoșești); Tudor, OR<sup>4</sup>, p. 258; Cr. M. Vlădescu, Gh. Poenaru-Bordea, SMMIM 11, 1978, p. 137–142 (p. 140 = ILD 146).

<sup>1792</sup> ILD 164: [...]*JITVLCAI (?) miles / [cob(ortis) I Fl]a(viae) Commagenorum*; Petolescu, *Auxilia*, p. 96; F. Marcu, in *Orbis antiquus*, p. 577, no. 9, expresses doubts on the unit or part of unit presence within this fort, considering it material export.

<sup>1793</sup> CIL VI 3504; PME, A 138; PME, VI, p. 67. See also *C. Betitius Pietas*, who commanded this unit while stationing in Dacia inferior (CIL IX 1132 = IDRE I 106; PME, B 22; PME, VI, p. 67).

<sup>1794</sup> ISM II 176 = Conrad, *Grabstelen*, p. 173, no. 181 (Schaftstele, type X, p. 53); Kraft, *Rekrutierung*, p. 173, no. 1331 a, b; D. Bălțeanu, AO 15, 2000, p. 26, no. 1–2.

<sup>1795</sup> As Al. Suceveanu believed, RRH 13, 1974, 2, p. 230–231; idem, *loc. cit.*; Aricescu, *Armata*, p. 60.

<sup>1796</sup> Cichorius, *Cohors*, col. 279; Christescu, *Ist. militară*, p. 204; Wagner, *Dislokation*, p. 130; Beneš, *Auxilia*, p. 30; I. I. Russu, *Daco-geții în Imperiul roman*, Bucharest, 1980, p. 33; Petolescu, *Auxilia*, p. 153.

<sup>1797</sup> CIL III 14211<sup>9</sup> = IPD<sup>4</sup> 751 = IDRE II 316. On the two sites see TIR K 34, p. 35 (Čeljustnika) and p. 23 (Belimel).

Kamena Riksa dated 204<sup>1798</sup>. It seems that it was formed by joining two units with the same name, probably *quingenariae*<sup>1799</sup>. The concentration of *milliariae* cohorts in this region during the 3rd C is worth mentioning. We should not forget that the troop was no longer stationed at Montana by mid 3rd C, when cohort *III collecta civium Romanorum milliaria* (*vide supra*) is recorded.

#### 24. *Cohors II Gallorum*<sup>1800</sup>

Since there are several *II Gallorum* cohorts, researchers found it difficult to make clear distinctions, J. Spaul going even further and considering identical those attested in Mauretania<sup>1801</sup>, Britannia<sup>1802</sup> and Moesia Inferior, although even C. Cichorius had pointed out their dissimilarity. Moreover, J. Spaul also considered this cohort identical with another cohort *II Gallorum Pannonica*<sup>1803</sup>. A homonymous troop is recorded in Moesia Superior in 160–161<sup>1804</sup>, occasion of additional confusion among modern scholars<sup>1805</sup>, the troop being most likely different from the one which had stationed in Moesia Inferior<sup>1806</sup>.

On the territory of Moesia Inferior the troop is for the first time recorded by the diploma of 92 from Cataloi<sup>1807</sup>. It is mentioned subsequently by the diploma of Oltina, granted to a cohort soldier<sup>1808</sup> and the diplomas of 105 and 112<sup>1809</sup>. Most authors tend to believe that it stationed at Durostorum together with *cohors II Flavia Brittonum* and *cohors I Hispanorum veterana*, at least until the arrival in this province of legion XI Claudia p. f.<sup>1810</sup>. Meanwhile, at Gura Canliei and Izvoarele (Sucidava) were uncovered several tile stamps of *COH II C* type, which were interpreted by the editor to pertain to cohort *II Chalcidenorum sagittariorum*<sup>1811</sup>, but which could also belong to this unit especially since Oltina, the findspot of the above mentioned diploma, is very close to Gura Canliei and Izvoarele, in fact between these two points and Sacidava<sup>1812</sup>.

<sup>1798</sup> CIL III 12328 = IDRE II 315.

<sup>1799</sup> Cichorius, *loc. cit.*

<sup>1800</sup> Cichorius, *Cohors*, col. 288; Wagner, *Dislokation*, p. 135–136; Kraft, *Rekrutierung*, p. 175, no. 1410–1411; I. I. Russu, *SCIV* 23, 1972, 2, p. 71; Aricescu, *Armata*, p. 66; Tudor, *OR*<sup>4</sup>, p. 336; Beneš, *Auxilia*, p. 32; Suceveanu, *Dobroudja*, p. 66; Spaul, *Cohors*<sup>2</sup>, p. 157–158; Petolescu, *Auxilia*, p. 104–105; C. C. Petolescu, A. T. Popescu, in *Studia Historica et Theologica*, p. 88; Fl. Matei-Popescu, *SCIWA* 52–53, 2001–2002 (2004), p. 205–206, no. 21; O. Țentea, Fl. Matei-Popescu, *ActaMN* 39–40/I, 2002–2003(2004), p. 282; F. Gayet, *Historia* 55, 2006, 1, p. 84.

<sup>1801</sup> Bensedik, *Troupes auxiliaires*, p. 56; CIL XVI 56, November 28, 107.

<sup>1802</sup> Holder, *Roman Army*, p. 116–117; M. G. Jarrett, *Britannia* 25, 1994, p. 60; CIL XVI 93, 146.

<sup>1803</sup> Spaul, *Cohors*<sup>2</sup>, p. 159. See for criticism, Petolescu, *Auxilia*, p. 104–106.

<sup>1804</sup> CIL XVI 111; RMD I 55.

<sup>1805</sup> Wagner, *Dislokation*, p. 136; Aricescu, *loc. cit.*; Beneš, *loc. cit.*

<sup>1806</sup> Similarly, Petolescu, *Auxilia*, p. 104, n. 13.

<sup>1807</sup> C. C. Petolescu, A. T. Popescu, *ZPE* 148, 2004, p. 269–276.

<sup>1808</sup> August 14, 99 (CIL XVI 44).

<sup>1809</sup> May 13, 105 (CIL XVI 50); 112/114 (CIL XVI 58).

<sup>1810</sup> Wagner, *Dislokation*, p. 136; Beneš, *loc. cit.* *Vide contra* Aricescu, *Armata*, p. 60, who believed that this cohort stationed at Sacidava, based on an inscription (A. Aricescu, *Pontica* 7, 1974, p. 259–263), followed by Suceveanu, *loc. cit.* Meanwhile, the epigraphical collection from Sacidava grew and we may argue that this is in fact *cohors IV Gallorum* (A. Rădulescu, M. Bărbulescu, *Dacia*, N. S. 25, 1981, p. 353–356, no. 1 = AÉ 1981, 745, with comment *infra* with *cohors IV Gallorum*).

<sup>1811</sup> M. Irimia, *Pontica* 21–22, 1988–1989, p. 113–121; idem, *Pontica* 35–36, 2002–2003, p. 161–176. For Roman traces in the two sites, see TIR L 35, p. 29 (Canlia) and p. 47 (Sucidava); Zahariade, Gudea, *Fortifications*, p. 77 (both sites). *Vide supra* with *cohors II Chalcidenorum sagittaria*.

<sup>1812</sup> TIR L 35, p. 22; Zahariade, Gudea, *Fortifications*, p. 78.



It undoubtedly participated to the Dacian war, remaining in the newly conquered territory<sup>1813</sup>. After the reorganization under Hadrian, it is recorded in Dacia Inferior<sup>1814</sup>, however its garrison location is impossible to establish with precision.

From the period of its stationing in Moesia Inferior, a single commander, *Visulanius Crescens* and a single soldier, *M. Antonius M. f. Rufus Abrettenus* surfaced in the diploma at Oltina, of August 99<sup>1815</sup>.

## 25. *Cohors III Gallorum*<sup>1816</sup>

This unit activated in Germania Inferior as early as Augustus, being recorded in 42 at Valkenburg. It is subsequently transferred to Germania Superior<sup>1817</sup>.

In 75 it is recorded on the territory of Moesia Inferior by the diploma of Taliata<sup>1818</sup> and then in 78, by the diplomas from Montana, Berkovica and a diploma with unknown findspot, copies of the same imperial constitution<sup>1819</sup>. In 82 it is mentioned by a diploma given for the army of Germania Superior, together with *ala I Claudia nova* and *cohors V Hispanorum*, which were at that point in Moesia<sup>1820</sup>. Thus it is rather clear that we are dealing with the same cohort and not with different troops, as M. Mirković and K. Strobel attempted to prove<sup>1821</sup>.

<sup>1813</sup> Rossi, *Trajan's Column*, p. 94; Strobel, *Dakerkriege*, p. 130.

<sup>1814</sup> Vlădescu, *Armata*, p. 37; Petolescu, *Auxilia*, p. 104–105 and the diplomas of 130 (P. Weiß, ZPE 117, 1997, p. 243–246, no. 8 = AÉ 1997, 1764 = RMD V 376); 131/132 (P. Weiß, ZPE 141, 2002, p. 245–246 = AÉ 2002, 1743 = RMD V 380); 140 (IDR I 13 = RMD 39); 146 (RMD IV 269) and 167–168 (W. Eck, D. MacDonald, A. Pangerl, ActaMN 38/I, 2001, p. 45–48, no. 5).

<sup>1815</sup> CIL XVI 44. On *Visulanius Crescens* see also CIL XI 709 = ILS 1394; Pflaum, *Carrières*, p. 1058; PME, V 120. He was Italian by origin, from Bononia (Regio IV), son of *T. Visulanius Aufidius Trebius Clemens*. For the cohort soldier, see Kraft, *Rekrutierung*, p. 175, no. 1411 and p. 47; 66; A. Aricescu, in *Studien zu den Militärgrenzen Roms. II. Vorträge des 10. Internationalen Limesskongresses in der Germania Inferior 1974*, Cologne – Bonn, 1977, p. 265–266; D. Bălteanu, AO 15, 2000, p. 29. It was initially proposed it was Abrittus, from Moesia Inferior (Wagner, *loc. cit.*; Kraft, *loc. cit.*; Aricescu, *loc. cit.*). Gerov did not agree with this view and proposed the city of Abrettenne from Asia Minor (*Beiträge*, I, p. 54–55), followed then by Beneš, *loc. cit.*

<sup>1816</sup> Cichorius, *Cohors*, col. 289–290; Stein, *Truppen.*, p. 189–190; Christescu, *Ist. militară*, p. 187; Wagner, *Dislokation*, p. 137 and p. 138–139; Kraft, *Rekrutierung*, p. 175–176, no. 1430–1431; Alföldy, *Hilfstruppen*, p. 58; M. Mirković, EpigrSt 5, 1968, p. 179–180, no. 5; V. Gerasimova, ArheologijaSofia 12, 1970, 4, p. 28; I. I. Russu, SCIV 23, 1972, 2, p. 71; Tudor, OR<sup>4</sup>, p. 337; Beneš, *Auxilia*, p. 33; Suceveanu, *Dobroudja*, p. 66; Spaul, *Cohors*<sup>2</sup>, p. 161–162; C. C. Petolescu, A. T. Popescu, in *Studia Historica et Theologica*, p. 89; Fl. Matei-Popescu, SCIVA 52–53, 2001–2002 (2004), p. 207–208, no. 22; O. Țentea, Fl. Matei-Popescu, ActaMN 39–40/I, 2002–2003(2004), p. 283; F. Marcu, in *Orbis Antiquus*, p. 578–579, no. 12; F. Gayet, Historia 55, 2006, 1, p. 85 and p. 86 (supposing erroneously that the homonym troop in the diplomas for Moesia of 75 and 78 could be different from the one appearing subsequently in Moesia Inferior).

<sup>1817</sup> Alföldy, *loc. cit.* Last record dates from May 21, 74 (CIL XVI 20), this time within the army of Germania Superior. See A. Radnoti, in *8<sup>th</sup> International Congress of Limesforschung, 1969*, Cardiff, 1974, p. 138–155 and Saddington, *Development*, p. 94; 127; 129–130.

<sup>1818</sup> RMD I 2. Cooment with D. Vučković-Todorović, Starinar 18, 1967, p. 25 and M. Mirković, EpigrSt 5, 1968, p. 179–180.

<sup>1819</sup> CIL XVI 22; RMD IV 208; W. Eck, A. Pangerl, Chiron 38, 2008, p. 318–321, no. 1.

<sup>1820</sup> The diploma from Debelec, September 20, 82 (CIL XVI 26).

<sup>1821</sup> M. Mirković, *loc. cit.*, who relies on the fact that the soldier discharged according to the diploma of May 13, 105 (CIL XVI 50) was from Rauricum, Germania Superior. See also Strobel, *Donaukriege*, p. 139–141, who proposes the identification of this cohort already recorded in Moesia with the one appearing later in Mauretania Tingitana (CIL XVI 73; RMD 48), which is perfectly possible, yet extremely hard to prove.

After the division of this province, the troop appears in Moesia Inferior in 92, 99, 105 and 114<sup>1822</sup>. It participated into the Dacian war<sup>1823</sup> and remained, most probably, in the newly conquered territory. After the territorial reorganization under Hadrian, the cohort would be attested in Dacia Inferior by several diplomas<sup>1824</sup> and by inscriptions indicating it stationed for a while at Ioneștii Govorii<sup>1825</sup> and subsequently at Hoghiz<sup>1826</sup>.

From the moment it was stationed in Moesia Inferior we know the name of a single commander<sup>1827</sup> and of a single soldier<sup>1828</sup>, both recorded by the diploma of May 13, 105<sup>1829</sup>.

## 26. *Cohors IV Gallorum*<sup>1830</sup>

First record of the troop in the territory of Moesia Inferior dates from 62–71 and comes from the fort at Oescus<sup>1831</sup>, unless we do not agree with the chronology proposed for this inscription by W. Wagner and assumed by B. Gerov<sup>1832</sup>. Nevertheless, the troop is definitely displaced to Moesia, as proven by the diploma from Taliata<sup>1833</sup>. After the division of the province, *cohors IV Gallorum* would remain in Moesia Inferior, being recorded there in 92, 97 and 105<sup>1834</sup>.

During this period, the cohort was garrisoned at Sacidava, as shows a Roman milestone that may be dated rather accurately during the legation of *Q. Fabius Postuminus* to Moesia Inferior (102–104)<sup>1835</sup>. Under such circumstances, it is very likely that the funerary stela

<sup>1822</sup> June 14, 92 (C. C. Petolescu, A. T. Popescu, ZPE 148, 2004, p. 269–276); August 14, 99 (CIL XVI 45); May 13, 105 (CIL XVI 50) and 112/114 (CIL XVI 58). Diploma of May 13, 105 is for a soldier of this cohort, *vide infra*.

<sup>1823</sup> Rossi, *Trajan's Column*, p. 94; Strobel, *Dakerkriege*, p. 130.

<sup>1824</sup> Diplomas of 129 (CIL XVI 75 = IDR I 10); 130 (P. Weiß, ZPE 117, 1997, p. 243–246, no. 8 = AÉ 1997, 1764 = RMD V 376); 140 (IDR I 13, RMD 39) and 146 (RMD IV 269).

<sup>1825</sup> IDR II 555, Vlădescu, *Armata*, p. 38 (Pons Aluti and the tile stamp discovered at Boroșneul Mare, IDR III/4, 330); idem, *Fortificațiile*, p. 42–43; Bogdan- Cătănciu, *Muntenia*, p. 114; Petolescu, *loc. cit.*

<sup>1826</sup> AÉ 1944, 42 = IDR III/4, 231; CIL III 955 = 7721 = IDR III/4, 235; F. Marcu, in *Orbis antiquus*, p. 578–579, no. 12, believes that other troops were also stationed beside this unit due to the fortification sizes of approximately 3.63 ha.

<sup>1827</sup> *P. Valerius Sabinus*, who in the moment when the diploma was awarded was no longer the troop prefect, PME, V 33.

<sup>1828</sup> *Ambirenus Iuveni f. Rauricus*; Kraft, *Rekrutierung*, p. 176, no. 1431; D. Bălțeanu, AO 15, 2000, p. 29–30.

<sup>1829</sup> CIL XVI 50, the diploma lists 3 alae and 7 cohorts in Moesia Inferior under *A. Caecilius Faustinus* (Stein, *Legaten*, p. 62; Fitz, *Laufbahn*, p. 45; Eck, *Senatoren*, p. 161–163; Thomasson, *Laterculi*<sup>2</sup>, p. 48, no. 20:068).

<sup>1830</sup> Cichorius, *Cohors*, col. 290; Wagner, *Dislokation*, p. 139–140; Kraft, *Rekrutierung*, p. 176; V. Gerasimova, *Arheologija Sofia* 12, 1970, 4, p. 24; Aricescu, *Armata*, p. 68; Beneš, *Auxilia*, p. 34; E. Paunov, M. M. Roxan, ZPE 119, 1997, p. 276; Spaul, *Cohors*<sup>2</sup>, p. 165–165; C. C. Petolescu, A. T. Popescu, in *Studia Historica et Theologica*, p. 89; Fl. Matei-Popescu, SCIVA 52–53, 2001–2002 (2004), p. 208–210, no. 23; O. Țentea, Fl. Matei-Popescu, ActaMN 39–40/I, 2002–2003(2004), p. 283; F. Gayet, *Historia* 55, 2006, 1, p. 86.

<sup>1831</sup> CIL III 14417<sup>1</sup> = ILB 61, which mentions a cohort veteran, whose name did not preserve, but was definitely a *Flavius*. Filow, *Legionen*, p. 35; Ritterling, RE XII, 1925, col. 1271 and 1575. Between 67–69, this fortress also accommodated legion III Gallica who supported Vespasian during the civil war, Filow, *Legionen*, p. 23–25; Ritterling, RE XII, 1925, col. 1521–1523; Sarnowski, *Wojsko rzymskie*, p. 26. Prior dislocation to Moesia, the troop had probably stationed in Hispania, AÉ 1961, 345; Saddington, *Development*, p. 63 and p. 91.

<sup>1832</sup> Wagner, *Dislokation*, p. 139; Gerov, *Beiträge*, II, p. 79 (p. 197); idem, ILB, p. 38.

<sup>1833</sup> RMD 2 of April 2, 75.

<sup>1834</sup> June 14, 92 (diploma from Cataloi, C. C. Petolescu, A. T. Popescu, ZPE 148, 2004, p. 269–276); 97 (P. Weiß, ZPE 117, 1997, p. 233–238, no. 4 = AÉ 1997, 1774 = RMD V 338; W. Eck, A. Pangerl, *Chiron* 39, 2009, p. 510–512, no. 2); May 13, 105 (CIL XVI 50).

<sup>1835</sup> A. Rădulescu, M. Bărbulescu, *Dacia*, N. S. 25, 1981, p. 353–356, no. 1 = AÉ 1981, 745. For dating *Q. Fabius Postuminus* legation, see Stein, *Legaten*, p. 61–62; Fitz, *Laufbahn*, p. 44; Eck, *Senatoren*, p. 160; Sarnowski, *Wojsko rzymskie*, p. 60; Thomasson, *Laterculi*<sup>2</sup>, p. 48, no. 20:067.

fragment discovered at Rasova refers to the same cohort and not to cohort *II Gallorum*, as the editor originally proposed<sup>1836</sup>.

In 114, the cohort had been already displaced in the province of Thracia together with another cohort which had been part of Moesia Inferior army, i.e. *cohors II Bracaraugustanorum*<sup>1837</sup>. The transfer date is not certain, but it most likely took place after the conclusion of the Dacian war to which the cohort presumably participated<sup>1838</sup>. Subsequently, cohort *IV Gallorum* drops off records until late period, when a homonym appears at Ulucitra in the province of Rhodope<sup>1839</sup>. It was believed to have been sent to Syria<sup>1840</sup>; however, M. M. Roxan proved plainly that, that was a different cohort, i.e. *cohors VII Gallorum*<sup>1841</sup>. J. Spaul argued it was transferred by Hadrian to Britannia (one of the multiple confusions the author makes)<sup>1842</sup>, while K. Strobel considered that, unfortunately, no further records on the troop existed<sup>1843</sup>. Nevertheless, the discovery of a diploma of August 19, 121 ascertains the unit's transfer to the province of Cilicia during the first years of Hadrian's reign under the command of prefect *Sudernius Priscus* and the orders of governor *Calpurnius Cestianus*<sup>1844</sup>. Thereafter the unit is attested in Syria province, starting with the year 153<sup>1845</sup>.

Various inscriptions mentioned several commanders of a *cohors IV Gallorum*, still, given that there are three cohorts different from that in Moesia Inferior and Thracia, any separation is problematical. The commander named in the diploma of 114, *C. Vindilius C. f. Pub. Fontanus* is however certain<sup>1846</sup>. Moreover, most authors believe that *Sex. Pulfennius Salutaris M. Lucius Valerius Severus*, prefect of a cohort *IV Gallorum* in one inscription from Venafrum, afterwards tribune of cohort *I Vindellicorum* and finally, prefect of ala *I Pannoniorum* (probably in Moesia Inferior or in Numidia) also commanded the troop<sup>1847</sup>.

Active soldiers during the cohort's stationing in Moesia Inferior are *C. Iulius C. f. Valens Trallis* (a native of Tralles, Aydin, Asia province) listed by the diploma for Thracia, who served together with its troop also in Moesia Inferior<sup>1848</sup> and the soldier discharged in 121, *Alexander Andronici f.*, a native of *ANTI* most likely one of the many cities named Antiochia<sup>1849</sup>, *ex pedite* who had served while the troop was still in Moesia Inferior. Additionally, should we agree that

<sup>1836</sup> A. Aricescu, *Pontica* 7, 1974, p. 259–263, no. 1; idem, *Armata*, p. 66 and 89, SE 94. See also Conrad, *Grabstelen*, p. 205, no. 294.

<sup>1837</sup> E. Paunov, M. M. Roxan, *ZPE* 119, 1997, p. 269–279 = *AÉ* 1997, 1334 = *RMD* IV 227/14. Diploma of July 19, 114, found in the village at Pissarevo, near Dolna Orjahovica, on the territory of the former Roman city of *Nicopolis ad Istrum*. The diploma was granted for a cohort soldier, *C. Iulius C. f. Valens Trallis*, a native of Tralles, Aydin, Asia province, former horseman; D. Knight, *ZPE* 85, 1991, p. 204.

<sup>1838</sup> Strobel, *Dakerkriege*, p. 130–131.

<sup>1839</sup> ND, Or. XL, 45–46; E. Paunov, M. M. Roxan, *ZPE* 119, 1997, p. 276.

<sup>1840</sup> Aricescu, *loc. cit.*; Beneš, *loc. cit.*

<sup>1841</sup> M. M. Roxan, *EpigrSt* 9, 1972, p. 246–247. For comment on *cohors VII Gallorum*, *vide infra*.

<sup>1842</sup> Spaul, *Cohors*<sup>2</sup>, p. 165. However the unit from Britannia is different, being attested from the reign of Trajan until 4th C, Holder, *Roman Army*, p. 117.

<sup>1843</sup> Strobel, *Dakerkriege*, p. 131.

<sup>1844</sup> RGZM, no. 19

<sup>1845</sup> P. Weiss, *Chiron* 36, 2006, p. 278–279.

<sup>1846</sup> E. Paunov, M. M. Roxan, *ZPE* 119, 1997, p. 269–279 = *AÉ* 1997, 1334 = *RMD* IV 227/14, note 8; PME, V 114 bis, probably a native of Verona.

<sup>1847</sup> CIL X 4873 = IPD<sup>4</sup> 291 = IDRE I 104, from Venafrum (Regio I). See E. Birley, in *The Roman Army. Papers 1929–1986*, Mavors 4, Amsterdam, 1988, p. 358, no. 19 and PME, P 114. On the view he might have commanded the cohort see Wagner, *loc. cit.*

<sup>1848</sup> E. Paunov, M. M. Roxan, *ZPE* 119, 1997, p. 269–279 = *AÉ* 1997, 1334 = *RMD* IV 227/14, note 9, especially p. 279, where the authors believe that the veteran retired in the territory of *Nicopolis ad Istrum*, city founded by Trajan, subsequent the victory from Moesia Inferior of 101–102 (T. Ivanov, R. Ivanov, *Nicopolis ad Istrum. I. History, Topography, Bibliography*, in Bulgarian, with abstract in English, Sofia, 1994).

<sup>1849</sup> RGZM, no. 19.

the inscription from Sacidava edited by Aricescu, records *cohors IV Gallorum*, then the name of a former soldier, *M. Valerius* must be here mentioned<sup>1850</sup>. A veteran is recorded by an inscription from Sacidava, i.e. *Diurdanus Decibali f.*, yet we are not sure he served in this cohort or in cohort *I Cilicum* which had stationed there during the 2nd and 3rd centuries<sup>1851</sup>.

## 27. *Cohors VII Gallorum equitata*<sup>1852</sup>

This cohort is recorded for the first time in Moesia by the diploma discovered at Taliata, dated 75<sup>1853</sup>. After the division of the province, it remains in the Eastern part and is recorded within the diploma discovered at Cataloi, awarded to a cohort soldier<sup>1854</sup>. Subsequently, it is recorded by the diplomas of 99, 107, 109 and 112–114<sup>1855</sup>. Last epigraphic information dates in Hadrian's reign, most likely its beginning. The information comes from a fragmentary inscription, a dedication to *Diana Plestrensis* placed by a certain *Priscus*, discovered by the interflow of Beli Lom and Černi Lom rivers. Unfortunately only the numeral is preserved, but given that it is the single unit numbered as such within this province, it is in fact the unit in question<sup>1856</sup>.

Cohort *VII Gallorum* was then moved from this province, most likely on the occasion of Hadrian's war in Iudaea<sup>1857</sup> to Syria, where it appears for the first time within a diploma dated rather broadly and then in the diploma of 156/157<sup>1858</sup>.

<sup>1850</sup> A. Aricescu, *Pontica* 7, 1974, p. 259–263, no. 1; idem, *Armata*, p. 66 and 89, SE 94; A. Rădulescu, M. Bărbulescu, *Dacia*, N. S. 25, 1981, p. 353–356, no. 1 = AÉ 1981, 745. See also Conrad, *Grabstelen*, p. 205, no 294.

<sup>1851</sup> C. Scorpan, *Limes Scythiae. Topographical and Stratigraphical Research on the Late Roman Fortifications on the Lower Danube*, BAR Int. Ser. 88, Oxford, 1980, p. 212–213, no 3 = IDRE II 339 = AÉ 1998, 1141. This veteran is of Dacian origin; see to this effect D. Dana, *ZPE* 143, p. 176–177. *Vide supra*, with cohort *I Cilicum milliaria*.

<sup>1852</sup> Cichorius, *Cohors*, col. 292; Wagner, *Dislokation*, p. 141; Kraft, *Rekrutierung*, p. 176, no. 1450–1451, V. Gerasimova, *ArheologijaSofia* 12, 1970, 4, p. 22; Aricescu, *Armata*, p. 69; Beneš, *Auxilia*, p. 35; Suceveanu, *Dobroudja*, p. 66; P. Weiß, *ZPE* 124, 1999, p. 289–290; Spaul, *Cohors*<sup>2</sup>, p. 171; C. C. Petolescu, A. T. Popescu, in *Studia Historica et Theologica*, p. 89–90; C. C. Petolescu, A. T. Popescu, *ZPE* 148, 2004, p. 269–276; Fl. Matei-Popescu, *SCIIVA* 52–53, 2001–2002 (2004), p. 210–211, no. 24; O. Țentea, Fl. Matei-Popescu, *ActaMN* 39–40/I, 2002–2003(2004), p. 284; F. Gayet, *Historia* 55, 2006, 1, p. 89.

<sup>1853</sup> RMD I 2.

<sup>1854</sup> C. C. Petolescu, A. T. Popescu, *ZPE* 148, 2004, p. 269–276. For the diploma findspot see V. H. Bauman, *Ferma romană în Dobrogea*, Bucharest, 1983, p. 81–84; Bărbulescu, *Viața rurală*, p. 74–75.

<sup>1855</sup> August 14, 99 (diploma of Plovdiv, CIL XVI 45); September/December 107 (W. Eck, A. Pangerl, *Chiron* 39, 2009, p. 514–519, no. 4); 112–114 (diploma fragment of Adamclisi, CIL XVI 58); diploma fragment of whose *tabella II* records the cohort name, [*co*]h[*ortis*] *VII Gall[orum cui praest. . C]laudius T[i. f. ...ex] dec[urione]* (P. Weiß, *ZPE* 124, 1999, p. 289–290, no. 2 = AÉ 1999, 1361 = RMD IV 219). It appears also on a small fragment dated in the time of the governor *Q. Pomponius Rufus*, W. Eck, A. Pangerl, *Chiron* 39, 2009, p. 512–514, no. 3.

<sup>1856</sup> N. Anghelov, *IzvestiaSofia* 17, 1950, p. 279–280, fig. 227; V. Velkov, in *Limes IX Mamaia*, p. 151–152 = idem, *Roman Cities in Bulgaria. Collected Studies*, Amsterdam, 1980, p. 55–56. In the same spot a dedication to this divinity placed by a legion XI Claudia decurion was also discovered, V. Velkov, in *Limes IX Mamaia*, p. 152 = AÉ 1974, 574; idem, *op. cit.*, p. 56–57.

<sup>1857</sup> Wagner, *loc. cit.*

<sup>1858</sup> CIL XVI 103; 106 and inscriptions from Hatne, CIL III 131, under Hadrian and CIL III 132 (+ 14160<sup>3</sup>), under Gordian III. In addition, from an inscription dated in the second half of the 2nd C from Apulum which records a certain *C. Iulius Theveste Corinthianus*, prefect of cohort *VII Gallorum*, who leads a vexillation of the armies from Dacia, sent to partake the Parthian war of emperor L. Verus (CIL III 1993 = ILS 2746; Saxer, *Vexillationen*, p. 35, no. 61; PME, I 49). The unit appears also on a constitution for Syria, from 153, P. Weiss, *Chiron* 36, 2006, p. 265–271.



While in Moesia Inferior, it was supposed to have been quartered at Tomis, based on the tombstone placed for an active soldier, who died there<sup>1859</sup>. Should we agree with this supposition, it is very clear that starting with Vespasian or probably even earlier, the city of Tomis had a *civitas stipendiaria* statute<sup>1860</sup>.

There is no accurate information regarding the troop's involvement in the Dacian war<sup>1861</sup>, especially should we admit it was garrisoned at Tomis.

Among the commanders in service while the troop was in Moesia Inferior, we notice firstly *C. Iulius C. f. Col. Capito*, recorded by the diploma of June 14, 92, found at Cataloi<sup>1862</sup>. Additionally, a diploma fragment of 109 still preserved the nomen of a former troop prefect, i.e. *Claudius*, as well as his patronymic, probably *Ti. f.* The diploma was awarded to a former decurion, whose name was lost<sup>1863</sup>. Two cohort soldiers were identified, *Marius Celsus*, in the above mentioned inscription dating under Trajan<sup>1864</sup> and *Macrinus*, son of *Agresio* from Apamea, a horseman with the cohort, recorded by the diploma from Cataloi<sup>1865</sup>. Thus we learnt important information on the cohort constituents, including horsemen. Furthermore, we should not forget *Priscus* who placed a dedication to goddess *Diana Plestrensis*, however his function remains unknown<sup>1866</sup>.

## 28. *Cohors I Germanorum civium Romanorum*<sup>1867</sup>

Until not so long ago, it was considered that the cohort may be identified with its homonym recorded in Germania and Germania Superior between 82 and 134<sup>1868</sup> and that it

<sup>1859</sup> CIL III 7548 = ISM II 177 = Conrad, *Grabstelen*, p. 168, no. 157; Wagner, *loc. cit.*; Aricescu, *loc. cit.*; Beneš, *loc. cit.*; Suceveanu, *loc. cit.*

<sup>1860</sup> Regarding the legal status of Tomis, see Al. Suceveanu, RRH 13, 1974, 2, p. 230–231; idem, Pontica 8, 1975, p. 115–124, with the remark that on *cohors I Flavia Commagenorum* and *ala I Flavia Gaetulorum* we do not benefit of clear information.

<sup>1861</sup> Beneš, *loc. cit.*; Rossi, *Trajan's Column*, p. 94; *contra*, Strobel, *Dakerkriege*, p. 131–132, considering it was sent to Syria precisely under Trajan.

<sup>1862</sup> C. C. Petolescu, A. T. Popescu, ZPE 148, 2004, p. 269–276, yet unknown within the prosopography of the equestrian militias.

<sup>1863</sup> P. Weiß, ZPE 124, 1999, p. 289–290, no. 2 = AÉ 1999, 1361 = RMD IV 219.

<sup>1864</sup> CIL III 7548 = ISM II 177 = Conrad, *Grabstelen*, p. 168, no. 157 (stela is of IX type, Schaftstele mit rechteckigem oder quadratischem Bildfeld, p. 52–53), the inscription was placed by its *liberti*, *Marius Mercurius*, *Maria Cale* and *Marius Tara*, the latter bearing a name of Dacian onomastic tradition, D. Dana, *Il Mar Nero. Annali di archeologia e storia* 5, 2001–2003 (2006), p. 79–83. See also Kraft, *Rekrutierung*, p. 176, no. 1451; D. Bălteanu, AO 15, 2000, p. 30.

<sup>1865</sup> C. C. Petolescu, A. T. Popescu, ZPE 148, 2004, p. 269–276. The former soldier was probably a native of Syrian Apamea and was recruited no later than 67.

<sup>1866</sup> Velkov, in *Limes IX Mamaia*, p. 151–152.

<sup>1867</sup> Aricescu, *Armata*, p. 60–61; Beneš, *Auxilia*, p. 36; Suceveanu, *Dobroudja*, p. 65; Spaul, *Cohors<sup>2</sup>*, p. 256; Z. Covacef, in *Army and Urban Development in the Danubian Provinces of the Roman Empire. Proceedings of the International Symposium – Alba Iulia 1999*, Alba Iulia, 2000, p. 285–291; Fl. Matei-Popescu, SCIVA 52–53, 2001–2002 (2004), p. 211–212, no. 25; O. Țentea, Fl. Matei-Popescu, ActaMN 39–40/I, 2002–2003(2004), p. 284.

<sup>1868</sup> September 20, 82 (diploma of Debelac, CIL XVI 28); September 8, 116 (the famous diploma from Wiesbaden, CIL XVI 62 and the diploma fragment from Mainz, of the same imperial constitution, CIL XVI 63). See also A. Radnoti, in *8<sup>th</sup> International Congress of Limesforschung, 1969*, Cardiff, 1974, p. 138–155. An inscription of Julio-Claudian period from Praeneste records a troop prefect, who subsequently served as tribune in legion V Alaudae (CIL XIV 2960 = ILS 2681; PME, V 137), occasion for Alföldy, *Hilfstruppen*, p. 59, to consider that the troop was stationed firstly in Germania Inferior, so to be moved later upstream Rhine.

was brought to Moesia Inferior under Antoninus Pius<sup>1869</sup>. In the meantime, other epigraphic documents were found, i.e. the diplomas of 121, 127 and 135<sup>1870</sup>, hence such approach should be abandoned and a different explanation given. Probably we deal with two different troops<sup>1871</sup>, without being though able to define the earlier history of the cohort displaced on the territory of Moesia Inferior.

The cohort is recorded during the 2nd C in this province, both by diplomas<sup>1872</sup> as well as inscriptions indicating that the troop was garrisoned at Capidava<sup>1873</sup>, replacing cohort *I Ubiorum* which had been transferred after the Dacian war to Dacia (*vide infra*). Insofar, there is no information on the troop affiliation with the army of Moesia Inferior in the 3rd C, but probably remained in the fort at Capidava<sup>1874</sup>.

Among the troop commanders who activated during the stationing period in Moesia Inferior, count *L. Atilius L. f. Quir. ...*, who places a dedication to *Iupiter Optimus Maximus, Fortuna Redux* and the standards of cohort *I Germanorum* from Capidava<sup>1875</sup>. Moreover, not so long ago, at Capidava was identified an inscription which, it was argued, conveys the *cognomen* of a prefect, *Celsus* from Aquae Statiellae in Italy<sup>1876</sup>. Still, S. Conrad proposed the reading *sta[tori p]raef(ecti) coh(ortis)*, a more reasonable solution since in lines 4 and 5 the formula *[v]ixit ann[is] ... mil(itavit)] annis [...]* may be completed rather clearly<sup>1877</sup>. B. Dobson underlined that an inscription from Dura Europos records certain *statores*, who could not be others than for the tribune of the cohort stationed there, *XX Palmyrenorum*<sup>1878</sup>. An inscription from Intercisa, Pannonia Inferior, mentioning *Marcus Aurelius Desan, domo Hemesa, vet. ex s(ta)tore tribuni cohortis I (milliariae) Hemesenorum*<sup>1879</sup> may also be considered. Therefore, in agreement with the same A. von Domaszewski, who noticed there are no organization differentiations between various cohort types<sup>1880</sup>, we may consider the inscription from Capidava the first epigraphic evidence of a *stator praefecti cohortis quingenariae*. The idea that cohort prefects of the first equestrian militia were young an by the beginning of their career, having thus less staff, must be rejected following E. Birley's observations, confirmed by H. Devijver's studies, according to

<sup>1869</sup> A. Aricescu, Pontica 9, 1976, p. 80–83; idem, *Armata*, p. 60.

<sup>1870</sup> May/December 121 (P. Weiss, Chiron 38, 2008, p. 296–300, no. 10); August 20, 127 (M. M. Roxan, ZPE 118, 1997, p. 287–295 = AÉ 1997, 1780 = RMD IV 241); 135 (W. Eck, A. Pangerl, Chiron 39, 2009, p. 541–542, no. 12).

<sup>1871</sup> M. M. Roxan, ZPE 118, 1997, p. 293; Spaul, *Cohors*<sup>2</sup>, p. 254–255 (on the troop from Germania Superior) and p. 256 (on the troop from Moesia Inferior).

<sup>1872</sup> April 7, 145 (RMD III 165 + P. Weiß, ZPE 134, 2001, p. 261–262 = RMD V 399; P. Weiss, Chiron 38, 2008, p. 314–316, no. 16); 146 (P. Weiß, ZPE 124, 1999, p. 279–286 = AÉ 1999, 1359 = RMD IV 270); ca. 155 (P. Weiß, ZPE 134, 2001, p. 262–265 = RMD V 414); 157 (comprising the specification *c. R.*, RMD I 50; P. Weiss, Chiron 38, 2008, p. 309–312, no. 14).

<sup>1873</sup> ISM V 16; 36; A. Aricescu, Pontica 9, 1976, p. 80–83; I. C. Opreș, M. Popescu, Pontica 30, 1997, p. 177–181 = CEPR XVII, 753; Covacef, *op. cit.*, p. 290–291; N. Gudea, JRGZM 52, 2005, p. 448 (III. 40).

<sup>1874</sup> A. Aricescu, Pontica 9, 1976, p. 87, considers it remained in the fort at Capidava at least until mid 3rd C.

<sup>1875</sup> ISM V 16; Aricescu, Pontica 9, 1976, p. 79; PME, A 174 b.

<sup>1876</sup> I. C. Opreș, M. Popescu, Pontica 30, 1997, p. 177–181 = CEPR XVII, 753: *[D.] M. / [...Ce]lso Sta[tiell]is p]raef(ecto) coh(ortis) / [I German(orum) v]ixit ann(is) / [...]innis(imo?) / [...]*.

<sup>1877</sup> Conrad, *Grabstelen*, p. 194, no. 254: *[D.] M. / - - - Ce]lso sta[tori p]raef(ecti) coh(ortis) / [I German(orum) v]ixit ann[is] --- mil(itavit)]annis / [---]*. See also the inscription editors discussion, I. C. Opreș, M. Popescu, Pontica 30, 1997, p. 179, note 5, rejecting the possibility of such reading based on the observation that the prefect of a *cohors quingenaria* did not benefit of staff and *statores*, with reference to Domaszewski, RO<sup>2</sup>, p. 39, 48, 55–56, 59 and 74.

<sup>1878</sup> B. Dobson, in Domaszewski, RO<sup>2</sup>, p. XVII (AÉ 1931, 116).

<sup>1879</sup> CIL III 3334 = 10316 = RIU 5, 1184.

<sup>1880</sup> Domaszewski, RO<sup>2</sup>, p. 56.

which the majority of equestrian officers were between 35 and 45 years of age. Being enrolled from the municipal elite, they considered *militiae equestres* their career peak. The youngest seem to have formed a very small group, being in general sons of chief-centurions or centurions, raised around military camps, being no less than the exception proving the rule<sup>1881</sup>.

An inscription from Tomis preserving the *cursus honorum* of the province governor of the time, *T. Flavius Longinus Q. Marcius Turbo*, mentions the command of a cohort *I Germanorum*, however we cannot be certain this is the one from Moesia Inferior<sup>1882</sup>.

On a sarcophagus discovered at Poetovio (Pannonia Superior), *P. Aelius Marcianus, praefectus cohortis I Germanorum* appears, as he was also *decurio coloniae*<sup>1883</sup>. He, together with his brother, *P. Aelius Marinus, praefectus cohortis II Hispanorum* (Dacia Porolissensis or Germania Superior), took care of the burial place of their parents. Unfortunately it is impossible to tell if, *P. Aelius Marcianus* was in charge of the unit from Moesia Inferior Germania Superior.

Finally, the prefect who most certainly commanded this cohort is *C. Munatius Venustus*, who appears on a tombstone from Capidava, which he placed to his spouse, *Fabricia Saturnina*. A few years later, he was promoted, as tribune of legion *III Augusta*, placing another tombstone to his son, *L. Munatius Macer*, aged 9, at Lambaesis. He was probably a native of Gallia Lugdunensis where several *Munatii* are recorded<sup>1884</sup>.

Although available information regards a relatively large number of commanders, no soldiers serving in this troop during its stationing in Moesia Inferior are known.

## 29. *Cohors I Hispanorum equitata veterana*<sup>1885</sup>

The troop was probably quartered during the 1st C in Dalmatia, wherefrom it was displaced probably together with IV Flavia Felix legion in 86 on the territory of Moesia<sup>1886</sup>. G. Alföldy reached such a conclusion based on the fact that the other cohort *I Flavia Hispanorum*

<sup>1881</sup> E. Birley, *Roman Britain and the Roman Army*, Kendal, 1961<sup>2</sup>, p. 135–136; H. Devijver, *The Equestrian Officers of the Roman Imperial Army*, Mavors 6, Amsterdam, 1989, p. 102–106; p. 117–122 and p. 133–134.

<sup>1882</sup> IGR I 622 = ISM II 57; A. Aricescu, *Pontica* 9, 1976, p. 82; PME, F 54, deemed prefect and completed as such.

<sup>1883</sup> M. Šašel-Kos, *ZPE* 95, 1993, p. 236–240 = *AÉ* 1993, 1285: [- -] / [P.] *Aelius Marinus d[ec(urio) col(oniae) Poetov(ionensis)] / eq(uo) publ(ico) praef(ectus) coh(ortis) II Hispanorum et / P. Aelius Marcianus dec(urio) col(oniae) eiusdem / eq(uo) publ(ico) praef(ectus) coh(ortis) I Germanorum / parentibus pientissimis*; PME, A 44bis.

<sup>1884</sup> *AÉ* 1950, 76 = ISM V 36; A. Aricescu, *Pontica* 9, 1976, p. 79; CIL VIII 2770; PME, M 74; H. Devijver, *The Equestrian Officers of the Roman Imperial Army*, Mavors 6, Amsterdam, 1989, p. 111, no. 12.

<sup>1885</sup> Cichorius, *Cohors*, col. 297; Christescu, *Ist. militară*, p. 188; Wagner, *Dislokation*, p. 148–150; Kraft, *Rekrutierung*, p. 177, no. 1480–1481; R.O. Fink, *JRS* 48, 1958, p. 102–116; R. Syme, *JRS* 49, 1959, p. 26–33 = *Danubian Papers*, Bucharest, 1971, p. 122–134; R. Vulpe, *Dacia, N. S.* 5, 1960, p. 323–331; idem, *StCl* 2, 1960, p. 337–357; G. Alföldy, *ActaArchHung* 14, 1962, p. 269–270; I. I. Russu, *SCIV* 23, 1972, 2, p. 72; Roldan Hervas, *Ejercito*, p. 113–115 (considers it *milliaria*); N. Gudea, *SCIVA* 26, 1975, 3, p. 382; M. Zahariade, *SCIVA* 27, 1976, 4, p. 486–487; Aricescu, *Armata*, p. 43; Tudor, *OR*<sup>4</sup>, p. 334–335; Beneš, *Auxilia*, p. 37–38; N. Gudea, M. Zahariade, *Archivo español de arqueología* 53, 1980, p. 64–65, no. 6; Strobel, *Dakerkriege*, p. 132–134; R. Avram, D. Avasiloaiei, *SCIVA* 46, 1995, 2, p. 193–195; Spaul, *Cohors*<sup>2</sup>, p. 109–111; Petolescu, *Auxilia*, p. 109–110; Fl. Matei-Popescu, *SCIVA* 52–53, 2001–2002 (2004), p. 212–214, no. 26; O. Țentea, Fl. Matei-Popescu, *ActaMN* 39–40/I, 2002–2003(2004), p. 284–285; F. Marcu, in *Orbis antiquus*, p. 579, no. 13. A cohort *Hispanorum tironum* also existed, probably with or without number *I*, recorded by an inscription discovered at Cagliari which renders the career of a horseman under Antoninus Pius (*AÉ* 1972, 226).

<sup>1886</sup> G. Alföldy, *ActaArchHung* 14, 1962, p. 269–270, garrisoned most likely at Doboș, where it appears in an inscription (CIL III 14619). On the displacement moment of legion *IV Flavia Felix*, see Strobel, *op. cit.*, p. 45; 70–71, n. 11. Alföldy's theory was resumed by Beneš, *Auxilia*, p. 37.

was *milliaria* and hence could not be led by a prefect, as recorded by the inscription from Doboş. It is probably identical with the one mentioned among the troops of Illyricum (Pannonia) by a diploma of July 2, 61<sup>1887</sup>, which records a cohort under this name, however not *veterana*. When under emperors of the Flavian dynasty another cohort *I Hispanorum* was recruited, the already existing one was named *veterana*. At the same time, a tombstone discovered at Perge<sup>1888</sup> records another cohort *I Hispanorum* in the East, in the province of Galatia et Cappadocia, stationed yet in the territory of the future province Lycia et Pamphylia. During the crisis of 69, the cohort could have been part of the auxiliaries accompanying *C. Licinius Mucianus* remaining in the area of the Danube limes (Tacitus, *Hist.* II, 82). M. A. Speidel considers though, that the unit recorded in Galatia is identical with *I Hispanorum*, attested in Egypt starting with 83<sup>1889</sup>.

The cohort under discussion, most likely the one recorded by the diploma of 61 in Pannonia, stationed for a while at Stobi, as mentioned by the cohort *pridianum*<sup>1890</sup>, being later recorded by a constitution in Moesia Inferior<sup>1891</sup> and the diploma from Oltina of 99<sup>1892</sup>, as well as the same *pridianum*<sup>1893</sup> dated by R. Syme between 105 and 106<sup>1894</sup>, which is confirmed by latest epigraphical discoveries from Sacidava<sup>1895</sup>. Almost certainly it is not identical with the homonym from Egypt recorded between 83 and 105<sup>1896</sup>. Nevertheless, a short transfer, probably in the context of the suppression of the Jewish revolt from 115–117 in Cyrenaica, spread also in Egypt, should be taking into consideration.

From the stationing period in the territory of Moesia Inferior, information records its activity also north the Danube. Thus the *pridianum*, often mentioned above, II, l. 27–29, read

<sup>1887</sup> CIL XVI 4. On the new dating in 61, see RMD IV, Further Notes on Chronology, p. 381, no. 1 and RMD IV 202 (copy of a parallel constitution, recording the *alae*), note 1.

<sup>1888</sup> S. Şahin, *Die Inschriften von Perge. Teil II (Historische Texte aus dem 3. Jhdt. n. Chr. – Grabtexte aus den 1.–3. Jahrhunderten der römischen Kaiserzeit – Fragmente)*, Bonn, 2004 (*IK*, 61), p. 141, no. 469 = AÉ 2004, 1524: Γλουας Ισουτος / ὁ καὶ Λουγείνος ἰστρ/ατιώτης σπείρης Σπ/ανῶν πρώτης ἐτῶν / ἰκοσιπέντε· Τουης / Νησιδος ὁ καὶ Καπί/των σημαφόρος / σπείρης τῆς αὐτῆ/ς φιλείας ἔνεκα καὶ / ἐὺνοίας.

<sup>1889</sup> CIL XVI 29; M. A. Speidel, in A. S. Lewin, P. Pellegrini (eds.), *The Late Roman Army in the Near East from Diocletian to the Arab Conquest. Proceedings of a colloquium held at Potenza, Acerenza and Matera, Italy (May 2005)*, BAR Int. Ser. 1717, 2007, p. 81, no. 11.

<sup>1890</sup> R. O. Fink, *JRS* 48, 1958, p. 104 (col. I, l. 24) = *Roman Military Records on Papyrus*, p. 222; J. F. Gilliam, *Roman Army Papers*, Mavors 2, Amsterdam, 1986, p. 263–272 (= *Hommages à Albert Grenier*, Brussels, 1962, p. 747–756). The presence at Stobi is hard to explain, J. F. Gilliam considering that the troop from here was under the authority of the legate from Moesia Inferior (Gilliam, *op. cit.*, p. 268 = p. 752), even though it was on the territory of Macedonia. The first troop definitely recorded under the authority of the Macedonia proconsul was cohort *I Flavia Bessorum*, in 120, transferred from the province of Moesia Superior (CIL XVI 67). R. K. Sherk, *AJPh* 78, 1957, 1, p. 56–57, assumed that the unit stayed for a short time at Stobi on the road from Moesia Inferior to Egypt.

<sup>1891</sup> Appears in the diploma of 97 P. Weiß, *ZPE* 117, 1997, p. 233–238, no. 4 = AÉ 1997, 1774 = RMD V 338; W. Eck, A. Pangerl, *Chiron* 39, 2009, p. 510–512, no. 2.

<sup>1892</sup> CIL XVI 44, August 14, 99.

<sup>1893</sup> R. O. Fink, *JRS* 48, 1958, p. 102–116 = *Roman Military Records on Papyrus*, p. 217–227; col. I, l. 30–35; col. II, l. 1–44.

<sup>1894</sup> R. Syme, *JRS* 49, 1959, p. 26–33 = *Danubian Papers*, Bucharest, 1971, p. 122–134, contra the view expressed by R. O. Fink, *JRS* 48, 1958, p. 110, that it would date around 99. R. Vulpe also attempted to bring arguments for this date, *Dacia N. S.* 5, 1960, p. 323–331; idem, *StCl* 2, 1960, p. 337–357. The exact date is September 17, 105.

<sup>1895</sup> A. Rădulescu, M. Bărbulescu, *Dacia, N. S.* 25, 1981, p. 356–358, no. 2 = AÉ 1981, 746.

<sup>1896</sup> Diploma of June 9, 83 (CIL XVI 29), successively recorded until 105 (RMD 9). See R. Cavenaile, *ZPE* 18, 1975, p. 179–191 and Petolescu, *Auxilia*, p. 109–110, n. 10, where an abstract of the discussion is provided.



*Pirob[o]ridavae in praesidio / Buridavae in vexilla[t]ione / trans Danuvium in expeditionem*<sup>1897</sup>.

Provided information is of exceptional value for the knowledge on the cohort participation into Trajan's Dacian war<sup>1898</sup> and by extrapolation, pertinent conclusions may be drawn on the way that all auxiliaries of the province involved in military operations on the Danube acted under such circumstances.

The identification of the two locations generated much debate: if Buridava was almost certainly recognized as Stolniceni on Olt river<sup>1899</sup>, Piroboridava was considered to be either the fortification at Poiana<sup>1900</sup> or that at Barboși<sup>1901</sup>. However, none of the cases were proven beyond doubt and the majority of researchers agreed on Stolniceni and Poiana<sup>1902</sup>. Nevertheless, both locations were, based on the papyrus, *intra provinciam* at that moment, therefore belonged administratively to Moesia Inferior<sup>1903</sup>.

Once with the reorganization during Hadrian's reign, the cohort would be part of Dacia Inferior army, recorded by several diplomas and garrisoned at Brețcu<sup>1904</sup>. A cohort tile stamp, similar to that from Brețcu, was discovered at Oituz (Covasna county)<sup>1905</sup>. Another tile stamp of *C HIS* type was discovered at Sâmbotin (*Castra Traiana*). It was deemed proof for the participation of a cohort vexillation into the construction of the fortification there<sup>1906</sup>.

There is no information on troop commanders, except for a name impossible to recover from the Hunt papyrus<sup>1907</sup>, since *Q. Attius T. f. Maecia Priscus* led rather the homonym troop stationed in Moesia Superior, as may be understood from his career later development, *praefectus cohortium I Montanorum et I Lusitanorum*, both stationed in Moesia Superior and then *tribunus militum legionis I Adiutricis*, stationed in Pannonia, following which he received *dona militaria* from emperor Nerva subsequent his involvement in *bellum Suebicum*<sup>1908</sup>.

Among cohort soldiers during its stationing within the administrative limits of Moesia Inferior, possibly count two individuals, should we agree that the inscriptions preserving their names are earlier and would date possibly from 101–117<sup>1909</sup>. The discoveries were made

<sup>1897</sup> J. F. Gilliam, *Roman Army Papers*, Mavors 2, Amsterdam, 1986, p. 266 (= *Hommages à Albert Grenier*, Brussels, 1962, p. 750).

<sup>1898</sup> Strobel, *Dakerkriege*, p. 132–134; Sarnowski, *Wojsko rzymskie*, p. 58–59; C. C. Petolescu, *Pontica* 33–34, 2000–2001, p. 353.

<sup>1899</sup> Buridava, recorded then by *Tabula Peutingeriana*, TIR L 35, p. 68–69; Tudor, *OR*<sup>4</sup>, p. 214–217; p. 31 and p. 34; Vlădescu, *Fortificațiile*, p. 43.

<sup>1900</sup> Christescu, *Ist. militară*, p. 48; R. Vulpe, *SCIV* 2, 1951, 1, p. 211; idem, *Dacia*, N. S. 1, 1957, p. 162–164, mentioned later by Ptolemy, III, 10, 8; TIR L 35, p. 58.

<sup>1901</sup> N. Gostar, *Apulum* 5, 1964, p. 146; TIR L 35, p. 25.

<sup>1902</sup> Strobel, *Dakerkriege*, p. 134; N. Gostar's theory has followers also; see finally, Petolescu, *Auxilia*, p. 109.

<sup>1903</sup> Col. II, l. 24–25, all information under this mention, by the end of the fragment (R. O. Fink, *JRS* 48, 1958, p. 104 = idem, *op. cit.*, p. 224–225).

<sup>1904</sup> CIL III 8074<sup>17</sup> = IDR III/4 339; IDR III/4 339, 1; Petolescu, *Auxilia*, p. 110. See on the fort at Brețcu, TIR L 35, p. 23; I. I. Russu, in *Limes IX Mamaia*, p. 224; N. Gudea, *ActaMP* 4, 1980, 255–366; Vlădescu, *Fortificațiile*, p. 83–85; F. Marcu, in *Orbis antiquus*, p. 579, no. 13, considers that other detachments were stationed together with this unit considering the fort sizes of approximately 2,5 ha and mentions the tile stamps of cohort *I Bracaraugustanorum* (IDR III/4 336)

<sup>1905</sup> ILD 435 (Z. Székely, *Musaios* 8, 2003, p. 76–77, fig. 9/1).

<sup>1906</sup> R. Avram, D. Avasiloaiei, *SCIVA* 46, 1995, 2, p. 193–195 = *AÉ* 1995, 1305 = ILD 153.

<sup>1907</sup> Col. I, l. 25, reads *Arro Africanus praef* (Fink, *JRS* 48, 1958, p. 104–105); identified with *Ti. Claudius Africanus*, from CIL III 14147<sup>2</sup>; PME, C 114, who however in all likelihood was the commander of the homonym troop from Egypt. Reads subsequently [...]*us Arruntianus (Roman Military Records on Papyrus*, p. 222–223), without the attempt of an identification.

<sup>1908</sup> CIL V 7425, inscription discovered at Libarna (Serravalle, Regio IX).

<sup>1909</sup> See Petolescu, *Auxilia*, p. 110.

within the fort at Arutela (Bivolari) and they are *Valerius Valerianus eq. lib. coh. I Hisp.*<sup>1910</sup> and *Terentius dec.*<sup>1911</sup>, without a troop mention.

### 30. *Cohors I Lepidiana equitata civium Romanorum*<sup>1912</sup>

The troop has a predomitanic origin<sup>1913</sup> and is recorded in 80 among the troops of Pannonia<sup>1914</sup>. Apparently, it was brought from the area of Lower Danube by Domitian, during wars waged there<sup>1915</sup>.

It is recorded in Moesia Inferior for the first time by a new diploma of 97<sup>1916</sup>. It is afterwards comprised within the diploma of 99, discovered at Plovdiv and the diploma of Sexaginta Prista of 105<sup>1917</sup>. It was involved in the Dacian war together with the troops from its province<sup>1918</sup>, being subsequently recorded among the troops of Moesia Inferior by the diploma of 107<sup>1919</sup> and by the diploma of 112–114 from Adamclisi<sup>1920</sup>. However, we cannot say that it was in Dacia or other location south the Danube. Finally, it is recorded in the same province by the diplomas of 120, 121, 125 and 127<sup>1921</sup>. Therefore, the previous theory according to which the troop was displaced in the East as early as Trajan's reign can no longer be defended<sup>1922</sup>.

Since during the 2nd C the cohort is recorded in the East, one may argue that it was displaced there no later than under Hadrian<sup>1923</sup>, probably even immediately after 127 or within the context of the emperor's visit to Cappadocia in 129, as argued by M. A. Speidel<sup>1924</sup>. It will

<sup>1910</sup> CIL III 12602 = IDR II 582; Kraft, *Rekrutierung*, p. 177, no. 1481, dated however by mid 2nd C; Bodan-Căţănicu, *Muntenia*, p. 71; D. Bălţeanu, AO 15, 2000, p. 31–32. For *librarius*, see Domaszewski, RO<sup>2</sup>, p. 59 (p. XVII) and G. R. Watson, in M. G. Jarrett, B. Dobson (eds.), *Britain and Rome. Essays presented to Eric Birley on his sixtieth birthday*, p. 45–55. This inscription does not involve though a definite presence of the cohort there (N. Gudea, M. Zahariade, *Archivo español de arqueología* 53, 1980, p. 65.)

<sup>1911</sup> CIL III 12603 = IDR II 581; D. Bălţeanu, *loc. cit.* By analogy, it was supposed that he is a decurion who served in this cohort. For *decurio cohortis*, see Domaszewski, RO<sup>2</sup>, p. 57 (p. XVII); D. Breeze, BJ 174, 1974, p. 281.

<sup>1912</sup> Cichorius, *Cohors*, col. 307; Wagner, *Dislokation*, p. 159; Aricescu, *Armata*, p. 61; Beneš, *Auxilia*, p. 42; Strobel, *Dakerkriege*, p. 136; Spaul, *Cohors*<sup>2</sup>, p. 155–156; Fl. Matei-Popescu, SCIVA 52–53, 2001–2002 (2004), p. 215, no. 27; O. Ţentea, Fl. Matei-Popescu, ActaMN 39–40/I, 2002–2003(2004), p. 287–288; R. Petrovsky, *Mitteilungen des historischen Vereins der Pfalz* 102, 2004, p. 26–28, no. 1.

<sup>1913</sup> Saddington, *Development*, p. 70; A. Martin, ZPE 52, 1983, p. 203–210; AÉ 1987, 950.

<sup>1914</sup> June 13, 80, by the diploma of Klosterneuburg (CIL XVI 26).

<sup>1915</sup> Wagner, *loc. cit.*; Beneš, *loc. cit.*; Strobel, *loc. cit.*; D. Knight, ZPE 85, 1991, p. 200.

<sup>1916</sup> D. MacDonald, A. Mihaylovich, ZPE 138, 2002, p. 225–228 = AÉ 2002, 1775 = RMD V 337.

<sup>1917</sup> August 14, 99 (CIL XVI 45); May 13, 105 (R. Petrovsky, *Mitteilungen des historischen Vereins der Pfalz* 102, 2004, p. 10–17).

<sup>1918</sup> Rossi, *Trajan's Column*, p. 95 and 116; Strobel, *loc. cit.*

<sup>1919</sup> W. Eck, A. Pangerl, *Chiron* 39, 2009, p. 514–519, no. 4.

<sup>1920</sup> CIL XVI 58, dated generally between 112 and 114.

<sup>1921</sup> October 19, 120 (W. Eck, A. Pangerl, *Chiron* 39, 2009, p. 533–537, no. 9); May/December 121 (P. Weiss, *Chiron* 38, 2008, p. 296–300, no. 10); June 1, 125 (M. M. Roxan, W. Eck, ZPE 116, 1997, p. 193–203 = AÉ 1997, 1772 = RMD IV 235); August 20, 127 (M. M. Roxan, ZPE 118, 1997, p. 287–295 = AÉ 1997, 1780 = RMD IV 241).

<sup>1922</sup> Cichorius, *loc. cit.*; Wagner, *loc. cit.*; Aricescu, *loc. cit.*; Beneš, *loc. cit.*

<sup>1923</sup> An inscription from Smyrna mentioned a certain *L. Calpurnius Valens, optio* of cohort *I Lepidiana eq. c. R.*, who served in the centuria of *Ponticus* (CIL III 12251 = ILS 2950); D. Knight, ZPE 85, 1991, p. 206; Christol, Drew-Bear, *op. cit.*, p. 62. For the *optio* rank, see Domaszewski, RO<sup>2</sup>, p. 57 (p. XVI–XVII).

<sup>1924</sup> M. A. Speidel, in A. S. Lewin, P. Pellegrini (eds.), *The Late Roman Army in the Near East from Diocletian to the Arab Conquest. Proceedings of a colloquium held at Potenza, Acerenza and Matera, Italy (May 2005)*, BAR Int. Ser. 1717, 2007, p. 82–83, no. 16 and p. 85.

remain in the East during the 2nd and 3rd C, being subsequently recorded in the province of Armenia in the 4th C (ND, *Or.* 38, 35: *cohors prima Lepidiana, Caene-Parembole*)<sup>1925</sup>.

The garrison location during the cohort's displacement period to Moesia Inferior is unknown and moreover, there is no record on the activity of any commander or soldier.

### 31. *Cohors II Lucensium equitata*<sup>1926</sup>

It was recruited most likely in the first half of the 1st C<sup>1927</sup> and it was supposed, without evidence, that it stationed for a while in Dalmatia, alike its "sister", *cohors I Lucensium*<sup>1928</sup>.

It is recorded in Moesia as early as emperor Vespasian's reign by the diploma found at Montana, the diploma fragments from Berkovica, close to Montana and a diploma fragment, copy of the same imperial constitution<sup>1929</sup>. It is subsequently present in the diploma discovered at Cataloi dating from the last part of Domitian's reign<sup>1930</sup>. Additionally, it is included within the list of province troops and the diploma under Nerva of 97<sup>1931</sup>. Appears later in the diplomas of 105, 112–114, 105/127, 120, 121 and 127<sup>1932</sup>. After 127, it is moved from Moesia Inferior to Thracia. In 136 it erected, according to the inscriptions placed on this occasion, the military fortification from Cabyle<sup>1933</sup>. Hence, this cohort was transferred from Moesia Inferior sometime between 127 and 136. When discussing the issue of cohort *I Cilicum milliaria* arrival on the territory of Moesia Inferior, we argued it might have exchanged cohort *II Lucensium*, given that the latter no longer appears in the diploma of 134. Should we agree that the cohort was displaced in Thracia in 136, we should remark that frontiers between the two provinces were re-mapped in the same year, as it is attested per several border inscriptions<sup>1934</sup>. Was this frontier change the cause of the cohort displacement on the territory of Moesia Inferior?

Cohort *II Lucensium* is recorded in Thracia by the diploma of 138<sup>1935</sup>, being attested by further documents of the type during Antoninus Pius, Marcus Aurelius and L. Verus<sup>1936</sup>. It

<sup>1925</sup> M. M. Roxan, in R. Goodburn, P. Bartholomew (eds.), *Aspects of Notitia Dignitatum. Papers presented to the conference in Oxford December 13 to 15, 1974*, BAR Suppl. Ser. 15, Oxford, 1976, p. 73, table no. 1; M. A. Speidel, *op. cit.*, p. 83.

<sup>1926</sup> Cichorius, *Cohors*, col. 311; Wagner, *Dislokation*, p. 161–162; Kraft, *Rekrutierung*, p. 179, no. 1570–1574; V. Gerasimova, *ArheologijaSofia* 12, 1970, 4, p. 23; Roldan Hervás, *Ejército*, p. 119–121; Aricescu, *Armata*, p. 49; Beneš, *Auxilia*, p. 43–44; V. Velkov, *Chiron* 8, 1978, p. 433–434; N. Santos Yanguas, *El ejército y la romanización de la Galicia*, Oviedo, 1988, p. 128–134, no. 3; V. Velkov, *ActaArchHung* 41, 1989, p. 247–256; Spaul, *Cohors*<sup>2</sup>, p. 83–84; C. C. Petolescu, A. T. Popescu, in *Studia Historica et Theologica*, p. 87–88; Fl. Matei-Popescu, *SCIIVA* 52–53, 2001–2002 (2004), p. 215–217, no. 28; O. Țentea, Fl. Matei-Popescu, *ActaMN* 39–40/I, 2002–2003(2004), p. 288.

<sup>1927</sup> Santos Yanguas, *op. cit.*, p. 129–130: "No obstante, su etapa de reclutamiento en territorio galaico tendría lugar posiblemente durante las primeras décadas de nuestra era".

<sup>1928</sup> V. Velkov, *ActaArchHung* 41, 1989, p. 247. On *cohors I Lucensium* in Dalmatia, see G. Alföldy, *ActaArchHung* 14, 1962, p. 270 and Santos Yanguas, *op. cit.*, p. 124–125.

<sup>1929</sup> February 7, 78 (CIL XVI 22; RMD IV 208; W. Eck, A. Pangerl, *Chiron* 38, 2008, p. 318–321, no. 1).

<sup>1930</sup> C. C. Petolescu, A. T. Popescu, *ZPE* 148, 2004, p. 269–276.

<sup>1931</sup> P. Weiß, *ZPE* 117, 1997, p. 233–238, no. 4 = AÉ 1997, 1774 = RMD V 338.

<sup>1932</sup> May 13, 105 (CIL XVI 50); 112–114 (CIL XVI 58); 105/127 (RMD V 369); October 19, 120 (W. Eck, A. Pangerl, *Chiron* 39, 2009, p. 533–537, no. 9); May/December 121 (P. Weiss, *Chiron* 38, 2008, no. 10); August 20, 127 (M. M. Roxan, *ZPE* 118, 1997, p. 287–295 = AÉ 1997, 1780 = RMD IV 241. Comment on this cohort, RMD IV, p. 293–294).

<sup>1933</sup> V. Velkov, *ActaArchHung* 41, 1989, p. 249–250; p. 253–254, no. 5–7.

<sup>1934</sup> B. Gerov, *ANRW* VII/1, 1979, p. 218–219; V. Velkov, *ActaArchHung* 41, 1989, p. 250.

<sup>1935</sup> October 10, 138, RMD V 385/260.

<sup>1936</sup> M. M. Roxan, P. Weiß, *Chiron* 28, 1998, p. 382–420 (comments and synoptic tables). See another diploma of March 10, 155, W. Eck, D. MacDonald, A. Pangerl, *RÉMA* 1, 2004, p. 91–95, no. IV1, where the unit

would change garrison under Commodus, being recorded by several inscriptions at Separeva Banija, on the location of the former ancient city of Germania<sup>1937</sup>.

When in Moesia Inferior, it was garrisoned at Abrittus (Razgrad)<sup>1938</sup>. There is no certain information that would imply it participated in the Dacian war, but sometime prior 136 it sent a vexillation in the peninsula of Crimea, at Chersonesus<sup>1939</sup>. It never returned on the territory of Moesia Inferior, at least until the end of the 3rd C.

During its dislocation period here, a single commander is known, only should we agree that the troop was displaced in Thracia in 136. His name is *Claudius Lupus* and is recorded by the inscription consecrating the location of the future fort at Cabyle, in Thracia<sup>1940</sup>. The command of *P. Gavius P. f. Palat. Balbus*, attested by an inscription from Ephesus, may date either under Hadrian or Antoninus Pius<sup>1941</sup>.

The names of two soldiers who were definitely on duty during the troop stationing period in Moesia Inferior are known. A tombstone from Razgrad preserves the name of an *equus singularis*, *C. I(ulius) Maximus*<sup>1942</sup>. In the same period, a soldier, *M. Antonius Valens*, was buried at Chersonesus, being definitely part of the vexillation stationed there<sup>1943</sup>.

Other commanders or soldiers attested by available sources served in the period when the cohort had already been transferred to Thracia, with special mention for soldier *Flavius Mestrius Ius[tus]*, or *Flavius Mestrius mil(es)*, recorded by an inscription at Malka Brestnica, on the territory of Moesia Inferior. The inscription was eventually dated by the end of the 2nd C, however it could also be a few decades earlier, in the period when the cohort was present in Moesia Inferior<sup>1944</sup>.

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is mentioned together with cohorts *I Aelia Athoitarum* and *II Mattiacorum* and another fragmentary diploma of 157/158, p. 96–100, no. IV2, where it appears only beside cohort *I Aelia Athoitarum*.

<sup>1937</sup> T. Ivanov, *Arheologija Sofia* 6, 1964, 1, p. 20–23 = *AE* 1969–1970, 582, review of inscription CIL III 12339, dedication to Severus Alexander; V. Velkov, *ActaArchHung* 41, 1989, p. 251–252 (p. 254–256, with inscriptions).

<sup>1938</sup> *AE* 1925, 66 = V. Velkov, *ActaArchHung* 41, 1989, p. 253, no. 4. For the fort there see Zahariade, *Gudea, Fortifications*, p. 94.

<sup>1939</sup> *AE* 1909, 166 = IOSPE I<sup>2</sup> 555 = Solomonik, *Latinskie nadpisi*, p. 47–48, no. 19.

<sup>1940</sup> *AE* 1925, 66 = V. Velkov, *ActaArchHung* 41, 1989, p. 253, no. 5 = *AE* 1991, 1402.

<sup>1941</sup> *Ephesos*, VII, 1, 3048 (ἑπαρχος σπεύρης β' Λουκεηνσίων); PME, G 7. See also H. Devijver, in *The Equestrian Officers of the Roman Imperial Army*, *Mavors* 6, Amsterdam, 1989, p. 287, no. 46 and p. 299.

<sup>1942</sup> *AE* 1925, 66 = V. Velkov, *ActaArchHung* 41, 1989, p. 253, no. 4; Kraft, *Rekrutierung*, p. 179, no. 1574; D. Bălceanu, *AO* 15, 2000, p. 33; M. P. Speidel, *Guards of the Roman Army. An Essay on the Singulares of the Provinces*, *Antiquitas*, Band 28, Bonn, 1978, p. 97, no. 50.

<sup>1943</sup> *AE* 1909, 166 = IOSPE I<sup>2</sup> 555 = Solomonik, *Latinskie nadpisi*, p. 47–48, no. 19; Kraft, *Rekrutierung*, p. 179, no. 1572; T. Sarnowski, *ArchWarszawa* 38, 1988, p. 80, no. 48; D. Bălceanu, *AO* 15, 2000, p. 33; L. Ruscu, *Epigraphica Anatolica* 38, 2005, p. 126–130, no. 2, dates his career between 120 and 129 (p. 129) and considers based on the invocation to *Iupiter Optimus Maximus* in the first inscription line that the soldier was a Hispanic native since the epithet (p. 127–128) is found only in this area of the Empire. Nevertheless, this inscription dates prior 136, when cohort *II Lucensium* is recorded on the territory of Thracia.

<sup>1944</sup> *AE* 1900, 13 = CIL III 144424 = ILB 210; Kraft, *Rekrutierung*, p. 179, no. 1571; V. Velkov, *ActaArchHung* 41, 1989, p. 254, no. 10, with dating mentioned within the text; D. Bălceanu, *AO* 15, 2000, p. 33. See also the observations of Ligia Ruscu, *Epigraphica Anatolica* 38, 2005, p. 128–129, who considers that *Mestrius* is an Italian origin *cognomen*. D. Dana pointed out by personal comment that the *nomen* of *Mestrius*, indeed of Italian origin is used as *cognomen* only in eastern Macedonia and south Moesia Superior. In conclusion, this case was also local recruitment. In the same time, he preferred the *Flavius Mestrius mil(es)* reading. Oppermann, *Der thrakische Reiter*, p. 153, dates the relief under the Severans.



### 32. *Cohors I Lusitanorum Cyrenaica*<sup>1945</sup>

The cohort is probably identical with the one recorded at Cyrene under Tiberius<sup>1946</sup>, where it was quartered in fact in the first years of Vespasian's reign<sup>1947</sup>. It was subsequently transferred to Moesia Inferior, where it appears for the first time in the diploma of Cataloi of 92<sup>1948</sup>. It is then recorded by the diplomas of 99, 105, 99/110, 121, 127, 138, 145, 146 and 157<sup>1949</sup>, therefore it was stationed in the same province during the entire 2nd C. Within an inscription from Malāk Preslavec, the cohort *I Lusitanorum* also bears the imperial surname *Maximiana*, while *Domitius Antigonus*<sup>1950</sup> was the legate of Moesia Inferior. Consequently, we could agree that the cohort was stationed in the province of Moesia Inferior during the entire Roman early period. Based on epigraphical information, it was supposed that it was garrisoned in the Roman fort at Cius (Gârliciu)<sup>1951</sup>. It was also assumed, based on other epigraphic information, that it was quartered not far from Lazus, where an inscription was placed to honour a cohort prefect<sup>1952</sup>. Velkov supposed that the fort must have been somewhere on the Danube line since this troop surveilled the sector between Cius and Transmarisca<sup>1953</sup>.

Among the commanders who served in the period it stationed there, we should firstly mention the one from the above inscription, whose name preserved only the patronymic and the *cognomen*, *C. f. Torquatus, praefectus*<sup>1954</sup>. An inscription from Rome records *Rutilius Pudens Crispinus*, who apparently commanded this cohort under Caracalla; however such assignment is clearly uncertain<sup>1955</sup>. An inscription from Eshikissar (Stratonicea-Caria)

<sup>1945</sup> Cichorius, *Cohors*, col. 312; Wagner, *Dislokation*, p. 163–164; Kraft, *Rekrutierung*, p. 180, no. 1590–1592; V. Gerasimova, *Arheologija Sofia* 12, 1970, 4, p. 26; Roldan Hervás, *Ejercito*, p. 121–123; Aricescu, *Armata*, p. 61–62; Beneš, *Auxilia*, p. 44–45; Suceveanu, *Dobroudja*, p. 65; Spaul, *Cohors*<sup>2</sup>, p. 59–60; C. C. Petolescu, A. T. Popescu, in *Studia Historica et Theologica*, p. 85–86; Fl. Matei-Popescu, *SCIIVA* 52–53, 2001–2002 (2004), p. 217–219, no. 29; O. Țentea, Fl. Matei-Popescu, *ActaMN* 39–40/I, 2002–2003(2004), p. 288.

<sup>1946</sup> *AE* 1978, 830 = S. Demougin, *Latomus* 37, 1978, p. 620–624, *PME*, S 84 bis. On the significance of epithet *Cyrenaica*, see Ritterling, *JRS* 17, 1927, p. 28–29; Webster, *op. cit.*, p. 55, n. 5; Saddington, *Development*, p. 165: [*T*]ib. *Iulius Aug[ust]i filius*] divi nepos *Cae[sar] / M. M. f. P[roculus praef.] / coh(ortis) Lusitanoru[m] Cyrenaicae* ?].

<sup>1947</sup> Wagner, *Dislokation*, p. 163. The troop is different from the one stationed in Pannonia as early as 60 (*CIL* XVI 4; J. Fitz, *ActaArchHung* 14, 1962, 1–2, p. 65).

<sup>1948</sup> C. C. Petolescu, A. T. Popescu, *ZPE* 148, 2004, p. 269–276.

<sup>1949</sup> August 14, 99 (diploma from Târnovo, *CIL* XVI 45); May 13, 105 (diploma discovered in Hungary, *CIL* XVI 50); 99/110 (*RMD* IV 221); May/December 121 (P. Weiss, *Chiron* 38, 2008, p. 296–300, no. 10); August 20, 127 (M. M. Roxan, *ZPE* 118, 1997, p. 287–296 = *AE* 1997, 1780 = *RMD* IV 241); February 28, 138 (diploma from Târnovo, *CIL* XVI 83); April 7, 145 (*RMD* III 165 + P. Weiß, *ZPE* 134, 2001, p. 261–262 = *RMD* V 399; P. Weiss, *Chiron* 38, 2008, p. 314–316, no. 16); 146 (P. Weiß, *ZPE* 124, 1999, p. 279–286 = *AE* 1999, 1359 = *RMD* IV 270) 157 (diploma from Brestovene, *RMD* I 50).

<sup>1950</sup> *AE* 1964, 180: *PRO* ..... [*Domi*]tius Antigonus / v. c. leg. Aug. pr. pr. / ex quaest(ura) coh. / I Lusit. [[*Maximinianae*]] consecravit / dedicavit. In the place of the former ancient city of Candidiana-Nigrinianis, *TIR* L 35, p. 53; N. Gudea, *JRGZM* 52, 2005, p. 432 (II. 25). V. Velkov, *Klio* 39, 1961, p. 215–221 = idem, *Roman Cities in Bulgaria. Collected Studies*, Amsterdam, 1980, p. 103–109. See Stein, *Legaten*, p. 97; Thomasson, *Laterculi*<sup>2</sup>, p. 55, no. 20:158, on the legation of *Domitius Antigonus* to this province. See also *PME*, D 16; Wesch-Klein, *Soziale Aspekte*, p. 14–15.

<sup>1951</sup> *CIL* III 12480 = *ISM* V 118; Aricescu, *Armata*, p. 62; on the fortification, see *TIR* L 35, p. 33; Zahariade, Gudea, *Fortifications*, p. 75–76; N. Gudea, *JRGZM* 52, 2005, p. 451 (III. 43).

<sup>1952</sup> Em. Doruțiu-Boilă, in *Epigraphica. Travaux dédiés au VII<sup>e</sup> Congrès d'épigraphie grecque et latine (Constantza 9–15 septembre 1977)*, Bucharest, 1977, p. 177–180 = *AE* 1977, 747 = *ISM* II 80. On Roman period finds from Lazus, *TIR* L 35, p. 48.

<sup>1953</sup> V. Velkov, *Klio* 31, 1961, p. 218 = idem, *op. cit.*, p. 206.

<sup>1954</sup> Em. Doruțiu-Boilă, p. 177–180 = *AE* 1977, 747 = *ISM* II 80; *PME*, T 47 b.

<sup>1955</sup> *AE* 1929, 158, *PME*, R 20. See also *AE* 1995, 124.

preserved the epitaph of *Flavius Severus*, soldier on duty with a cohort of Lusitani, without providing further information. We are not sure he belonged to the cohort from Moesia Inferior<sup>1956</sup>. Veterans who remained in the province where they served were definitely part of this cohort. Thus, the already mentioned inscription from Cius, records a cohort veteran *M. Ulpius Domitius Anthius*<sup>1957</sup>. An inscription from Tomis mentions another veteran of this cohort, *Q. Allidius Celer*, who had served 26 years<sup>1958</sup>, while an inscription from Adamclisi, the ancient Tropaeum Traiani, lists a former decurion or a former *duplicarius*, *C. Artorius Saturninus*, of Siscia, on whom it was argued that could also be part of the cohort with the same name from Pannonia Inferior<sup>1959</sup>.

### 33. *Cohors II Mattiacorum milliaria equitata*<sup>1960</sup>

The troop was raised from the German tribe of *Mattiaci* (Tacitus, *Hist.* IV, 37)<sup>1961</sup>, most likely in the Flavian period, according to G. Alföldy<sup>1962</sup> or possibly even earlier, as registered diplomas seem to indicate. Thus, a cohort *Mattiacorum* appears in the diplomas from Montana, Berkovica and one with unknown finspot, copies of the same imperial constitution of February 7, 78, being most likely *cohors I Mattiacorum*<sup>1963</sup>.

The diploma from Oltina of 99 records for the first time a cohort *II Mattiacorum*<sup>1964</sup>. It is present in the diplomas for this province of 111, 113? (awarded to a former soldier of the

<sup>1956</sup> CIL III 12257; Spaul, *Cohors*<sup>2</sup>, p. 59.

<sup>1957</sup> CIL III 12480 = ISM V 118; Wagner, *Dislokation*, p. 164, n. 619: “M. Ulpius Domitius aus Antho (?)”; Kraft, *Rekrutierung*, p. 180, no. 1592 “Anthius (?) griech. Bereich”; Em. Doruțiu-Boilă, ISM V, p. 141; D. Bălțeanu, AO 15, 2000, p. 34, no. 2.

<sup>1958</sup> D. Tudor, *Materiale* 2, 1956, p. 579–580, no. 47 = AÉ 1957, 189 = ISM II 196; A. Aricescu, in *Studien zu den Militärgrenzen Roms. II. Vorträge des 10. Internationalen Limeskongresses in der Germania Inferior 1974*, Cologne – Bonn, 1977, p. 265; D. Bălțeanu, AO 15, 2000, p. 35. Since the formula *dis manibus* is missing, the inscription may be dated during the first two decades of the 2nd C.

<sup>1959</sup> CIL III 14214<sup>9</sup> = Aricescu, *Armata*, p. 224, SE 98 and comment at p. 62 = Conrad, *Grabstelen*, p. 197, no. 264; Kraft, *Rekrutierung*, p. 180, no. 1591 and p. 51; D. Bălțeanu, AO 15, 2000, p. 34, no. 1; Suceveanu, *Dobroudja*, p. 65, went even farther and considered that since epithet *Cyrenaica* is missing, they might not have come from the cohort on the territory of Moesia Inferior. On *decurio cohortis*, see Domaszewski, RO<sup>2</sup>, p. 57 (p. XVII).

<sup>1960</sup> Cichorius, *Cohors*, col. 314–315; Wagner, *Dislokation*, p. 165–166; Kraft, *Rekrutierung*, p. 180, no. 1620–1621; Aricescu, *Armata*, p. 67; Beneš, *Auxilia*, p. 45–47; Sarnowski, *Wojsko rzymskie*, p. 74; Suceveanu, *Dobroudja*, p. 66; Spaul, *Cohors*<sup>2</sup>, p. 243–244; Fl. Matei-Popescu, SCIVA 52–53, 2001–2002 (2004), p. 219–221, no. 30; O. Țentea, Fl. Matei-Popescu, ActaMN 39–40/I, 2002–2003(2004), p. 288–289; R. Petrovsky, *Mitteilungen des historischen Vereins der Pfalz* 102, 2004, p. 34–37, no. 4.

<sup>1961</sup> On the evolution of relations between the Roman Empire and the *Mattiaci* see J. Klose, *Roms Klientel-Randstaaten am Rhein und an der Donau. Beiträge zu ihrer Geschichte und rechtlichen Stellung im 1. und 2. Jahrhundert n. Chr.*, Breslau, 1934, p. 53–57.

<sup>1962</sup> Alföldy, *Hilfstruppen*, p. 83.

<sup>1963</sup> CIL XVI 22; RMDIV 208; W. Eck, A. Pangerl, *Chiron* 38, 2008, p. 318–321, no. 1. See also Wagner, *Dislokation*, p. 164–165, with the debate on an inscription from Tenča (in fact discovered at Obedinenie), south of Novae, mentioning a certain *L. Spurennius Rufus b(ucinator)*, of cohort *Mattiacorum* (CIL III 12437 = Gerov, *Beiträge*, II, p. 72 (p. 190, no. 15) = ILB 395 = Conrad, *Grabstelen*, p. 214–215, no. 327; Kraft, *Rekrutierung*, p. 180, no. 1611) and the mention of an inscription from Praeneste, recording *L. Clodius Ingenuus, praef. coh. Mattiacor.*, from the Flavian or early Trajanic period (CIL VI 37274; PME, C 201). Still, it seems that the inscription from Obedinenie dates rather by the beginning of the 3rd C, in S. Conrad’s view. Under such circumstances it refers most likely to cohort *II Mattiacorum*, yet without the mention of the numeral.

<sup>1964</sup> CIL XVI 44 of August 14, 99.

unit), 125, 127, 134, 138, 145, 146 and 147<sup>1965</sup>, being then transferred to Thracia, where it is documented by diplomas of the period 155–166/169<sup>1966</sup>. An inscription within the reign of Antoninus Pius attests the cohort at Sostra (Lomec)<sup>1967</sup>. The cohort is still accommodated there in 198<sup>1968</sup>. When transferred to Thracia, it was probably replaced by cohort *I Cisipadensium*. Still we cannot ascertain that the two provinces exchanged troops or only changed frontiers, alike under Septimius Severus, of which we hold epigraphic records<sup>1969</sup>. As it seems that the unit occupied the Sostra fort continuously from Antoninus Pius to the reign of Septimius Severus, it is probably that the region was sometime transferred to Thracia and then back to Moesia Inferior, as in the reign of Gallienus the *II reducum* cohort mentioned the governor of the latter province (*vide infra*).

From the period it was stationed in Moesia Inferior, very likely by its beginning, tile stamps were identified at Barboși<sup>1970</sup> and Dinogetia<sup>1971</sup>. Therefore, it was assumed it was quartered there for a while, assigned to defend both banks of the Danube<sup>1972</sup>. During the period 144–198 it was transformed to *cohors milliaria*, according to E. Birley<sup>1973</sup>, possibly once with its transfer to Thracia. In K. Strobel's view, it was involved in the Dacian war, especially the military operations in the northeast area of Dobrudja and Siret River area<sup>1974</sup>.

Possibly after the Dacian war, the cohort was established at Sexaginta Prista, recorded by stamped bricks and even two identical milestones in 144. From there it was probably transferred to Thracia, being replaced at Sexaginta Prista by *cohors II Flavia Brittonum*<sup>1975</sup>.

<sup>1965</sup> September 25, 111 (RMD IV 222); 113 (W. Eck, A. Pangerl, Chiron 39, 2009, p. 522–524, no. 6); June 1, 125 (M. M. Roxan, W. Eck, ZPE 116, 1997, p. 193–203 = AÉ 1997, 1772 = RMD IV 235); August 20, 127 (M. M. Roxan, ZPE 118, 1997, p. 287–295 = AÉ 1997, 1780 = RMD IV 241); April 2, 134 (CIL XVI 78); February 28, 138 (diploma from Târnovo, CIL XVI 83); April 7, 145 (RMD III 165 + P. Weiß, ZPE 134, 2001, p. 261–262 = RMD V 399; P. Weiss, Chiron 38, 2008, p. 314–316, no. 16); 146 (P. Weiß, ZPE 124, 1999, p. 279–286 = AÉ 1999, 1359 = RMD IV 270; 147 (P. Weiss, Chiron 38, 2008, p. 307–309, no. 13).

<sup>1966</sup> M. M. Roxan, P. Weiß, Chiron 28, 1998, p. 382–420, no. 2–7, to which we should add a new diploma for the province of Thracia of March 10, 155, W. Eck, D. MacDonald, A. Pangerl, RÉMA 1, 2004, p. 91–95, no. IV 1, together with cohorts *I Aelia Athoitarum* and *II Lucensium*.

<sup>1967</sup> AÉ 2001, 1747 (= I. Christov, Arheološki vestnik 2, 2001, p. 14–15, *non vidi*): *Imp. Caesari / divi Hadriani fil. / divi Traiani nepoti / divi Nervae pron(epoti) / Aelio Hadriano / Antonino Aug. / Pio p(ontifici) m(aximo) / tr(ibunicia) pot(estate) cos. / III p(atri) p(atriciae) / coh. II Mattiacorum*, between 145–161 (*cos. IIII*).

<sup>1968</sup> CIL III 14428 = ILS 8915 = ILB 260, of July 20, 198, under the legate *C. Ovinus Tertullus* (PIR<sup>2</sup> O 191; Stein, *Legaten*, p. 84–86; Fitz, *Laufbahn*, p. 48; Thomasson, *Laterculi*<sup>2</sup>, p. 53–54, no. 20:107). In the same location where cohort *I Cisipadensium* is attested *vide supra*.

<sup>1969</sup> B. Gerov, ANRW VII/1, 1979, p. 224–226.

<sup>1970</sup> Gh. Ștefan, *Dacia* 5–6, 1935–1936, p. 345, b. Tile stamps were gathered by Doruțiu-Boilă, ISM V 306 = S. Sanie, *Civilizația romană la est de Carpați și romanitatea pe teritoriul Moldovei (sec II î.e.n – III e.n.)*, Iași, 1981, p. 90, no. 7–9. On the function and chronology of the fort at Barboși, see V. Pârvan, AARMSI 36, 1913, p. 106–119; TIR L 35, p. 25; Sanie, *op. cit.*, p. 76–79; L. Petculescu, *Pontica* 15, 1982, p. 249–253 (especially, p. 251–252); Zahariade, Gudea, *Fortifications*, p. 81; Bogdan-Cătănicu, *Muntenia*, p. 50–51; N. Gudea, JRGZM 52, 2005, p. 455–457 (III. 48).

<sup>1971</sup> Similarly, gathered by the same author, ISM V 260.

<sup>1972</sup> Aricescu, *Armata*, p. 67, resuming a previous idea stated by V. Pârvan, AARMSI 36, 1913, p. 116 and Gh. Ștefan, *Dacia*, N. S. 2, 1958, p. 317–329, according to which both locations were in fact named identically, Dinogetia. See to this end, Sanie, *op. cit.*, p. 80.

<sup>1973</sup> E. Birley, in *Corolla memoriae Erich Swoboda dedicata*, Cologne – Graz, 1966, p. 65, no. 8, n. 10 = idem, in *The Roman Army. Papers 1929–1986*, Mavors 4, Amsterdam, 1988, p. 361–362, no. 8.

<sup>1974</sup> Strobel, *Dakerkriege*, p. 139. See also Rossi, *Trajan's Column*, p. 95.

<sup>1975</sup> AÉ 1900, 18 = CIL III 762; AÉ 1916, 65 (*a Sexaginta Pristis p(etr) coh(ortem) II Matt(iacorum)*); A. Dimitrova-Milčeva, in *Akten des 14. Internationalen Limeskongresses 1986 in Carnuntum*, Vienna, 1990, p. 868–869; Zahariade, Gudea, *Fortifications*, p. 74.

When in Moesia Inferior, the following commanders are known, chronologically: *T. Flavius Laco*, from the diploma at Tärnovo of 138<sup>1976</sup>, *T. Aurelius Aquila*, cohort tribune in the inscription from Sostra (Lomec) of 198<sup>1977</sup> and a certain *Faustinianus*, son of *Marcus*, from an inscription at Carnuntum in Pannonia Superior, recorded as tribune of cohort *II Mattiacorum (milliaria) eq(uitata)*. He placed the inscription while decurion of the colonies from *Savaria* and *Carnuntum*, on August 23, 219 (*ded(icatum) imp(eratore) [[Antonino Aug(usto)]] / II et Sacerdote cos. / (ante diem) X Kal(endas) Sept(embres)*)<sup>1978</sup>. The diploma of March 10, 155, when the troop was already in Thracia, records the perfect *Antonius Annianus*<sup>1979</sup>.

Among the soldiers who served in this cohort during the period it stationed in Moesia Inferior, we know the name of *Clagissa Clagissae f.*, of Thracian origin, former footsoldier, according to the diploma from Tärnovo of 138<sup>1980</sup>. The diploma of March 10, 155 records an *ex pedite, Aelius Batonis f. Dassius, Pannonius*<sup>1981</sup>, recruited around 130, probably from one of the two provinces of Pannonia<sup>1982</sup>, being, according to the patronymic and *cognomen* an Illyrian. Under such circumstances *Aelius Dassius* served good part of the period spent within the army of the province of Moesia Inferior. Still within this cohort must have also served *L. Spurennius Rufus, bucinator cohortis Mattiacorum*, as recorded by an inscription discovered at Obedinie<sup>1983</sup>.

Other information on this unit is registered in an inscription found at Barbaros (province of Tekirdag, Turkey, Propontida), in fact a funerary stela erected for *Aurelius Diophanes* by his colleague *Aurelius Martialius, miles cohortis Mattiacorum*<sup>1984</sup>. Unfortunately, we do not know which of the two cohorts *Mattiacorum* is referenced, as the numeral is not entered. However, the stela decoration under the shape of a Thracian Rider<sup>1985</sup> could indicate both the troop recorded in Thracia as well as the one in Moesia Inferior. The inscription dates from the 3rd century, rather its second half, based on the paleographic fonts, the two soldiers' names and the language peculiarity.

A very fragmentary inscription discovered at Rusciuk, Bulgaria, mentions a certain *Capito* in relation to this cohort<sup>1986</sup>. Unfortunately, we do not know what post he occupied and when.

<sup>1976</sup> CIL XVI 83; PME, F 53.

<sup>1977</sup> AÉ 1902, 125 = CIL III 14428 = ILS 8915 = ILB 260; PME, A 212.

<sup>1978</sup> AÉ 1968, 422; PME, F 105. See also Fitz, *Honorific Titles*, p. 61, no. 214. He then served as prefect of ala *II Septimia Surorum (milliaria)*, which probably stationed in the province of Mauretania Tingitana (Spaul, *Ala*<sup>2</sup>, p. 211–214, no. 75).

<sup>1979</sup> W. Eck, D. MacDonal, A. Pangerl, RÉMA 1, 2004, p. 91–95, no. IV1.

<sup>1980</sup> CIL XVI 83; Kraft, *Rekrutierung*, p. 80, no. 1621; D. Detschew, *Die thrakischen Sprachreste*<sup>2</sup>, Vienna, 1976, p. 247–248; I. I. Russu, *Limba traco-dacilor*<sup>2</sup>, Bucharest, 1966, p. 98; D. Bălteanu, AO 15, 2000, p. 35, no. 1.

<sup>1981</sup> W. Eck, D. MacDonal, A. Pangerl, RÉMA 1, 2004, p. 91–95, no. IV, 1, especially p. 95.

<sup>1982</sup> The rule established by M. P. Speidel is thus verified, in Eck, Wolff (eds.), *Heer und Integrationspolitik*, p. 467: “The native province of an auxiliary soldier is given as his home only if he was sent abroad as a recruit. By contrast, his civitas (tribe or town) is given as his home if he had enrolled in a unit stationed or raised in his own province”.

<sup>1983</sup> CIL III 12437 = ILB 395 = Conrad, *Grabstelen*, p. 214–215, no. 328.

<sup>1984</sup> M. H. Sayar, in F. Beutler, W. Hameter (eds.), “Eine ganz normale Inschrift“...und ähnliches zum Geburtstag von Ekkehard Weber. *Festschrift zum 30. April 2005*, Althistorisch-Epigraphische Studien, Band 5, Vienna, 2005, p. 343–345: *Aurelius Martialius miles c(o)hortis Malttiacorom turma [...]ontis collegam / et cuntubernalem suum Aure[liu]m Diop[hanen] eosdem cohortis turmae selpelevit et in honorem eius stellam / statuit et inscripsit*. On the confusion *u – o (cuntubernalem, eosdem)* see S. Stati, *Limba latină în inscripțiile din Dacia și Scythia Minor*, Bucharest, 1961, p. 45–46.

<sup>1985</sup> *Ibidem*, p. 344, fig. 2.

<sup>1986</sup> CIL III 12449.



### 34. *Cohors I Flavia Numidarum equitata*<sup>1987</sup>

Until recently, little information was available on this cohort. It appears for the first time among the cohorts of Moesia Inferior, within the constitution of 97<sup>1988</sup> and thereafter on the constitutions of 111<sup>1989</sup> and 120<sup>1990</sup>. Another diploma dated 125–129, also records the cohort, most likely in Moesia Inferior<sup>1991</sup>. It is further listed by the diploma of 127<sup>1992</sup>, 135<sup>1993</sup> and the diploma of 140<sup>1994</sup>. It appears again in the diploma of 145<sup>1995</sup>, as well as the imperial constitution of 146, of which we have insofar at least three copies<sup>1996</sup>. In addition, the cohort is not missing from the diploma at Brestovene, dated approximately in 157<sup>1997</sup>. It is then displaced to the East, where emerges in the province of Lycia and Pamphylia, within three diplomas of the period 165/166 and 178<sup>1998</sup>. Within the last two documents, it seems to be commanded by tribunes, meaning that it was probably transformed at one point to *milliaria* (nevertheless, it seems that the units from the provinces with a single unit are commanded by tribunes regardless of the strength) and since they diplomas were given for *pedites* and *equites*, we can state it was also *equitata*. All these diplomas come from the Balkan area, indicating that until 153 at least, the cohort had not been yet displaced<sup>1999</sup>.

This cohort is different from *cohors I Numidarum*, which appears in Syria in 88<sup>2000</sup>, since in 134, when cohort *I Flavia Numidarum* was still in Moesia Inferior, Arrian (*Ekt.* 3) mentions a prefect of cohort *I Numidarum* on duty in Cappadocia<sup>2001</sup>.

From the period it stationed on the territory of Moesia Inferior, the incomplete name of a commander surfaced, *L. Manlius L. f. Co[r(nelia tribu)]* who appears on a diploma fragment dated between 125 and 129<sup>2002</sup>. There is no indication on its quartering location.

<sup>1987</sup> Cichorius, *Cohors*, col. 320 (only in Lycia and Pamphylia); Aricescu, *Armata*, p. 62–63; Beneš, *Auxilia*, p. 47; M. M. Roxan, ZPE 118, 1997, p. 292–293; Hamdoune, *Auxilia externa*, p. 119 (without mentioning it was stationed in Moesia Inferior); Spaul, *Cohors*<sup>2</sup>, p. 473; Fl. Matei-Popescu, SCIVA 52–53, 2001–2002 (2004), p. 221, no. 31; O. Țentea, Fl. Matei-Popescu, ActaMN 39–40/I, 2002–2003(2004), p. 289–290.

<sup>1988</sup> P. Weiß, ZPE 117, 1997, p. 233–238, no. 4 = AÉ 1997, 1774 = RMD V 338; W. Eck, A. Pangerl, Chiron 39, 2009, p. 510–512, no. 2.

<sup>1989</sup> September 25, 111, RMD IV 222.

<sup>1990</sup> W. Eck, A. Pangerl, Chiron 39, 2009, p. 533–537, no. 9.

<sup>1991</sup> W. Eck, D. MacDonald, A. Pangerl, Chiron 32, 2002, p. 413–417, no. 5 = AÉ 2002, 1731 = RMD V 375.

<sup>1992</sup> M. M. Roxan, ZPE 118, 1997, p. 287–296 = AÉ 1997, 1780 = RMD IV 241, diploma of August 20, 127.

<sup>1993</sup> W. Eck, A. Pangerl, Chiron 39, 2009, p. 541–542, no. 12.

<sup>1994</sup> P. Weiss, Chiron 38, 2008, p. 302–307, no. 12.

<sup>1995</sup> RMD III 165 + P. Weiß, ZPE 134, p. 261–262 = RMD V 399; P. Weiss, Chiron 38, 2008, p. 314–316, no. 16 of April 7, 145.

<sup>1996</sup> P. Weiß, ZPE 124, 1999, p. 279–286 = AÉ 1999, 1359 = RMD IV 270; diploma fragment (C. C. Petolescu, A. T. Popescu, Dacia, N. S. 51, 2007, p. 149–151, no. 2).

<sup>1997</sup> RMD I 50.

<sup>1998</sup> P. Weiß, Epigraphica Anatolica 31, 1999, p. 77–82 = RMD V 438; RMD I 67; CIL XVI 128. See also W. Eck, in idem, Wolff (eds.), *Heer und Integrationspolitik*, p. 522. See in addition an inscription discovered at Sidē, an imperial dedication of 238, AÉ 1966, 459.

<sup>1999</sup> M. M. Roxan, ZPE 118, 1997, p. 293; P. Weiß, Epigraphica Anatolica 31, 1999, p. 82.

<sup>2000</sup> CIL XVI 35, with comment at p. 183, wherein the identification of the two troops is suggested.

<sup>2001</sup> M. M. Roxan, ZPE 118, 1997, p. 292.

<sup>2002</sup> W. Eck, D. MacDonald, A. Pangerl, Chiron 32, 2002, p. 413–417, no. 5.

### 35. *Cohors II Flavia Numidarum equitata*<sup>2003</sup>

Until not long ago, it was acknowledged that this cohort was stationed on the territory of Dacia Inferior, where it appears for the first time on the diploma of July 17, 122<sup>2004</sup>. A funerary bilingual inscription (the Greek variant completely preserved), discovered at Šipka and placed by an individual with cohort *II Bracaraugustanorum* (*vide supra*) mentioned an *equus cohortis II Numidarum*<sup>2005</sup>. Recently, a diploma, copied after an imperial constitution, granted to Moesia Inferior auxiliaries in 116 was published. Among the troops reviewed counted cohort *II Flavia Numidarum*<sup>2006</sup>. The new military diploma publishing ended speculation on the province the unit belonged to, prior its dislocation to Dacia Inferior, Moesia Inferior or Thracia.

It participated in Trajan's Dacian war and remained north the Danube, as part of Dacia Inferior auxilia. It seems to have been accommodated by the fort at Feldioara<sup>2007</sup> based on epigraphic finds.

The above mentioned inscription records a decurion, commander of a turma, *Festus* and an *equus*, *Marcus Traidaci f.*<sup>2008</sup>.

### 36. *Cohors I Raetorum equitata*<sup>2009</sup>

The diploma of Taliata, dated 75, mentions a *cohortis I Raetorum*<sup>2010</sup>. Since at least two cohorts bearing this name are known, stationed one in Raetia and another in Cappadocia, any differentiation is difficult<sup>2011</sup>. Surprisingly, the new diploma from Cataloi, dated 92, mentions a *cohortis I Raetorum*<sup>2012</sup> among the troops of Moesia Inferior. This is undoubtedly the

<sup>2003</sup> Cichorius, *Cohors*, col. 320; Christescu, *Ist. militară*, p. 190; Wagner, *Dislokation*, p. 173; Russu, *SCIV* 23, 1972, 1, p. 73; Beneš, *Auxilia*, p. 47; Tudor, *OR*<sup>4</sup>, p. 336; Vlădescu, *Armata*, p. 37, no. 13; Spaul, *Cohors*<sup>2</sup>, p. 474; Petolescu, *Auxilia*, p. 118, no. 52; O. Țentea, Fl. Matei-Popescu, *ActaMN* 39–40/I, 2002–2003 (2004), p. 290.

<sup>2004</sup> RGZM, no. 20; Petolescu, *Auxilia*, p. 118. Attested also by the military diplomas from 125–126 (M. Ilkić, *Vjesnik za Arheologiju i Povijest Dalmatinsku* 102, 2009, p. 59–73); 129 (CIL XVI 75 = IDR I 10), 130 (RMD V 376), 131–132 (RMD V 380), 134 (W. Eck, A. Pangerl, *ActaMN* 43–44/I, 2006–2007 (2008), p. 190–192, no. 2), 140 (RMD I 39 = IDR I 13) and 146 (RMD IV 269).

<sup>2005</sup> IGB III/1 1741 bis = AÉ 1965, 347 = IDRE II 350.

<sup>2006</sup> W. Eck, A. Pangerl, *Dacia*, N. S. 50, 2006, p. 102–105, no. 3. The cohort's name was also restored on a military diploma of 107: *II FLAVI[A NVMIDARVM]*, W. Eck, A. Pangerl, *Chiron* 39, 2009, p. 514–519, no. 4.

<sup>2007</sup> IDR III/4 174–177, of three types *CN*, *COHNVNID*, *COHNVNANT*. N. Gudea, *Castrul roman de la Feldioara. Încercare de monografie arheologică / Das Römerkastell von Feldioara. Versuch einer archäologischen Monographie*, Cluj-Napoca, 2008, p. 69–71 (p. 147–149, German version) and p. 174–181 (p. 256–257, fig. 23–24; p. 291–293, pl. 30–32), the full repertoire of the tile material, with various tile stamps of the troop identified following archeological investigations.

<sup>2008</sup> IGB III/1 1741 bis = AÉ 1965, 347 = IDRE II 350: r. 4–5: Μάρκος Τραιδακοῦ ἵππεὺς χώρτης δευτέρας Νομιδῶν τύρμης Φήστου.

<sup>2009</sup> Cichorius, *Cohors*, col. 326; M. Mirković, *EpigrSt* 5, 1968, p. 178, no. 3; V. Gerasimova, *ArheologijaSofia* 12, 1970, 4, p. 26; Beneš, *Auxilia*, p. 48–49; Spaul, *Cohors*<sup>2</sup>, p. 276–278; C. C. Petolescu, A. T. Popescu, in *Studia Historica et Theologica*, p. 84–85; Fl. Matei-Popescu, *SCIVA* 52–53, 2001–2002 (2004), p. 222–223, no. 32; O. Țentea, Fl. Matei-Popescu, *ActaMN* 39–40/I, 2002–2003(2004), p. 290.

<sup>2010</sup> D. Vučković-Todorić, *Starinar* 18, 1967, p. 21–28 = RMD I 2.

<sup>2011</sup> On the cohort stationed in Raetia, numerous diplomas are available (see Spaul, *Cohors*<sup>2</sup>, p. 276). On the cohort from Cappadocia, information comes from Arrian, *Ekt.*, 1 (Cichorius, *Cohors*, col. 326). I should mention that another cohort *I Raetorum equitata c. R.* was active in Germania Inferior until the reign of Elagabalus (Alföldy, *Hilfstruppen*, p. 68–69).

<sup>2012</sup> C. C. Petolescu, A. T. Popescu, *ZPE* 148, 2004, p. 269–276.

cohort already present in 75 on the territory of Moesia. Since the diploma of 75 was granted to a cohort soldier, it was supposed that it must have been quartered precisely at Taliata<sup>2013</sup>. Should we agree with such view, the troop must have changed its quartering location at certain point, being moved eastwards. Furthermore, based on the origin of the soldier in the diploma it was presumed this cohort was brought to Moesia by *C. Licinius Mucianus*, together with other troops (Tacitus, *Hist.* II, 82)<sup>2014</sup>. Indeed, a troop with this name recorded approximately between 17 and 70 was stationed in East (Cappadocia) and then at Eumeneia (Ishekli), between approximately 70 and 130, according to W. M. Ramsay<sup>2015</sup>. The unit is probably identical with the one recorded by the single diploma for Asia of 148, known insofar<sup>2016</sup>, considering that several soldiers of the troop appear in inscriptions from Ephesus<sup>2017</sup>. The cohort was moved westwards once with the riots during the civil wars, being afterwards re-sent to the East, at least this is the interpretation result of soldier *Hera*, son of *Serapio* from Antiochia<sup>2018</sup> eastern origin. Such ideas are strongly supported by the unit mention in the diploma of 101 for the troops in Galatia et Cappadocia<sup>2019</sup>. In 135, it is attested by Arrian (*Ekt.*, 1), being subsequently transferred to Asia, sometime prior 148, most likely immediately after 135<sup>2020</sup>.

Unfortunately, there is no further information on the cohort on the territory of Moesia Inferior until the moment it was re-transferred to the East<sup>2021</sup>.

It is possible this cohort is not identical with the one recorded in Cappadocia, at Eumeneia and in the province of Asia, especially since at some point it is probably recorded as *milliaria*<sup>2022</sup>, although the diploma of 148 records a prefect at its command. It could be a different cohort which came indeed from East and which, in the Dacian war aftermath was displaced to Raetia<sup>2023</sup>. Still, we may consider it could have been upgraded to *milliaria* sometime by the beginning of the 3rd C, thus providing a solution to the debate.

Given that there are many cohorts *I Raetorum*, it is hard to differentiate between their attested commanders. The cohort in question was definitely commanded by the individual mentioned by the diploma from Taliata of April 27, 75<sup>2024</sup>. *P. Besius Betuianus C. Marius*

<sup>2013</sup> V. Gerasimova, *Arheologija Sofia* 12, 1970, 4, p. 26.

<sup>2014</sup> D. Vučković-Todorić, *Starinar* 18, 1967, p. 24; M. M. Roxan, *RMD* I, p. 31, note 7.

<sup>2015</sup> W.M. Ramsay, *JRS* 19, 1929, p. 153–160; M. Christol, T. Drew-Bear, in Y. Le Bohec, *La hiérarchie (Rangordnung) de l'armée romaine sous le Haut-Empire. Actes du Congrès de Lyon (15–18 septembre 1994) rassemblés et édités par Yann Le Bohec*, Paris, 1995, p. 63–66.

<sup>2016</sup> B. Overbeck, *Chiron* 11, 1981, p. 265–276 = *RMD* 100; D. Knight, *ZPE* 85, 1991, p. 205–206.

<sup>2017</sup> *AE* 1988, 1023; 1018; M. Christol, T. Drew-Bear, in Y. Le Bohec, *La hiérarchie (Rangordnung) de l'armée romaine sous le Haut-Empire. Actes du Congrès de Lyon (15–18 septembre 1994) rassemblés et édités par Yann Le Bohec*, Paris, 1995, p. 64–66.

<sup>2018</sup> D. Vučković-Todorić, *Starinar* 18, 1967, p. 21–28 = *RMD* 2; D. Bălteanu, *AO* 15, 2000, p. 37.

<sup>2019</sup> *RGZM*, p. 18, note 1; M. A. Speidel, in A. S. Lewin, P. Pellegrini (eds.), *The Late Roman Army in the Near East from Diocletian to the Arab Conquest. Proceedings of a colloquium held at Potenza, Acerenza and Matera, Italy (May 2005)*, *BAR Int. Ser.* 1717, 2007, p. 83, no. 20.

<sup>2020</sup> *Ibidem*, p. 85.

<sup>2021</sup> Except for a tile stamp, *CIR*, interpreted by D. Tudor to record *cohors I Raetorum*. *Vide contra* Beneš, *Auxilia*, p. 49 and Strobel, *Dakerkriege*, p. 142, note 282.

<sup>2022</sup> *IGR* IV 728; *PME*, F 104. The unit was commanded by a tribune, being therefore possible to have been transformed into a *milliaria* unit (though it seems that the units attested in the provinces with only one unit are commanded by tribunes).

<sup>2023</sup> M. Mirković, *loc. cit.*, so believed, except that he considered it was moved as early as under Domitian to Raetia. Similarly V. Gerasimova, *loc. cit.*, who does not explicitly state that this cohort had come from the East, but asserts it was sent to the East in the Dacian wars aftermath.

<sup>2024</sup> D. Vučković-Todorić, *Starinar* 18, 1967, p. 21–28 = *RMD* 2, *C. Quintius Laberius Tutor Sabinianus*, *PME*, Q 3, or probable western origin.

*Memmius Sabinus*, recorded in an inscription from Tingi (Mauretania Tingitana), who received *dona militaria* from emperor Trajan in the Dacian war aftermath while perfect of ala *I Vespasiana Dardanorum*<sup>2025</sup> could also have been one of its commanders.

*C. Cassius C. f. Pup. Primus*, recorded as *praefectus cohortis I Raet(orum)*, within an inscription from Gallia Narbonensis<sup>2026</sup> could also count. *C. Caelius C. f. Ouf. Martialis*, seems to have commanded the cohort from Raetia, therefore we may conclude that either the two cohorts are different or that cohort *I Raetorum* that had stationed in Moesia Inferior, was displaced to Raetia immediately after the first Dacian war. The second *militia* of *Martialis* was that of legion XIII Gemina tribune during the second Dacian expedition concluded with the defeat of entire Dacia, as mentioned by the inscription<sup>2027</sup>.

No soldiers are known in the cohort stationing period on the territory of Moesia Inferior.

### 37. *Cohors II red(ucum)*

Based on Gallienus's statue discovered in the *principia* of the fort at Sostra (Lomec) dating from the first reign year of Valerianus and Gallienus, under governor *G. Iulius Victor*, a certain *Aurelius Domitianus*, centurion of an unknown legion is recorded as *praepositus cohortis II RED(...)*<sup>2028</sup>. In the *Notitia Dignitatum* (Or. XLII) a *tribunus cohortis secundorum reducum, Siosta*, is mentioned among the commanders at Dacia Ripensis governor's orders. Based on the new inscription, it is obvious that the form *Siosta* is a corrupted form of *Sostra*. This cohort, probably together with *III collecta*, could have been part of a series of auxiliary units recruited by the middle of the 3rd C, in the context of the Gothic invasion.

### 38. *Cohors I Claudia Sugambrorum (Sugambrum) veterana equitata*<sup>2029</sup>

Cohorts of Sugambri were raised as early as Augustus from the colonised on the Rhine left bank (Tacitus, *Ann.* XII, 39; Suetonius, *Aug.*, 21)<sup>2030</sup>. This cohort is dislocated under Tiberius to the province of Moesia, where it appears for the first time in 26, on the occasion

<sup>2025</sup> CIL VIII 9990 = ILS 1352 = IPD<sup>4</sup> 796 = IDRE II 468; PIR I<sup>2</sup>, p. 364, no. 112; Pflaum, *Carrières*, p. 168–169, no. 73, PME, B 21.

<sup>2026</sup> CIL XII 4232; PME, C 96.

<sup>2027</sup> AE 1934, 2 = IPD<sup>4</sup> 811 = IDRE II 367; PIR II<sup>2</sup>, p. 265, no. 136; Pflaum, *Carrières*, p. 170, no. 74, PME, C 31.

<sup>2028</sup> I. Hristov, *Sostra. Rimskijat grad v polite na Hemus*, Faber (Veliko Tärnovo), 2006, p. 30–32, no. 9; Idem, *Krepostta Sostra, imperator Galien i kohortata na "väzvräszentzite"*, Faber (Veliko Tärnovo), 2008, p. 31–38; W. Eck, R. Ivanov, *ZPE* 170, 2009, p. 191–200: *Imp(eratori) Caesar(i) / P. Lic(inio) Gall(i)enio / p(io) f(elici) Aug(usto) / pontific(i) max(imo) / trib(unicia) pot(estate) co(n)s(uli) / proco(n)s(uli) dedicante C. Iul(io) / Victore leg(ato) / Augg(ustorum) pr(o) pr(aetore) per / Aur(elio) Domitia/no (sic!) (centurione) leg(ionis) praep(osito) / coh(ortis) II Red(ucum) devotus / numini ipsius / de quaestura coh(ortis) / posuit / pr pr ?*; on the left side of the monument a date is recorded: *[P]ostea VI Idus Octobres / Galli[eno et Valeriano co(n)s(ulibus) ?]*. The governor is also attested by a milestone discovered at Tomis, M. Bărbulescu, A. Rădulescu, *Pontica* 24, 1991, p. 132–136, no. 3 = AE 1993, 1376; Thomasson, *Laterculi*<sup>2</sup>, p. 55, no. 20:144.

<sup>2029</sup> Cichorius, *RE* IV, col. 333; Wagner, *Dislokation*, p. 185–186; Kraft, *Rekrutierung*, p. 185, no. 1820–1821; M. Mirković, *EpigrSt* 5, 1968, p. 178, no. 2; V. Gerasimova, *ArheologijaSofia* 12, 1970, 4, p. 24; Aricescu, *Armata*, p. 63; Beneš, *Auxilia*, p. 51–52; Suceveanu, *Dobroudja*, p. 65; Spaul, *Cohors*<sup>2</sup>, p. 245–246; C. C. Petolescu, A. T. Popescu, in *Studia Historica et Theologica*, p. 86–87; Fl. Matei-Popescu, *SCIIVA* 52–53, 2001–2002 (2004), p. 223–225, no. 33; O. Țentea, Fl. Matei-Popescu, *ActaMN* 39–40/I, 2002–2003(2004), p. 293; M. Tatscheva, in L. Mihailescu-Bîrliba, O. Bounegru (eds.), *Studia historiae et religionis Daco-Romanae. In honorem Silvii Saniei*, Bucharest, 2006, p. 372–373.

<sup>2030</sup> Alföldy, *Hilfstruppen*, p. 84; Fr. Vittinghoff, in *Atti dei Convegni dei Lincei 23. Convegno Internazionale Renania Romana (Roma, 14–16 Aprile 1975)*, Rome, 1976, p. 76; Saddington, *Development*, p. 155.



of the Thracian uprising defeat by *C. Poppaeus Sabinus* (Tacitus, *Ann.* IV, 47)<sup>2031</sup>. It is then recorded by the diploma from Taliata, of 75, under the name *I Sugambrorum veterana*<sup>2032</sup>. Under the same name is reviewed in 92 among the troops stationed in Moesia Inferior<sup>2033</sup>. It is possible that its name could also be completed in the two diplomas fragments of 97<sup>2034</sup>. It appears consequently, under same titlature within the diploma from Oltina, of August 14, 99<sup>2035</sup> and the fragment dated in the same year, should we agree with the proposed completion<sup>2036</sup>. It is also attested by the military diploma from 107 (September-December)<sup>2037</sup>. Additionally, this cohort name or its homonym *tironum* appears on a diploma fragment dated broadly between 99/110<sup>2038</sup>. The last record under Trajan's dates from September 25, 111, under the form *I SVGAMBROR VETERANA*, while its homonym appears as *I CLAVDIA SVGAMBROR TIRONVM*<sup>2039</sup>.

It appears on the constitution of October 19, 120<sup>2040</sup>. A cohort *I CLA[VDIA...]* is recorded by a diploma of May/December 121 first among cohorts<sup>2041</sup>. Obviously, the name of its *tironum* homonym cannot be excluded.

The diploma of 134 mentions a cohort considered identical with *I Claudia Sugambrorum veterana: I CL SVGAMB*, without the mention *veterana*<sup>2042</sup>. The fact is rather unusual especially since diplomas of 135, 145, 146, 147, 157 and a new diploma dated around 155 records the epithet *veterana* without exception<sup>2043</sup>. Furthermore, it is not missing from every inscription mentioning the cohort name and even from the tile stamps from Montana. Hence, I believe that the diploma from Giurgiu does not record this cohort, but its homonym: *I Claudia Sugambrorum tironum*.

An important inscription for the cohort history was found at Ishekli, on the location of ancient Eumeneia, which conveys that the cohort prefect, *M. Iulius Pisonianus qui et Dion*, a native from Tyr, brought to Asia from the *praesidium* of Montana a *numerus*, l. 16–18: *qui a Moesia(e) inf(erioris) Montan(ensi) praesidio numerum / in Asia perduxit*<sup>2044</sup>. The

<sup>2031</sup> Alföldy, *Hilfstruppen*, p. 85; Saddington, *Development*, p. 86 and p. 139; Sarnowski, *Wojsko rzymskie*, p. 21 and p. 25.

<sup>2032</sup> D. Vučković-Todorić, *Starinar* 18, 1967, p. 21–28 (especially p. 24–25) = RMD I 2.

<sup>2033</sup> C. C. Petolescu, A. T. Popescu, *ZPE* 148, 2004, p. 269–276.

<sup>2034</sup> P. Weiß, *ZPE* 117, 1997, p. 233–238, no. 4 = *AÉ* 1997, 1774 = RMD V 338; W. Eck, A. Pangerl, *Chiron* 39, 2009, p. 510–512, no. 2.

<sup>2035</sup> *CIL* XVI 44.

<sup>2036</sup> P. Weiß, *ZPE* 124, 1999, p. 287–289, no. 1.

<sup>2037</sup> W. Eck, A. Pangerl, *Chiron* 39, 2009, p. 514–519, no. 4.

<sup>2038</sup> RMD IV 221: *[et] I Su[gambrorum vet. vel tironum]*.

<sup>2039</sup> RMD IV 222.

<sup>2040</sup> W. Eck, A. Pangerl, *Chiron* 39, 2009, p. 533–537, no. 9.

<sup>2041</sup> P. Weiss, *Chiron* 38, 2008, p. 296–300, no. 10.

<sup>2042</sup> April 2, 134 (*CIL* XVI 78). The full name is rendered by the diploma of 146: *cohors I Claudia Sugamborum veter.* (P. Weiß, *ZPE* 124, 1999, p. 279–286 = *AÉ* 1999, 1359 = RMD IV 270).

<sup>2043</sup> 135 (W. Eck, A. Pangerl, *Chiron* 39, 2009, p. 541–542, no. 12: *[I SVGAMBORVM VE]TERAN*); April 7, 145 (RMD III 165 + P. Weiß, *ZPE* 134, 2001, p. 261–262 = RMD V 399; P. Weiss, *Chiron* 38, 2008, p. 314–316, no. 16); 146 (P. Weiß, *ZPE* 124, 1999, p. 279–286 = *AÉ* 1999, 1359 = RMD IV 270; in addition, from a diploma fragment which seems to date from the same year (C. C. Petolescu, A. T. Popescu, *Dacia*, N. S. 51, 2007, p. 149–151, no. 2); 147 (P. Weiss, *Chiron* 38, 2008, p. 307–309, no. 13); 157 (the diploma of Brestovene, RMD I 50); ca. 155 (P. Weiß, *ZPE* 134, 2001, p. 262–264 = RMD V 414).

<sup>2044</sup> W. H. Buckler, W. M. Coldes, C. W. M. Cocs, *JRS* 16, 1926, p. 74–78, no. 201 = *AÉ* 1927, 95 = *Montana*, II, p. 60, no. 151: *Pro salute Imp. Caes. divi Traiani / Parth(ici) fil. divi Nervae nepotis Traiani / Hadriani Aug. domuique eius senatui Populiqu(ue) / R(omani) et coh(ortis) I Cl(audiae) Sygamborum / veteranae equitatae et M. Iulius M. / f.Fabia Pisonianus qui et Dion, praefectus) / fabrum et praefectus) coh(ortis) s. s. / domo Tyro*

inscription dates under Hadrian, reporting most likely a vexillation formed of troops from Moesia Inferior and sent to take part in his Judean war<sup>2045</sup>. Or, the entire cohort might have been detached to the East at least for a while, thus explaining its absence from the diploma of 134<sup>2046</sup>.

The above information from the Eumeneia inscription is supported by the presence at Montana of tile stamps displaying the cohort name<sup>2047</sup>.

In addition, a cohort vexillation was stationed by the end of the 2nd C at Chersonesus<sup>2048</sup>.

Among the cohort commanders who served during its stationing in Moesia Inferior, beside *M. Iulius Pisonianus*, I mention an individual whose name is hard to recover, recorded by an inscription from the Flavian period, at Rome<sup>2049</sup>. *T. Iulius T. f. Fab. Saturninus*, recorded by an inscription from Capidava, commanded the cohort *I Claudia equitata* from Cappadocia<sup>2050</sup>, similarly to *Obidius*, recorded tribune of the same cohort within an inscription from Iuvanum (Regio IV)<sup>2051</sup>. For *Q. [...]iorius Severus*, attested *praefectus cohortis Sigambrorum* by an inscription from Cherchel (Caesarea, Mauretania Caesarensis) in Marcus Aurelius' time<sup>2052</sup>, is impossible to tell if he indeed commanded this unit or other *Sugambrorum* unit.

Among the cohort soldiers or veterans count *C. Iulius Valens*, dead on duty sometime by the end of the 2nd C<sup>2053</sup> at Chersonesus and an *ignotus*, recorded by a Greek inscription from Todoričene<sup>2054</sup>. It is worth mentioning that another Greek inscription recording a certain *Flavi(u)s Bassus vel Bassi (f.), veteranus decurio*<sup>2055</sup> was identified in the same spot. Unfortunately, the inscription does not mention his troop name, yet, given its findspot, he might have been connected with this cohort.

The hypothesis that the cohort was stationed at Sucidava (Izvoarele) is unlikely since it is based on the discovery of a tile stamp of *COCVS* type, completed by the editor as *CO(hors I) C(laudia) V(eterana) S(ugambrorum)*<sup>2056</sup>. Nonetheless, as mentioned, tiles found at Montana are of different type and much more explicit, so we cannot state for certain that this acronym is in fact this cohort name.

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*metropolis Phoenices et Coeles Syriae / qui a Moesia(e) inferioris) Montan(ensi) praesidio / numerum in Asia(m) perduxit / v. s. l. m.*; D. Knight, ZPE 85, 1991, p. 204–205; PME, I 95; H. Devijver, in *The Equestrian Officers of the Roman Imperial Army*, Mavors 6, Amsterdam, 1989, p. 345, no. 16. See also M. P. Speidel, ANRW II/3, 1975, p. 205.

<sup>2045</sup> W. H. Buckler, W. M. Coldes, C. W. M. Cocs, JRS 16, 1926, p. 78.

<sup>2046</sup> Wagner, *Dislokation*, p. 186; Beneš, *Auxilia*, p. 52.

<sup>2047</sup> Stamps are of *COH I SVG VE* type, CIL III 12529; TIR K 34, p. 23; Zahariade, Gudea, *Fortifications*, p. 89–90.

<sup>2048</sup> V. M. Zubar, N.A. Son, VDI 234, 2000, p. 39–47 = AÉ 2000, 1276.

<sup>2049</sup> CIL VI 1543; PME, V 125.

<sup>2050</sup> AÉ 1934, 107 = ISM V 10; PME, I 120.

<sup>2051</sup> CIL IX 2958; PME, O 2. On this cohort, see Cichorius, *Cohors*, col. 273; Wagner, *Dislokation*, p. 122. The two are listed among the commanders of the cohort in question, by Spaul, *Cohors*<sup>2</sup>, p. 245, who considers that the two troops are identical.

<sup>2052</sup> CIL VIII 9363 = ILS 1351. He raised a dedication for *Ti. Claudius Priscianus, procurator Augusti* (PIR<sup>2</sup>C 977; Pflaum, *Carrières*, p. 438–440, no. 175; attested *procurator Norici* in 168).

<sup>2053</sup> V. M. Zubar, N.A. Son, VDI 234, 2000, p. 39–47 = AÉ 2000, 1276, with remarks from AÉ 2000, p. 479–480. The inscription was placed by *Paulinus*, freedman and heir.

<sup>2054</sup> AÉ 1955, 216 = IGB II 591, dated by mid 2nd C. Oppermann, *Der thrakische Reiter*, p. 147, note 874, considers that the dating proposed by G. Mihailov is still too early.

<sup>2055</sup> IGB II 590: εὐχῆν / Φλάβις Βάσσου βετρα/νὸς δεκουρίων. See also Oppermann, *Der thrakische Reiter*, p. 147.

<sup>2056</sup> A. Rădulescu, Pontica 6, 1973, p. 131.

### 39. *Cohors I Claudia Sugambrorum (Sugambrum) tironum*<sup>2057</sup>

This cohort is recorded for the first time on the territory of Moesia by the diploma from April 28, 75<sup>2058</sup>. Thereafter it is also attested by the diplomas from Montana, Berkovica and a fragment with uncertain findspot, copies of the same imperial constitution of February 7, 78<sup>2059</sup>, being different from its homonym, which is *veterana*. It appears subsequently within the diploma from Cataloi of 92, as part of Moesia Inferior troops<sup>2060</sup>. It is later present in the diplomas for Moesia Inferior of 97 and of 105<sup>2061</sup>, as well as the diploma fragment of 116<sup>2062</sup>, under the same form as with the other records. In addition, its name or its homonym *veterana* name may appear on a diploma fragment dated largely between 99/110<sup>2063</sup>. The diploma of September 25, 111 mentions it for the first time with the name of *Claudia: I CLAVDIA SVGAMBRO R TIRONVM*<sup>2064</sup>. It is difficult to explain why the diploma of 116 records it without the name *Claudia* and why this diploma of 111 lists its homonym without this name. The diploma from Giurgiu of 134<sup>2065</sup> records it as *I CL SVGAMB* and not its homonym, *I Claudia Sugambrorum veterana (vide supra)*. The name of this cohort or its homonym may be completed on the diploma of 121 (ranking first among cohorts)<sup>2066</sup>.

It is displaced sometime by mid 2nd C to Syria, recorded by military diplomas<sup>2067</sup>. In addition, during L. Verus's Parthian it sends a vexillation under the command of *M. Valerius Lollianus* to take part in the military operations<sup>2068</sup>.

There is no information on the possible stationing location of the cohort in the territory of Moesia Inferior.

Among its commanders, counts only *M. Acilius Alexander* from Palmyra<sup>2069</sup> and the single known soldier is *L. Sextilius Sextili f. Pudens* from Stobi<sup>2070</sup>.

<sup>2057</sup> Wagner, *Dislokation*, p. 186–187; Beneš, *Auxilia*, p. 52; Spaul, *Cohors*<sup>2</sup>, p. 246; C. C. Petolescu, A. T. Popescu, in *Studia Historica et Theologica*, p. 86; Fl. Matei-Popescu, SCIVA 52–53, 2001–2002 (2004), p. 225–226, no. 34; O. Țentea, Fl. Matei-Popescu, ActaMN 39–40/I, 2002–2003(2004), p. 293; R. Petrovsky, Mitteilungen des historischen Vereins der Pfalz 102, 2004, p. 32–34, no. 3; M. Tatscheva, in L. Mihailescu-Birliba, O. Bounegru (eds.), *Studia historiae et religionis Daco-Romanae. In honorem Silvii Saniei*, Bucharest, 2006, p. 373–374.

<sup>2058</sup> W. Eck, A. Pangerl, Chiron 39, 2009, p. 506–509, no. 1: *I SVGAMBRO RVM TIRONUVM*.

<sup>2059</sup> CIL XVI 22; RMD IV 208; W. Eck, A. Pangerl, Chiron 38, 2008, p. 318–321, no. 1.

<sup>2060</sup> C. C. Petolescu, A. T. Popescu, ZPE 148, 2004, p. 269–276.

<sup>2061</sup> P. Weiß, ZPE 117, 1997, p. 233–238, no. 4 = AE 1997, 1774 = RMD V 338; May 13, 105 (R. Petrovsky, Mitteilungen des historischen Vereins der Pfalz 102, 2004, p. 10–17).

<sup>2062</sup> W. Eck, A. Pangerl, Dacia, N. S. 50, 2006, p. 99–102, no. 3.

<sup>2063</sup> RMD IV 221: [et] *I Su[gambrorum vet. vel tironum]*.

<sup>2064</sup> RMD IV 222.

<sup>2065</sup> April 2, 134 (CIL XVI 78).

<sup>2066</sup> P. Weiss, Chiron 38, 2008, p. 296–300, no. 10: *I CLA/VDIA...*.

<sup>2067</sup> P. Weiss, Chiron 36, 2006, p. 265–271 (153); CIL XVI 106 (156/157). For a short discussion see P. Weiss, Chiron 36, 2006, p. 277–278.

<sup>2068</sup> CIL III 600 = ILS 2724 = IPD<sup>4</sup> 755 = IDRE II 361; Saxer, *Vexillationen*, p. 34, no. 64; PME, M 17.

<sup>2069</sup> CIL XVI 78; PME, A 7; Devijver, in *The Equestrians Officers of the Roman Imperial Army*, Mavors 6, Amsterdam, 1989, p. 343, no. 1.

<sup>2070</sup> CIL XVI 78; Kraft, *Rekrutierung*, p. 185, no. 1821; D. Bălțeanu, AO 15, 2000, p. 38, no. 1.

#### 40. *Cohors I Tyrriorum sagittariorum*<sup>2071</sup>

It appears for the first time within the diplomas for Moesia Inferior of 97<sup>2072</sup>, then of 99<sup>2073</sup>, 105<sup>2074</sup>, 107 (awarded to a soldier of the unit)<sup>2075</sup> and 116<sup>2076</sup>. It is interesting that this troop or a homonym is recorded from an extremely early period, by mid 1st C BCE within an inscription from Italy recording the name of a prefect<sup>2077</sup>.

Unexpectedly, a cohort *Tyrriorum*, evidently the unit which was later recorded in Moesia Inferior under the name *I Tyrriorum sagittariorum*, is present on an imperial constitution of 75, April 28, parallel constitution with the one recorded by the Taliata diploma<sup>2078</sup>. The unit's presence within an official document, without numeral, could resolve the issue of the troop identity in an inscription at Akkilise (Antiochia, Pisidia) mentioning an *ignotus* as prefect of cohort *ITVR*<sup>2079</sup>. In agreement with other scholars, I also believed, given that the next equestrian militia had been fulfilled with legion IV Scythica, which until around 56–57 had been stationed on the territory of Moesia, that it might have made reference to *ITVR(riorum)*<sup>2080</sup>. In my view however, the new imperial constitution definitely settles the issue, the reading of the troop name on this inscription being undeniably *ITVR(aeorum)*<sup>2081</sup>.

It obviously participated in Trajan's Dacian expeditions and remained north the Danube<sup>2082</sup>. After the reform under Hadrian, it appears among the troops of Dacia Inferior within the diplomas of 130, 140, 146 and 167–168<sup>2083</sup>.

Among the commanders who served during the stationing period in the province of Moesia Inferior, I mention *L. Rutilius Ravonianus*, who appears on the diploma of May 13, 105<sup>2084</sup> and on the diploma of 107<sup>2085</sup> and possibly *L. Valerius [...]*, recorded by an inscription from Salonae dated by the beginning of the 2nd C, yet supportive elements are thin<sup>2086</sup>. Furthermore, an inscription from Teramo (Interamna Praetuttinorum, Regio V), records an equestrian career of an individual who was cohort prefect, however his name was lost to the

<sup>2071</sup> Cichorius, *Cohors*, col. 345; Wagner, *Dislokation*, p. 195; Aricescu, *Armata*, p. 63; Beneš, *Auxilia*, p. 53–54; Spaul, *Cohors*<sup>2</sup>, p. 454; Petolescu, *Auxilia*, p. 124; Fl. Matei-Popescu, SCIVA 52–53, 2001–2002 (2004), p. 226–227, no. 35; O. Țentea, Fl. Matei-Popescu, ActaMN 39–40/I, 2002–2003(2004), p. 294–295.

<sup>2072</sup> D. MacDonald, A. Mihaylovich, ZPE 138, 2002, p. 225–228 = AÉ 2002, 1775 = RMD V 337. See also RMD 140 + B. Lőrincz, Z. Visy, ZPE 63, 1986, p. 241–249.

<sup>2073</sup> August 14, 99 (CIL XVI 45).

<sup>2074</sup> RGZM, no. 10.

<sup>2075</sup> W. Eck, A. Pangerl, Chiron 39, 2009, p. 514–519, no. 4.

<sup>2076</sup> W. Eck, A. Pangerl, Dacia, N. S. 50, 2006, p. 99–102, no. 3.

<sup>2077</sup> *C. Atilius A. f. Glabrio* in an inscription from Perusia (Italy, Regio VII). CIL XI 1934 = ILS 2685. His activity dates from the civil wars in Rome from the 1st C BCE, PME, A 176.

<sup>2078</sup> RGZM, no. 1; P. Weiss, Chiron 38, 2008, p. 270–273, no. 1; W. Eck, A. Pangerl, Chiron 39, 2009, p. 506–509, no. 1. See a short discussion in Fl. Matei-Popescu, EphemNap 14–15, 2004–2005, p. 214.

<sup>2079</sup> W. M. Ramsay, JRS 14, 1924, p. 188–189 = AÉ 1926, 80; PME, Inc. 64; Holder, *Auxilia*, p. 252, E 95.

<sup>2080</sup> Fl. Matei-Popescu, SCIVA 52–53, 2001–2002 (2004), p. 226.

<sup>2081</sup> See to this effect E. Dabrowa, ZPE 63, 1986, p. 221–230; O. Țentea, in *Orbis antiquus*, p. 806 (with complete discussion).

<sup>2082</sup> Rossi, *Trajan's Column*, p. 96; Strobel, *Dakerkriege*, p. 145; Fl. Matei-Popescu, O. Țentea, in *Dacia Augusti Provincia*, p. 97, probably having the garrison at Boița, N. Lupu, in *In memoriam Constantini Daicovicu*, Cluj, 1974, p. 222; Bogdan-Cătănicu, *Muntenia*, p. 74–75.

<sup>2083</sup> Petolescu, *loc. cit.*; 130 (P. Weiß, ZPE 117, 1997, p. 243–246, no. 8 = AÉ 1997, 1764 = RMD V 376); 140 (IDR I 13 = RMD 39); 146 (RMD IV 269); 167–168 (W. Eck, D. MacDonald, A. Pangerl, ActaMN 38/I, 2001, p. 45–48, no. 5). See also Vlădescu, *Armata*, p. 36.

<sup>2084</sup> RGZM, no. 10.

<sup>2085</sup> W. Eck, A. Pangerl, Chiron 39, 2009, p. 514–519, no. 4.

<sup>2086</sup> CIL III 8716; PIR III, p. 351, no. 18; Pflaum, *Carrières*, p. 193–197, no. 92 and p. 967–968; PME, V 3.



cracks in the stone. It is possible that the inscription dated from the period when the cohort was already in Dacia<sup>2087</sup>.

The known soldiers serving while the unit was still in the territory of Moesia Inferior are *Tarsa Tarsae f. Bessus*, discharged on May 13, 105<sup>2088</sup> and *Hebrenus Bithi f. Bessus*, together with his two daughters, *Dydenis* and *Scuris*, awarded by the diploma of 107<sup>2089</sup>. Given that the troop had already been for several decades by Lower Danube, we should not be surprised to find native soldiers from this area.

#### 41. *Cohors I Thracum Syriaca equitata*<sup>2090</sup>

As the cognomen indicates, the cohort stationed for a while in Syria wherefrom it was displaced under Vespasian to Moesia<sup>2091</sup>. It is recorded in Moesia by the diplomas of February 7, 78, copies of the same military constitution, one identified at Montana and another discovered at Berkovica, close to Montana<sup>2092</sup>. Moreover, the cohort name appears on a diploma fragment from March 82/ March 83<sup>2093</sup>. From the moment the province was divided under emperor Domitian, the unit would remain in the action range of the legate of Moesia Superior, as proven by the diplomas from the beginning of Trajan's reign<sup>2094</sup>. During this period of its history, the unit was stationed in the fort at Timacum Minus (Ravna), where several inscriptions bearing the cohort name were identified<sup>2095</sup>.

Subsequently, probably related to the military campaigns of the Dacian war or immediately after the end of the conflict, the unit is recorded at Transmarisca (Tutrakan)<sup>2096</sup>. It was supposed to have been involved in the Dacian war although there is no direct information available confirming such conclusion, except for a few tile stamps found at Acidava (Enoșești) deemed to belong to the unit<sup>2097</sup>.

It was also assumed that the troop was moved for a while to the Eastern territories of the Empire due to Trajan's Parthian expedition<sup>2098</sup>. The hypothesis was based on dating

<sup>2087</sup> M. Buonocore, W. Eck, *Rendiconti della Pontificia Accademia di Archeologia* 72, 1999–2000, p. 240–246 = *AÉ* 2000, 466. After this second equestrian militia, he became tribune of cohort *I Britannica milliaria c. R. equitata*, quartered at Cășei, Petolescu, *Auxilia*, p. 86–87.

<sup>2088</sup> RGZM, no. 10.

<sup>2089</sup> W. Eck, A. Pangerl, *Chiron* 39, 2009, p. 514–519, no. 4.

<sup>2090</sup> Cichorius, *Cohors*, col. 337–338; Wagner, *Dislokation*, p. 191–192; Kraft, *Rekrutierung*, p. 190, no. 1890–1894; V. Gerasimova, *ArheologijaSofia* 12, 1970, 4, p. 25; Aricescu, *Armata*, p. 50; Beneš, *Auxilia*, p. 52–53; Suceveanu, *Dobroudja*, p. 65; Spaul, *Cohors*<sup>2</sup>, p. 366; Petolescu, *Auxilia*, p. 121–122; Fl. Matei-Popescu, *SCIVA* 52–53, 2001–2002 (2004), p. 227–229, no. 36; O. Țentea, Fl. Matei-Popescu, *ActaMN* 39–40/I, 2002–2003(2004), p. 294.

<sup>2091</sup> Cichorius, *Cohors*, col. 337; Wagner, *Dislokation*, p. 191; Aricescu, *loc. cit.*; Saddington, *Development*, p. 75 and p. 129–130.

<sup>2092</sup> CIL XVI 22; RMD IV 208. On another fragment, copy of the same constitution, the cohort name was lost to stone fractures, W. Eck, A. Pangerl, *Chiron* 38, 2008, p. 318–321, no. 1.

<sup>2093</sup> P. Weiss, *Chiron* 38, 2008, p. 275–279, no. 3.

<sup>2094</sup> CIL XVI 46, of May 8, 100. See another copy of the same constitution, W. Eck, A. Pangerl, *Chiron* 38, 2008, p. 326–329, no. 1.

<sup>2095</sup> CIL III 8261 = ILS 2733; CIL III 14575; CIL III 14579 = *AÉ* 1901, 18, recording an *equus cohortis* from the turma of *Longus*, evidencing that the cohort was *equitata*; *AÉ* 1910, 95; P. Petrović, in *Studien zu den Militärgrenzen Roms III. 13. Internationaler Limesskongress, Aalen, 1983. Vorträge*, Stuttgart, 1986, p. 514–518.

<sup>2096</sup> V. Christescu, *Dacia* 5–6, 1935–1936, p. 451–452, no. 1 = *AÉ* 1939, 101; Wagner, *Dislokation*, p. 192; Beneš, *Auxilia*, p. 53; N. Gudea, *JRGZM* 52, 2005, p. 429–431 (II. 23).

<sup>2097</sup> Rossi, *Trajan's Column*, p. 96; Strobel, *Dakerkriege*, p. 144; Al. Barnea, I. Ciucă, *SCIVA* 40, 1989, 2, p. 147–155 = *CEpR* IX, 524 = *ILD* 147; Bogdan-Cățănicu, *Muntenia*, p. 67; Petolescu, *loc. cit.*

<sup>2098</sup> Strobel, *loc. cit.*; M. M. Roxan, W. Eck, *ZPE* 116, 1997, p. 197.

and interpreting the inscription from Berytus (Syria), recording that *M. Sentius Sex. f. Fab. Proculus*, cohort prefect, commanded a vexillation which also comprised soldiers of cohorts *I Cilicum* (*vide supra*) and *VII Breucorum*<sup>2099</sup>. R. Saxer had provided most coherent explanation, i.e. that the inscription should date from the period when the three cohorts were stationed in the same province, Moesia Superior and that *Proculus*'s action should be linked to various troop movements during the Dacian war<sup>2100</sup>. The discovery of the diploma of 115 recording that these three troops were sent into the Parthian expedition dates the inscription precisely during the Parthian campaign<sup>2101</sup>. In its aftermath, the unit is displaced by Hadrian to Moesia Inferior.

Such assumption was confirmed by the discovery of new diplomas recording the cohort in Moesia Inferior as early as 125<sup>2102</sup>. It then appears mentioned in the diplomas of 127, 145, 146, ca. 155 and 157<sup>2103</sup>. They clearly indicate that at least until mid 2nd C the cohort was stationed on the territory of Moesia Inferior, most likely at Transmarisca<sup>2104</sup>.

From the period it stationed in this province could also date the dispatchment of a vexillation to Charax in Crimea<sup>2105</sup>.

Except for cohort prefects from the stationing period in Moesia or Moesia Superior<sup>2106</sup>, among the commanders worth mentioning herein count *C. Navius Quadratus*, prefect, mentioned by the inscription from Transmarisca<sup>2107</sup> and a certain *Pollio*, preserved in an inscription from Ephesus, who after being cohort prefect became *tribunus militum legionis I Italicae*<sup>2108</sup>. He was identified by H. Devijver with a certain *Tib. Claudius Pollio* appearing on a lead weight, discovered at Metropolis, province of Asia<sup>2109</sup>.

Centurion *L. Sextilius Fuscus* erected at Tomis a tombstone to a soldier from legion XI Claudia, *C. Numerius Valens* and to a certain *C. Domitius*<sup>2110</sup>. The inscription could date from

<sup>2099</sup> R. Cagnat, Syria 7, 1926, p. 67–68 = AÉ 1926, 150; PME, S 24; H. Devijver, in *The Equestrian Officers of the Roman Imperial Army*, Mavors 6, Amsterdam, 1989, p. 345–346, no. 19.

<sup>2100</sup> Saxer, *Vexillationen*, p. 60, no. 117. Same interpretation with Devijver, PME II, p. 730. Wagner, *Dislokation*, p. 192, dated this inscription around 200 and considered police action in the Danubian area (see also p. 103; 120).

<sup>2101</sup> W. Eck, A. Pangerl, Chiron 35, 2005, p. 50–51 and p. 60; *idem*, Chiron 38, 2008, p. 363–370, no. 10.

<sup>2102</sup> June 1, 125 (M. M. Roxan, W. Eck, ZPE 116, 1997, p. 193–203 = AÉ 1997, 1772 = RMD IV 235).

<sup>2103</sup> August 20, 127 (M. M. Roxan, ZPE 118, 1997, p. 287–296 = AÉ 1997, 1780 = RMD IV 241); April 7, 145 (RMD III 165 + P. Weiß, ZPE 134, 2001, p. 261–262 = RMD V 399; P. Weiss, Chiron 38, 2008, p. 314–316, no. 16); 146 (P. Weiß, ZPE 124, 1999, p. 279–286 = AÉ 1999, 1359 = RMD IV 270); ca. 155 (P. Weiß, ZPE 134, 2001, p. 262–265 = RMD V 414); 157 (diploma of Brestovene, RMD I 50).

<sup>2104</sup> V. Christescu, Dacia 5–6, 1935–1936, p. 451–452, no. 1 = AÉ 1939, 101; TIR L 35, p. 73; R. Ivanov, 78. BerRGK, 1997, p. 586–587; Zahariade, Gudea, *Fortifications*, p. 75.

<sup>2105</sup> T. Sarnowski, ArchWarszawa 38, 1988, p. 80, no. 71.

<sup>2106</sup> *L. Vecilius C. f. Lemon. Modestus* prefect of cohort *I Thracum Syriaca equitata*, thus proving that the cohort was *equitata* (CIL III 8261 = ILS 2733; PME, V 59); *M. Sentius Sex. f. Fab. Proculus* (AÉ 1926, 150; PME, S 25).

<sup>2107</sup> V. Christescu, Dacia 5–6, 1935–1936, p. 451–452, no. 1 = AÉ 1939, 101: *Sacrum / coh(ors)IThrac(um) / Syr(iaca) cui prae[est] / C. Navius Quad[ra]tus praef(ectus)*; PME, N 8.

<sup>2108</sup> AÉ 1968, 84: [...] / *Pollioni v(iro) e(gregio) / praef(ecto) coh(ortis) I Thracum Syriacum(!) tribuno leg(ionis) I Italicae / [...]*; Ritterling, RE XII, 1925, col. 1476–1478; PME, P 127. See also PME, C 169, where a certain *P. Claudius Tib. f. Palatina* (sic!) *Pollio* appears on an inscription in Greek from Teos, province of Asia, *praefectus cohortis primae milliariae Thracum*, stationed on the territory of Syria Palaestina. See subsequent note.

<sup>2109</sup> H. Devijver, ZPE 50, 1983, p. 270–274 = *idem*, *The Equestrian Officers of the Roman Imperial Army*, Amsterdam, 1989, p. 229–234: Τιβ. Κλ. Πολλί(ω)νος ἱππι/κοῦ ἀπὸ χει/λιαρχέ(ι)ας φιλοσεβ(άστου) / μόνου ἀγο/ρανόμου. As the author observed, the ἱππικὸς ἀπὸ χει/λιαρχ(ε)ίας is the Greek translation of the Latin *eques (Romanus) a militiis*.

<sup>2110</sup> ISM II 263 = AÉ 1988, 1004; Aricescu, *Armata*, p. 50 and p. 220, SE 45. On *centurio cohortis*, see Domaszewski, RO<sup>2</sup>, p. 57 (p. XVII).

the turn of the 2nd to 3rd C, the soldiers' presence in the metropolis of Pontus and capital of the province, being possibly related to a mission with the governor staff.

Among unit sous-officers, soldiers and veterans, except for those recorded at Timacum Minus, we should mention *L. Furius Seu[thes], optio*, at Charax in Crimea<sup>2111</sup>. Diza, son of Bithus, recorded as *centurio princeps* by an inscription from Panticapeum, without the mention of further elements might also be part of the cohort<sup>2112</sup>. Nevertheless, he was probably part of the one of the auxiliary units of Pontus et Bithynia, as in the Bosporan Kingdom units from province are attested<sup>2113</sup>.

#### 42. *Cohors I Ubiorum equitata*<sup>2114</sup>

Cohorts of the Ubii are recorded from a very early period; still we are not certain they were directly linked to the cohort present for a while on the territory of Moesia Inferior<sup>2115</sup>. Under Tiberius, an inscription discovered at Aquileia records a certain *Ti. Iulius C. f. Fab. Viator, praefectus cohortis Ubiorum equitatae*<sup>2116</sup>. An inscription from Venafrum, Regio I, mentions *M. Vergilius Gallus Lusius*, former *praefectus coh. Ubiorum peditum et equitum*, who had received decorations from Augustus and Tiberius<sup>2117</sup>. Probably this cohort was subsequently displaced on the territory of Moesia and then Moesia Inferior.

A cohort of Ubii is recorded by the diploma from April 28, 75, for the auxiliary units of Moesia<sup>2118</sup>. It is then present in the diploma of 97, where it appears with entire titulature, *I Ubiorum*<sup>2119</sup>, next in the diploma of 99 discovered at Oltina and that of 105 found at Sexaginta Prista<sup>2120</sup>. The cohort name appears also on a diploma fragment dated largely between 99/110<sup>2121</sup>.

It took part the Dacian war and remained in the newly conquered territory north the Danube<sup>2122</sup>. After Emperor Hadrian's reorganization, it is transferred under the authority of

<sup>2111</sup> T. Sarnowski, ArchWarszawa 38, 1988, p. 80, no. 71. On *optiones*, see Domaszewski, RO<sup>2</sup>, p. 57 (p. XVIII).

<sup>2112</sup> IOSPE II 290 = IGR I 894; Wagner, *Dislokation*, p. 187–188.

<sup>2113</sup> M. P. Speidel, D. H. French, Epigraphica Anatolica 6, 1985, p. 97–102.

<sup>2114</sup> Cichorius, *Cohors*, col. 345–346; Christescu, *Ist. militară*, p. 191; Wagner, *Dislokation*, p. 195–196; Alföldy, *Hilfstruppen*, p. 73–74; Russu, SCIV 23, 1972, 2, p. 74; Aricescu, *Armata*, p. 64; D. Protase, Dacia, N. S. 17, 1973, p. 325, no. 7; Beneš, *Auxilia*, p. 54; Suceveanu, *Dobroudja*, p. 65; I. C. Oprea, SCIVA 48, 3, 1997, p. 277–281; Spaul, *Cohors*<sup>2</sup>, p. 252–253, Z. Covacef, in *Army and Urban Development in the Danubian Provinces of the Roman Empire. Proceedings of the International Symposium – Alba Iulia 1999*, Alba Iulia, 2000, p. 287–289; Petolescu, *Auxilia*, p. 124–125; Fl. Matei-Popescu, SCIVA 52–53, 2001–2002 (2004), p. 229–230, no. 37; O. Țentea, Fl. Matei-Popescu, ActaMN 39–40/I, 2002–2003(2004), p. 295–296; R. Petrovsky, Mitteilungen des historischen Vereins der Pfalz 102, 2004, p. 40–43, no. 7.

<sup>2115</sup> Tacitus, *Hist.*, IV, 28; Stein, *Truppen.*, p. 221; Alföldy, *loc. cit.*; Saddington, *Development*, p. 28; 41; 121–122 and p. 139; W. Eck, *Köln in römischer Zeit. Geschichte einer Stadt im Rahmen des Imperium Romanum*, Cologne, 2004, p. 57.

<sup>2116</sup> Holder, *Auxilia*, p. 244, no. E 18; PME, I 139.

<sup>2117</sup> CIL X 4862 = ILS 2690: *prim. pil. leg. XI, praef. cohort. Ubiorum peditum et equitum, donato hastis puris duabus et coronis aureis divo Aug. et Ti. Caesare Aug., praef. fabr. III, trib. mil. cohort. primae, idiologo ad Aegyptum, Iivir. iterum, pontif. ...*; Cheesman, *Auxilia*, p. 91; Pflaum, *Carrières*, p. 23, no. 7; PME, V 66; Dobson, *Primipilares*, p. 170–171; Holder, *Auxilia*, p. 247, no. E 56.

<sup>2118</sup> W. Eck, A. Pangerl, Chiron 39, 2009, p. 506–509, no. 1.

<sup>2119</sup> P. Weiß, ZPE 117, 1997, p. 233–238, no. 4 = AÉ 1997, 1774 = RMD V 338.

<sup>2120</sup> August 14, 99 (CIL XVI 44); May 13, 105 (R. Petrovsky, Mitteilungen des historischen Vereins der Pfalz 102, 2004, p. 10–17).

<sup>2121</sup> RMD IV 221: *[et] Ubio[rum]*.

<sup>2122</sup> Strobel, *Dakerkriege*, p. 145; Petolescu, *Auxilia*, p. 124.

Dacia Inferior procurator<sup>2123</sup>, being subsequently transferred (border change?)<sup>2124</sup> to Dacia Superior, where it remained at least until the 2nd C<sup>2125</sup>. This cohort occupied the fort at Odorheiu Secuiesc as tile stamps of *CIVB* type discovered there seem to indicate<sup>2126</sup>.

It thus stationed in the territory of Moesia Inferior until around the Dacian war and it seems to have been quartered at Capidava, where a brick of *COHVBIOR* type was identified<sup>2127</sup>. It was also believed, following the discovery of *CIVB* type tile stamp that a vexillation sent to assist in certain construction works (Bauvexillation) activated for a period at Arrubium<sup>2128</sup>. Unfortunately its reading is not entirely definite since it also may be read *CIVD*, therefore we cannot speculate too much on editors suggestions.

A prefect, *C. Iunius Tertius*, recorded by an inscription at Minturnae is known from the stationing period at Capidava<sup>2129</sup>. In addition, a former cohort *signifer*, *M. Cocceius Vitlus*<sup>2130</sup> was identified, dead by the age of 70 and buried at *Capidava*. Finally, it is possible to identify certain soldiers of the cohort on an inscription fragment, unfortunately poorly preserved, where the first editor read the troop name in the last line<sup>2131</sup>.

<sup>2123</sup> In a diploma fragment dated within 120–130 (W. Eck, D. MacDonald, A. Pangerl, *ActaMN* 38/I, 2001, p. 38–42, no. 4 = *AÉ* 2001, 2152 = *RMD* V 374) and on the diploma of 125–126 (M. Ilkić, *Vjesnik za Arheologiju i Povijest Dalmatinsku* 102, 2009, p. 59–73). The troop fort was at Odorheiu Secuiesc (CIL III 8074<sup>25a</sup> = IDR III/4 262; Christescu, *Ist. militară, loc. cit.*; TIR L 35, p. 54–55; I. Piso, D. Benea, *ZPE* 56, 1984, p. 285).

<sup>2124</sup> W. Eck, D. MacDonald, A. Pangerl, *ActaMN* 38/I, 2001, p. 40: “Denkbar ist jedoch auch eine Verschiebung der Grenzen zwischen Dacia inferior und superior einschließ der dort stationierten Truppen, wenn die *cohors Ubiorum* vom Beginn ihrer Zugehörigkeit zu Dakien im Lager von Odorheiu Secuiesc stationiert wurde, das später im Osten von Dacia superior lag“.

<sup>2125</sup> The diploma from Micia of 136–138 (C. C. Petolescu, A. Corcheș, *Drobeta* 11–12, 2002, p. 120–126); Nova Zagora, of 144 (CIL XVI 90 = IDR 14); Tibiscum, of 157 (CIL XVI 107 = IDR I 15); Drobeta, of 179 (*RMD* 123); Petolescu, *Auxilia*, p. 125.

<sup>2126</sup> CIL III 8074<sup>25a</sup>; IDR III/4 262. Another tile stamp of the cohort was discovered at Ozd, IDR III/4 132. See also D. Protase, *Dacia*, N. S. 17, 1973, p. 325, no. 7.

<sup>2127</sup> I. C. Opriș, *SCIVA* 48, 1997, 3, p. 277–278, fig. 1 = *AÉ* 1997, 1330; Z. Covacef, in *Army and Urban Development in the Danubian Provinces of the Roman Empire. Proceedings of the International Symposium – Alba Iulia 1999*, Alba Iulia, 2000, p. 287–289.

<sup>2128</sup> M. Zahariade, C. Mușeteanu, C. Chiriac, *Pontica* 14, 1981, p. 256, no. 3 (p. 257, fig. 3) and p. 260–261; Covacef, *op. cit.*, p. 288. Suceveanu, *Dobroudja*, p. 65, considered that the entire cohort might have been displaced for a while at Arrubium, which according to current state of knowledge is not acceptable.

<sup>2129</sup> CIL X 6015; *PME*, I 54.

<sup>2130</sup> *AÉ* 1950, 46 = *AÉ* 1960, 330 = *ISM* V 24 = Conrad, *Grabstelen*, p. 190, no. 241 (Greek type funerary stela imported from one of the Greek cities by the west coast of the Black Sea); D. Bălțeanu, *AO* 15, 2000, p. 39, no. 1. For *signifer cohortis*, see A. von Domaszewski, *Aufsätze zur römischen Heeresgeschichte*, Darmstadt, 1972, p. 73–75; idem, *RO*<sup>2</sup>, p. 58–59; D. Breeze, *BJ* 174, 1974, p. 285. For *Cocceii* at Capidava, see Bărbulescu, *Viața rurală*, p. 110.

<sup>2131</sup> D. Tudor, *Materiale* 2, 1956, p. 611, no. 138. *Vide contra* Em. Doruțiu-Boilă, *SCIV* 13, 1962, 1, p. 137, no. 19, who believes that they were in fact *duumviri* from Tropaeum Traiani. See to this effect also D. Aparaschivei, *Studia Antiqua et Archaeologica* 9, 2003, p. 335, no. 12.



### 3. NUMERI

#### 43. *Numerus c(ivium) R(omanorum)*<sup>2132</sup>

This irregular unit appears within several inscriptions from Montana, all dating from the 3rd C<sup>2133</sup>. The reading was debated by M. P. Speidel, who proposed *collectus regionariorum*, which later could have turned to *cohors III collecta (vide supra)*<sup>2134</sup>. However, we are not aware of any such troop whose title would have been contracted to the form suggested; therefore the initial reading of *numerus civium Romanorum* seems more natural<sup>2135</sup>.

Similarly to each troop of the type, this *numerus* was led by a *praepositus*<sup>2136</sup> who, in this case, were chosen from among legion centurions. *T. Flavius Iulius, praepositus numeri civium Romanorum*<sup>2137</sup>, centurion of legion I Italica, quartered at Novae, *Maximianus Volsinis*, centurion of legion II Augusta from Britannia and *praepositus* of this *numerus*<sup>2138</sup> and *L. Cocceius Marcus*, centurion of legion XI Claudia p. f., *praepositus* of this *numerus*<sup>2139</sup> are known. If the unit command, held by centurions coming from legions stationed within the province raises no questions, the presence of a legion II Augusta centurion from Britannia is slightly curious. This office could date under the reign of Gallienus, when admittedly, vexillations of legions quartered in Britannia and Germania Inferior were dispatched to various corners of the Empire as shown, *exempli gratia*, by an inscription from Sirmium, Pannonia Inferior, recording *vexillationes legionum Germanicianarum et Britannicinarum cum auxiliis earum*, under the command of a *praepositus*<sup>2140</sup>. The centurion leading the unit from Moesia Inferior might have been part of a proper *vexillatio legionum* from Britannia, still unascertained by Lower Danube.

This *numerus* is definitely recorded at Montana between 235 and 238, when it appears with the titulature *numerus civium Romanorum Maximianus*<sup>2141</sup>. Regarding the remaining inscriptions, we are not currently able to provide a more refined chronology.

Finally, we should mention that the same *numerus* was believed to appear on a dedication from Leskovec placed by a certain *Antonius Mercurius, eques numeri C(...) P(...)*, probably the troop under discussion<sup>2142</sup>. In addition, in case the completion is accurate, then a certain *[S] eleucus* is recorded *[libr]arius n(umeri) c(ivium) [R(omanorum)]* by a fragmentary inscription, a marble altar dedicated to goddess Diana Regina, found still at Montana<sup>2143</sup>.

<sup>2132</sup> Wagner, *Dislokation*, p. 205–206; Beneš, *Auxilia*, p. 57–58; M. P. Speidel, *Roman Army Studies*, II, Stuttgart, 1992, *Mavors* 8, p. 143; M. Reuter, 80. BerRGK, 1999, p. 476–478; Fl. Matei-Popescu, *SCIVA* 52–53, 2001–2002 (2004), p. 230–231, no. 38.

<sup>2133</sup> AÉ 1957, 338 = *Montana*, II, 3; AÉ 1979, 548; 550; AÉ 1911, 15.

<sup>2134</sup> M. P. Speidel, *Roman Army Studies* II, Stuttgart, 1992, *Mavors* 8, p. 141–143.

<sup>2135</sup> This is also the view of Professor Werner Eck with the University of Cologne, communicated by personal letter sent via e-mail on February 16, 2003. I wish to thank him this way for the expedience of his reply on the matter.

<sup>2136</sup> H. Callies, 45. BerRGK, 1964, p. 187–189.

<sup>2137</sup> AÉ 1975, 743 = AÉ 1979, 548 = *Montana*, II, p. 16, no. 30 = M. Reuter, 80. BerRGK, 1999, p. 476, no. 58; *Montana*, I, p. 31, no. 20 = AÉ 1987, 884 = *Montana*, II, p. 21–22, no. 44.

<sup>2138</sup> AÉ 1979, 550 = M. Reuter, 80. BerRGK, 1999, p. 476, no. 59 = *Montana*, II, p. 54–55, no. 132.

<sup>2139</sup> AÉ 1985, 746 = *Montana*, II, p. 32, no. 65.

<sup>2140</sup> CIL III 3228 (p. 2328<sup>182</sup>) = ILS 546

<sup>2141</sup> AÉ 1957, 338 = M. Reuter, 80. BerRGK, 1999, p. 476, no. 57; A. Bellezza, *Massimino il Trace*, Genoa, 1964, p. 99–100; Beneš, *loc. cit.*

<sup>2142</sup> AÉ 1911, 15 = Gerov, *Romanizmät*, II, p. 357, no. 8 = M. Reuter, 80. BerRGK, 1999, p. 477, no. 60 = *Montana*, II, p. 41, no. 96; Oppermann, *Der thrakische Reiter*, p. 162; Wagner, *loc. cit.*; Beneš, *Auxilia*, p. 58.

<sup>2143</sup> *Montana*, I, p. 81 = *Montana*, II, p. 12, no. 20.

#### 44. *Numerus scutariorum*<sup>2144</sup>

A unit bearing this name was recorded on the territory of Moesia Inferior by a very late inscription discovered at Novi Pazar, point located near the road which connected in Antiquity the cities of Marcianopolis and Sexaginta Prista. It is a tombstone set up for a certain *Val. Sudicintis, qui militavit in numero scutariorum*<sup>2145</sup>.

There is no further information on this troop and we cannot be certain that it had ever stationed on the territory of Moesia Inferior<sup>2146</sup>. In fact, it is very likely that the inscription dated from the beginning of the 4th C, when the entire administrative and military organization of the province of Moesia Inferior had already changed. In the late period, a few *equites scutati* are recorded at Capidava, however we cannot be sure whether with the same troop or not<sup>2147</sup>, since *Notitia Dignitatum* also registers such units at Securisca, Iatrus and Appiaria in the province of Moesia Secunda (*Notitia Dignitatum*, Or. XL, 11, 13, 16). We are not also very certain on such troops' origin.

#### 45. *Numerus singularium*<sup>2148</sup>

Its presence on the territory of Moesia Inferior is still hypothetical as long as it is recorded only by an inscription fragment discovered at Tomis, mentioning a certain *Herculanus duplicarius n[umeri? / ?sin]gul(arium)*<sup>2149</sup>. It was assumed to be *equites singulares legati Augusti pro praetore*<sup>2150</sup> yet, unfortunately, it is merely a supposition.

#### 46. *Numerus Surorum sagittariorum*<sup>2151</sup>

The unit is known from a single inscription found at Piuia Pietrei, by the mouths of Ialomița River, in front the Roman fortification at Carsium<sup>2152</sup>. Since there is no further information referencing it on the territory of Moesia Inferior, it would be more likely to consider it the troop quartered in Dacia Inferior, at Romula<sup>2153</sup>.

<sup>2144</sup> Wagner, *Dislokation*, p. 214; Fl. Matei-Popescu, SCIVA 52–53, 2001–2002 (2004), p. 231, no. 39.

<sup>2145</sup> CIL III 7465 = Conrad, *Grabstelen*, p. 213, no. 322. The funerary stela was dated by the author by the end of the 3rd, beginning of the 4th C. The reading of the name belongs to Dan Dana, personal comment. The *cognomen* is of Thracian origin.

<sup>2146</sup> Another *numerus scutariorum* appears in a funerary stone from Intercisa, in Pannonia Inferior; Wagner, *Dislokation*, p. 213–214.

<sup>2147</sup> IGLR 220; 221; Aricescu, *Armata*, p. 114–115; M. Zahariade, *Scythia Minor. A History of a Later Roman Province (284–681)*, Amsterdam, 2006, p. 171.

<sup>2148</sup> Aricescu, *Armata*, p. 69; Beneš, *Auxilia*, p. 62; Suceveanu, *Dobroudja*, p. 66; Fl. Matei-Popescu, SCIVA 52–53, 2001–2002 (2004), p. 231–232, no. 40.

<sup>2149</sup> D. Tudor, *Materiale* 2, 1956, p. 582, no. 50 = ISM II 212.

<sup>2150</sup> Aricescu, *loc. cit.*; Beneš, *loc. cit.* *Pedites singulares* of Moesia Inferior governor acted apparently during the Dacian wars at Buridava (Stolniceni) (IDR II 564; D. Tudor, *Dacia*, N. S. 8, 1964, 347–351; idem, OR<sup>4</sup>, p. 270 and p. 341; Strobel, *Dakerkriege*, p. 169).

<sup>2151</sup> Christescu, *Ist. militară*, p. 200; Wagner, *Dislokation*, p. 216; Aricescu, *Armata*, p. 69; Beneš, *Auxilia*, p. 63; Fl. Matei-Popescu, SCIVA 52–53, 2001–2002 (2004), p. 232, no. 41.

<sup>2152</sup> Gr. Tocilescu, AEM 8, 1884, p. 34, no. 4: “Ara mit Giebel aus gewöhnlichem Stein, gef. am Jalomitza-Ufer, unweit der Donau”; CIL III 7493 = ISM V 127. For location see TIR L 35, p. 58; N. Gudea, JRGZM 52, 2005, p. 446 (III. 38a). See also V. Pârvan, *Începuturile vieții romane la gurile Dunării*<sup>2</sup>, Bucharest, 1974, p. 90–91 (with R. Vulpe’s observation, p. 174, n. 203, who considers that in fact, this inscription was not even found at Piuia Pietrei, but was brought from Oltenia and entered the collection of M. Kogălniceanu, being subsequently published by Gr. Tocilescu); MNA L 282.

<sup>2153</sup> Aricescu, *loc. cit.*; Tudor, OR<sup>4</sup>, p. 194, 297, 339, 340; E. Németh, *EphemNap* 7, 1997, p. 105, no. 3; Petolescu, *Auxilia*, p. 143–144.

Nevertheless, other researchers preferred to relate the possible presence of the unit in this location to the Dacian war of Trajan<sup>2154</sup> or emperor Caracalla's wars against the *Carpi* from 214<sup>2155</sup>.

The quoted inscription records the name of centurion *Flavius Ianuarius* and the *signifer Flavius Avitianus*<sup>2156</sup>.

#### 4. CONCLUSIONS

Along the history of the province of Moesia Inferior, ten *alae*, 32 cohorts and between two and four *numeri* were stationed in its territory.

Of special importance for the knowledge of the troops from the first moments of the province separate establishment is the diploma discovered at Cataloi dated June 14, 92<sup>2157</sup>. It lists a number of seven *alae*: *I Vespasiana Dardanorum*, *I Flavia Gaetulorum*, *I Pannoniorum*, *I<I> Claudia Gallorum*, *Gallorum Flaviana*, *Gallorum Aetorigiana*, *(I) Hispanorum* and fifteen cohorts: *I Raetorum*, *I Bracaraugustanorum*, *I Lusitanorum Cyrenaica*, *I Flavia Commagenorum*, *I Sugambrorum tironum*, *I Sugambrorum veterana*, *II Chalcidenorum*, *II Lucensium*, *II Bracaraugustanorum*, *II Flavia Bessorum*, *II Gallorum*, *III Gallorum*, *III Gallorum*, *VII Gallorum* and *(I) Ubiorum*.

Among these troops, some had been present for longer time spans on the territory of Moesia. The two already acknowledged diplomas from Taliata of April 28, 75<sup>2158</sup> and Montana of February 7, 78<sup>2159</sup> and other four recently discovered<sup>2160</sup> mention the following cohorts: *I Bracaraugustanorum*, *I Raetorum*, *I Sugambrorum veterana*, *III Gallorum*, *III Gallorum*, *VII Gallorum*, *I Sugambrorum tironum*, *II Lucensium*, *II Chalcidenorum*, *(I) Ubiorum*, *(I) Tyriorum*. Thus, a number of eleven cohorts, supplemented subsequently by cohorts *I Flavia Commagenorum* and *II Flavia Bessorum* recruited probably in Nero's last reign years and reorganized under Vespasian, together with cohorts stationed in other corners of the Empire, like *I Lusitanorum Cyrenaica* (Africa) were identified. The above are completed by a number of two cohorts on which there is no previous information, i.e. *II Flavia Brittonum* and *II Bracaraugustanorum*, should we disagree with the uncertain completion of the above referenced diploma or disregard the possibility of their record by an inscription as early as Vespasian's reign.

Surprisingly, the diploma mentions cohort *I Raetorum*. Both proposed identifications, cohort *I Raetorum* in Raetia and another in the East, are perfectly agreeable. In addition, the location from where it was displaced to the territory of Moesia is unknown. Significantly, its garrison must have been somewhere in Moesia Inferior and not in Moesia Superior, as previously suggested.

An important issue is the presence of a relatively large number of auxiliaries, which were presumably raised under Vespasian. I refer to *alae*: *I Vespasiana Dardanorum*, *I Flavia*

<sup>2154</sup> Sarnowski, *Wojsko rzymskie*, p. 59.

<sup>2155</sup> Bogdan-Căţănicu, *Muntenia*, p. 107.

<sup>2156</sup> For both ranks see Domaszewski, *RO*<sup>2</sup>, p. 59–61 (p. XVII–XVIII).

<sup>2157</sup> C. C. Petolescu, A. T. Popescu, *ZPE* 148, 2004, p. 269–276; *idem*, in *Studia Historica et Theologica*, p. 73–92.

<sup>2158</sup> *RMD* I 2.

<sup>2159</sup> *CIL* XVI 22. It seems that a different constitution was issued on the same date for cavalry troops stationed on the territory of Moesia, as evidenced by *tabella II*, preserving the name of one *ala I CLAV[...]*, most likely *ala I Claudia nova*, W. Eck, A. Pangerl, *Chiron* 38, 2008, p. 324–326, no. 3.

<sup>2160</sup> *RGZM*, no. 1; P. Weiss, *Chiron* 38, 2008, p. 270–273, no. 1; *RMD* IV 208; W. Eck, A. Pangerl, *Chiron* 38, 2008, p. 318–321, no. 1; W. Eck, A. Pangerl, *Chiron* 39, 2009, p. 506–509, no. 1.

*Gaetulorum*, as well as cohorts *I Flavia Commagenorum*, *II Flavia Bessorum*. A simple calculation indicates that soldiers who received *civitas* and *conubium* from Domitian in 92, had been recruited no later than 67, meaning as early as Nero. The same happens with the *classici* from the Moesian fleet, also bearing the name *classis Flavia Moesica*, who were released on the same day by a diploma found a long time ago at Brețcu. Two explanations may be given: either upon their establishment, cadres and soldiers of other units were transferred in order to accustom new troops with the Roman military discipline (as reported by Tacitus, *Agricola*, 28, on *cohors Usiporum*) or they were raised earlier, under Nero, receiving the gentilicium from Vespasian consequent a possible reorganization and for their contribution to the civil war from 69. The latter could be supported by the singularity of gentilicium *Vespasiana*, which is rather a surname of the type found in the 3rd C. Possible indication on *ala I Flavia Gaetulorum* early existence may be an inscription from Oescus, mentioning an *equus alae Gaetulorum*, however the troop identification remains difficult.

The observation is far more important as it may carry general history consequences. It was argued that *cohors I Flavia Commagenorum* and its “sister”, *II Flavia Commagenorum* were raised from the soldiers sent for assistance by Antiochus, king of Commagene, during Titus’s campaign from Iudaea. However, enrolment could have take place most likely, among the soldiers made available by same Antiochus to *Cestius Gallus* in 66.

Currently, for year 97 there are available three diplomas which, almost certainly are copies of two different imperial constitutions awarded concurrently, like the case for the year of 99. The first document mentions the following *alae*: *I Claudia Gallorum*, *II Aravacorum (Hispanorum)*, *Gallorum Flaviana* and (*I Hispanorum*) and cohorts: *I Hispanorum veterana*, *I Sugambrorum tironum*, *I Flavia Commagenorum*, *II Flavia Bessorum*, *II Lucensium*, *III Gallorum* and *I Ubiorum*. The second diploma records different troops, like *alae*: *I Flavia Gaetulorum*, *I Vespasiana Dardanorum* and (*Gallorum*) *Aetorigiana*, as well as cohorts: [*I Lusitanorum Cyrenaica*], *I Tyriorum sagittariorum* and *I Lepidiana c.R.*

Noticeably, we deal with units which are not listed by the diploma of 92: *ala II (Hispanorum) Aravacorum* and cohorts *I Hispanorum veterana*, *I Tyriorum sagittariorum* and *I Lepidiana c. R.* Amongst, *ala II (Hispanorum) et Aravacorum* could have been stationed in 92 as well on the territory of Moesia Inferior and might have included no soldier eligible for discharge, similarly to *cohors I Hispanorum veterana*. Regarding *cohors I Lepidiana c. R.*, we do not know if it was brought to the Danube during Domitian’s wars since there is no information on it from 80, when it appears among the troops of Pannonia.

The following important moment in the evolution of the Roman defensive system by Lower Danube is preparation for the Dacian expeditions. To this effect, the diplomas of 99, comprising together six *alae* and thirteen cohorts are edifying: *Gallorum Flaviana*, *I Pannoniorum*, *II Hispanorum et Aravacorum*, *I Vespasiana Dardanorum*, *I Asturum*, *I Flavia Gaetulorum*; cohorts: *I Sugambrorum veterana*, *I Bracaraugustanorum*, *I Hispanorum veterana*, *II Mattiacorum*, *II Gallorum*, (*I Ubiorum*), *I Lepidiana c. R.*, *I Tyriorum*, *I Lusitanorum Cyrenaica*, *II Flavia Brittonum*, *II Chalcidenorum*, *III Gallorum*, *VII Gallorum*. *Ala I Asturum* and cohorts *II Mattiacorum* and *II Flavia Brittonum* are newly attested.

*Ala I Asturum* was stationed from a much earlier period on the territory of Moesia, as proven by an inscription from Tomis and other epigraphs quoted within the repertory. Therefore, it is hard to understand why they were not listed in the diploma of 92, unless we agree they must have comprised no soldier eligible for discharge at that moment. We should not also forget that the two adduced above diplomas for the province of Moesia, review only the province cohorts; one would expect constitutions that would include the *alae* too, thus recording at least the



two in question. We cannot assert that the two cohorts, recorded then for the first time in the territory of Moesia Inferior, were dislocated there earlier or for preparation of the Dacian war, although their detachment should have taken place, normally, as early as Vespasian.

In conclusion, one may argue that most of the troops present in the two diplomas of 99 had been part of *ex exercitu Moesiae inferioris* and were not dislocated there for preparation of the Dacian expeditions, like the case of Moesia Superior.

In 105, two new diplomas record a number of six *alae* and sixteen cohorts, next to the three *alae* and seven cohorts already attested: *alae*- *I Claudia Gallorum*, *I Vespasiana Dardanorum*, *(I) Gallorum Flaviana*, *I Flavia Gaetulorum*, *I Asturum*, *II Hispanorum et Arvacorum* and cohorts *I Augusta Nerviana Pacensis milliaria Brittonum*, *II Brittonum Augusta Nerviana Pacensis milliaria*, *I Flavia Commagenorum*, *I Lusitanorum Cyrenaica*, *II Lucensium*, *II Flavia Bessorum*, *II Gallorum*, *III Gallorum*, *IV Gallorum*, *I Lepidiana c. R.*, *I Bracaraugustanorum*, *I Sugambrorum tironum*, *II Mattiacorum*, *II Chalcidenorum*, *II Flavia Brittonum*, *(I) Ubiorum*. The two cohorts of *Brittones* brought by Trajan to strengthen the military force of the province consequent the events of the 101–102 winter are new. In 101, *ala I Claudia Gallorum* was displaced to *Galatia et Cappadocia*. Such displacement evidently proves that Trajan did not wish by the beginning of the first *expeditio Dacica* to involve the troops of Moesia Inferior, as well. Subsequent developments required yet the involvement of this province army and the recall of the *ala*, which is again recorded in 105 among Moesia Inferior troops.

Thus, from approximately the beginning of Vespasian's reign until the Dacian expeditions, the following troops were stationed on the territory of Moesia Inferior: *alae*- *I Vespasiana Dardanorum*, *I Flavia Gaetulorum*, *I Pannoniorum*, *I Claudia Gallorum*, *(I) Gallorum Flaviana*, *Gallorum Aetorigiana*, *(I) Hispanorum*, *II Hispanorum et Aravacorum*, *I Asturum* and cohorts – *I Raetorum*, *I Bracaraugustanorum*, *I Lusitanorum Cyrenaica*, *I Augusta Nerviana Pacensis milliaria Brittonum*, *II Brittonum Augusta Nerviana Pacensis milliaria*, *I Flavia Commagenorum*, *I Sugambrorum tironum*, *I Sugambrorum veterana*, *II Chalcidenorum*, *II Lucensium*, *II Bracaraugustanorum*, *II Flavia Bessorum*, *II Gallorum*, *III Gallorum*, *IV Gallorum*, *VII Gallorum*, *(I) Ubiorum*, *I Tyriorum*, *I Lepidiana c. R.*, *II Flavia Brittonum*, *I Hispanorum veterana*, *II Mattiacorum*.

After the end of the Dacian war, the situation of Moesia Inferior auxilia is known through the diploma of 107 (September/December), September 25, 111, 116 which lists six *alae*, *Hispanorum*, *Gallorum Flaviana*, *I Pannoniorum*, *I Claudia Gallorum*, *Gallorum Aetorigiana*, *II Hispanorum et Aravacorum* and thirteen cohorts, *I Flavia Numidarum*, *I Sugambrorum veterana*, *I milliaria Brittonum* (probably *I Augusta Nerviana Pacensis milliaria Brittonum*), *I Claudia Sugambrorum tironum*, *I Flavia Commagenorum*, *I Lepidiana*, *I Tyriorum sagittariorum*, *II Chalcidenorum*, *II Flavia Numidarum*, *II Mattiacorum*, *II Flavia Brittonum*, *III* and *VII Gallorum*.

Therefore, nine *alae* and 22 cohorts are recorded, thus a full strength of approximately 4,500 horsemen and 12,000 soldiers, either footsoldiers or horsemen who served within cohorts. We deal with a military force of approximately 16,500 soldiers, supplemented by the strength of legions I Italica and V Macedonica. The situation would change once with the involvement of certain troops from this province to the operations of the two Dacian expeditions of emperor Trajan, when part of these troops remained in the newly conquered territory and would appear in the diplomas of the province of Dacia Inferior: *I Asturum*, *I Claudia Gallorum Capitoniana*, *(I) Hispanorum*, *II Flavia Bessorum*, *I Bracaraugustanorum*, *I Flavia Commagenorum*, *I Augusta Nerviana Pacensis milliaria Brittonum*, *II Gallorum*, *I Hispanorum veterana* (probably sent to Egypt in the context of the Jewish revolt in 115–117 and brought back by Hadrian), *II Flavia Numidarum*, *I Tyriorum* and *(I) Ubiorum*. Thus, from the total number of auxiliaries from Moesia

Inferior, a number of three *alae* and nine cohorts were transferred to Dacia inferior and would never return to the province of their original dislocation. Among these troops, *ala Hispanorum* is recorded firstly in Dacia Superior, in 119 and probably in July 120, and then in Dacia Inferior. Cohort *I Ubiorum* appears firstly in Dacia Inferior and then in Dacia Superior. It seems that the defensive system of the Dacian provinces was stabilized only beginning with 120, probably once with Hadrian's visit to Dacia from 123. A diploma of July 17, 122 issued for Dacia Inferior seems to support such developments, as it lists among other troops, *ala Gallorum Aetorigiana* (still in Moesia Inferior in 120), which would be re-displaced to Moesia Inferior where it appears on a diploma of 127.

*Ala I Pannoniorum* appears on a diploma for the province of Dacia from 114, but it would return to the territory of Moesia Inferior where it would be recorded during the entire 2nd C as *ala I Gallorum et Pannoniorum* (October 19, 120, first attestation).

*Ala Gallorum Flaviana* was transferred to Moesia Superior where it appears within a diploma of 132 (however it is not attested in October 19, 120 in Moesia Inferior, which seems to prove that the unit was already dispatched to Moesia Superior).

Cohort *II Brittonum Augusta Nerviana Pacensis milliaria* was transferred to Pannonia Inferior where it appears in 114. *Ala I Flavia Gaetulorum* was also sent for a short period in Pannonia Inferior, where it is attested in 114. However it was back in Moesia Inferior by October 19, 120. Both units were sent to replace the units from Pannonia inferior sent in the *expeditio Parthica*, especially *ala I Flavia Augusta Britannica milliaria*. In addition, cohorts *II Bracaraugustanorum* and *IV Gallorum* were displaced to the territory of Thracia, where they appear in 114. Cohort *IV Gallorum* would never return to Moesia Inferior, being recorded in 121 in Cilicia and thereafter in Syria.

Before going forward, we should notice that in spite the large number of auxiliary troops recorded by diplomas or inscriptions, there is little information on their quartering location prior the Dacian war. The troops whose garrison was identified are most likely the following:

<i>ala I Vespasiana Dardanorum</i>	Arrubium, in the Dacian war aftermath
<i>ala I Flavia Gaetulorum</i>	Oescus, 62–71 (?); Carsium, prior 114 (?)
<i>ala I Claudia Gallorum</i>	Augusta (?)
<i>ala I Pannoniorum</i>	Troesmis
<i>cohors II Flavia Brittonum</i>	Durostorum
<i>cohors I Flavia Commagenorum</i>	Tomis (?)
<i>cohors II Gallorum</i>	Durostorum
<i>cohors IV Gallorum</i>	Oescus, 62–71; Sacidava, prior 114
<i>cohors VII Gallorum</i>	Tomis (?)
<i>cohors I Hispanorum veterana</i>	Durostorum
<i>cohors II Lucensium</i>	Abrittus
<i>cohors I Lusitanorum Cyrenaica</i>	Cius
<i>cohors II Mattiacorum</i>	Dinogetia
<i>cohors I Ubiorum</i>	Capidava

For the knowledge of Moesia Inferior's units consequent the establishment of the province of Dacia Inferior, except for the constitutions from 134 and 138, known for a long time, the recently discovered diplomas of 120, 121, 125, 127, 145 and 146 are of importance. This picture, especially regarding the cohorts, is completed by the diploma from Brestovene, dated 157 and by a recently discovered diploma fragment, dated around 155.

These documents mention the following troops: *alae- I Gallorum et Pannoniorum, I Flavia Gaetulorum, I Gallorum Aetorigiana, I Vespasiana Dardanorum, II Hispanorum et Aravacorum* and cohorts – *I Thracum Syriaca, I Lepidiana c. R., I Bracarorum c. R., II Mattiacorum, II Flavia Brittonum, I Lusitanorum Cyrenaica, I Flavia Numidarum, II Lucensium, II Chalcidenorum sagittariorum, I Claudia Sugambrorum (Sugambrum) veterana, I Claudia Sugambrorum (Sugambrum) (tironum), I Cilicum milliaria sagittariorum, I Germanorum, II Bracaraugustanorum* and *II Mattiacorum*.

Among them, certain troops had been or would be displaced to Thracia. This is the case of cohort *II Bracaraugustanorum* which appears in 114 together with cohort *IV Gallorum* on the territory of Thracia, from where it would return to Moesia Inferior by 136, of cohort *II Lucensium* displaced to Thracia around 136 or even earlier and of cohort *II Mattiacorum*, which sometime between 146 and 152–154 is sent to Thracia, probably to exchange cohort *I Cisipadensium*, recorded in Thracia in 138–140 and which appears in Moesia Inferior around 155.

Additionally, little later, cohort *I Cilicum milliaria* was transferred from Moesia Superior, in order to replace, I believed, the cohort *II Lucensium* sent to Thracia. Nevertheless it could have been brought in Moesia Inferior even earlier, by the beginning of the reign of Hadrian.

Cohorts *I Cilicum milliaria*, transferred from Moesia Superior, *I Thracum Syriaca*, displaced from the same province and *I Germanorum* (first attested in 121), were new in the army of Moesia Inferior.

Concerning cohort *I Flavia Numidarum*, it would not remain for long in Moesia Inferior, being displaced prior 165 to Lycia et Pamphylia. Moreover, still in the East, would also be transferred cohort *I Claudia Sugambrum*, identical with cohort *I Sugambrorum tironum*, recorded previously in the army of Moesia Inferior. These two cohorts would be followed by *I Lepidiana c. R.*, recorded for the last time in this province in 127 and displaced, very likely, in the East.

By the beginning of the reign of Marcus Aurelius, five *alae* and nine cohorts were recorded on the territory of Moesia Inferior: *alae- I Gallorum et Pannoniorum, I Flavia Gaetulorum, I Gallorum Aetorigiana, I Vespasiana Dardanorum, II Hispanorum et Aravacorum* and cohorts – *I Bracarorum c. R., I Lusitanorum Cyrenaica, II Chalcidenorum sagittariorum, I Cilicum sagittariorum, I Thracum Syriaca, I Germanorum, II Bracaraugustanorum, II Flavia Brittonum, I Cisipadensium*.

They were supplemented in 198 by cohort *II Mattiacorum*, transformed meanwhile in *milliaria*, recorded by an inscription from Sostra (Lomec). In conclusion, we may argue that during the 2nd C, a fixed strength of five *alae*, meaning approximately 2500 soldiers and around ten cohorts, of which two are *milliariae*, meaning approximately 6000 members of the auxiliary unit were stationed within the province. Only a few quartering locations are known. According to the table below, they are as follows:

<i>ala I Vespasiana Dardanorum</i>	Arrubium
<i>ala II Hispanorum et Aravacorum</i>	Carsium
<i>ala I Gallorum Aetorigiana</i>	Appiaria (?)
<i>cohors II Flavia Brittonum</i>	Sexaginta Prista
<i>cohors I Cilicum milliaria sagittariorum</i>	Sacidava
<i>cohors I Germanorum</i>	Capidava
<i>cohors I Lusitanorum Cyrenaica</i>	Cius or Lazu
<i>cohors II Mattiacorum</i>	Sostra
<i>cohors I Claudia Sugambrorum veterana</i>	Montana
<i>cohors I Thracum Syriaca</i>	Transmarisca

On circumstances of the 3rd C, we may generally state that no massive strenght changes took place. Thus, the following *alae* are recorded directly: *I Vespasiana Dardanorum*, *I Flavia Gaetulorum*, *I Gallorum Aetorigiana*, *II Hispanorum et Aravacorum* and cohorts: *I Bracarorum c. R.*, *II Flavia Brittonum*, *I Cilicum milliaria*, *I Cisipadensium*, *Gemina Dacorum milliaria*, *III collecta c. R.* and *II reducum*. Noticeably, all these troops were recorded in Moesia Inferior by the end of the 2nd C as well; new is the return from Thracia of cohort *II Mattiacorum* and the emergence of three new cohorts, *Gemina Dacorum milliaria* and *III collecta c. R.*, both recorded at Montana and *II reducum* at Sostra.

In the 3rd C date the single certain records on the existence of military irregular units of *numeri* type. Thus, at Montana appears a *numerus civium Romanorum* and at Novi Pazar, on the road between Marcianopolis and Sexaginta Prista, a *numerus scutariorum*. Nevertheless, the latter was created only at the end of the 3rd C.

I should also mention the members of auxiliary units, part of the *vexillationes* sent to the North coast of the Black Sea. At Balaklava is recorded a vexillation from *ala Gallorum Aetorigiana*. Sometime during the 2nd C, a vexillation of cohort *I Bracarorum c. R.* was stationed at Chersonesus. Vexillation of cohort *I Cilicum milliaria* was most likely stationed at Chersonesus and, subsequent a recent discovery, at Olbia, which may be dated very accurately based on the surname, *Deciana*. Sometime prior 136, a vexillation of cohort *II Lucensium* stationed at Chersonesus. Another troop, which sent a detachment at Charax was cohort *I Thracum Syriaca*.



## CLASSIS FLAVIA MOESICA

### 1. HISTORY OF THE *CLASSIS FLAVIA MOESICA*

The first record on a Roman fleet involved in military operations by the Lower Danube dates from 12, when Ovidius accounts that Roman troops arrived there in order to fend off a Getae attack over the fortress at Aegyssus<sup>2161</sup>. This was a legionary vexillation placed under the command of *P. Vitellius*, most likely legion legate at the date<sup>2162</sup>. He is in fact, three years later, heading two legions on the Rhine limes, under Germanicus command<sup>2163</sup>.

In 46, the Roman fleet from Moesia must have been involved in the expedition led by *A. Didius Gallus* (*cos. suff.* 39)<sup>2164</sup>, province governor, to the Kingdom of Pontus to support Cotys against the former king Mithridates<sup>2165</sup>. It is obvious that Roman forces must have been transported with the aid of naval squadrons<sup>2166</sup>.

Around 50, a fleet is mentioned on the Danube, however in reference to its Pannonian sector<sup>2167</sup>. For the Moesian area prior Claudius reign, Ratiaria seems to have been the most important site related to the fleet organization, whose name implies that naval squadrons were based there<sup>2168</sup>.

The first direct record dates from 73, when a diploma, copy of an imperial constitution was issued for *trierarchi* and *remiges* of the Moesian fleet (*in classe quae [est in Moesia] sub Sex. Vettuleno Ceri[ale et praefecto? ...]nino*) and for *veterani* in the same fleet (*[item vete]ranis dimissis hon[esta missione] ex eadem classe*)<sup>2169</sup>. Noticeably, the fleet does not bear the name *Flavia*, alike in the diploma of June 14, 92 (CIL XVI 37), and it seems that the discharged sailors had been serving for at least 26 years, thus pushing the dating of *classis Moesica* establishment, possibly

<sup>2161</sup> Ovidius, *Ex Pont.*, IV, 7, 27–28: *donec fluminea devecta Vitellius, unda / intulit, exposito milite signa Getis.*

<sup>2162</sup> PIR III, no. 502; M. Schusters, RE IX A/1, 1961, col. 385–391.

<sup>2163</sup> Tacitus, *Ann.*, I, 70, 1: *At Germanicum legionum, quas navibus vexerat, secundam et quartam decumam itinere terrestri P. Vitellio ducendas tradit, quo levior classis vadoso mari innarent vel reciproco sideret;* Suetonius, *Vit.*, 2, 3.

<sup>2164</sup> ILS 970; PIR<sup>2</sup> D 70; Thomasson, *Laterculi*<sup>2</sup>, p. 44, no. 20:016.

<sup>2165</sup> Tacitus, *Ann.*, XII, 15–21.

<sup>2166</sup> D. Kienast, *Untersuchungen zu den Kriegsflotten der römischen Kaiserzeit*, Bonn, 1966, p. 102–109.

<sup>2167</sup> Tacitus, *Ann.*, XII, 30, 2: (scil. *Vannius*) *ceterum ad classem in Danuvio opperientem perfugit;* Em. Condurachi, in *Limes IX Mamaia*, p. 84.

<sup>2168</sup> Em. Condurachi, in *Limes IX Mamaia*, p. 84; T. Sarnowski, *Ratiarensia* 3–4, 1987, p. 262 (considered them legionary squadrons, therefore not accounting for fleet presence).

<sup>2169</sup> W. Eck, A. Pangerl, *Dacia*, N. S. 50, 2006, p. 93–97, no. 1.

as part of Empire's naval policies reorganization under Claudius<sup>2170</sup>, to 45/46, when the former kingdom of Thracia becomes Roman province and when former *ripa Thraciae* is also included in Moesia. How far eastward, from a territorial standpoint (definitely up to Novae, where starting with this period, VIII Augusta is recorded<sup>2171</sup>), this *ripa Thraciae* stretched, is hard to say. The homonym tax district extended from Dimum (Belene) to the Danube flow into the sea. Recently, T. Sarnowski argued that only in the eastern part of the tax district *ripa Thraciae*, beginning with Yantra river mouths up to its flow, may one speak about *ripa Danuvii*<sup>2172</sup>, the epigraphically recorded headquarters in *M. Arruntius Claudianus* case. The western part, up to Dimum, was under the control of legions based at Novae, VIII Augusta and then I Italica. Most likely, the fleet headquarters was located in this period at Sexaginta Prista, whose name evidently indicates the presence of naval squadrons<sup>2173</sup>. Unfortunately, epigraphic data are lacking for this period, yet the Roman military units from Appiaria (Rjahovo), epigraphically attested in 76<sup>2174</sup>, may be indirect evidence that the fleet headquarters from Sexaginta Prista was already functional under Vespasian.

During this time span, the Moesian fleet also surveilled the Danube bank. Control over the Danube seems to have been exerted up to its flow mouths into the sea and farther, to the north of the Black Sea (see the case of *M. Arruntius Claudianus, praefectus classis Moesicae et ripae Danuvii*<sup>2175</sup> and probably that of the two *praefecti* recorded in Histrian horrothesia, *Arruntius Flamma* and *Asiaticus*<sup>2176</sup>). Thus, the important site at Aegyssus may be explained, where a small naval squadron placed a dedication to emperor Titus<sup>2177</sup>, as well as an inhabitancy level as early as under Vespasian, at Noviodunum<sup>2178</sup>. Once V Macedonica was moved to Troesmis, most likely between 103/105, Noviodunum became the main headquarters of *classis Flavia Moesica*<sup>2179</sup>.

I mention here another two diplomas dating from the stationing period at Noviodunum, copies of the same imperial constitution of 112, awarded to members of *classis Flavia Moesica*. They are *C. Valerius M. f. Rufus, ex centurione*<sup>2180</sup> and an *ex gregale, C. Iulius C. f. (...)*<sup>2181</sup>. Under

<sup>2170</sup> Reddé, *Mare nostrum*, p. 502–510. Still, the author believes that Danubian, Pannonian and Moesian fleets were established under Vespasian or even under Domitian (see also p. 511–514).

<sup>2171</sup> ILB 300. On the legion operations by the Lower Danube see M. Mirković, in P. Dyczek (ed.), *Acta of the International Conference Wątko, Poland, 18–22 November 1995*, Novensia 10, Warsaw, 1998, p. 89–98.

<sup>2172</sup> T. Sarnowski, *Dacia*, N. S. 50, 2006, p. 90–91.

<sup>2173</sup> T. Sarnowski, *Ratiarensia* 3–4, 1987, p. 265, considers a late presence of the fleet at Sexaginta Prista, earliest in the last years of Domitian reign. Still, Vespasian times may not be excluded either.

<sup>2174</sup> V. Beševliev, *Epigrafski prinosi*, Sofia, 1952, p. 71–72, no. 122 (*vide etiam* p. 83); AÉ 1957, 357: [*Imp(erator)*] *C(a)esar Vespasian[us] Aug(ustus) pont(ificis) max(imus) tr(ibunicia) pot(estate) VII im[p(erator)] XV co(n)s(ul) VII p(ater) p(atriciae) PGE[ ] vel P. Gel[ . . . ] / [le]g(atu)s Aug(usti) p(ro) p(raetore) coh(ortes) [Mattiacorum(?) et Gall]orum qu(i)bus praesunt . . . ] / e(t) Q(ui)ntus Varius Secundus [ . . . ]*.

<sup>2175</sup> AÉ 1969–1970, 595 = AÉ 1972, 572 = IDRE II 373; PME, A 166.

<sup>2176</sup> ISM I 67, r. 6–8; 68, l. 11–12: τὸ περὶ Πεύκεν ὑμῶν δίκαιον ὅπως ἀκέραιον διατηρηθῆ ἔσται ἐπιμελὲς Ἀρουντίω Φλάμμα τῷ ἐπάρχῳ...; ISM I 67, l. 16; ISM I 68, l. 20: καὶ Ἀσιατικὸς ὁ ἔπαρχος ἔλεγε σχεδὸν ἐκείνην μόνην εἶναι τῆς πόλεως πρόσοδον τὴν ἐκ τοῦ παρειχευομένου ἰχθύος...; Em. Doruțiu-Boilă, *StCl* 17, 1977, p. 98; Sarnowski, *Wojsko rzymskie*, p. 214; T. Sarnowski, *Ratiarensia* 3–4, 1987, p. 264. Both activities seem to indicate that the two were at the head of Roman authority by the Danube mouths; the first, accounts the fulfilment of governor orders regarding the Histrian rights over Peuce arm, while the second informs the governor on the economic realities of the area.

<sup>2177</sup> CIL III 6221 = ISM V 286: *Imp(eratori) T(ito) Caes(ari) / pontif(ici) max(imo) trib(unicia) pot(estate) / p(atri) p(atriciae)*.

<sup>2178</sup> V. H. Baumann, *Peuce*, S. N. 6 (19), 2008, 189–206; idem, *Peuce*, S. N. 6 (19), 2008, 207–231.

<sup>2179</sup> Bounegrū, *Zahariade, Forces navales*, p. 86–87; N. Gudea, *JGRZM* 52, 2005, p. 458, no. IV 50.

<sup>2180</sup> W. Eck, A. Pangerl, in F. Beutler, W. Hameter (eds.), *“Eine ganz Normale Inschrift”...und ähnliches zum Geburtstag von Ekkehard Weber. Festschrift zum 30. April 2005*, Althistorisch-Epigraphische Studien, Band 5, Vienna, 2005, p. 247–254.

<sup>2181</sup> V. H. Baumann, *Peuce* 1 (14), 2003, p. 210, no. 127 = RMD V 344.

governor *Sex. Iulius Maior*<sup>2182</sup>, an imperial constitution was granted to the members of the Moesian fleet, as recorded by a diploma fragment: *iis qui militaveru[nt in classe Flavia Moesia quae est in Moesia] inferior(e) sub Iulio] Maiore*<sup>2183</sup>. The constitution was dated between 131/132–134/135, when *Sex. Iulius Maior* was governor of Moesia Inferior. Nonetheless, the constitution for the auxiliaries of Moesia Inferior, dated April 2, 134<sup>2184</sup>, undeniably proves that two parallel constitutions were issued on the same date. Moreover, one should not fail to remember that many of the members of V Macedonica, at Troesmis, were discharged in the same year<sup>2185</sup>.

Additionally, a diploma discovered at Olbia, copy of a constitution granted to the units of Moesia Inferior on February 8, 157, was awarded to a member of *classis Flavia Moesica*, whose name is hard to identify, placed under the command of a certain [...]Potamo<sup>2186</sup>. *Classis Flavia Moesica* fell, upon the division of Moesia, under the authority of Moesia Inferior legate, as proven by the majority of imperial constitutions issued for both the auxiliaries and fleet<sup>2187</sup>. Nonetheless, *classici* are also recorded on a few imperial constitutions granted to soldiers from Moesia Superior. Thus, a different constitution of 100, other than the one of May 8, 100<sup>2188</sup>, and of which are known at least three copies, mentions *classici (et classi[corum] quae sunt in Moesia Superiore) / sub C. Ciln[io] Proculo...*<sup>2189</sup>. Moreover, *classici* are evidenced by a constitution for Moesia Superior of 112 (*[item clas]sicis senis [et vicenis...]*). A possible fleet prefect seems to be attested in this occasion: *[et sunt in Moesia superiore sub T. P]rifernio Paet[o, praef(ecto) - -]lio Impor[tuno]*<sup>2190</sup>. If for year 100, we may admit the presence of a vexillation of the fleet stationed in Moesia Superior in the context of preparations for emperor Trajan's first Dacian expedition, the fleet prefect in a constitution for Moesia Superior of 112, complicates matters. I mention that in the same year, the Moesian fleet is also recorded on a constitution for Moesia Inferior<sup>2191</sup>, as well as the constitution of September 25, 111<sup>2192</sup>. Most likely, until the situation on the Danube settled subsequent the establishment of the new Roman province of Dacia, the Moesian fleet also patrolled in Moesia Superior legate action range, up to Iron Gates. This only may explain the inscription discovered at Naissus, attesting a soldier of *VII Claudia, L. Cassius Candidus*, on whom we learn he had been *disce(n)s epibeta*, young navy recruit on probation, prior being promoted to the legion based at Viminacium<sup>2193</sup>.

<sup>2182</sup> PIR<sup>2</sup> I 397; PIR<sup>2</sup> I 397; Stein, *Legaten*, p. 67; Fitz, *Laufbahn*, p. 46; Thomasson, *Laterculi*<sup>2</sup>, p. 49, no. 20:077.

<sup>2183</sup> RMD IV 252.

<sup>2184</sup> CIL XVI 78.

<sup>2185</sup> CIL III 6178 + 6179 + 6180; Em. Doruțiu-Boilă, in *Epigraphica. Travaux dédiés au VII<sup>e</sup> Congrès d'épigraphie grecque et latine (Constantza 9–15 septembre 1977)*, Bucharest, 1977, p. 185–191 = ISM V 137.

<sup>2186</sup> A. Ivantchik, V. Krapivina, *Chiron* 37, 2007, p. 219–242.

<sup>2187</sup> Fleet veterans were generally, with the mentioned exceptions of 92 and 134, listed on imperial constitutions awarded to auxilia members from Moesia Inferior, with formula *et classicis* or *item classicis*, specifying they had served 26 years or more (*senis et vicenis pluribusve*): CIL XVI 45, RGZM 8 (99), CIL XVI 50 (105), RMD IV 222 (111), RMD IV 241 (127), CIL XVI 83, RMD IV 253 (138), RMD III 165 + P. Weiß, ZPE 134, 2001, p. 261–262 = RMD V 399; P. Weiss, *Chiron* 38, 2008, p. 314–316, no. 16 (145), RMD IV 270 (146), RMD V 414 (c.a. 155).

<sup>2188</sup> CIL XVI 46; W. Eck, A. Pangerl, *Chiron* 38, 2008, p. 326–329, no. II, 1.

<sup>2189</sup> W. Eck, A. Pangerl, *Chiron* 38, 2008, p. 338–340, no. II, 3; p. 340–342, no. II, 4; p. 343–345, no. 5.

<sup>2190</sup> W. Eck, A. Pangerl, *Chiron* 38, 2008, p. 355–360, no. II, 8; p. 360–363, no. II, 9.

<sup>2191</sup> W. Eck, A. Pangerl, in F. Beutler, W. Hameter (eds.), *“Eine ganz Normale Inschrift”...und ähnliches zum Geburtstag von Ekkehard Weber. Festschrift zum 30. April 2005*, Althistorisch-Epigraphische Studien, Band 5, Vienna, 2005, p. 247–254; V. H. Baumann, *Peuce* 1 (14), 2003, p. 210, no. 127 = RMD V 344.

<sup>2192</sup> RMD IV 222.

<sup>2193</sup> CIL III 14567 = AÉ 1901, 16 = IMS IV 31: *D. M. / L. Cassius / Candidus / mil(es) leg(ionis) VII Cl(audiae) / disce(n)s / epibeta vi[x(it)] / an(nis) XXI [m(ensibus) .. diebus] / IIII m[il(itavit)] / an(nis) [...]*. Term *epibeta*, variant of *epibata*, is a transliteration of the Greek term ἐπιβάτης.

Insofar, he was considered member of the legion fleet, however initial enrolment in *classis Flavia Moesica* and subsequent transfer to the legion are not excluded<sup>2194</sup>, especially since the final part of the inscription where this might have been specified did not preserve. Transfer cases from fleet to legion are many and well known, should we only mention the soldiers of X Fretensis, former members of the fleet at Misenum. Seemingly, possible detachment of fleet squadrons to Moesia Superior continued even after Trajan's rule, as supplied by an extremely fragmentary military diploma of 152, noting: *[quinis et] vicens [item classicis senis et vice]nis*<sup>2195</sup>. Unless this is a transcript error, by possible recurrence of a word or an entire line, we may furthermore deal with a transfer of fleet units under the authority of Moesia Superior governor, most likely in the dispatch context of a joint vexillation of the two provinces to Mauretania Caesarensis<sup>2196</sup>.

In the action range of Moesia Inferior legate, auxilia soldiers are sent to *classis Flavia Moesica* on various tasks, as well. Thus, in cohort *I Hispanorum veterana pridianum* of 105, among the deceased soldiers (*ex eis decedunt*) counts one sent to the fleet by governor orders *A. Caecilius Faustinus ([d]atus in [cl]assem Fl. Moesicam admin[...] iussu Fausti[ni legati)*<sup>2197</sup>.

Additionally, members of the Moesian fleet may have been part of province army vexillations sent on specific missions. We should not dwell here on the obvious involvement of the Moesian fleet in the troops transport and its important contribution in the supply of contingents on the operational theatres during the Dacian expeditions. The presence of the Moesian fleet also on imperial constitutions awarded to Moesia Superior auxiliaries (*vide supra*) confirms information relayed by Cassius Dio (LXVIII, 8, 1) and remarks based on the scene analysis on Trajan's Column<sup>2198</sup>. Nevertheless, the most interesting case is the Moesian fleet participation into the vexillation at Montana in order to set up a *venatio Caesariana*, under the leadership of *Ti. Claudius Ulpianus, tribunus cohortis I Cilicum*. The vexillation was composed of the mentioned auxiliary unit and soldiers detached from legions I Italica and XI Claudia and *classis Flavia Moesica*<sup>2199</sup>.

Epigraphically two *liburnae* names are known, *Armata*, recorded at Noviodunum, part of *Q. Iulius Heliodoros* centuria<sup>2200</sup> and *Sagitta*, attested epigraphically at Chersonesus, the *liburna* where soldier *C. Valerius Valens*<sup>2201</sup> served. One may note that both ship names reference peculiar features of each<sup>2202</sup>.

Tile material of the Moesian fleet was identified in several sites along the Danube, at Carsium<sup>2203</sup>, Troesmis<sup>2204</sup>, Dinogetia, in the debris inside tower 2<sup>2205</sup>, Barboși (55 bricks

<sup>2194</sup> See also Reddé, *Mare nostrum*, p. 525, note 320.

<sup>2195</sup> W. Eck, D. MacDonald, A. Pangerl, *Chiron* 32, 2002, p. 417–422 = RMD V 407.

<sup>2196</sup> P. Holder, *ZPE* 156, 2006, p. 255–260, no. 1 = RMD V 405.

<sup>2197</sup> R. O. Fink, *JRS* 48, 1958, p. 102–116 = idem, *Roman Military Records on Papyrus*, p. 217–227, col. II, l. 4. For *A. Caecilius Faustinus* see Thomasson, *Laterculi*<sup>2</sup>, p. 48, no. 20:068.

<sup>2198</sup> Reddé, *Mare nostrum*, p. 361–362; Bounegru, Zahariade, *Forces navales*, p. 96–101.

<sup>2199</sup> V. Velkov, D. Alexandrov, in *Terra Antiqua Balcanica II. Actes du IX<sup>e</sup> Congrès International d'Épigraphie Grecque et Latin*, Sofia, 1987, p. 279–283 = iidem, *Chiron* 18, 1988, p. 270–277 = AÉ 1987, 867 = *Montana*, II, 9. See also F. Bérard, *ZPE* 79, 1989, p. 129–138.

<sup>2200</sup> Gh. Ștefan, *Dacia* 9–10, 1941–1944, p. 475–478, no. 2 = AÉ 1950, 175 = ISM V 273.

<sup>2201</sup> Solomonik, *Pamiatniki*, p. 227–230, no. 189 = AÉ 1967, 429.

<sup>2202</sup> On the choice of ship names see Reddé, *Mare nostrum*, p. 671–672.

<sup>2203</sup> C. Chiriac, C. Nicolae, G. Talmațchi, *Pontica* 31, 1998, p. 149–150 = AÉ 1998, 1146, four stamped bricks: *CLASSIS F MOES*.

<sup>2204</sup> ISM V 217; A. Petre, *BMI* 1974, 1, p. 33–38; C. Chiriac, O. Bounegru, *Peuce* 4, 1973–1975, p. 98, no. 12, several fragments of *CLASSIS FM* type.

<sup>2205</sup> ISM V 263, *CLASSIS FM*.



found in 1974 in a grave)<sup>2206</sup> and evidently, at Noviodunum, at least four different types<sup>2207</sup>.

The presence of the Moesian fleet at Noviodunum also explains the record by eight inscriptions, close to Halmyris (given they were most likely reused in the erection of the late Roman enclosure from Halmyris), of a *vicus classicorum* (standard formula used: *cives Romani consistentes vico classicorum curam agente...*), in 136, 144 or 163, 171 and 200 (according to consular dates)<sup>2208</sup>.

Furthermore, some veterans sons of the Moesian fleet were raised in the Praetorian fleet, like the case of *C. Iulius Valentis f. Iulianus, Novi(o)d(uno) ex Moesia*, discharged from the fleet at Ravenna on December 20, 202<sup>2209</sup>. He had been recruited around 176, most likely the successor of a former sailor of the Moesian fleet quartered at Noviodunum.

*Classis Flavia Moesica* remained stationed on Moesia Inferior territory until reforms at the start of the 4th C<sup>2210</sup>, having bases along the Danube and north the Black Sea.

## 2. PROSOPOGRAPHY OF *CLASSIS FLAVIA MOESICA*

### 2.1. *Praefecti*

*P. Aelius (H)Ammonius* is recorded on a honorific inscription found at Tomis, placed by an imperial freedman, *librarius* with this individual offices, who went on to be under Gordian III *procurator provinciae Moesiae inferioris*, after having previously commanded, among other, the Moesian fleet<sup>2211</sup>. His equestrian career began with the prefecture of cohort *V Hispanorum* based in Moesia Superior; it furthers with the tribunate of cohort *I Germanorum (milliaria)*, the one from Cappadocia (another cohort *I Germanorum* was quartered at Capidava, in Moesia Inferior, however it was *quingenaria*, as supplied by an inscription at Lambaesis recording that a former prefect of this cohort served as tribune of III Augusta<sup>2212</sup>); as such, he held an exceptional command: ἡγησάμενος στρατιωτικῶν ἐν παρατάξει Ἀρμενικῆς στρατιωτῶν ἐπαρχείας Καππαδόκων<sup>2213</sup>, in charge of a vexillation composed of soldiers raised from the provincials in Cappadocia (*auxilia provincialium*), as Th. Mommsen and I. Piso believed<sup>2214</sup> or from the auxiliaries from Cappadocia, as A. von Domaszewski argued<sup>2215</sup> (variant which we would rather agree with), acting *in procinctu Armeniae* (accurate translation of expression: ἐν παρατάξει Ἀρμενικῆς), rose as prefect of ala *I Flavia Gaetulorum*, based on the territory of Moesia Inferior; as such, he was commissioned yet another exceptional

<sup>2206</sup> ISM V 308, *CL FL MY*.

<sup>2207</sup> ISM V 283, *CLASSIS FM, CL FLM, CL FLM* (retrograde), *CL FM, CL FL MY*.

<sup>2208</sup> Al. Suceveanu, M. Zahariade, *Dacia*, N. S. 30, 1986, p. 109–120.

<sup>2209</sup> B. Pferdehirt, *ArchKorr* 31, 2001, p. 266–272 = *AÉ* 2001, 2161; *RGZM* 45; *RMD* V 449.

<sup>2210</sup> For the Late period see M. Zahariade, *Moesia Secunda, Scythia și Notitia Dignitatum*, Bucharest, 1988, p. 88–91; Bounegru, Zahariade, *Forces navales*, p. 22–28.

<sup>2211</sup> *IGR* I 623 = *ILS* 8851 = *ISM* II 106; Pflaum, *Carrières*, p. 854–855, no. 329 (without any relation to the homonym recorded at Sarmizegetusa as *procurator* of *Dacia Apulensis*, but rather considering him son of the one recorded in *Moesia Inferior*); *PIR* I<sup>2</sup>, A 135, identical with *PIR*<sup>2</sup>, A 136; *PME*, A 21. See for detailed comment I. Piso, *Dacia*, N. S. 20, 1976, p. 251–257.

<sup>2212</sup> *AÉ* 1950, 76 = *ISM* V 36; *CIL* VIII 2770; *PME*, M 74.

<sup>2213</sup> *IGR* I 263 = *ISM* II 106, r. 7–9; in Latin translation: *praepositus exercitus militum Cappadociae in procinctu Armeniae* (I. Piso, *Dacia*, N. S. 20, 1976, p. 257: *praepositus auxiliorum provinciae Cappadociae in procinctu Armeniae*)

<sup>2214</sup> Th. Mommsen, in *Gesammelte Schriften*, VI, Berlin, 1910, p. 149, note 1; I. Piso, *Dacia*, N. S. 20, 1976, p. 252.

<sup>2215</sup> Domaszewski, *RO*<sup>2</sup>, p. 135.

command: ἡγησάμενος στρατιωτικῶν τῆς ἐπαρχείας ταύτης, most likely still auxiliary units or *auxilia provincialium*, like the command in Cappadocia. Subsequently, he is commissioned to the Moesian fleet, a sexagenary command and later became *procurator provinciae Moesiae inferioris*, a centenary rank procuratorship under Gordian III. Most likely, he is one and the same character emerging in Gordian III rescript of 240<sup>2216</sup>. His record in a rescript made the formula by the beginning of the inscription from Tomis: πράξαντα τὴν ἐπαρχείαν πιστῶς be deemed to designate the office of *agens vice praesidis*<sup>2217</sup>. Nonetheless, the formula may rather reference his general activity as procurator, charged firstly with the financial management of the province activities<sup>2218</sup>. However, as also I. Piso noted<sup>2219</sup>, record in the 240 rescript of Gordian III would be related to the governorship tenure of Moesia Inferior, in replacement of *Tullius Menophilus*, who might have been dismissed in the same year, until the arrival of a new governor, either the mysterious *C. Pe[...]*<sup>2220</sup> or *Sabinus* vel *Sabucius Modestus*, recorded for the second part of 241<sup>2221</sup>. Slightly later, under Philippus Arabs, he rose to *procurator provinciae Daciae Apulensis*, as mentioned on an altar at Sarmizegetusa, dedicated precisely by this individual to several gods: *P. Aelius Hammonius v. e. procurator Augg(ustorum)*<sup>2222</sup>.

*P. Aelius P. f. Palatina Marcianus* appears on an inscription discovered in Caesarea, province Mauretania Caesarensis, rendering his career<sup>2223</sup>. He was successively prefect of cohort *I Bracaraugustanorum*, in Dacia Inferior, occasion on which he also held the office of *praepositus numeri Illyricorum*<sup>2224</sup>; he later on rose to the tribunate of cohort *Aelia expedita*<sup>2225</sup>, likely based in Mauretania Caesarensis as well; he commissioned third equestrian *militia* in the same province as *praefectus alae Augustae II Thracum*, being concurrently *praepositus alae Geminae Sebastenae*. His subsequent career is unclear, as we find he was *praepositus classis* (sic!) *Syriacae et Augustae*, possibly a naval squadron arrived in Mauretania Caesarensis from Syria and Egypt, prior the establishment of *classis Africana Commodiana Herculea*. He then becomes *praefectus classis Moesiaticae*. His career was dated to the second half of the 2nd C. Understanding the career development is hindered by the mention of a homonym in an inscription from Eburacum, Britannia, relaying he was *praefectus cohortis*, evidently of a unit based in the area given the name ellipsis<sup>2226</sup>. Since the single prefecture he exercised seems to have been that of cohort *I Bracaraugustanorum*, stationed starting with Hadrian in Dacia Inferior, we wonder which cohort is referenced by the inscription from Britain. H.-G. Pflaum argued that the unit from Dacia Inferior (in fact, in his view, Moesia Inferior: the unit was repeatedly mistaken with *I*

<sup>2216</sup> *Codex Iust.*, VI 45, 2: *Imp. Gordianus A(ug.) Ammonio. ... p(ro)p(ositum) VI id(us) Aug. Sabino II et Venusto cos.*

<sup>2217</sup> As believed by Domaszewski, *RO*<sup>2</sup>, p. 190, and partially, quoting A. von Domaszewski and W. Keyes, *The Rise of the Equites*, diss. Princeton, 1915, p. 6, note 10, *non vidi*, Pflaum, *Carrières*, p. 855.

<sup>2218</sup> Stein, *Legaten*, p. 115; I. Piso, *Dacia*, N. S. 20, 1976, p. 253.

<sup>2219</sup> I. Piso, *Dacia*, N. S. 20, 1976, p. 253 and 256.

<sup>2220</sup> D. M. Pippidi, in *Contribuții la istoria veche a României*<sup>2</sup>, Bucharest, 1967, p. 464–480.

<sup>2221</sup> Stein, *Legaten*, p. 100–101; Fitz, *Laufbahn*, p. 52; Thomasson, *Laterculi*<sup>2</sup> p. 55, no. 20:133 (PIR<sup>2</sup> S 5), probably one and the same with *C. Sabucius Secundus Paulus Modestus*, governor of Pontus et Bithynia, Thomasson, *Laterculi*<sup>2</sup> p. 99, no. 27:53 a (6).

<sup>2222</sup> *AE* 1933, 13 = *IDR* III/2 246; I. Piso, *Dacia*, N. S. 20, 1976, p. 251.

<sup>2223</sup> *CIL* VIII 9358 = *ILS* 2738 = *IDRE* II 464; Pflaum, *Carrières*, p. 303–304, no. 125; *PME*, A 44; after *Suppl.* II, p. 1986; C. C. Petolescu, *Dacia*, N. S. 31, 1987, 1–2, p. 157–161; Reddé, *Mare nostrum*, p. 564–565.

<sup>2224</sup> Petolescu, *Auxilia*, p. 85–86, no. 21 and p. 131–132, no. 67.

<sup>2225</sup> P. Holder, *ZPE* 122, 1998, p. 257–258, no. 5, considers it was formed of expeditionary forces sent to quash the Moorish rising under Antoninus Pius.

<sup>2226</sup> *CIL* VII 237 = *ILS* 3598; *PME* A 43.

*Bracarorum* from Moesia Inferior<sup>2227</sup>) was sent for a short while to Britannia<sup>2228</sup>. If we agree that the cohort number on the inscription from Caesarea has been accurately recorded, since a cohort *III Bracaraugustanorum* is known to be present in Britannia<sup>2229</sup>, we believe that the inscription from Britannia rather supplies a homonym<sup>2230</sup>, and not *P. Aelius Marcianus*, future prefect of the Moesian fleet. The mention of *praepositus numeri Illyricorum* tenure is obvious evidence that his command was accomplished in Dacia Inferior.

M. Reddé believed he might have been the successor of a freedman, given the *nomen* and tribe, *Palatina*. In addition, given the mention of the office of *praepositus classis Syriacae et Augustae*, he argues, beside C. C. Petolescu, that the moment should be dated during Marcus Aurelius's reign, when the Moors invaded Baetica<sup>2231</sup>. Therefore, prefecture of the Moesian fleet could date from the last part of Marcus Aurelius' reign, possibly even the start of Commodus rule<sup>2232</sup>.

*M. Arruntius Claudianus, praefectus classis Moesicae et ripae Danuvii* (ἑπαρχος τοῦ ἐν Μοισίαι στόλου καὶ τῆς ὀχθησ) appears on an inscription discovered at *Ephesus*<sup>2233</sup>. This is the needed proof to argue that, prior Trajan's reorganization, *ripa Danuvii* was under the protection of the *praefectus classis*. The command dates probably from the reign of Domitian, as he became thereafter governor of Macedonia, after Trajan's *bellum Dacicum*<sup>2234</sup> (the moment when he was *adlectus* in the Senate is still obscure). Without further discussion, as Al. Suceveanu has argued that tenure of the fleet command must be separated from that of *ripa Danuvii*<sup>2235</sup>, recorded in Claudius' time on Mid Danube, I entirely agree with Em. Doruțiu-Boilă that his tenure must have been in the area of Lower Danube<sup>2236</sup>, in fact, in the eastern area of the tax district *ripa Thraciae*, also attested from Dimum till Danube's mouths<sup>2237</sup>. If we agree with such an idea, we must also add that this command was not independent, and from this viewpoint, without military units deployed on the field, the entire territory of Dobrudja was most likely under control of Moesia's legate, at least from mid 1st century, when first prefects are recorded by the mentioned inscription from *Histria*.

*Q. Atatinus Q. f. Quir(ina tribu) Modestus* recorded fleet prefect sometime under Domitian by an inscription from Aveia Vestina (Fossa, Regio IV) placed by his brother *P. Atatinus Flaccus*<sup>2238</sup>. He was the son of *Q. Atatinus P. f. Modestus, tribunus legionis X Geminae*,

<sup>2227</sup> Fl. Matei-Popescu, in *Corona laurea. Studii în onoarea Luciei Țeposu Marinescu*, Bucharest, 2005, p. 313–318.

<sup>2228</sup> Pflaum, *Carrières*, p. 304

<sup>2229</sup> M. G. Jarrett, *Britannia* 25, 1994, p. 57, no. 18; Fl. Matei-Popescu, in *Corona laurea. Studii în onoarea Luciei Țeposu Marinescu*, Bucharest, 2005, p. 316.

<sup>2230</sup> Another homonym, *P. Aelius Marcianus*, appears on an inscription discovered at *Poetovio*, Pannonia Superior, M. Šašel-Kos, *ZPE* 95, 1993, p. 236–240 = *AE* 1993, 1285; *PME*, A 44bis, recorded *decurio coloniae* and *praefectus cohortis I Germanorum*, probably the cohort based in Moesia Inferior.

<sup>2231</sup> Reddé, *Mare nostrum*, p. 564–565; C. C. Petolescu, *Dacia*, N. S. 31, 1987, 1–2, p. 160–161, with the quote of inscription *CIL VIII 9363 = ILS 1351*, recording *Ti. Claudius Priscianus, praefectus cohortis (III) Sigambrorum, praepositus classibus*, possible predecessor of *P. Aelius Marcianus* at the command of this naval squadron.

<sup>2232</sup> C. C. Petolescu, *Dacia*, N. S. 31, 1987, 1–2, p. 161.

<sup>2233</sup> *AE* 1969–1970, 595 = *AE* 1972, 572 = *IDRE II* 373; *PME*, A 166; *PIR*<sup>2</sup> C 753; Reddé, *Mare nostrum*, p. 406–409.

<sup>2234</sup> Thomasson, *Laterculi*<sup>2</sup>, p. 70, no. 23:018 (*ILS* 8821, inscription from Xanthus).

<sup>2235</sup> Al. Suceveanu, *SCIVA* 30, 1979, 1, p. 47–61

<sup>2236</sup> Em. Doruțiu-Boilă, *StCl* 17, 1977, p. 89–100.

<sup>2237</sup> *ISM I* 68, 1.67–73; B. Gerov, *ANRW VII/1*, 1979, p. 216. See T. Sarnowski, *Dacia*, N. S. 50, 2006, who believes that *ripa Danuvii* should have covered only the eastern part of *ripa Thraciae*, whilst the western part entered the control of the legions stationed in Novae, VIII Augusta and, starting with 69, I Italic.

<sup>2238</sup> *CIL IX 3609 = ILS 2707a: Q. Atatino Q. f. / Quir(ina tribu) Modesto / praefecto / fabr(um) bis / tubicini sacroru(m) / flamini Romae praefecto classis Moesic(ae) P. Atatinus Flaccus / fratri optimo ac piissim(o).*

in Hispania, then *praefectus alae II Gallorum in eadem provincia*, recorded by an inscription erected by same individual and discovered in same spot<sup>2239</sup>.

A. *Gellius Celer, praefectus classis Flaviae Moesicae*, recorded by a diploma, copy of a mixed constitution of August 20, 127, awarded to a former member of the Moesian fleet, C. *Valerius Marcellus, Pannonius*<sup>2240</sup>.

T. *Flavius T. fil. Quir. Gallicus, [pra]e[ff]ectus] classis F[lav]ia[ie]...*, appears on an inscription discovered at Thisidium, Africa. Subsequent this post, he is recorded *proc(urator) Aug(usti) prov(inciae) Afric(ae) tract(us) Kart(haginiensis)*<sup>2241</sup>. The inscription may be dated under Hadrian. Unfortunately, it cannot be established if he commanded either the Moesian or the Pannonian fleet.

M. *Vindius Verianus* appears on two inscriptions with identical text, one discovered close to Histria, at Sariurt, and the other incorporated in the post-Gothic enclosure of Histria<sup>2242</sup>. Furthermore, he is attested by a silver *tabula ansata* dedicated to goddess Fortuna in occasion of completion of the three *militiae equestres*, discovered in 1928 in Liguria (Regio IX), at Cascina Perbona at approximately a kilometre distance from the column commemorating the battle at Marengo<sup>2243</sup>. The two inscriptions above record that M. *Vindius Verianus* (with the *praenomen* supplied by the *tabula* from Liguria) was commissioned by governor C. *Ovinus Tertullus* with delimiting the borders between *vicani Buteridavenses* and the domains of a certain *Messia Pudentilla*. His activity may be dated between 198–201, years when C. *Ovinus Tertullus* is recorded governor of same province<sup>2244</sup>.

To conclude, M. *Vindius Verianus* completed three equestrian militias, subsequently being promoted to a sexagenary post, like the prefecture of the Moesian fleet. He is the first Roman knight who uses the formula *a militiis tribus*, thus indicating he completed the equestrian militias. Given that the spot where the silver *tabula ansata* was discovered was in Dertona colony territory, H.-G. Pflaum argued he might have been a city native. The scholar adds further, he might have been the successor of a freedman of senator M. *Vindius Verianus*, consul suffectus in 138<sup>2245</sup>.

L. *Valerius [...], praefectus classis Moesicae*, appears on an inscription found at Saloniae, in Dalmatia. He had been tribune of an unknown legion or auxiliary unit and prefect of cohort I *Tyrriorum* based under Trajan, when this inscription seems to date, still in Moesia Inferior. Subsequent the sexagenary post of Moesian fleet prefect, he would have risen to prefect of the fleet in Britannia or Germania, both of centenary ranks and later ducenary procurator, possibly

<sup>2239</sup> CIL IX 3610 = ILS 2707: [Q.] *Atatino P. f. Quir(ina tribu) / Modesto / trib(uno) mil(itum) leg(ionis) X Geminae / in Hispania annis XVI / praef(ecto) alae II Gallor(um) / in eadem provincia / praef(ecto) fabr(um) / P. Atatinus Flaccus / patri optimo*.

<sup>2240</sup> W. Eck, A. Pangerl, ZPE 165, 2008, p. 232–236.

<sup>2241</sup> CIL VIII 1269 = 14763 = ILS 6781=; M. G. Jarrett, EpigrSt 9, 1972, p. 178, n. 58; Pflaum, *Carrières*, no. 192; PME, F 49.

<sup>2242</sup> CIL III 14447 = ISM I 359; Pärvan, *Histria IV*, p. 633, no. 30 = AÉ 1919, 14 = ISM I 360: [I]ussu et ex del [c]reto v. c. Ovini / [T]ertulli co(n)s(ularis) ter[mini] positi inter / [M]essiam Pude[n]til[am] et vicano[s] / [Bu]teridavenses / [per] Vindium Vel[r]ianum praef(ectum) cl(assis).

<sup>2243</sup> AÉ 1937, 178 (= G. Bendinelli, *Il tesoro di argenteria di Marengo*, Monumenti d'arte antica editi a cura della Reale Accademia delle Scienze di Torino, Torino, 1937, p. 37–38, fig. 56–57, non vidi): *Fortun(ae) meliori / M. Vindius / Verianus praef(ectus) / clas(sis) Fl(aviae) Moes(icae) / et a militiis III / d(ono) d(edit)*; H. Devijver, in *Zetesis. Album amicorum door vrienden en collega's aangeboden aan Prof. Dr. E. de Strycker*, Antwerp-Utrecht, 1973, p. 549–565; PME, V 116.

<sup>2244</sup> PIR<sup>2</sup> O 191; Stein, *Legaten*, p. 84–86; Fitz, *Laufbahn*, p. 49; Thomasson, *Laterculi*<sup>2</sup>, p. 53–54, no. 20:107.

<sup>2245</sup> Pflaum, *Carrières*, p. 689, no. 255.



precisely in the province where the inscription was found, i.e. Dalmatia<sup>2246</sup>. The problem is however, that the third equestrian militia in his career is unknown, which made Em. Ritterling consider that mention *Moesica* would reference *ala Moesica*, stationed in Germania Inferior<sup>2247</sup>. Moreover, G. Alföldy, agreeing with A. von Domaszewski<sup>2248</sup>, argued he was coming from Dalmatia, while the procuratorship post must have been fulfilled in a different province<sup>2249</sup>. H.-G. Pflaum believes that the transit from tribunate to a sexagenary office entailed nothing special, quoting another two possible examples<sup>2250</sup>. Still, the only problem is that the centenary post is not mentioned, which makes me believe he was not procurator of Dalmatia, ducenary rank, but of a different province where such a post was of inferior rank.

[...] *Postumus, praefectus classis (Flaviae Moesicae)* appears on a very interesting inscription discovered at Noviodunum<sup>2251</sup>. They are two funerary epigrams (l. 4–12 are rendered in *dimeter iambicus*, while from l. 15 below we deal with an elegiac couplet), reunited on the same inscription, dedicated to the memory of two *alumni*, [*K*]ristallus (or [*K*]ristaelus) and *Achelous*. Beside other arguments, this discovery directly proves that Noviodunum was the main base of *classis Flavia Moesica*, where the prefect also resided. The inscription seems to date in the last part of the 3rd C<sup>2252</sup>.

[...] *Potamo* appears on the diploma fragment found at Olbia, copy of the same joint imperial constitution granted on February 8, 157 to both soldiers from auxiliaries and to those who had served in the Moesian fleet<sup>2253</sup>.

*Ignotus* is mentioned on an inscription from Rome preserving the career of an individual who held the command of several provincial fleets, among which also counted the Moesian fleet<sup>2254</sup>. The career, as preserved therein, commences with the tribunate of *XVI Flavia Firma* quartered at Samosata, period when this individual also served as *praepositus* of an unknown cavalry unit. He later rose to *subpraefectus classis praetoriae Misenensis*, a sexagenary post, being then promoted *procurator et praeses Alpium* [...], a centenary office. The mention *procurator et praeses* does not appear prior Septimius Severus reign. H.-G. Pflaum considers that the mention *praefectus class. Britannicae et Germanicae et Moesicae et Pannonicae* implies the existence of a concurrent command during emperor Septimius Severus expedition in Britannia, that may equal a ducenary post<sup>2255</sup>. Therefore, we gained a well defined chronological moment of this command and also precious information on the Moesian fleet involvement in the transportation of troops necessary to the emperor for the contemplated expedition. Since there are no further documents available that would record the participation of a vexillation from Moesia Inferior in this expedition, the mention of the Moesian fleet involvement is indirect proof for possible involvement of other units from Moesia Inferior.

<sup>2246</sup> CIL III 8716; PIR III, p. 351, no. 18; Pflaum, *Carrières*, p. 193–197, no. 92 and p. 967–968; PME, V 3. C. C. Petolescu, *Dacia*, N. S. 31, 1987, p. 157–161.

<sup>2247</sup> Em. Ritterling, *Korr.-Blatt* 25, 1906, p. 24, note 2 (*non vidi*); Stein, *Truppenkörper*, p. 144–145. See also Alföldy, *Hilfstruppen*, p. 23–25, no. 9 and p. 179, no. 41, where *L. Valerius* [...] is deemed prefect of this unit.

<sup>2248</sup> Domaszewski, *RO*<sup>2</sup>, p. 210.

<sup>2249</sup> Alföldy, *Hilfstruppen*, p. 179: “Dalmatia dürfte aber auch der Geburtsort des Ritters gewesen sein, wofür der Umstand sprechen kann, dass er hier bestattet wurde”.

<sup>2250</sup> Pflaum, *Carrières*, p. 195.

<sup>2251</sup> ISM V 281; Al. Barnea, *Dacia*, N. S. 19, 1975, p. 258–261 (MNA L 968); AÉ 2000, 1271 (= P. Cugusi, *Respublica litterarum. Studies in Classical Tradition* 23, 2000 (In memory of Scevola Mariotti), p. 73–103).

<sup>2252</sup> Al. Barnea, *Dacia*, N. S. 19, 1975, p. 259–260.

<sup>2253</sup> A. Ivantchik, V. Krapivina, *Chiron* 37, 2007, p. 219–242.

<sup>2254</sup> CIL VI 1643; Pflaum, *Carrières*, p. 695–696, no. 259; PME, *Inc.* 96.

<sup>2255</sup> Pflaum, *Carrières*, p. 696.

## 2.2. Centuriones

*Q. Iulius Heliodorus, centurio*, most likely of *classis Flavia Moesica*, appears on an altar erected at Noviodunum by *liburna Armata*<sup>2256</sup>. Gr. Florescu considered it was *liburna Armata* from the inscriptions at Misenum<sup>2257</sup> and that it had been dispatched from the Praetorian fleet at Misenum to the Lower Danube. However, it is most likely a homonym ship with the one at Misenum, which belonged to the Danubian fleet.

*C. Valerius M. f. Rufus, ex centurione*, is the holder of a diploma copied after the imperial constitution of 112 (January – March)<sup>2258</sup>, of which another copy is known, identified at Telița, Tulcea county, granted to a *classarius*<sup>2259</sup>.

## 2.3. Optio

*Auluzenus, optio classis eiusdem*, erected a tombstone, most likely to another member of *classis Flavia Moesica*<sup>2260</sup>. Given that the inscription was found at Chersonesus, they belonged to the naval squadron based within the city. The name of this *optio* is of Thracian origin<sup>2261</sup>.

## 2.4. Trierarchi

[*L. Aelius*] *Severinus, trierarchus classis Flaviae Moesicae*, is attested by an inscription found at Histria, reused in the post-Gothic enclosure. Obviously, it was brought there from somewhere in the fortress territory. *Claudia Sabina*, his spouse, erected the inscription and the sarcophagus, fact that may be proven by the specific form of the limestone block bearing the inscription, most likely cut from a large- sized sarcophagus<sup>2262</sup>.

*T. Aurelius T. f. Cam(ilia tribu) Secundus Ravenna, trierarchus classis Flaviae Moesicae*, is the one who places the dedication to emperor Commodus and to *Fl. Sergianus Sosibius*, tribune of I Italica and *praepositus* of the vexillation from Moesia Inferior at Chersonesus, in 184 (*Materno et Bradua cos.*)<sup>2263</sup>. A native of Ravenna, he might have served as simple soldier in the Praetorian fleet and later on dispatched, possibly together with a naval squadron, to Chersonesus<sup>2264</sup>.

*C. Candius Germanus, trierarchus*, erected an altar to *Iupiter Optimus Maximus* and *Genius loci*, discovered at Noviodunum, headquarters of *classis Flavia Moesica*<sup>2265</sup>.

<sup>2256</sup> ISM V 273 = AÉ 1950, 175 (Gr. Florescu, RIR 16, 1946, 1, p. 11–17; Gh. Ștefan, Dacia 9–10, 1941–1944, p. 475–478, no. 2)

<sup>2257</sup> CIL X 3589, 3634, 3668.

<sup>2258</sup> W. Eck, in F. Beutler, W. Hameter (eds.), “*Ein ganz Normale Inschrift... und ähnliches zum Geburtstag von Ekkehard Weber. Festschrift zum 30. April 2005* (Althistorisch-Epigraphische Studien 5), p. 247–254 = AÉ 2005, 1737.

<sup>2259</sup> RMD V 344 = AÉ 2003, 1549.

<sup>2260</sup> AÉ 1984, 806.

<sup>2261</sup> D. Detschew, *Die thrakischen Sprachreste*<sup>2</sup>, Vienna, 1976, p. 35–37.

<sup>2262</sup> ISM I 281 = V. Pârvan, Dacia 2, 1925, p. 221, no. 22, Histria. For *memoria*, tombstone and *sarcophagus*, more frequent in the Latin of the Balkan and Oriental provinces, either sarcophagus or burial place, see L. Lupaș, StCl 5, 1963, p. 131–132. Given the tabula ansata and the inscription location, in this case we deal with a sarcophagus and not an utterance pointing to the burial place, as supposed by D. M. Pippidi.

<sup>2263</sup> AÉ 1900, 199 = CIL III 14214<sup>34</sup> = IOSPE I<sup>2</sup> 417 = Solomonik, *Latinskie nadpisi*, p. 37–38, no. 9; Sarnowski, ArchWarszawa 38, 1988, p. 77, no. 30; PME, F 71.

<sup>2264</sup> A *liburna Sagitta* is also recorded at Chersonesus, where *C. Valerius Valens* served, Solomonik, *Pamiatniki*, p. 227–230, no. 189 = AÉ 1967, 429. See also comments in Bounegru, Zahariade, *Forces navales*, p. 31–32.

<sup>2265</sup> Fl. Topoleanu, Peuce 10, 1992, p. 97–100, fig. 12 = AÉ 1992, 1498: *I. O. M. / et Genio / loci / C. Calnd(ius) Germ(anus) / tr(ierarchus)*.

## 2.5. *Duplicarius*

A *medicus duplicarius classis Flaviae Moesicae*, *M. Seius Gaugillius* and a *medicus vexillationis*, *L. Papirius Olympicus*, placed an inscription for *M. Atalius Placidus, centurio legionis I Italicae, pro succesu eius*, to gods Asclepius and Hygia<sup>2266</sup>. According to epigraphic records, all physicians in various fleets were ranked *duplicarii*<sup>2267</sup>.

## 2.6. *Classici*

*Aelius Ma[...]*, *miles classis [Flaviae Moesicae]*, is mentioned on an inscription found at Chersonesus<sup>2268</sup>.

*Ulpus Valens, miles classiarius*, placed a votive inscription in 214 (*Messala et Sabino cos.*), discovered at Tyras<sup>2269</sup>.

*C. Valerius Valens* served on *liburna Sagitta*, recorded at Chersonesus<sup>2270</sup>.

## 2.7. *Veterani*

*Valerius Valens, veteranus classis Flaviae Moesicae*, placed, while still living, a bilingual inscription to him and his spouse, discovered at Tomis<sup>2271</sup>. Based on both palaeographic features (*sigma* with straight arms), especially those of the Greek text and the name, the inscription may be dated in the first half of the 3rd C.

*C. Valerius [.] f. Marcellus, Pannonius, ex gregale classis Flaviae Moesicae*, appears on a diploma, copy of the joint constitution of August 20, 127, under the command of prefect *A. Gellius Celer*<sup>2272</sup>.

## 2.8. *Arcarius classis*

*P. Aelius Mithres, ark(arius) clas(is)*, made a sarcophagus for his wife, *Ulpia Iulia*, discovered in the Roman cemetery from Noviodunum<sup>2273</sup>. As in the same tumulus coins from the reign of Antoninus Pius and Marcus Aurelius were found, his activity could be dated after the middle of the 2nd C, probably around the year 170. *P. Aelius Mithres* was probably a descendent of a person who received the citizenship from the emperor Hadrian, as his name states. The *arcarius classis* was the person in charged of the fleet treasury (*arca / arka* – in fact the coffer were the money were kept). It is impossible to tell if he was really a fleet soldier or only a freedman in charge with the fleet treasury<sup>2274</sup>.

<sup>2266</sup> AÉ 1995, 1350.

<sup>2267</sup> Reddé, *Mare nostrum*, p. 536. See also R. W. Davies, *EpigrSt* 7, 1969, p. 83–99.

<sup>2268</sup> AÉ 1967, 432.

<sup>2269</sup> Sarnowski, *ArchWarszawa* 38, 1988, p. 74, no. 19 = AÉ 1990, 870; Bounegru, *Zahariade, Forces navales*, p. 117, no. 18.

<sup>2270</sup> Solomonik, *Pamiatniki*, p. 227–230, no. 189 = AÉ 1967, 429; Bounegru, *Zahariade, Forces navales*, p. 31–32.

<sup>2271</sup> CIL III 7552 = ISM II 199 (MNA L 515).

<sup>2272</sup> W. Eck, A. Pangerl, *ZPE* 165, 2008, p. 232–236.

<sup>2273</sup> G. Simion, *Dacia, N. S.* 38–39, 1994–1995, p. 123–124 and 129: *D. M. / Ulpia Iulia vix(it) / an(nis) XL / P. Aelius Mithres / ark(arius) clas(is) coniug(i) / b(ene) m(erenti) f(aciendum) c(uravit)*. The sarcophagus was found in the tumulus XXX of the necropolis, situated along the road coming to Noviodunum (p. 135).

<sup>2274</sup> See the discussion for the *arcarius legionis III Augustae* by Y. Le Bohec, *La troisième legion Auguste*, Paris, 1989, p. 194–195.





## ADDENDUM I

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### THE INVOLVEMENT OF MOESIA INFERIOR ARMY IN TRAJAN'S DACIAN WAR

On the territory of the new province of Moesia Inferior were stationed as early as Vespasian's rule, two legions, V Macedonica at Oescus<sup>2275</sup> and I Italica at Novae. This would remain unchanged by the start of the first Dacian expedition<sup>2276</sup> of emperor Trajan. Nonetheless, the subsequent course of the events required major adjustments. Thus, legion V Macedonica would be moved, possibly as early as 103–105, to Troesmis; legion XI Claudia was brought from Vindonissa, most likely at Oescus at first and then, by the end of the second Dacian expedition, at Durostorum; a vexillation or possibly the full strength of I Minervia was brought in Moesia Inferior from Bonna, in Germania Inferior. All these legions were involved in the military operations south the Danube, following the Dacians and their allies attack of Moesia Inferior in the winter of 101–102, and subsequently north the Danube, in both the first and the second Dacian campaign. Furthermore, vexillations of V Macedonica, I Italica and XI Claudia, together with an important number of auxiliary units, were stationed in a few fortifications from Muntenia and Olt valley, given that until the beginning of Hadrian's rule, this territory, which later became province Dacia Inferior, was part of Moesia Inferior. Hereinafter, I shall review, upon legions and auxiliary units, records regarding their connection to the two Dacian campaigns and we shall draw conclusions on the way and time of their involvement in military operations.

#### 1. *LEGIO V MACEDONICA*

The V Macedonica legion is the single legion from Moesia Inferior, at least according to current state of research, whose legate *Q. Roscius Sex. f. Quir(ina tribu) Coelius Murena Pompeius Falco*, future governor of the same province<sup>2277</sup>, received *dona militaria* from Trajan during the Dacian war, as mentioned by an inscription from Tarracina(Regio I)<sup>2278</sup>.

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<sup>2275</sup> On the history of the legion on the territory of Moesia, prior the establishment of Moesia Inferior, see Fl. Matei-Popescu, in L. Mihailescu-Bîrliba, O. Bounegru (eds.), *Studia historiae et religionis Daco-Romanae. In honorem Silvii Sanie*, Bucharest, 2006, p. 379–399, with complete epigraphic file and previous bibliography.

<sup>2276</sup> I have recently explained my preference for the use of “Dacian expeditions” term instead of the usual Dacian wars, Fl. Matei-Popescu, O. Țentea, in *Dacia Augusti Provincia*, p. 76–77. See also V. Rosenberger's work, *Bella et expeditiones. Die antike Terminologie der Kriege Roms*, Stuttgart, 1992, p. 92–94, with the quote of all epigraphic sources.

<sup>2277</sup> Recorded on three inscriptions from Tomis, CIL III 7537 = ISM II 43; ISM II 44; AÉ 1957, 336 = ISM II 46; Thomasson, *Laterculi*, col. 324, no. 22

<sup>2278</sup> CIL X 6321 = ILS 1035 = IPD<sup>4</sup> 807 = IDRE I 101. See also an extremely fragmentary inscription from Ephesus (Asia), AÉ 1957, 17 = IDRE II 374 and a new inscription from Kaunos, Lycia et Pamphylia, Cr. Marek, *Die Inschriften von Kaunos*, Vestigia. Beiträge zur Alten Geschichte 35, Munich, 2006, p. 312–315, no. 136; PIR R 68; Ritterling, RE XII, 1925, col. 1576; A. R. Birley, *ArhVest* 28, 1977, p. 360–367; Maxfield, *Military*

From the Trajanic period may date the brick and tile stamps from Buridava (Stolniceni), where the governor of Moesia Inferior resided, at least for a while, as argued by D. Tudor<sup>2279</sup>. There, stamps of V Macedonica are associated on two tiles with stamps of I Italica and XI Claudia, one also displaying the name of a certain *Iulius Aper*, most likely a centurion of one of the three legions, who commanded the vexillation dispatched there<sup>2280</sup>. On another tile, the name of V Macedonica is associated only with that of legion I Italica<sup>2281</sup>. Additionally, this legion name could appear on several amphora fragments, written in red dye, discovered in the same spot<sup>2282</sup>.

From the same period dates the stamp on a brick found in the fort at Arutela (Bivolari)<sup>2283</sup>.

At Slăveni, on Olt River, legion stamps in association with tile material belonging to legion XI Claudia<sup>2284</sup> were also identified, however circumstances are not clear, as the stamp of legion V Macedonica could be late, while the stamp of legion Claudia could be confusion with a stamp of XIII Gemina<sup>2285</sup>, also present with tile material in this fort<sup>2286</sup>. Similarly unclear are the circumstances of the supposed presence of the legion in the fort at Răcari, on Jiu river, in the Trajanic level<sup>2287</sup> and at Bumbești, still in an early level<sup>2288</sup>.

The stamps from Drajna de Sus date in the Trajanic period, considering this fortification functioned only until the beginning of Hadrian's reign<sup>2289</sup>. The legion stamps associate at Drajna with stamps of legions XI Claudia and I Italica, as well as with stamps of cohort *I Flavia Commagenorum*<sup>2290</sup>. Additionally, it seems that a legion stamp comes from the fort at Mălăiești, on river Teleajen, made of *caespites*, located nearby the mountains entry area. Unfortunately, the information preserved only in a previous work of C. Zagoriț, can no longer be verified<sup>2291</sup>.

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*Decorations*, p. 265; Strobel, *Dakerkriege*, p. 90; M. Zyromski, *Eos* 84, 1996, p. 127, no. 24. On the complete discussion regarding his career see A. R. Birley, *The fasti of the Roman Britain*, Oxford, 1981, p. 95–100; A. Caballos Rufino, *Los senadores hispanoromanos y la romanización de Hispania (siglos I al III p. C.)*. I. Tomo I: *Prosopografía*, Monografías del Departamento de Historia Antigua de la Universidad de Sevilla, Ecija 1990), p. 255–258, no. 142; Franke, *Legionslegaten*, p. 116–123, no. 57.

<sup>2279</sup> IDR II 564, stamp with *P(edites) S(ingulares)*, related to the supposed presence there of the province governor. On the Roman fortification there see TIR L 35, 68–69, I f; Gh. Bichir, *Thraco-Dacica* 6, 1985, p. 93–104; Gudea, *Der dakische Limes*, p. 88–89, no. 74.

<sup>2280</sup> IDR II 556; 557: *V MAC*.

<sup>2281</sup> IDR II 559: *V MACE[D]*. See also Gh. Bichir, *Thraco-Dacica* 6, 1985, p. 93–103 = ILD 150 (joint stamps on I Italica tile material, associated with stamps of cohort *II Flavia Bessorum* of type *COH II FL BES*).

<sup>2282</sup> Gh. Bichir, *Thraco-Dacica* 6, 1985, p. 110, fig. 11 = ILD 151: *LEG[...]* and *LE[...]* / *VM[...]*.

<sup>2283</sup> IDR II 579.

<sup>2284</sup> IDR II 522 (*L VM*); 523 (*LE XI*).

<sup>2285</sup> D. Tudor's view, *SMMIM* 7–8, 1974–1975, p. 16–17.

<sup>2286</sup> IDR 524: *LEG XIII*.

<sup>2287</sup> IDR II 167: *.VM*. Unfortunately, the brick is today lost. See also Gudea, *Der dakische Limes*, p. 96, no. 89. See recent discussion in *Dacia Augusti Provincia*, p. 219–235, especially p. 232: “The dating of the small earth and timber camp from Răcari does not pose special problems. The legion V Macedonica, formal analogies, general historical context as well as coin finds in digs, all ensure the dating of the first fort no later than the winter of 106/107”.

<sup>2288</sup> IDR II 178: *.M*. Alike Răcari, this brick is also lost. See also Gudea, *Der dakische Limes*, p. 98–99, no. 92, where it is not even quoted.

<sup>2289</sup> IDR II 601; M. Zahariade, T. Dvorski, *The Lower Moesian Army in Northern Wallachia (A. D. 101–118). An Epigraphic and Historical Study on the Brick and Tile Stamps Found in the Drajna de Sus Roman Fort*, Bucharest, 1997, p. 21–22; M. Zahariade, D. Lichiardopol, in *Dacia Augusti Provincia*, p. 123, single type *LEG VMAC*, two variants. In total, 76 stamps applied on various tile material types were discovered.

<sup>2290</sup> IDR II 603; Petolescu, *Auxilia*, p. 95–97, no. 30; Fl. Matei-Popescu, *SCIVA* 52–53, 2001–2002, p. 204–205, no. 20.

<sup>2291</sup> C. Zagoriț, *Castrul roman de la Mălăiești și cetatea dacică de la Valea Humei din județul Prahova*, Ploiești, 1940, p. 8 = ILD 168, who mentions a tile stamp of V Macedonica discovered in occasion of a visit in the fort area. Latest excavations in the area of the fort at Mălăiești were carried out by Gr. Florescu, E. Bujor, *SCIV*, 6, 1955, 1–2, p. 271–279.

It seems that a legion vexillation participated in the construction of the bridge at Drobeta, given that part of the tile material, of several types, present in this city comes precisely from the bridge foot. Tile material has also appeared in the fort, reused in the walls of the medieval fortress<sup>2292</sup> and in the baths located west the bridge foot<sup>2293</sup>. Another stamp was recently put forth by C. Crăciun, who quotes J. Fakler's report of 1896 mentioning the discovery of the stamp upon a sondage performed in a ridge close to the foot of Trajan's bridge<sup>2294</sup>. The presence of *Maecius Domitius*, centurion still in active service, who placed a tombstone to his spouse *Flavia Valentina*, of origin from Sirmium is also worth mentioning<sup>2295</sup>. The inscription was dated, based on fonts, during the Antonines. I wonder what a V Macedonica centurion, stationed at the time at Troesmis, was doing at Drobeta, in Dacia Superior. It would be more logical to date this inscription in the first years of Roman control in Dacia, when the constructional activity of this legion is recorded at Drobeta, as seen above. For early date would plead the possible Italian origo suggested by his *nomen*<sup>2296</sup>, as well as his spouse name that might indicate a Sirmium colonist descendant, under Vespasian. *Maecius Domitius* must have been one of the centurions or the centurion who led the V Macedonica vexillation, involved in constructional activities at Drobeta after 102.

Four inscriptions recording V Macedonica veterans were discovered at Drobeta<sup>2297</sup>. Generally, they were dated after the legion settlement at Potaissa, but at least the activity of *C. Iulius Melcidianus, veteranus ex beneficiario consularis*, may also be dated in the first half of the 2nd C, based on both his name and that of his spouse, *Ulpia Marcellina*<sup>2298</sup>. The activity of *M. Valerius Alexander*, former *strator consularis* may be dated, based on the legion surname *pia constans*, by mid 3rd C<sup>2299</sup>, while the activities of *C. Valerius Victorinus*, former legion tribune beneficiarius and *Aelius Bassus*, former legion soldier may be theoretically dated either prior the legion dispatch at Potaissa or after.

Upon the conclusion of the Dacian campaigns and Decebalus former kingdom transformation into a Roman province, legion V Macedonica would remain in the fort at Troesmis, where it had been moved by Trajan in-between the two wars. Unfortunately, in order to understand the legion's role and place in the history of Moesia Inferior during this period, we may rely only on epigraphic information, since there is almost no archaeological evidence and even the fort location in the field is unknown, not to mention its shape or internal planning.

## 2. LEGIO I ITALICA

The career of centurion *Ti. Claudius Vitalis* began in V Macedonica (*ex equ[i]te R(omano) ordinem accepit in leg(ione) V Mac(edonica)*), continued in the same province, being transferred in legion I Italica (*successione promotus [ex] leg(ione) V Ma[c(edonica)] in leg(ionem) [I It]al(icam)*). In this capacity, he received *dona militaria* subsequent the Dacian war, from an emperor unnamed in the inscription (*donis d(onato) torquib(us) armill(is) phaler(is) corona val[l(ari)] bello Dacico*).

<sup>2292</sup> CIL III 8066 a = CIL III 14216<sup>24</sup> = IDR II 99: *L(egio) V M(acedonica)*.

<sup>2293</sup> C. Crăciun, in *Dacia Augusti Provincia*, p. 388.

<sup>2294</sup> *Ibidem*, p. 386, note 120.

<sup>2295</sup> IDR II 36; Bărbulescu, *Legiunea V Macedonica*, p. 70, no. 19.

<sup>2296</sup> W. Schulze, *Zur Geschichte lateinischer Eigennamen (1904). Mit einer Berichtigungsliste zur Neuauflage von Olli Salomies*, Zürich-Hildesheim, 1991, p. 185.

<sup>2297</sup> IDR II 38–41.

<sup>2298</sup> CIL III 14216<sup>6</sup> = IDR II 41; Bărbulescu, *Legiunea V Macedonica*, p. 72, no. 12.

<sup>2299</sup> IDR II 38. This epithet is recorded beginning with the 3rd C, Bărbulescu, *Legiunea V Macedonica*, p. 27–28.

He is subsequently transferred in legion I Minervia (*successione promotus ex leg(ione) I Ital(ica) in leg(ionem) I Miner(viam)*), receiving *dona militaria* (*[it]er(um) donis d(onato) torquib(us) armill(is) phaler(is) corona vall[ari] bello Dacico*) for the second time. He would be then successively transferred in two legions from Britannia, XX Valeria Victrix and IX Hispana, ending his career in Moesia Superior, in legion VII Claudia, where he held the office of *centurio princeps posterior* in cohort II. His career, truly exceptional, extended approximately over two decades, given that he died at the age of 41, of which he had served 11 in the mentioned cohort of legion VII Claudia<sup>2300</sup>.

L. Mrozewicz, to whom belongs the most recent detailed analysis of this individual career, dates it in the period between 80 and 101 and proposes the following chronological sequence: centurion of V Macedonica around 80; centurion of I Italica 85/86; centurion of I Minervia 88; centurion of XX Valeria Victrix and IX Hispana in 88/89–90/91; centurion of VII Claudia in 91/92–101/102<sup>2301</sup>. Such dating is based on V. A. Maxfield's remark that *dona militaria* were received during the Dacian war (*bellum Dacicum*) without mentioning the emperor and therefore, only Domitian may be taken into consideration, who, as well known, suffered *damnatio memoriae*<sup>2302</sup>. Nevertheless, as K. Strobel has already proven, the career of this individual dates rather during Trajan's wars with the Dacians<sup>2303</sup>. The clearest evidence is his decoration as centurion in legion I Minervia p. f., most likely during the second Dacian expedition. Admittedly, evidence of I Minervia presence at Novae<sup>2304</sup> during the Dacian war was already published, so the transfer (promotion) of *Ti. Claudius Vitalis* from I Italica to legion I Minervia must have been easy. It is well known that I Minervia was involved in the second Dacian expedition of Trajan, under the command of the future emperor Hadrian<sup>2305</sup>. Their displacement to Britannia, possibly together with soldiers from the Lower Danube, had taken place, according to E. Birley, by the beginning of Hadrian's reign.

C. *Nummius Verus*, tribune of legion I Italica might have also been decorated in the same Dacian war, as mentioned by a not very clear inscription found at Falerii, Italy<sup>2306</sup>.

<sup>2300</sup> On the promotion of this centurion see Domaszewski, RO<sup>2</sup>, p. 94–96.

<sup>2301</sup> Mrozewicz, *Legioniści*, p. 94–99, no. 31.

<sup>2302</sup> Maxfield, *Military Decorations*, p. 186 and 191–192.

<sup>2303</sup> K. Strobel, *Tyche* 2, 1987, p. 209: “Da wir bei dem *ex equite Romano* direktberufenen Vitalis auch für seinen ersten Centurionat bei der Legio V Macedonica wohl von einer relativ kurzen Dauer ausgehen können, läßt sich in etwa der folgende Zeitrahmen für seine Karriere etnwerfen: Eintritt in die V Macedonica ca. 100/101 n. Chr., Dienst in den Legionen V Macedonica, I Italica, I Minervia bis 106 n. Chr., ca. 107–110/111 n. Chr. Rasche Versetzungen und Beförderungen des hoch dekorierten Offiziers zu den Legionen XX Valeria Victrix und IX Hispana (alle drei Posten in Nimwegen ?) bis zum ersten Centurionat bei der VII Claudia. Sein zweiter Centurionat bei dieser Truppe wäre demnach in die Jahre ca. 111–121/122 n. Chr. zu datieren”. See to same end also Richier, *Centuriones ad Rhenum*, p. 311.

<sup>2304</sup> T. Sarnowski, *Germania* 65, 1987, 1, p. 107–110, fig. 1–3, following digs in the *valetudinarium* area emerged four tile stamps of legion I Minervia p. f. of *LEG I M P F* type, with two variants. Another tile stamp was found in *scamna tribunorum*, near *via praetoria*. They all were discovered in association with stamps of I Italica and XI Claudia, among which some may be dated under Trajan (p. 110, fig. 4). The first phase *valetudinarium* may be dated by the start of the 2nd C (p. 111): “Nach dem Fundmaterial aus den ältesten Schichten des Lazarettgebäudes (Tonlampen, Glas- un Keramikfunde aus dem späten 1. und frühen 2. Jahrhundert, Bronzeprägungen des Claudius, Nerva und Traian) ist das Valetudinarium ins frühe 2. Jahrhundert zu datieren”.

<sup>2305</sup> SHA, *Vita Hadriani*, 3, 6: *secunda expeditione Dacica Traianus eum (scil. Hadrianum) primae legioni Minerviae praeposuit secumque duxit*; J. Fündling, *Kommentar zur Vita Hadriani der Historia Augusta*, Antiquitas. Reihe 4. Beiträge zur Historia-Augusta-Forschung. Serie 3: Kommentare, 4/1–2, Bonn, 2006, p. 339–341. In addition, two legion centurions were decorated (CIL II 2424; VI 35844) and evidently, also Hadrian (Maxfield, *Military Decorations*, p. 150); see also Fündling, *op. cit.*, p. 341, comment to passage SHA, *Vita Hadriani*, 3, 6: *quando quidem multa egrégia eius facta claruerunt*.

<sup>2306</sup> CIL XI 3100 = Filow, *Legionen*, p. 53, no. 1 = IPD<sup>4</sup> 757 = IDRE I 131; PME, N 34.



At Buridava, as seen above in the discussion regarding legion V Macedonica, stamps of I Italica are associated on same tiles with stamps of V Macedonica and XI Claudia.

From the Trajanic period also date the stamps identified at Drajna de Sus, given that this fortification was functional only until the start of Hadrian's rule<sup>2307</sup>. Stamps of this legion associate at Drajna with stamps of legions XI Claudia p. f.<sup>2308</sup> and V Macedonica<sup>2309</sup>, as well as with stamps of cohort *I Flavia Commagenorum*<sup>2310</sup>. Possibly still during the Dacian expeditions dates the presence of a legion vexillation at Sucidava<sup>2311</sup> and of a vexillation at Drobeta, to provide aid in the bridge construction, as seems to indicate the rather large number of stamped bricks identified<sup>2312</sup>. The situation of the tile material with this legion stamp identified at Pietroșani, Teleorman county, is still uncertain. It constituted the basis for the proposition of a Roman fort at Reca Mare<sup>2313</sup>. Most likely, they come from south Danube, the fort at Novae being located at only a few kilometres west the mentioned point, evidently on the other side of the Danube.

### 3. LEGIO XI CLAVDIA PIA FIDELIS

The XI Claudia pia fidelis legion is undeniably recorded at Vindonissa in the last decade of the 1st C by several *tabulae ceratae*, preserving the consular dating of 90, 91 and 94<sup>2314</sup>.

In this period (between 91 and 96), *L. Iulius L. f. Fab. Marinus Caecilius Simplex* was legion legate, as mentioned by an inscription from Italy rendering his career<sup>2315</sup>. The successor to the legion command was *L. Munatius M. f. Ter. Gallus* (98–99/100?), possibly the last legate prior the legion displacement from Vindonissa. He is then appointed legate of III Augusta from Africa, between 100 and 102<sup>2316</sup>. In 99–101, likely even during the legion dispatch to the Lower Danube theatre of operations, the legion was most likely commanded by the well known *C. Iulius Quadratus Bassus*, as recorded by the inscription rendering his career from

<sup>2307</sup> IDR II 600; M. Zahariade, T. Dvorski, *The Lower Moesian Army in Northern Wallachia (A. D. 101–118). An Epigraphical and Historical Study on the Brick and Tile Stamps Found in the Drajna de Sus Roman Fort*, Bucharest, 1997, p. 19–21; M. Zahariade, D. Lichiardopol, in *Dacia Augusti Provincia*, p. 123, a single type *LEG I ITAL*. 322 stamps applied on various types of tile material were found.

<sup>2308</sup> IDR II 602.

<sup>2309</sup> IDR II 601.

<sup>2310</sup> IDR II 603; Petolescu, *Auxilia*, p. 95–97, no. 30; Fl. Matei-Popescu, *SCIVA* 52–53, 2001–2002, p. 204–205, no. 20.

<sup>2311</sup> IDR II 235; Strobel, *Dakerkriege*, p. 86.

<sup>2312</sup> CIL III 8072 = IDR II 97; Strobel, *Dakerkriege*, p. 86.

<sup>2313</sup> CIL III 12522 = IDR II 636. It also quotes a text signed by E. Moscalu, C. Beda, C. Manda, *Descoperiri arheologice de la Pietroșani (jud. Teleorman)*, also mentioning other tiles bearing the legion stamp.

<sup>2314</sup> M. Alexander Speidel, *Die römischen Schreiftafeln von Vindonissa. Lateinische Texte des militärischen Alltags und ihre geschichtliche Bedeutung*, Veröffentlichungen der Gessellschaft Pro Vindonissa 12, Brugg, 1996, p. 90–93, no. 1 (*tabella honestae missionis* (Entlassungsurkunde) for several soldiers raised in 66–67 CE and discharged in 91 under legate *L. Iavolenus Priscus*); p. 98–101, no. 3 (note on how to reimburse a loan “Schuldschein”; January 25, 90: *...in dies XXX et quamcumque ducitur. Ibi sortem et usuras probas recte dari stipulatus est Sex. Carisius Maximus, quo sponndit L. Haterius Maximus. Aes reddam tibi aut proc(uratori)aut heredi tuo. Actum Vindonissa hib(ernis) leg(ionis) XI, VIII K(alendas) Februar(ias). Imp(eratore) Domitiano V. f. Aug. Ger. XV M. Cocceio Nervae II cos.*); p. 102–105, no. 4; p. 114–115, no. 9 (letter); p. 116–117, no. 10 (letter) and p. 42–43, with a short history of the legion presence at Vindonissa. See also R. Fellmann, in Le Bohec, *Les légions de Rome*, p. 129.

<sup>2315</sup> CIL IX 4965 = ILS 1026 = Riese, *Rheinische Germanien*, p. 104, no. 889; Franke, *Legionslegaten*, p. 222–224, no. 94; M. Zyromski, *Eos* 86, 1999, p. 122–123, no. 7, proposes 96–97.

<sup>2316</sup> CIL XIII 11500; CIL VIII 10186; Y. Le Bohec, *La troisième légion Auguste*, Paris, 1989, p. 125; 371; 373 and 376; Franke, *Legionslegaten*, p. 62–63, no. 35; M. Zyromski, *Eos* 84, 1996, p. 124, no. 17.

Pergamum<sup>2317</sup>. It is hard to appreciate whether immediately after its dispatch to Moesia Inferior, the legion was or not involved in the military operations south or north the Danube<sup>2318</sup>.

Most likely, the fort at Vindonissa was deserted in 100/101, as coin finds seem to show<sup>2319</sup>.

Until recently, it seemed that the legion was stationed for a while at Brigetio, in Pannonia<sup>2320</sup>, yet it is very likely that such prints dated during the transfer period to the Lower Danube limes, which took place in my view, consequent the Dacian assault in the winter of 101–102<sup>2321</sup>. It is also possible, as B. Lőrincz suggested, that a legion “Bauvexillation”, together with other “Bauvexillationen” of XIII Gemina and XV Apollinaris, erected the fortress at Brigetio during 101–105<sup>2322</sup> (fortress II, the first on this site<sup>2323</sup>). In fact, the constructional activity at Brigetio began in 97, after *bellum Suebicum*, when beside the two mentioned legions, I Adiutrix (full strength) and XIII Gemina (“Bauvexillation”) were also involved. Since, once with the start of the first *expeditio Dacica*, both legions were sent to the Dacian front, a “Bauvexillation” of XI Claudia pia fidelis was dispatched to replace vexillations of these two legions. Furthermore, the constructional activity of the “Bauvexillation” soldiers was identified at Aquincum, Tokod, Scarbantia and Ad Flexum, as well<sup>2324</sup>.

In fact, there is information that as early as 101–106, legion XI Claudia p. f. was present at Oescus, prior its final settlement at Durostorum. I mention the inscription recording *C. Cornelius Iustus, miles legionis XI C(laudiae) p(iae) f(idelis)*, definitely dating from the start of the 2nd C, considering the name in Nominative of the deceased and the use of the formula *hic situs est* by the end of the epitaph<sup>2325</sup>. M. Zahariade considers that only part of the legion was transferred to Oescus, where it would station together with V Macedonica, prior the start of the first Dacian expedition, which was concurrent with the transfer of the vexillation from Brigetio<sup>2326</sup>, while another vexillation was directly sent to Durostorum in 105–106<sup>2327</sup>. Although, as already noted by K. Strobel<sup>2328</sup>, all stamps of legion XI Claudia p. f. that may be safely dated during the Dacian campaigns are identical with those from Germania Superior and Pannonia, M. Zahariade’s scenario is still hard to believe. I rather consider that, by the beginning, when the operations front of the Dacian war included legions I Adiutrix and XIII Gemina (both full strength), Trajan did not intend to also displace legion XI Claudia pia fidelis, still recorded, as shown above, at Vindonissa. Subsequent the winter attack of 101–102, under extremely high pressures coming from two, rather vast, fronts, Trajan decides to involve legion XI Claudia and

<sup>2317</sup> AÉ 1933, 268 = AÉ 1934, 176 = Chr. Habicht, *Altertümer von Pergamon, VIII/3. Die Inschriften von Asklepieions*, Berlin, 1969, p. 43–53, no. 21 = IDRE II 381; Franke, *Legionslegaten*, p. 211–217, no. 91.

<sup>2318</sup> See complete discussion in Chr. Habicht, *op. cit.*, p. 49: “Das Legionskommando über die XI Claudia kommt danach etwa in die Jahre 99–100. Entweder ist nun Bassus mit dieser Legion noch im J. 101 von Vindonissa nach Brigetio abgerückt (er könnte an ihrer Spitze am 1. Dakischen Krieg teilgenommen haben), oder er hat im 1. Dakischen Krieg sein erstes Sonderkommando innegehabt. In beiden Fällen wäre für die Statthalterschaft von Iudaea 103–104 anzunehmen und wie solchen Statthalterschaften aus ganz üblich ein unmittelbar folgendes Konsulat”.

<sup>2319</sup> Ritterling, RE XII, 1925, col. 1697.

<sup>2320</sup> B. Lőrincz, *ActaArchHung*27/3–4, 1975, p. 342–352.

<sup>2321</sup> Fl. Matei-Popescu, *Argesis* 13, 2004, p. 123–129.

<sup>2322</sup> B. Lőrincz, *ActaArchHung*27/3–4, 1975, p. 349–351.

<sup>2323</sup> *Ibidem*, p. 346–349.

<sup>2324</sup> *Ibidem*, p. 350.

<sup>2325</sup> ILB 62 = Conrad, *Grabstellen*, p. 242, no. 435.

<sup>2326</sup> B. Lőrincz, *ActaArchHung*27/3–4, 1975, p. 350.

<sup>2327</sup> M. Zahariade, in *Roman Frontier Studies. Proceedings of the XVIIth International Congress of Roman Frontier Studies*, Zalău, 1999, p. 599–607

<sup>2328</sup> Strobel, *Dakerkriege*, p. 93–95, especially p. 94 with note 58. See also Sarnowski, *Wojsko rzymskie*, p. 62.

certain detachments of I Minervia<sup>2329</sup> (or possibly its full strength). Still, the emperor leaves at Brigetio the vexillation dealing with the construction of the fort in that point on the Pannonian limes, as he did not wish to excessively weaken this limes sector.

As argued above, earliest evidence on legion XI Claudia pia fidelis presence by the Lower Danube comes from Oescus. Thus, except for the already quoted inscription, one may also discuss the tile material with the stamp *LEG XI CPF*, in *tabula ansata* (type A), identified as material reused in the cemetery located east the colony<sup>2330</sup>. Stamps of same type were also found at Novae (following excavations performed in the *valetudinarium*, building which dated from the start of the 2nd C<sup>2331</sup>). Should we agree with the theory according to which V Macedonica was sent after 101 at Troesmis, then we may suggest a possible permanent presence of XI Claudia pia fidelis in the fort at Oescus until the end of the second Dacian expedition<sup>2332</sup>.

Additionally, same type tile material of the legion was identified north the Danube, at Buridava<sup>2333</sup>, Romula<sup>2334</sup>, Drajna de Sus<sup>2335</sup>, Voinești (a single item)<sup>2336</sup>, Târșorul Vechi<sup>2337</sup> and Pietroasele<sup>2338</sup>. As already noted, the type is identical with type A, *tabula ansata* cartouche,

<sup>2329</sup> T. Sarnowski, *Germania* 65, 1987, p. 107–122 (*vide supra* complete discussion); K. Strobel, *Klio* 70, 1988, p. 501–511.

<sup>2330</sup> R. Ivanov, *Arheologija Sofia* 23, 1981, 3, p. 42–48 (especially p. 44, no. 8, the tile sized 0.61/0.48 m, with stamp *LEG XI CPF* in *tabula ansata* sized 9/3 cm), discovered in secondary position in a grave in the territory of the colony at Oescus. See also the material reused in secondary position in the construction of buildings from the colony at Oescus, *Zl. Morfova*, *Latomus* 18, 1959, p. 640–648 (especially p. 641–642, plate XLI, fig. 1, 7 XI Claudia stamps). See also K. Strobel, *Klio* 70, 1988, p. 503.

<sup>2331</sup> T. Sarnowski, *Germania* 65, 1987, p. 107; p. 110, fig. 3–4; p. 111. From the *valetudinarium* come five legion stamps, another five being found in other points of the fortress (p. 112, note 13), with the remark they were used in the last construction phase of this building, in the roofing: “Da die besprochene Ziegel wahrscheinlich in der letzten Phase der Bauzeit des Lazarettgebäudes als Dachbedeckung Verwendung fanden, ist eher anzunehmen, dass die Tegulae aus Novae während eines recht kurzen Zeitraumes hergestellt worden sind”.

<sup>2332</sup> R. Ivanov, 78. *BerRGK*, 1997, p. 512–513, considers that V Macedonica sent only a vexillation at Troesmis and that another one continued to be quartered at Oescus, together with XI Claudia p. f. vexillation, while, it had previously sent a vexillation to Durostorum, and legion I Italica vexillation.

<sup>2333</sup> IDR II 556; 557.

<sup>2334</sup> IDR II 381, fragment of stamped tile: *[LEG] XI C[PF?]*.

<sup>2335</sup> M. Zahariade, T. Dvorski, *The Lower Moesian Army in Northern Wallachia (A. D. 101–118). An Epigraphical and Historical Study on the Brick and Tile Stamps Found in the Drajna de Sus Roman Fort*, Bucharest, 1997, p. 22 and fig. 13, a-c.

<sup>2336</sup> M. Bădescu, *SCIIVA* 32, 1981, 2, p. 291, no. 1 = AÉ, 2000, 1264 = ILD 165, in association with a stamp of cohort *I Flavia Commagenorum* (*Ibidem*, p. 291–292, no. 2 = AÉ, 2000, 1265 = ILD 166). See also N. Gudea, C. Găzdac, *Drobeta* 16, 2006, p. 13, who argue that the presence of the two units detachments at Voinești may evidence a road crossing Transylvania by Rucăr pass. We should exclude though the authors' assumption that legion XI Claudia is recorded at Câmpulung Muscel by a tile stamp (p. 21), quoting to this avail IDR II 513. However, under this number is edited an inscription fragment discovered in the ruins of the fort at Slăveni, in no relation whatsoever with a stamp of legion XI Claudia.

<sup>2337</sup> IDR II 606, in association with stamps of cohort *I Flavia Commagenorum*. See also M. Zahariade, D. Lichiardopol, in *Dacia Augusti Provincia*, p. 124 and p. 128–129 (new research D. Lichiardopol), where we find they were discovered in the baths and may be of three types with several variants. N. Gudea, C. Găzdac, *Drobeta* 16, p. 22, argue the presence of cohort *I Flavia Commagenorum* at Târșor is recorded by IDR II 236, yet this number registers a stamp of legion III Flavia Felix found at Sucidava during the excavations in the Romano-Byzantine fortification, in 1963. Stamps of cohort *I Flavia Commagenorum* are still novel, being only mentioned in the above quoted study, drafted by M. Zahariade and D. Lichiardopol (p. 125 and p. 127, fig. 5, e-f).

<sup>2338</sup> IDR II 605; M. Tzony, *Materiale* 1989, p. 349 = Mousaios 3, 1981, p. 44 = ILD 117 a: *LEG XI CPF*, reverse letters.

text, *LEG XI CPF*, different only by present or missing decoration on the cartouche. All XI Claudia legion tile material finds in this area frame in type A, used prior the legion settlement at Durostorum<sup>2339</sup>.

#### 4. *AVXILIA*<sup>2340</sup>

The scholars deem the two military diplomas of August 14, 99<sup>2341</sup>, recording a number of six *alae* and thirteen cohorts, evidence of emperor Trajan's preparations on the eve of the wars with the Dacians<sup>2342</sup>. The example of circumstances from Moesia Superior, where diplomas of 93 and 96 record three *alae* and fourteen cohorts<sup>2343</sup>, an unchanged number of *alae* and an increased number of cohorts, i.e. 21, in 100<sup>2344</sup>, was considered satisfactory to believe that the same must have occurred in Moesia Inferior as well, i.e. a reinforcement of military forces of the province in preparation of the first *expeditio Dacica*. Trajan's decision to send military forces in provinces bordering Decebalus' kingdom, was taken most likely during 98, as indicated by the military diploma of Elst (Germania Inferior) from February 20, 98<sup>2345</sup>, recording a few troops, subsequently displaced in order to participate in the Dacian campaigns, appearing in the diploma of 100 for Moesia Superior<sup>2346</sup> or the diplomas for Pannonia Inferior<sup>2347</sup> and Dacia<sup>2348</sup>.

The recent discovery of an important number of military diplomas dating in the last reign years of Domitian, under Nerva and subsequently Trajan, provide a different image of the province of Moesia Inferior.

Thus, the auxiliaries stationed in Moesia Inferior after the Domitian reforms of 86 are known following the discovery of the military diploma of Cataloi, dated June 14, 92<sup>2349</sup>. The diploma reviews a number of seven *alae* and fifteen *cohortes*. Among, many are mentioned by two diplomas of 97, six *alae* and seven *cohortes*<sup>2350</sup>. In addition, troops not recorded by the diploma of 92 emerge: *ala II (Hispanorum) Aravacorum* and *cohortes I Hispanorum veterana, I Tyrriorum sagittariorum* and *I Lepidiana civium Romanorum*. A total of eight *alae* and eighteen *cohortes* were stationed in this province, prior Trajan's rule<sup>2351</sup>.

<sup>2339</sup> On the typology of legion XI Claudia stamps see ultimately C. Mușețeanu, M. Zahariade, D. Elefterescu, SMMIM 12, 1979, p. 164–185 and SMMIM 13, 1980, p. 85–105 (epigraphic catalogue).

<sup>2340</sup> Fl. Matei-Popescu, Argesis 13, 2004, p. 123–129.

<sup>2341</sup> CIL XVI 44 (diploma of Oltina); CIL XVI 45 (diploma of Plovdiv).

<sup>2342</sup> Strobel, *Dakerkriege*, p. 81.

<sup>2343</sup> CIL XVI 39; RMD I 6.

<sup>2344</sup> CIL XVI 46.

<sup>2345</sup> J. K. Haalebos, Saalburg Jahrbuch 50, 2000, p. 31–72 = RMD IV 216.

<sup>2346</sup> CIL XVI 46: *I Vindellicorum milliaria civium Romanorum pia fidelis* and *II Britannica milliaria civium Romanorum pia fidelis*. On these troops see Strobel, *Dakerkriege*, p. 125 and p. 145; Petolescu, *Auxilia*, p. 88–89, no. 24 and p. 125–128, no. 62; see also CIL XVI 54 (103/105) mentioning: *I Pannoniorum veterana*. It would then appear in Dacia, RMD III 148 (October 14, 109, diploma of Ranovać); CIL XVI 163 (July 2, 110, diploma of Porolissum). See Petolescu, *Auxilia*, p. 119, no. 53.

<sup>2347</sup> July 2, 110, diploma of Tokod (CIL XVI 164), recording cohortes: *I Thracum civium Romanorum pia fidelis* and *III Lusitanorum pia fidelis*. On these troops see eventually, Lőrincz, *Hilfstruppen*, p. 38, no. 31 and p. 42, no. 43.

<sup>2348</sup> CIL XVI 57 (February 17, 110); CIL XVI 163 (July 2, 110, diploma of Porolissum): *I Hispanorum pia fidelis* (Petolescu, *Auxilia*, p. 11, no. 44).

<sup>2349</sup> C. C. Petolescu, A. T. Popescu, ZPE 148, 2004, p. 269–276.

<sup>2350</sup> P. Weiß, ZPE 117, 1997, p. 233–238 no. 4; D. MacDonald, A. Mihaylovich, ZPE 138, 2001, p. 225–228.

<sup>2351</sup> Fl. Matei-Popescu, SCIVA 51–52, 2001–2002, p. 235.



Under such circumstances, large part of the troops recorded by the two diplomas of 99 are to be found in this province as early as Domitian's reign, if not even under Vespasian<sup>2352</sup>, new being only: *ala I Asturum* and *cohortes II Mattiacorum* and *II Flavia Brittonum*. *Ala Asturum* seems to have been stationed on the territory of Moesia as early as Vespasian, as indicated by a tombstone found at Tomis, recording *Ti. Claudius Saturninus*, former *duplicarius*<sup>2353</sup>. The same may be argued about *cohortes II Flavia Brittonum*, recorded by an inscription from Durostorum, sometime prior legion XI Claudia displacement to this garrison<sup>2354</sup>. Unfortunately, concerning *II Mattiacorum* cohort, there is no information on early presence on the territory of Moesia Inferior, especially should we consider that the diploma from Montana of February 7, 78, mentioning a *cohortes Mattiacorum*, it might refer to a cohort *I Mattiacorum* whose subsequent history is unknown<sup>2355</sup>.

Still, the military force of this province is strongly reinforced in occasion of the Dacian war, however not in the period preceding the first campaign. Thus, as we have seen above, legion XI Claudia is present at Oescus as early as 101–106, prior its final settlement at Durostorum. V Macedonica is moved to Troesmis to boost the defence of this limes sector, possibly as early as 101–102 and not, as believed, in 106–107. Legion I Minervia is brought from Bonna and its traces in Moesia Inferior were discovered at Novae<sup>2356</sup>. The fort at Carsium<sup>2357</sup> is erected and the road parallel to the Danube<sup>2358</sup> is constructed or reconstructed in this province area.

Recent and interesting information adds to already familiar data, referring to the history of the auxiliaries and their involvement in the Dacian war. Recently, another 3 military diplomas dated May 13, 105 were discovered<sup>2359</sup>. They have the same date with another diploma known for a long time<sup>2360</sup>, being three imperial constitutions granted for the troops of Moesia Inferior, simultaneously.

Absolutely new are the cohorts *I Augusta Nerviana Pacensis milliaria Brittonum* and *II Brittonum Augusta Nerviana Pacensis milliaria*. Concerning the first troop, we know insofar it was present in the province of Dacia Inferior<sup>2361</sup>. The second troop was stationed in 114 in Pannonia Inferior<sup>2362</sup>, from where it was displaced on the territory of Dacia Porolissensis<sup>2363</sup>.

<sup>2352</sup> See the diplomas from Taliata of April 28, 75 (RMD 2), Montana of February 7, 78 (CIL XVI 22), Berkovitsa, copy of the same imperial constitution like the diploma of Monata (RMD IV 208). Also, a small fragment of military diploma, from approximately the same period, where the name of *ala I Vespasiana Dardanorum* and of at least two *alae Gallorum* may be completed (RMD IV 209).

<sup>2353</sup> V. Pârvan, ArchAnz 1914, p. 437–438 = ISM II 172.

<sup>2354</sup> CIL III 7478.

<sup>2355</sup> CIL XVI 22; Wagner, *Dislokation*, p. 164–165, with the discussion of an inscription from Tenča, south Novae, recording a certain *L. Spurennius Rufus b(ucinator)* of cohort *Mattiacorum* (CIL III 12437 = ILB 395) and the mention of an inscription from Praeneste, attesting *L. Clodius Ingenius, praef. coh. Mattiacor.*, from the Flavian or early Trajanic epoch (CIL VI 37274; PME, C 201).

<sup>2356</sup> Strobel, *Dakerkriege*, p. 85–86; T. Sarnowski, *Germania* 65, 1987, p. 107–118 = AÉ 1987, 865; K. Strobel, *Klio* 70/2, 1988, p. 500–511. The legion was in 100–101 still at Bonn (CIL XIII 7697; Strobel, *Dakerkriege*, p. 86, note 16), rather odd considering preparations for the Dacian war, as it appears from the constitution for Moesia Superior of 100 (CIL XVI 46), noting that certain troops of *exercitus Germaniae Inferioris* had already been displaced in this province.

<sup>2357</sup> ISM V 94.

<sup>2358</sup> See the milestone found at Sacidava, A. Rădulescu, Bărbulescu, *Dacia*, N. S. 25, 1981, p. 353–356 no. 1 = AÉ 1981, 745.

<sup>2359</sup> R. Petrovsky, *Mitteilungen des historischen Vereins der Pfalz* 102, 2004, p. 10–17; RGZM, no. 10–11.

<sup>2360</sup> CIL XVI 50.

<sup>2361</sup> Petolescu, *Auxilia*, p. 90 no. 25.

<sup>2362</sup> CIL XVI 61; RMD I 87. Lőrincz, *Hilfstruppen*, p. 32; p. 81; p. 111; p. 158, no. 14–15; p. 241, no. 279 (Alisca).

<sup>2363</sup> Petolescu, *Auxilia*, p. 90–91 no. 26.

The presence of the two *cohortes milliariae* under the authority of Moesia Inferior governor is evidently connected to the occupation of the new territory north the river, which had already been integrated in the province, as the Hunt papyrus seems to infer<sup>2364</sup>. The transfer of these troops took place sometime during or immediately after the end of the first Dacian expedition. Recent information seems to prove that, precisely in 101, *ala Claudia Gallorum* was in Galatia et Cappadocia, according to a new military diploma<sup>2365</sup>. We wonder how it would be possible, under the circumstances of the first Dacian trigger action, that one of the military units that would later participate in military operations on the territory north the Danube to be sent to another province? This reality furthermore accounts for emperor Trajan's initial goal to open a second front from Moesia Inferior as early as the start of the first Dacian war.

Based on such new information, we believe that the involvement of Moesia Inferior troops, beside *vexillationes* of the legions stationed in this province, in the Dacian war takes place, most likely, after the Dacians and their allies attack south the Danube, in the winter of 101 and 102<sup>2366</sup>.

Among the troops of Moesia Inferior, which supposedly participated in the Dacian war, only the ones directly recorded by inscriptions, papyri or tile material and the ones subsequently present on the territory of Dacia Inferior unquestionably fought against the armies of Decebalus.

Thus, Moesia Inferior troops definitely involved in the Dacian war are as follows: *ala I Asturum*<sup>2367</sup>, *ala I Vespasiana Dardanorum*<sup>2368</sup>, *ala I Claudia Gallorum*<sup>2369</sup>, *ala Gallorum Atecorigiana*<sup>2370</sup>, *ala Hispanorum*<sup>2371</sup>, *ala I Pannoniorum*<sup>2372</sup>, *cohortes II Flavia Bessorum*<sup>2373</sup>, *cohortes I Bracaraugustanorum*<sup>2374</sup>, *cohortes I Augusta Nerviana Pacensis milliaria Brittonum*<sup>2375</sup>, *cohortes II*

<sup>2364</sup> R. O. Fink, JRS 48, 1958, p. 102–116 = *Roman Military Records on Papyrus*, p. 217–227; R. Syme, JRS 49, 1959, p. 26–33.

<sup>2365</sup> RGZM, p. 18, note 1.

<sup>2366</sup> This idea was supported years ago by A. G. Poulter, in *Studien zu den Militärgrenzen Roms III. 13. Internationaler Limeskongress, Aalen, 1983*, Stuttgart, 1986, p. 521. New epigraphic finds seem to confirm the supposition of the English scholar.

<sup>2367</sup> Prefect *P. Prifernius Paetus Memmius Apollinaris*, decorated in the first Dacian war of emperor Trajan, CIL IX 4753 = 1350 = IPD<sup>4</sup> 7960 = 432 = IDRE I 112; Pflaum, *Carrières*, p. 166–167, no. 71; PME, P 107. Present in the diplomas of Dacia Inferior, Petolescu, *Auxilia*, p. 63, no. 3.

<sup>2368</sup> Prefect *P. Besius P. f. Quirina tribu Betuinianus C. Marius Memmius Sabinus*, decorated in the second Dacian war, CIL VIII 9990 = ILS 1352 = IPD<sup>4</sup> 796 = IDRE II 468; PIR I<sup>2</sup>, p. 364, no. 112; T. Nagy, *Acta AntHung* 16, 1968, p. 289–295; J. Fitz, *Klio* 52, 1970, p. 99–106; Pflaum, *Carrières*, p. 108–169 no. 73; PME, B 21; Maxfield, *Military Decorations*, p. 173–176.

<sup>2369</sup> Appears on the diplomas of Dacia Inferior, Petolescu, *Auxilia*, p. 69, no. 8.

<sup>2370</sup> RGZM, no. 20. This last military unit appears surprisingly among the troops of Dacia Inferior on this military diploma fragment, dated July 17, 122. It would be subsequently re-displaced on the territory of Moesia Inferior where it appears for the first time on the diploma of 127 (M. M. Roxan, *ZPE* 118, 1997, p. 287–299 = RMD 241).

<sup>2371</sup> Appears on the diplomas of Dacia Inferior, Petolescu, *Auxilia*, p. 71, no. 10. Still, in 119 appears on a military diploma from Dacia Superior (W. Eck, D. MacDonald, A. Pangerl, *Acta MN* 38/1, 2001, p. 27–36, no. 1).

<sup>2372</sup> Recorded by a diploma for Dacia from 114 (RMD IV 225).

<sup>2373</sup> Cohort stamps were discovered at Stolniceni, Bârsești and Rucăr, IDR II 561–562; 571; 607; D. Tudor, *SCIV* 6, 1955, 1–2, p. 90–94 (Rucăr); idem, *Dacia*, N. S. 8, 1964, p. 347–348; I. Bogdan-Cătănicu, *SCIVA* 25, 1975, 2, p. 277–288 (Rucăr); Strobel, *Dakerkriege*, p. 122; Gh. Bichir, *Thraco-Dacia* 6, 1985, 1–2, p. 95–99 (Stolniceni); Bogdan-Cătănicu, *Muntenia*, p. 45–47 (Rucăr) and p. 68–69 (Stolniceni); Petolescu, *Auxilia*, p. 23 and p. 84. Recorded by the military diplomas of Dacia Inferior, Petolescu, *Auxilia*, p. 84–85, no. 20.

<sup>2374</sup> Mentioned on military diplomas of Dacia Inferior, Petolescu, *Auxilia*, p. 86, no. 21.

<sup>2375</sup> Recorded on the military diploma of 105, found near Novae, RGZM, no. 10, and on the military diploma of September 25, 111, RMD IV 222. After reorganization under Hadrian emerges in Dacia Inferior, Petolescu, *Auxilia*, p. 90, no. 25.

*Brittonum Augusta Nerviana Pacensis milliaria* (vide supra), *cohors I Flavia Commagenorum*<sup>2376</sup>, *cohors II Gallorum*<sup>2377</sup>, *cohors III Gallorum*<sup>2378</sup>, *cohors I Hispanorum veterana*<sup>2379</sup>, *cohors I Tyrriorum sagittariorum*<sup>2380</sup>, *cohors I Thracum Syriaca*<sup>2381</sup>, *cohors Ubiorum*<sup>2382</sup>.

In conclusion, a number of five *alae* and eleven *cohortes* from Moesia Inferior auxiliaries took part into the two Dacian expeditions<sup>2383</sup>. With four exceptions (*ala I Vespasiana Dardanorum*, *ala I Pannoniorum* and *cohors II Brittonum Augusta Nerviana Pacensis milliaria*), all these troops would be part, once with Hadrian's reforms, of *exercitus Daciae inferioris*.

The above presentation of the epigraphic and archaeological material shows that all of the three legions stationed in Moesia Inferior participated, to a smaller or larger extent, in the two expeditions of emperor Trajan against Decebalus's kingdom, together with numerous auxiliaries.

For a long time, it was believed that the involvement of the Roman army from Moesia Inferior must have been concurrent with that of the armies from Moesia Superior and Pannonia. Thus, vexillations composed of legions and auxiliaries of Moesia Inferior advanced into Decebalus' kingdom on several columns, the main following Olt river line. Based on a preserved text from Cassius Dio's account, it was supposed that the expeditionary force was commanded by the governor of this province himself, *M. Laberius Maximus*, on whom is stated to have captured Decebalus' sister<sup>2384</sup>. However, it was never explained how the Dacian and their Sarmatian allies assault over Moesia Inferior was possible after the first campaign year, if the Romans had in fact controlled crossing points from north Danube to Moesia Inferior?

<sup>2376</sup> In 106–117/118, the cohort occupied the fort at Drajna de Sus, CIL III 12530 = IDR II 603; Gh. Ștefan, *Dacia 11–12, 1945–1947*, p. 115–144; D. Tudor, *SCIV 6, 1955*, 1–2, p. 94–95 (with an explanation for the fortification strategic role); M. Zahariade, T. Dvorski, *The Lower Moesian Army in Northern Wallachia (A.D. 101–118). An Epigraphical and Historical Study on the Brick and Tile Stamps Found in the Drajna de Sus Roman Fort*, Bucharest, 1997, p. 23 = *AE 1997, 1323*. Stamps appeared also in Tîrșor and Voinești, M. Bădescu, *SCIVA 32, 1981*, 2, p. 291–292 = *CEpR II, 116*; C. C. Petolescu, in *Studien zu den Militärgrenzen Roms III. 13. Internationaler Limeskongress, Aalen, 1983. Vorträge*, Stuttgart, 1986, p. 511; Petolescu, *Auxilia*, p. 23–24 and p. 96. It appears among the troops of Dacia Inferior during the 2nd C, Petolescu, *Auxilia*, p. 95–97 no. 30.

<sup>2377</sup> Recorded among the troops of Dacia Inferior, Petolescu, *Auxilia*, p. 105, no. 38.

<sup>2378</sup> It appears among the troops of Dacia Inferior, Petolescu, *Auxilia*, p. 106, no. 41.

<sup>2379</sup> Recorded in the Hunt papyrus, dated 105–106, R. O. Fink, *JRS 48, 1958*, p. 102–116 = *Roman Military Records on Papyrus*, p. 217–227 and then in the diplomas of Dacia Inferior, Petolescu, *Auxilia*, p. 110, no. 43, as well as a fragment from 167–168, W. Eck, D. MacDonal, A. Pangerl, *ActaMN 38, 2001*, p. 45–48, no. 5.

<sup>2380</sup> Mentioned among the troops of Dacia Inferior, Petolescu, *Auxilia*, p. 124, no. 60.

<sup>2381</sup> From Acidava (Enoșești) come tile stamp fragments supposed to belong to this cohort, Al. Barnea, I. Ciucă, *SCIVA 40, 1989*, 2, p. 147–155 = *AE 1989, 630* = *CepR IX 524*.

<sup>2382</sup> Recorded on a military diploma fragment dated 120/130, in Dacia Inferior (W. Eck, D. MacDonald, A. Pangerl, *ActaMN, 38, 2001*, p. 38–42, no. 4, being then transferred (border change) on the territory of Dacia Superior, Petolescu, *Auxilia*, p. 125, no. 61.

<sup>2383</sup> Rossi, *Trajan's Column*, p. 94–96, mentions, upon criteria hard to comprehend, 4 *alae* (missing *I Claudia Gallorum* and *I Hispanorum*; instead, appears *Gallorum Flaviana*) and 12 *cohortes* (missing *I Augusta Nerviana Pacensis milliaria Brittonum*, *II Brittonum Augusta Nerviana Pacensis milliaria*, *II Flavia Bessorum*, *II Galorum*; are present instead: *II Chalcidenorum*, *VII Gallorum*, *I Lepidiana c. R.*, *I Lusitanorum Cyrenaica*, *II Mattiacorum*, *I Sugambrorum veterana*). N. Gostar, *Dacia, N. S. 23, 1979*, p. 118–120, reviews 4 *alae* (missing *ala I Pannoniorum*) and 6 *cohortes* (missing *I Bracaragustanorum*, *I Augusta Nerviana Pacensis milliaria Brittonum*, *II Brittonum Augusta Nerviana Pacensis milliaria*, *I Thracum Syriaca*, *Ubiorum*); Strobel, *Dakerkriege*, p. 106–146, reviews 7 *alae* (additionally, *I Flavia Gaetulorum*, *Gallorum Flaviana*, *II Hispanorum et Aravacorum*) and 20 *cohortes* (additionally, *II Flavia Brittonum*, *II Chalcidenorum sagittariorum*, *IV Gallorum equitata*, *VII Gallorum*, *I Lepidiana c. R.*, *II Lucensium*, *I Lusitanorum Cyrenaica*, *II Mattiacorum*), which is evidently, excessive.

<sup>2384</sup> Cassius Dio, *LXVIII, 9, 4*.

Admittedly, the attack was devastating and the restoration of the military operations from Moesia Inferior is unfortunately based on iconographic sources (the monument of Adamclisi, Trajan's Column), on Ammianus Marcellinus and Jordanes accounts<sup>2385</sup> and one indication in an inscription from Epidaurus, speaking about a victory of Trajan in Moesia<sup>2386</sup>. The single ancient text contemporary with the events is Pliny's famous letter to Trajan, mentioning a certain Callidromus and accounting his adventures from the moment of his kidnapping by the Sarmatian chief *Susagus* from one of *Laberius Maximus* residences in Moesia Inferior, to his delivery to Pliny, at that time, governor of Bithynia<sup>2387</sup>. At least, the mention reports the sheer force of the 101–102 attack.

The so much quoted mention of Decebalus sister's capture by *Laberius Maximus* may though signify something very different. Given that the Sarmatians were allies to the Dacians in the campaign of 101–102 and that a text, although corrupt, in Aurelius Victor talks about that the war Trajan waged was also directed against Decebalus and a certain king *Sardonius*<sup>2388</sup>, who based on name, cannot be but of Sarmatian origin, we may think that the main purpose of Moesia Inferior legions' intervention was to remove the Sarmatian danger and only then penetrate the Carpathian arch, where Decebalus's kingdom was located. Thus it would be possible that Decebalus sister was not in a fortress controlled by Decebalus, but in one controlled either by a local Dacian, or why not, even Sarmatian chief. Hence, it would be possible that Decebalus's sister was part of a network of dynastic alliances, as spouse of an ally of the Dacian king.

Under new circumstances, it seems more logical to agree on the involvement of Moesia Inferior army in the progress of the military operations once with 102, after Decebalus and his allies attack south the Danube, when the need to close the access road of the barbarians to Moesia Inferior and farther to Macedonia and Greece became obvious.

The presence of vexillations of Moesia Inferior army in at least four fortifications from Muntenia (Drajna de Sus, Târgșor, Rucăr, Pietroasele) is linked to the block of access ways through Muntenia to Moesia Inferior<sup>2389</sup>.

An extremely important issue, unfortunately still unresolved, is the dating of the tile material of legions from Moesia Inferior and of certain auxiliaries (cohorts *I Flavia Commagenorum*, *II Flavia Bessorum*, *I Augusta Nerviana Pacensis milliaria Brittonum*) found in the fortifications on Olt valley and Muntenia. If for the case of the stone fort at Drajna things seem clear, since a stone erection of a fort there could not have occurred prior 106/107, the

<sup>2385</sup> Ammianus Marcellinus, XXXI, 5, 16: *et tempore eodem Nicopolis, quam indicium victoriae contra Dacos Traianus condidit imperator*; Iordanes, *Getica*, 101: *Unde a Gallo duce remotus Nicopolim accedit, quae iuxta Iatrum fluvium est constituta notissima; quam devictis Sarmatis Traianus et fabricavit et appellavit Victoriae civitatem*. In the same context, the unique information reported by Eusebius of Caesarea, *Chronicon*, 194, according to which in 101, Trajan also triumphed over the Dacians and the Scythians (Sarmatians) is worth mentioning: *Traianus de Dacis et Scythis triumphavit*. See C. C. Petolescu, *Drobeta* 16, 2006, p. 7.

<sup>2386</sup> AÉ 1991, 1450. See also C. C. Petolescu, *Thraco-Dacica* 16, 1995, p. 223–226 = IDRE II 370.

<sup>2387</sup> Plinius, *Ep.* IX, 74, 1: *indicasse servisse aliquando Laberio Maximo captumque a Susago in Moesia et a Decibalo muneri missum Pacoro, Parthiae regi, pluribusque annis in ministerio eius fuisse, deinde fugisse atque ita in Nicomediam venisse*. For detailed comments of this source see D. Tudor, *SAI* 1, 1956, p. 19–30 (idem, *Istoria sclavajului în Dacia romană*, Bucharest, 1957, p. 61–66, abstract after quoted study), and E. Cizek, in idem (ed.), *Romano-Dacica II. Izvoare antice ale istoriei României*, Bucharest, 1994, p. 156–164. D. Tudor argued he was a slave, however E. Cizek points out that the letter does not infer he was a slave, but rather a free man who entered service with *Laberius Maximus* or one of his freedmen (E. Cizek, *Epoca lui Traian. Împrejurări istorice și probleme ideologice*, Bucharest, 1980, p. 371–372).

<sup>2388</sup> Aurelius Victor, *De Caesaribus*, 13, 3: *Quippe primus aut solus etiam vires Romanas trans Istrum propagavit domitis in provinciam Dacorum pileatis† satisque nationibus, Decibalo rege ac †Sardonio*.

<sup>2389</sup> Bogdan-Cătănciu, *Muntenia*, p. 49–50.



other finds, the vast majority within uncertain archaeological contexts, may be also theoretically dated during the Dacian campaigns of emperor Trajan. Unless chemical analyses that would establish to a certain extent, the origin of this tile material, local, transported from south Danube or even brought from other points on Olt valley or Muntenia to a certain fortification are performed, we cannot draw relevant conclusions. Normally, we may think that a production of local tile material could not have taken place prior 106, yet there are no arguments that would support a probable tile material transport from south the Danube, material which, in theory, could then date also from 102–105. We may not exclude, also theoretically, the hypothesis that possible *officinae* that would manufacture tile material, evidently on small scale, may have been in operation immediately after the choice of a fortification site, which although of earth and timber, was meant to last for several years.

The discoveries of tile material coming from the construction of the bridge at Drobeta may rather be dated with certainty, while the discoveries on Jiu valley, from Bumbesti and Racari are less certain, as long as in both cases, the exact find spot could not be specified. Nonetheless, dating in the Trajanic period seems to be the most natural solution, since it would be hard to explain the presence of Moesia Inferior *vexillationes* in an area, which, at least in theory, would belong to the province of Dacia, beginning with 106 and then to Dacia Superior, starting with 118/119.

Considering the 103–105 dating of the tile material exhibiting the stamp of V Macedonica, I believe we are now able to date in the first two decades of the 2nd C, also part of the inscriptions from Drobeta recording its members. The presence of a centurion in active service, *Maecius Domitius*, who places a tombstone to his spouse, could reinforce the supposition of the presence of a legion vexillation, likely even under this centurion command, at Drobeta, during Trajan's Dacian war.

My goal was to prove that in Moesia Inferior, reinforcement activities of the military force prior the start of the first Dacian expedition, noticeable for the provinces Pannonia and Moesia Superior, may not be perceived. In addition, the province both legions and auxiliaries did not partake the progress of the military operations in the first part of the first Dacian expedition. Only after the winter attack of 101–102, this province army is strengthened with new legions and with at least two, if not three *cohortes milliariae* that would operate north the Danube. The conquered territory would constitute the province of Moesia Inferior until reorganization under Hadrian, when part would become Dacia Inferior, whose army would be formed, almost exclusively, from troops that had been stationed on the territory of Moesia Inferior.



## ADDENDUM II

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### VEXILLATIONES OF MOESIA INFERIOR COMPOSED OF SEVERAL OR UNMENTIONED UNITS

1. In 147, a tribune of cohort *I Cilicum*, *Ti. Claudius Ulpianus*, is recorded in the area of the city of Montana, together with *vexillationes* of legions *I Italica* and *XI Claudia p. f.* as well as fleet *vexillationes* under the orders of governor *Ti. Claudius Saturninus*, participating in an imperial hunt (*venatio Caesariana*)<sup>2390</sup>, most likely held to properly celebrate in the following year, 900 years from the foundation of Rome<sup>2391</sup>.

2. The famous inscription discovered at Diana Veteranorum, in Numidia, detailing the remarkable career of *M. Valerius Maximianus*, mentions the command of *vexillationes* against the rogues among the *Brisei* by the borders of Thracia and Macedonia, while exercising the office of procurator of Moesia Inferior. Although not specified, the *vexillationes* were probably composed of units from the army of Moesia Inferior. Action may be dated in the summer of 175 and summer of 177<sup>2392</sup>.

3. In 193, legion *I Italica* legate, *L. Marius L. f. Quirina Maximus Perpetuus Aurelianus* (see his career development in the chapter on legion *I Italica*), commanded a *vexillation* composed of legions *I Italica* and *XI Claudia p. f.* sent to defeat the troops of Pescennius Niger around Byzantium, while in 197 was sent to Gallia, at Lugdunum, to fight against the forces of Clodius Albinus<sup>2393</sup>.

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<sup>2390</sup> V. Velkov, D. Alexandrov, in *Terra Antiqua Balcanica II. Actes du IX<sup>e</sup> Congrès International d'Épigraphie Grecque et Latin*, Sofia, 1987, p. 279–283 = Chiron 18, 1988, p. 270–277 = AÉ 1987, 867 = *Montana*, II, 9: *Dianae / Tib. Claudius Ulpianu(s) / trib. c(o)h(ortis) I Cili(cum) cum vexillationib(us) leg(ionum) I Ital(icae), XI Cl(audiae), classis / Fl(aviae) Mo(esicae) ob venationem / Caesarianam iniunctam a Cl(audio) Saturnino leg(ato) / Aug(usti) pr. pr. ursis et vison/tibus prospere captis / aram consecra/vit Largo et Mes/sallino cos.* See also F. Bérard, ZPE 79, 1989, p. 129–138.

<sup>2391</sup> An extremely important remark made by D. Knoepffler, RÉG 112, 1999, p. 485–509, based on the text of Pausanias (IX 21, 3; X 13, 1), who reports bufallos in occasion of the celebrations at Rome in 148. See also H. Devijver, *The Equestrian Officers of the Roman Imperial Army*, II, Mavors 9, Stuttgart, 1992, p. 142–143.

<sup>2392</sup> AÉ 1956, 124 = IPD<sup>4</sup> 536 = IDRE II 445, r. 13–16: *honor(e) centenariae dignitatis aucto salario adeptus procurationem Moesiae inferioris / eodem in tempore praeposito vexillationibus et at(!) detrahen/dam Briseorum latronum manum in confinio Macedon(iae) et Thrac(iae)*; Saxer, *Vexillationen*, p. 37–39, no. 68 (p. 39).

<sup>2393</sup> CIL VI 1450 = ILS 2935; 2936; Ritterling, RE XII, 1925, col. 1414; F. Miltner, RE XIV, 1930, col. 1828–1831, no. 48; G. Barbieri, RivFilologia 32, 1954, p. 39–40 (*dux exerciti (sic!) Mysiaci apud Byzantium et apud Lugdunum leg(atu)s leg(ionis) I Ital(icae)*).

4. A dedication to Mars Gradivus, placed by *Clodius Celsinus*, probably chief centurion of legion II Adiutrix, discovered at Aquincum, Pannonia Inferior, informs on the presence of a vexillation from Moesia Inferior in the fortress at Viminacium, where legion VII Claudia was quartered. He was sent there to ensure that the vexillations would remove the images of certain *hostes publici*<sup>2394</sup>. It was considered this inscription references events immediately subsequent the murder of the two Maximini at Aquileia, in 238<sup>2395</sup>, when they were declared *hostes publici* and suffered *damnatio memoriae*<sup>2396</sup>. An important part or possibly the full strength of legion VII Claudia was involved in the north-Italian campaign of Maximinus Thrax and Moesia Inferior vexillations were brought in order to occupy the fortress temporarily. They consisted of strengths from the two legions of Moesia Inferior and a few auxilia, amounting probably to 2–3,000 strength so to be able to fill the void left by the departure of large part of legion VII Claudia.

5. An inscription discovered at Rome, a *cursus honorum* of an unknown individual, dating most likely by the start of Marcus Aurelius rule, mentions a command over a vexillation probably composed of legions I Italica and XI Claudia (*duci vex[illationum legionum I It(alicae) ? et] / XI Claud[iae p. f. ---]*<sup>2397</sup>. The individual, member of the senatorial rank, later became legion XXII Primigenia legate, *iuridicus* in one of the four competence regions of Italy (such mention allows the dating of the inscription beginning with the reign of Marcus Aurelius, when this office is in fact set up<sup>2398</sup>) and then legate of a province left unknown as well. The fact that the inscription cannot be dated earlier than Marcus Aurelius's reign is supported by the mention of the office of *curator Sol(vensium)*, in province Noricum, when government was provided by former praetors. The extraordinary command may be dated at the time when he was legate of one of the mentioned legions of Moesia Inferior. G. Alföldy chose to date this action around 233, considering that war in the Rhine provinces region must have occurred then, more precisely the campaign under Severus Alexander and Maximinus Thrax. In addition, the author considers that this *dux vexillationum* was not legate of a legion from Moesia Inferior, instead he had previously been legate of legion XXII Primigenia, around 233<sup>2399</sup>. Nonetheless, in spite of all attempts, neither the time nor the extraordinary command contexts are known.

6. An inscription discovered at Vasio, Gallia Narbonensis, mentions a Roman knight, who while assigned as perfect of cohort *I Bracaraugustanorum* stationed until the start of emperor Hadrian's rule in Moesia Inferior, commanded a vexillation or several vexillations from the army of Moesia Inferior. Unfortunately, the extremely fragmentary preserved information does

<sup>2394</sup> AÉ 1935, 164 = 1949, 201: *Marti Gradivo, quem apud leg(ionem) VII Cl(audiam) / tempore, quo ad eradendum nomen / saevissimae dominationis / missus, cum vexillationes / Moesiae inferioris voltus h(ostium) p(ublici) / [de vexillis et can]tabris / [ultra detra]here nollent / [auctores im]prosperi conatus / [coercebat], congressione / [facta prima] in acie constitutos / [implorave]rat, Clodius Celsinus / [p(rimi)p(ilaris)]? dat, quod commil]ito voverat; Saxer, *Vexillationen*, p. 51, no. 92, reading according to R. Egger, *Eine Revolte im Lager von Viminacium*. Serta Hoffilleriana (Vjesnik 18–21, 1937–1940), p. 219 sqq (*non vidi*).*

<sup>2395</sup> Saxer, *op. cit.*, p. 51, overtaking R. Egger's interpretation.

<sup>2396</sup> Herodian, VIII, 1–6; SHA, *Maximin.*, 20–24; SHA, *Max. et Balb.*, 11–13; M. Besnier, *Histoire romaine*, IV, 1, p. 147–148.

<sup>2397</sup> CIL VI 1551; Saxer, *Vexillationen*, p. 58–59, no. 111.

<sup>2398</sup> SHA, *Vita Marci*, 11, 6: *Datis iuridicis Italiae consuluit ad id exemplum quo Hadrianus consulates viros reddere iura praeceperat.*

<sup>2399</sup> Alföldy, *Legionslegaten*, p. 58–59, no. 75.



not allow for a more detailed discussion, considering that neither the reading Moesia Inferior, nor the reading cohort *I Bracaraugustanorum* are not clearcut<sup>2400</sup>.

7. The collections of the National Museum of Antiquities include an inscription originating in the Mavros collection, issued for the first time by Gr. Tocilescu and later included in CIL III as well<sup>2401</sup>: [...]LLINVS / [...]PRAEPOSIT / [...]TONVM EX VOTO P / [...]EL PATER[...]. Gr. Tocilescu proposed the following reading: [*Geme*]llinus / *praeposit(us)* / [*vexill*]tionum ex voto *p(osuit)* / [*IOM co*]el(stis) *pater*<sup>2402</sup>. CIL III proposes this reading [*M. Marce*]llinus / [*dec alae...*] *praeposit(us)* / [*coh(ortis) II Fl(avia) Brit*]tonum ex voto *p(osuit)* / .....  
.....EL Pater. Based on such reading, the individual was deemed *praepositus* of the cohort stationed during the 2nd – 3rd C in Moesia Inferior<sup>2403</sup>.

Once with the re-inventorying of MNA collections, operation in progress for several years with “Vasile Pârvan” Institute of Archaeology, Bucharest, we had the opportunity to identify and review respective inscription. In occasion, we noticed that letter *I* of word *PRAEPOSIT*, in the preserved second row of the inscription was rendered much smaller compared to the general sizes of the preserved letters, being practically inserted in the free space between letters *S* and *T*. The same letter in the first preserved row was rendered similarly. In the third preserved row, we noted the same rendering manner of letter *I*, inserted between letters *T* and *O*. Hence, the reading of the first word in the second-to-last preserved row of the inscription is evidently [*VEXILLA*]TIONVM, alike Gr. Tocilescu’s proposition. Consequently, any relation of the inscription with cohort *II Flavia Brittonum* from Moesia Inferior should be disregarded.

The reading of the last preserved line is further unresolved. The archives of the same Institute of Bucharest, store an inventory sheet drafted in July 1959 by Em. Doruțiu-Boilă, which beside the item description, also suggests a reading. The reading from CIL III is embraced until the last line, where is hypothetically proposed [...*Apr*]il. *Pater[no et ?]* / [*Arcesilao cos.*], i.e. the mention of 267 consuls<sup>2404</sup>. As we understand it, Em. Doruțiu-Boilă no longer re-edited the item and made no further mentions on the reading attempt of the last preserved row of the inscription within other works. We must agree that the hypothesis is very likely to be true and one may expect the mention of the consular dating in the last two lines of this dedication to a god remained unknown<sup>2405</sup>. In view of the above remarks and based on Em. Doruțiu-Boilă’s novel hypothesis I propose by the end of this note, the following reading: [...]llinus / [*praefectus*] vel *trib(unus) al(ae)* vel *coh(ortis)*... ] *praeposit(us)* / [*vexilla*]tionum ex voto *p(osuit)* / [...]il. vel *el.Pater[no et]* / [...*Arcesilao co(n)s(ulibus)*]. However, the inscription reading recheck led to the conclusion that the letter prior *L* is evidently *E*, as also shown by the image (fig. 1). Thus, the reading may rather be [*A*]el., the mention of the possible *nomen* of this individual, while the assumption that the last preserved line of the inscription may contain the name of the first consul of the pair recorded for 267 is no longer supported.

<sup>2400</sup> CIL XII 1358: [...*equo pu*]blico, de *V dec(uriis)*, *pra[ef]fecto coh(ortis) I Brac[arum] Augustanorum, praeposito vexillationi(bus?) exercitus M[oesiae] inferioris...*]; Saxer, *Vexillationen*, p. 59–60, no. 115.

<sup>2401</sup> MNA L 1250; Gr. Tocilescu, *Monumentele epigrafice și sculpturale ale Museului Național de Antichități din București*, Bucharest, 1902, p. 42–45, no. 7; CIL III 6227 = 7594.

<sup>2402</sup> This reading is adopted and taken over by Saxer as well, *Vexillationen*, p. 62, no. 123.

<sup>2403</sup> Fl. Matei-Popescu, *SCIWA* 52–53, 2001–2002, p. 196–197, no. 15.

<sup>2404</sup> CIL III 3424 = ILS 545 (Aquincum, Pannonia Inferior); CIL III 4811b = CIL III 11504b (*Virunum*, Noricum); CIL VIII 2480 = CIL VIII 17970a (Ad Maiores, Hennchir, Numidia); Degrassi, *Fasti consolari*, p. 72, unfortunately known only based on the two *cognomina*, their identity remains to be specified by subsequent finds.

<sup>2405</sup> See the inscription from Aquincum quoted above: *Genio / Imp(eratoris) [[P. Lic(inii) Gall]]ieni / Invicti Aug(usti)*... (CIL III 3424 = ILS 545).

Should one agree with the reading proposed by Em. Doruțiu-Boilă and implicitly the dating in 267, one may relate the activity of this *praepositus vexillationum* to Gallienus actions by the Lower Danube against the Barbarian attacks of those years<sup>2406</sup> and, under such circumstances, the reading [*vexilla*]tionum is justified. The individual would have commanded several troops dispatched to Moesia Inferior for this purpose or led vexillations composed of several units of the army of Moesia Inferior, since it appears that the inscription comes from south Danube, alike several other inscriptions compiling the Mavros collection by mid 19th C.

Nevertheless, even if we disregard such reading, we may argue there is no connection between this inscription and cohort *II Flavia Brittonum* and that it references an unknown *praepositus vexillationum*, active most likely sometime in the 3rd C<sup>2407</sup>.

8. One of the latest attestation of the vexillations of Moesia Inferior is the inscription unearthed in the military fort of Chersonesus, where a *vix(illatio) mil[(itum) legg(ionum) XI] Cl(audiae) et I Italicae [et eq(uitum) D]almata[rum]* is attested under the leadership of *Aurelius Candidus, [prae]p(ositus?) prot[ector]*.<sup>2408</sup> As the *equites Dalmatarum* are well attested in the Later Empire in different provinces, the quoted inscription is to be dated late in the 3rd C, almost certain after Gallienus' reign. Hence the *equites Dalmatae* are not attested in Moesia secunda or in Scythia minor (as the brick stamp *CVND*, discovered at Tomis, is very unlike to refer to a *cuneus Dalmatarum*<sup>2409</sup>), the unit mentioned in Chersonesus was probably part of emperor's field army.

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<sup>2406</sup> SHA, *Gall.*, 13, 6: *Inter haec Scythae per Euxinum navigantes Histrum ingressi multa gravia in solo Romano fecerunt*, 13, 8–9: *...unde pulsati per Epirum, Machedoniam, Moesiam pervagati sunt. Gallienus interea vix excitatus publicis malis Gothis vagantibus per Illyricum occurrit et fortuito plurimos interemit*; Syncellus, *Cronographia*, p. 715 (W. Dindorff (ed.), *Corpus scriptorum historiae Byzantinae*, vol. I, Bonn, 1829): Ἐπὶ Οὐαλεριανοῦ δὲ καὶ Γαλιηνοῦ πάλιν οἱ Σκύθαι διαβάντες τὸν Ἰστρον ποταμὸν τὴν τε Θράκην ἐλήισαν καὶ Θεσσαλονίκην ἐπολιόρκεσαν τὴν Ἰλλυρίδα πόλιν; Em. Doruțiu-Boilă, *StCl* 6, 1964, p. 254–255; Vulpe, *DID* II, p. 258–260, with the remark that *Histrum ingressi* obviously refers to the Danube and not the fortification at Histria as argued by the quoted author (see Em. Doruțiu-Boilă complete quoted article, *op. cit.*, p. 250–259).

<sup>2407</sup> Fl. Matei-Popescu, Oltenia. Studii și comunicări. Arheologie și Istorie Veche 16, 2008, p. 109–111, no. 3 (p. 111, fig. 1).

<sup>2408</sup> T. Sarnowski, in Z. Visy (ed.), *Limes XIX. Proceedings of the XIX<sup>th</sup> International Congress of Roman Frontier Studies held in Pécs, Hungary, September 2003*, University of Pécs, 2005, p. 742; V. M. Zubar, T. Sarnowski, I. A. Antonova, in *Anacharsis. Pamiati J. G. Vinogradova*, Chersonesos Sbornik XI, Sevastopol, 2001, p. 106–109 (*non vidi*).

<sup>2409</sup> Aricescu, *Armata*, p. 122–123, no. 3.

## CONCLUSIONS

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While it lasted, the Roman province Moesia Inferior quartered three legions, detached on various occasions, and 44–46 auxiliary troops (ten *alae*, 32 *cohortes* and two or four *numeri*), also displaced on many occurrences. The almost maximum number of units, both legions and auxiliary troops, present at a given moment in the province territory is registered under Trajan. A simple calculation indicates that at that time, beside the approximately 15,000 legionaries, were stationed 4,500 *alae* horsemen (nine *alae quingenariae*) and 12,000 *cohortes* horsemen and footsoldiers (twenty *cohortes quingenariae* and two *cohortes milliariae*). The approximate number is of 31,500 soldiers<sup>2410</sup>. Such amount is obviously orientational. Admittedly, the accurate number of soldiers in a unit at some point is unknown and according to the evidence preserved within the papyri, units were almost never complete. Nonetheless, one may expect that an important number of soldiers were stationed on the territory of Moesia Inferior until the start of Hadrian's rule.

Such a large number was reached gradually. Thus, legion V Macedonica was stationed south the Danube as early as the beginning of Tiberius's reign. The name itself, V Macedonica, is indicative for its presence in province Macedonia. Therefore, we may assume that the legion was in the Balkan area as early as the end of the civil war between future emperor Augustus and Marcus Antonius, possibly together with legion XX, which is mentioned by an Augustan inscription discovered at Reselec<sup>2411</sup> and legion X Fretensis, recorded at Amphipolis around 16 BCE<sup>2412</sup>. At the time when, also pertinently observed by R. Syme<sup>2413</sup>, commandment of the army from north Macedonia passed from over proconsuls authority, who could become

<sup>2410</sup> Compared to the territory of Roman Dacia under Trajan, province that at that time was recent within the Empire, where around 30,000 soldiers (about 12,000 legionaries and roughly 18,000 members of auxiliary units) were stationed, G. Cupcea, F. Marcu, *Dacia*, N. S. 50, 2006, p. 191; I. Piso, in I. Piso (ed.), *Die Römischen Provinzen. Begriff und Gründung (Colloquium Cluj-Napoca 28. September–1. Oktober 2006)*, Cluj-Napoca, 2008, p. 308. According to the analysis of the mentioned authors, G. Cupcea, F. Marcu, who noticed that the army of Dacia composed little over 7% of the approximate army of 415,000 of the Empire, the army of Moesia Inferior composed little over 8% of the Empire army under Trajan. Evidently, we should emphasize that calculations are relative and must be considered with caution.

<sup>2411</sup> CIL III 7452 = ILS 2270 = ILB 179: *L. Plinius Sex. f. / Fab. domo Trumplia / mil. leg. XX / annorum XLV / stipendiorum XVII / hic situs est. / Testamento fieri / iussit. / Secundus / L. Plini et P. Mestri / libertus fecit*. For a comment on the inscription see R. Syme, *Danubian Papers*, Bucharest, 1971, p. 61–64.

<sup>2412</sup> AÉ 1936, 18: *Imp. Caesare / divi f. Aug. / L. Tario Ruf(o) pro / pr(aetore) / leg. X Fret. / pontem fecit*; B. E. Thomasson, *Legatus. Beiträge zur römischen Verwaltungsgeschichte*, Stockholm, 1991, p. 40–41, considered him (*legatus Augusti*) *pro praetore*.

<sup>2413</sup> R. Syme, *Danubian Papers*, Bucharest, 1971, p. 40–72.

dangerous to the aura of the new master of the Roman world (see the eloquent case of proconsul *M. Licinius Crassus*, who took military action in the area, was honoured with the triumph in 27 BCE and subsequently simply vanished from history<sup>2414</sup>), to the authority of imperial legates<sup>2415</sup>, legion V Macedonica passed under the new authority as well. Gradually, once the Roman rule expanded to the south bank of the Danube, the legion was settled, possibly from the beginning, in the Iron Gates area, from where it was subsequently moved at Oescus, no later than 44<sup>2416</sup>. The legion was stationed there until the end of the first Dacian expedition of Trajan when it was transferred at Troesmis, in the north-west of the current Romanian province of Dobrudja.

Legion I Italica was set up by emperor Nero, aimed for a future expedition to the Caspian Gates<sup>2417</sup>. It was probably created on September 20, 66<sup>2418</sup>. The expedition no longer took place and the legion was entangled in the civil wars of the Year of the Four Emperors. At some point, it went over the Vitellian side and subsequent the battle at Cremona, was dispatched to Moesia area<sup>2419</sup>. There it was quartered in the fortress at Novae, deserted after the departure of legion VIII Augusta to Gallia<sup>2420</sup>, who had occupied the fortification between 46 and 68. Legion I Italica remained at Novae until the end of the 3rd C and even in the Late Roman age.

Legion XI Claudia pia fidelis was the latest legion on the territory of Moesia Inferior. As already shown, its existence is very early, being most likely involved in the battle of Actium<sup>2421</sup>. Starting with the reign of Augustus the legion occupied the fortress of Burnum in Dalmatia, where in 42 was granted together with legion VII, title *Claudia pia fidelis* for its actions during governor *Furius Camillus Scribonianus*<sup>2422</sup> rebellion. It was subsequently dispatched to Vindonissa, on the limes of Germania Superior<sup>2423</sup>. Then, immediately after 101, the year of its last record in the area<sup>2424</sup>, the legion was brought on the territory of Moesia Inferior. Presumably, its first quartering location between the two Dacian expeditions was Oescus<sup>2425</sup>, after legion's V Macedonica transfer to Troemis. Earliest evidence on the legion presence by the Lower Danube comes from there. Sometime by the end of the second Dacian expedition, the legion is settled at Durostorum<sup>2426</sup> where remains garrisoned until the end of the 3rd C and even in the Late Roman period.

<sup>2414</sup> Cassius Dio, LI, 23,2–26; CIL I<sup>2</sup>, p. 50; Thomasson, *Legatus*, p. 40.

<sup>2415</sup> Syme, *op. cit.*, p. 50: “The problem which remains, therefore, is to determine when the legions of Macedonia were taken from the proconsul of the province and placed under the charge of an imperial legate”.

<sup>2416</sup> Fl. Matei-Popescu, in L. Mihailescu-Bîrliba, O. Bounegru (eds.), *Studia historiae et religionis Daco-Romanae. In honorem Silvii Sanie*, Bucharest, 2006, p. 379–399.

<sup>2417</sup> Suetonius, *Nero*, 19, 3; Cassius Dio, LV, 24, 2.

<sup>2418</sup> See complete discussion with J. Kolendo, in *Studia in honorem B. Gerov*, Sofia, 1990, p. 128–133.

<sup>2419</sup> Tacitus, *Hist.* III, 35, 2: *et victae legiones, ne manente adhuc civili bello ambigue agerent, per Illyricum dispersae; Hist.* III, 46, 7: *Fonteius Agrippa ex Asia (pro consule eam provinciam annuo tenuerat) Moesiae praepositus est, additis copiis e Vitelliano exercitu, quem spargi per provincias et externo bello inligari pars consilii pacisque erat.*

<sup>2420</sup> ILB 300.

<sup>2421</sup> CIL V 2501: *M. Billienus M. f. Rom(ilia) Actiacus legione XI, proelio navali facto in coloniam deductus*. See also CIL V 2495; 2503; 2512; 2839 (Patavium). CIL V 890; 2389, veterans bearing same cognomen, however the legion is not named.

<sup>2422</sup> Cassius Dio, LX, 15, 4; Cassius Dio, LX, 15, 4.

<sup>2423</sup> Tacitus, *Hist.*, IV, 68, 4; Ritterling, RE XII, 1925, col. 1694; R. Fellmann, *11. Legion*, in Le Bohec, *Les légions de Rome*, p. 127; M. Hartmann, *Vindonissa. Oppidum-Legionslager-Castrum*, Windisch, 1986, p. 71–76.

<sup>2424</sup> Ritterling, RE XII, 1925, col. 1697.

<sup>2425</sup> ILB 62 = Conrad, *Grabstelen*, p. 242, no. 435 and tile material, R. Ivanov, *Arheologija Sofia* 23, 1981, 3, p. 42–48; Zl. Morfova, *Latomus* 18, 1959, p. 640–648.

<sup>2426</sup> First direct record by the end of Trajan's rule, I. I. Russu, *AISC*, 1933–1935, p. 217, no. 5; Aricescu, *Armata*, p. 37.



In the Dacian war aftermath and the transformation of Decebalus' previous kingdom into Roman province<sup>2427</sup>, part of the north Danubian territory, more precisely that part which later formed the province Dacia Inferior, and most part of the territory of today's Muntenia, remained under the control of the army of Moesia Inferior, a significant part of the auxiliary troops of the province being displaced north the Danube<sup>2428</sup>. The most famous case is evidently of cohort *I Hispanorum veterana*, whose *pridianum* reports that some soldiers were located north the Danube as early as September 105<sup>2429</sup>.

By the start of Hadrian's rule, following the riots caused by the Sarmatian Roxolani, the emperor withdraws all Roman garrisons from Muntenia and creates east of Oltenia and south-east of Transylvania, a new province of procuratorial rank<sup>2430</sup>. Its army, with only two exceptions (*numerus equitum Illyricorum* and *numerus burgariorum et veredariorum*)<sup>2431</sup>, was composed of the auxiliary troops detached north the Danube as early as the time of Trajan's Dacian campaigns. Thus, of the total number of auxiliary troops from Moesia Inferior, a number of three *alae* and nine *cohortes* became part of Dacia Inferior army and never returned to the province from where they were dispatched<sup>2432</sup>. Practically, this is the moment when the entire Roman defensive system by the Lower Danube received the shape it would preserve, with few exceptions (legion's V Macedonica movement to the territory of Dacia, at Potaissa, under Marcus Aurelius)<sup>2433</sup>, until the end of the 3rd C, when emperor Aurelian removes the army from Dacia and places legion XIII Gemina at Ratiaria<sup>2434</sup> and legion V Macedonica again at Oescus, where it had been stationed in the 1st C<sup>2435</sup>.

As already mentioned, the next important change is the displacement of legion V Macedonica to Dacia, starting with 168. The legion had in fact been sent, beginning with 161, to take part in the Parthian expedition of Lucius Verus. A few of the inscriptions discovered at Troesmis record this important moment in the unit history<sup>2436</sup>.

In fact, legion's V Macedonica displacement opened the way to the Costoboci invasion of 170. They probably followed the same route as the Barbarians who attacked Moesia Inferior in 101–102, as epigraphic finds indicate that the city Tropaeum Traiani was one of the most affected<sup>2437</sup>. One should not forget that a battle was fought in the same place a few decades earlier, as proven by the discovered monuments, all dedicated to the celebration of such events<sup>2438</sup>. Thus, we succeeded to indirectly identify the reason behind legion's V Macedonica transfer to Troesmis, i.e. to block possible invasions from this area. Probably convinced that the

<sup>2427</sup> On the time and ways that Dacia was *redacta in formam provinciae* see now the study of I. Piso, in I. Piso (ed.), *Die Römischen Provinzen. Begriff und Gründung (Colloquium Cluj-Napoca 28. September–1. Oktober 2006)*, Cluj-Napoca, 2008, p. 297–331.

<sup>2428</sup> See Fl. Matei-Popescu, SCIVA 52–53, 2001–2002 (2004), p. 173–242.

<sup>2429</sup> R.O. Fink, JRS 48, 1958, p. 104 (col. I, l. 24) = *Roman Military Records on Papyrus*, p. 222; J. F. Gilliam, *Roman Army Papers*, Mavors 2, Amsterdam, 1986, p. 263–272 (*Hommages à Albert Grenier*, Brussels, 1962, p. 747–756).

<sup>2430</sup> C. C. Petolescu, SCIVA 22, 1971, 3, p. 411–422; idem, Dacia, N. S. 29, 1985, p. 44–55.

<sup>2431</sup> Petolescu, *Auxilia*, p. 131–132, no. 67; p. 128–129, no. 63.

<sup>2432</sup> See lastly C. C. Petolescu, Fl. Matei-Popescu, in I. Piso (ed.), *Die Römischen Provinzen. Begriff und Gründung (Colloquium Cluj-Napoca 28. September–1. Oktober 2006)*, Cluj-Napoca, 2008, p. 357–367.

<sup>2433</sup> Bărbulescu, *Legiunea V Macedonica*, p. 22–32.

<sup>2434</sup> V. Moga, *Din istoria militară a Daciei romane. Legiunea XIII Gemina*, Cluj-Napoca, 1985, p. 30–31.

<sup>2435</sup> Bărbulescu, *Legiunea V Macedonica*, p. 32–33.

<sup>2436</sup> CIL III 6189 = ISM V 185; CIL III 6169 = ISM V 159; CIL III 7505 = ILS 2311 = ISM V 160.

<sup>2437</sup> Em. Popescu, StCl 6, 1964, p. 193 = AÉ 1964, 252 = IPD<sup>4</sup>820 = IDRE II 337; CIL III 14214<sup>12</sup> = ILS 8051 = IPD<sup>4</sup> 821 = IDRE II 336; Aricescu, *Armata*, p. 94.

<sup>2438</sup> M. Sâmpetru, *Tropaeum Traiani II. Monumentele romane*, Bucharest, 1984.

area of the current Romanian Moldova posed no further imminent threat and confronted with very serious turmoil in the area by Mid Danube and the territory of the Dacian provinces as well<sup>2439</sup>, M. Aurelius decided to move the legion at Potaissa.

Thus, beginning with 169, Moesia Inferior accommodated only two legions, I Italica and XI Claudia and 14 auxiliary troops (5 *alae* and 9 *cohortes*, of which one *milliaria*, I *Cilicum*). A total strength of approximately 17,500 soldiers, to which the members of *classis Flavia Moesica* must be added. The limes area of the Lower Danube surveilled by legion V Macedonica entered the control of legion I Italica, as shown by epigraphic finds. Epigraphic records on the legion from Durostorum do not emerge north of Capidava, except for the central north area, more precisely Slava Rusă area, which seems to have been under the control of legion XI Claudia<sup>2440</sup>.

The structure and constituents of the Roman army from Moesia Inferior remained subsequently almost unchanged until the end of the 3rd C, more precisely until Aurelian's rule. For such reasons, we decided to end our analysis with the reign of such emperor. The emperor actions prefigured in fact the ample reorganization of the Roman army and limes in the Late Roman period, a better known period compared to the Principate, although the amount of literary and epigraphic sources is proportionally smaller<sup>2441</sup>. The reason is simple: archaeological excavations reach layers deposited during the 4th – 6th centuries much earlier. It is a common knowledge that on several sites of Moesia Inferior limes, reaching early Roman levels remains highly desirable.

Returning to circumstances of the 3rd C, we must mention that little change occurred in the situation of the auxilia, like the emergence of three new cohorts, *Gemina Dacorum milliaria* and *III collecta c. R.*, both recorded at Montana and *II reducum* evidenced at *Sostra*. Moreover, clearcut evidence on irregular military formations of *numeri* type dates from the 3rd C. Thus, at Montana is attested a *numerus civium Romanorum* and a *numerus scutariorum* at Novi Pazar, on the road between Marcianopolis and Sexaginta Prista, units that foreshadow the later organization of the army in the Tetrarchy period. The emergence of such new units must be related to the threats that the province is exposed to beginning with mid 3rd C until Claudius II Gothicus victory of Naissus in 269. Furthermore, the recorded serial numbers, *II reducum* and *III collecta*, should not be regarded as absolute, that is we should not look for a *cohors I reducum* or other two *cohortes collectae*. I believe they rather refer to the establishment moment, being the second and third *cohortes* set up on the territory of Moesia Inferior, most likely as civil militias originally, like appears to be the case of *numerus civium Romanorum*. Thus one may explain the rather unusual names, *reduces* and *collecta*. The crisis is visibly referenced by the *III pia fidelis* epithet granted to legion XI Claudia under Gallienus<sup>2442</sup>. In 259–260, the entire Roman army by the Rhine and Danube is honoured by epithets *VI P VI F* and *VII P VII F*, however they especially hint to the victories past the Rhine border<sup>2443</sup>. There is no information on how the vexillations of Moesia Inferior were involved in such actions.

The army of Moesia Inferior was constantly garrisoned in the Roman fortifications north the Black Sea at Tyras, Olbia and in the peninsula of Crimea, particularly at Chersonesus.

Interestingly, following the displacement of legion V Macedonica to Dacia, the vexillations command was turned over to the angusticlave tribunes of legion I Italica. *Antonius*

<sup>2439</sup> SHA, *Vita Marci*, 22, 1; Bărbulescu, *Legiunea V Macedonica*, p. 23–24; Piso, *Fasti Daciae*, p. 88–89.

<sup>2440</sup> A. Aricescu, SCIVA 27, 1976, 4, p. 531–534 (p. 526–527, fig. 3–4); idem, *Armata*, p. 219, SE no. 38 = ISM V 224 = Conrad, *Grabstelen*, p. 188, no. 236. See also A. Aricescu, SCIVA 27, 1976, 4, p. 533; idem, *Pontica* 10, 1977, p. 183–184.

<sup>2441</sup> Aricescu, *Armata*, p. 107–177; M. Zahariade, *Moesia secunda, Scythia și notitia dignitatum*, Bucharest, 1988; Al. Barnea, in Al. Suceveanu, Al. Barnea, *La Dobroudja romaine*, Bucharest, 1991, p. 209–221; M. Zahariade, *Scythia Minor. A History of a Later Roman Province (284–681)*, Amsterdam, 2006, p. 159–191.

<sup>2442</sup> M. Bărbulescu, A. Rădulescu, *Pontica* 15, 1982, p. 153–159; AÉ 1983, 880 = IDRE II 333.

<sup>2443</sup> J. Fitz, in *Melanges d'archéologie, d'épigraphie et d'histoire offerts à Jérôme Carcopino*, Paris, 1966, p. 353–365.

*Valens* and *Ti. Plautius Ti. f. Papiria Felix Ferruntianus* are recorded to have fulfilled such offices. The first is mentioned by two inscriptions discovered at Balaklava in Crimea, a dedication placed by the care of centurion *Novius Ulpianus* of legion I Italica, to Hercules, in the sanctuary there<sup>2444</sup> and a dedication to *Iupiter Optimus Maximus Dolichenus*<sup>2445</sup>. The second emerges within an inscription from Mactaris (Africa) stating that, while tribune of legion I Italica, he was also *praepositus vexillationibus Ponticis apud Scythia(m) et Tauricam*, i.e. the commander of legionary vexillations sent from Moesia Inferior<sup>2446</sup>.

Around 185–186, the vexillation from Chersonesus (*vexillatio Chersonessitana*) is commanded by *Atilius Primianus*, *tribunus* and *Valerius Maximus*, *centurio*. Together with the former tribune *Arrius Alcibiades*, commander of the vexillation, they are mentioned in an epigraphic file reporting abuse (*exaggerandae vectigalis quantitatis sponte suscepisse*) in the collection of tax on prostitution (*vectigal lenocinii* – τέλος πορνικόν)<sup>2447</sup>.

An inscription discovered at Preslav<sup>2448</sup> records that a young recruit of legion I Italica, whose name did not preserve, participated during 196–210 in a *bellum Bosporanum*.

The army of Moesia Inferior was involved in various military campaigns during the Principate (see also addendum II on vexillations composed of several military units of Moesia Inferior). Firstly, they participated to both Dacian expeditions of emperor Trajan; I reference addendum I, where such issue is discussed in more detail.

During the reign of same emperor, it was also involved in the Parthian expedition. Thus, I mention *L. Paconius L. f. Pal. Proculus*, tribune of legion XI Claudia, who in this capacity is appointed *praepositus vexillationum equitum Moesiae inferioris et Daciae eunti* (sic!) *in expeditione Parthica*<sup>2449</sup>. R. Saxer argues that the vexillation, together with other contingents from other provinces, was stationed during winter at Ancyra. An inscription recording the winter camping of the armies left for the Parthian expedition was identified there<sup>2450</sup>. The same conclusion may be drawn from another inscription, unfortunately fragmentary, found at Thyatira. An individual, whose name was lost to cracks, states he was *pragmateus* with legions *V Macedonica*, *VII Claudia*, *IV Scythica* and *I Italica*, in fact vexillations of these legions that were stationed for winter in the city<sup>2451</sup>. *C. Valerius Cre(scens?)*, *miles vexillationis legionis I Italicae*, appears on a tombstone found at Artaxata (Pokr Ved / Artashat, Armenia)<sup>2452</sup>.

<sup>2444</sup> T. Sarnowski, V. M. Zubar, O. J. Savelja, *Historia* 47, 1998, 3, p. 325–326, no. 1 = T. Sarnowski, O. J. Savelja, *ArchWarszawa* 49, 1998, p. 41–42, no. 31.

<sup>2445</sup> T. Sarnowski, V. M. Zubar, O. J. Savelja, *Historia* 47, 1998, 3, p. p. 326–329, no. 2 = T. Sarnowski, O. J. Savelja, *ArchWarszawa* 49, 1998, p. 43–44, no. 34; p. 42–43, no. 32 (another fragmentary dedication to Hercules where he appears as commander of the vexillation).

<sup>2446</sup> CIL VIII 619 = ILS 2747 = IPD<sup>4</sup> 535; Saxer, *Vexillationen*, p. 42–43, no. 72; Sarnowski, *ArchWarszawa* 38, 1988, p. 77, no. 29; PME, P 41.

<sup>2447</sup> CIL III 13750 = IGR I 860 = AÉ 1893, 126 = Solomonik, *Latinskie nadpisi*, p. 20–27, no. 1; Saxer, *Vexillationen*, p. 91–92, no. 269. See also I. Makarov, in A. Bresson, A. Ivantchik, J.-L. Ferrary (eds.), *Une koinè pontique. Cités grecques, sociétés indigènes et empires mondiaux sur le littoral nord de la Mer Noire (VII<sup>e</sup> s. a.C. – III<sup>e</sup> s. p.C.)*, Bordeaux, 2007, p. 328–337, with a new legal, fiscal and historical comment on this important epigraphic file. They all are prostitution related activities (*lenocinia*) and not only proper prostitutes (*meretrices*), as shows Makarov, *op. cit.*, p. 328.

<sup>2448</sup> T. Sarnowski, *ZPE* 87, 1991, p. 137–144 (p. 138–139) = AÉ 1991, 1377: ... / leg. I Ital. [[Al]]ex[[andrianae]] / militavit bf. cos. et / cornicul. proc. / quot(sic!) tiro proficiscens / in bello Bosporano / voverat et adiuvante / numen(e) (sic!) eius multis / periculis in barbarico / liberatus sit merito / votum posuit.

<sup>2449</sup> IL VI 32933 = ILS 2723 = IPD<sup>4</sup> 699; Saxer, *Vexillationen*, p. 26, no. 44; PME, P 5.

<sup>2450</sup> Saxer, *Vexillationen*, p. 26 (IGR III 173).

<sup>2451</sup> AÉ 1939, 132; J. Guey, *MEFRA* 55, 1938, p. 56–57; Lepper, *op. cit.*, p. 180–183.

<sup>2452</sup> AÉ 1968, 511 = B. N. Arakelyan, *VDI* 115, 1971, 1, p. 116–118.

The following moment when units from the army of Moesia Inferior were involved in expeditions outside the province borders was the Jewish war of emperor Hadrian. Thus, we should mention the tombstone from Neapolis in Palaestina of *M. Ulpus Cl(audia) Magnus Sav(aria) (centurio) leg(ionis) V Mac(edonicae)*<sup>2453</sup> and, particularly, an inscription discovered at Bettir (Bethar), in Israel, recording a certain *Victor, centurio vexil(ationis vel -ationibus) leg(ionum) V Mac(edonicae) et XI Cl(audiae)*<sup>2454</sup>. Admittedly, Bethar was one of the last resistance points of the Judeans against the Roman army<sup>2455</sup>. The tombstone of *P. Aelius Capito, natione Macedo, miles legionis XI Claudiae*, discovered at Scythopolis (close to Bet Shean, Israel)<sup>2456</sup> dates with certainty during emperor Hadrian's Jewish war.

As already mentioned, Moesia Inferior contributed to the Parthian expedition of Lucius Verus with the full strength of a legion, V Macedonica.

The army of Moesia Inferior sent troops also during the conflicts of 168–170. Thus, an inscription from Lambaesis records that [*A.*] *Iulius Pompilius A. fil. Cornelia Piso T. Vib[us Varus Laevillus] Berenicianus*, legate of legion XIII Gemina stationed in Dacia Superior, becomes *praepositus legionibus I Italicae et IIII Flaviae cum omnibus copiis auxiliorum dato iure gladii*<sup>2457</sup> upon *M. Claudius Fronto* death. The presence at Potaissa of a soldier of legion I Italica, who places a dedication to *Iupiter Optimus Maximus*<sup>2458</sup>, may be related to same events.

In addition, the army of Moesia Inferior was involved in the civil wars by the start of Septimius Severus rule. Thus, in 193, *L. Marius L. f. Quirina Maximus Perpetuus Aurelianus*, legate of legion I Italica, commanded a vexillation composed of legions I Italica and XI Claudia p. f. sent to defeat the armies of Pescennius Niger around Byzantium, while in 197 he was sent to Gallia, at Lugdunum, to fight against the forces of Clodius Albinus (*dux exerciti* (sic!) *Mysiaci apud Byzantium et apud Lugudunum leg(atus) leg(ionis) I Ital(icae)*)<sup>2459</sup>. Two inscriptions discovered at Antium and Cannae, in Italy, record *M. Aquilius M. f. Fabia Felix*, chief centurion of legion XI Claudia, a Rome native, who in this capacity is appointed *praepositus vexillationum agentium in Italia*<sup>2460</sup>.

The army of Moesia Inferior appears to have sent units also during the Parthian expedition of Septimius Severus of 197–198, as indicated by an inscription found in Phrygia, recording *Nonius Felix, primus pilus legionis XI Claudiae*. The inscription was placed by the vexillation *sub cura Non(i) Felicis v(iri) o(ptimi) p(rimi) p(ili) praepo(siti)*<sup>2461</sup>. Additionally, the inscription of *Ti. Claudius Candidus*, who had been *dux exercitus Illyrici expeditione Asiana item Parthica item Gallica*<sup>2462</sup> dates in the same period.

<sup>2453</sup> AÉ 1927, 146.

<sup>2454</sup> CIL III 14155<sup>2</sup> = Filow, *Legionen*, p. 69; P. Schäfer, *Der Bar Kokhba-Aufstand. Studien zum zweiten jüdischen Krieg gegen Rom*, Tübingen, 1981, p. 130; Lepper, *op. cit.*, p. 177.

<sup>2455</sup> Schäfer, *op. cit.*, p. 130.

<sup>2456</sup> AÉ 1939, 158; Schäfer, *op. cit.*, p. 127–128.

<sup>2457</sup> CIL VIII 2582 = ILS 1111. See also CIL VIII 2488; 2547. RE IX, 1919, col. 779–780 (Hohl); Ritterling, RE XII, 1925, col. 1414; Alföldy, *Konsulat*, p. 297, note 81, dates this command in 175–176, considering he became cos. suff. around 178 and that such command immediately after the death of *M. Claudius Fronto* would be too early. See also V. Moga, *Din istoria militară a Daciei romane. Legiunea XIII Gemina*, Cluj-Napoca, 1985, p. 84–85; Piso, *Fasti Daciae*, p. 218–224, no. 52.

<sup>2458</sup> CIL III 889.

<sup>2459</sup> CIL VI 1450 = ILS 2935; 2936; Ritterling, RE XII, 1925, col. 1414; F. Miltner, RE XIV, 1930, col. 1828–1831, no. 48.

<sup>2460</sup> CIL X 6657 = ILS 1387; AÉ 1945, 80; PIR<sup>2</sup> A 988; Pflaum, *Carrières*, p. 598; Saxer, *Vexillationen*, p. 43, no. 75–76.

<sup>2461</sup> AÉ 1995, 1512.

<sup>2462</sup> CIL II 4114 = ILS 1140 (Tarraco); A. R. Birley, *The African Emperor Septimius Severus*, London, 1988, p. 110.



An important part of my study discusses the legions prosopography. To my knowledge, consequent Em. Ritterling's study, it is the first attempt to propose an as much as possible complete prosopography of the legions present on the territory of Moesia Inferior. I proceeded no different with the auxilia, indicating for each troop the staff known insofar. Due to enormous deficiencies of J. Spaul's two studies on auxiliary units of the Empire, at least concerning circumstances in the Danubian provinces, which I signalled within an ample review prepared in collaboration<sup>2463</sup>, such a prosopography is extremely useful.

Given that information on legion legates, tribunes and centurions was synthesised within tables constituting attachments herein, I shall discuss below the results of the prosopographical analysis of legion soldiers.

On legion V Macedonica, during the period of its stationing at Troesmis, an extremely valuable document is available<sup>2464</sup>, i.e. the list of soldiers rose in 108–109 (*veterani qui militare coeperunt Annio et Atilio cos et Palma et Tullo cos*)<sup>2465</sup> and discharged in 134 under *Sex. Iulius Maior*<sup>2466</sup>, governor of Moesia Inferior and *Plotius Iulianus*, legion legate. It records approximately 300 soldiers, of which 230 discharged veterans and approximately 70 *reliqui veterani*, as the inscription mentions, most likely *missicii*. Compared to other preserved lists, like the list from Viminacium that preserves the name of discharged soldiers from legion VII Claudia<sup>2467</sup> in 195, this list does not include the veterans' origin. The veterans are listed upon cohorts, starting with the first cohort, first on the list, on the main side and continue with the other three cohorts on the same side and the names of veterans from cohorts V–X on the left side. The right side comprises last veterans remaining from cohort X, who could not be included on the left side. For lack of indication on their origin, only an onomastic analysis may aid the cautious establishment of certain recruitment areas of choice. Hence, 34 *Iulii*, of various *cognomina*, 23 *Valerii*, seven *Flavii* and five *Claudii* as well as other names are recorded. Noticeably, *Ulpii* are lacking, which may be explained by the overall remark that until Hadrian, the *peregrini* recruited within legions did not adopt reigning emperor names<sup>2468</sup>. Other *nomina*, like *Aufidius*, *Baebius*, *Antistius*, *Calpurnius*, *Cassius*, *Cornelius* or other more rare, like *Aconteius*, *Atisius*, *Atalius*, *Cabellius*, *Caesonius*, *Grattius* or *Ferranius* also appear. The vast majority of the preserved *cognomina* are of Latin origin, except for *Alexander*, *Eleuther* and *Philippus*, which are Greek in origin.

Further on, I have identified five *beneficarii consularis* and a *beneficiarius tribuni* (of whom two are recorded at Drobeta, one being *beneficiarius tribuni*, might also date during the stationing period on the territory of Dacia, two recorded at Skelani, on the territory of Dalmatia, part of the *beneficarii consularis* group sent to surveill the metal ores in this province, and one at Amasia, province Pontus et Bithynia, who might have either been part of an expeditionary force during an Eastern campaign or had been sent on police activities due to the military importance of relations between Moesia Inferior and Micro-Asian provinces); two *frumentarii*, one recorded at Rome and the other at Lambaesis; an *actarius* of the vexillation recorded at Tyras in 116–117; an *optio*, coming from Oescus; three *signiferi*; a *strator*; a *custos armorum*; a *valetudinarius*, member of the vexillation of 116–117 from Tyras; three *equites legionis*; nine *milites gregarii*; 35 *veterani*, of which 26 of unknown grades, probably simple *milites*.

<sup>2463</sup> O. Țentea, Fl. Matei-Popescu, ActaMN 39–40/I, 2002–2003 (2004), p. 259–296.

<sup>2464</sup> ISM V 137.

<sup>2465</sup> Degrassi, *Fasti consolari*, p. 32–33.

<sup>2466</sup> PIR<sup>2</sup> I 397; Stein, *Legaten*, p. 67; Fitz, *Laufbahn*, p. 46; Thomasson, *Laterculi*, col. 133, no. 77.

<sup>2467</sup> CIL III 14507 = IMS II 53 = IDRE II 308. D. Benea, *op. cit.*, p. 77–78.

<sup>2468</sup> Em. Doruțiu-Boilă, ISM V, p. 169.

Concerning the legion veterans, it is interesting to note their involvement in the civil life of the province and especially within the structures of the new *municipium Troesmense*, set up most likely after the legion displacement to Dacia. The issue of the civil settlements from Troesmis is still debated. Prior the legion movement to Dacia, in 158/159–160, at Troesmis are recorded two civil settlements, *canabae legionis* and a *civitas Troesmensium*<sup>2469</sup>. The general view is that the inscription records the civil settlement from Troesmis in its pre-municipal and not municipal stage, even though a *decurio* is mentioned<sup>2470</sup>. Things would undoubtedly clarify when the organization law of the *municipium* from Troesmis would be edited. The bronze tablets containing parts of the law were discovered under unclarified circumstances, most likely precisely at Troesmis and reached the West by way of the traffic in antiquities. It appears that the law dates in the final part of Marcus Aurelius rule, possibly during the joint reign with future emperor Commodus, and it preserved the part regulating magistrates' election means<sup>2471</sup>. This new document proves without the shadow of a doubt that the *canabae* from Troesmis, probably together with the civil settlement, were awarded the rank of *municipium* under Marcus Aurelius, to the end of his reign. Within the newly *municipium*, the role of legion veterans would be of extreme importance, especially during the first part of its history.

Among the veterans mentioned in relation to the civil settlements from Troesmis count two *quinquennales canabensium*<sup>2472</sup>, of whom one later become *decurio Troesmensium*<sup>2473</sup> (this is the inscription that seems to prove the duality *canabae* – civil settlement). Another veteran is recorded only *decurio municipii Troesmensium*<sup>2474</sup>. In addition, probably after the legion displacement to Dacia, the son of a former legion veteran becomes twice *duumvir* of the *municipium* from Troesmis and *augur*<sup>2475</sup>.

<sup>2469</sup> R. Vulpe, SCIV 4, 1953, 3–4, p. 562–568, no. 2 = AÉ 1960, 337 = Ferjančić, *Settlement of Legionary Veterans*, p. 299, no. 428.

<sup>2470</sup> Vulpe, DID II, p. 167; Suceveanu, *Viața economică*, p. 63–65; Al. Barnea, Dacia 32, 1988, p. 58; Suceveanu, *Dobroudja*, p. 50. It was considered that the inscription refers to a pre-municipal organization, copying the organization model of a Roman *municipium*. Indeed, the lack of the term *municipium* (*decurio Troesmensium*) would be an important argument thereof, however not decisive. The term of native *civitas* is unclear and does not cover reality at all. It seems to me more accurate to identify at Troesmis a civil settlement of Roman pre-municipal character, as indicated by the mention of an *ordo decurionum* prior the proper emergence of a *municipium* (ISM V 135, mentions *cives Romani*). Evidently, I did not consider necessary to approach the issue in more detail, as this would have exceeded the limits established by my work title.

<sup>2471</sup> Single direct information comes from a general study of W. Eck, Chiron 37, 2007, p. 55: “Ein Kapitel aus einem Stadtgesetz für das *Municipium Troesmis* in Niedermösien, das zum Teil erhalten, aber noch nicht publiziert ist, zeigt nämlich, dass noch in der Spätzeit Marc Aurels, in der dieses Stadtgesetz abgefasst und auf Bronzetafeln geschrieben wurde, Wahlen vorausgesetzt werden müssen. Denn es wurden Vorkehrungen gegen die Abgabe von zwei Stimmtäfelchen durch dieselbe Person getroffen. Solche Regeln kennen wir aus den bisherigen Stadtgesetzen nicht. Es kann sich also nicht einfach um tralatizisches Gut im Stadtgesetz von Troesmis gehandelt haben; das zeigt alleine schon die Abfolge der Kapitel, die keineswegs den spanischen *leges municipales* entspricht. Es scheint sich in der *lex* für das *municipium Troesmis* eher um eine Zusammenstellung von Regeln zu handeln, die spezifisch für Troesmis bestimmt waren”. Note 26 quotes the title of this law chapter: *De poena eius qui duas pluresve tabellas in cistam deiecerit* (on the penalty for introducing two or more vote tablets in the vote box).

<sup>2472</sup> R. Vulpe, SCIV 4, 1953, 3–4, p. 557–562 = S. Lambrino, *RévÉtRoum* 2, 1954, p. 96–101 = AÉ 1957, 266 = ISM V 155 = Ferjančić, *Settlement of Legionary Veterans*, p. 299, no. 427.

<sup>2473</sup> R. Vulpe, SCIV 4, 1953, 3–4, p. 562–568, no. 2 = AÉ 1960, 337 = Ferjančić, *Settlement of Legionary Veterans*, p. 299, no. 428: *L. Licin(ius) domo Nicopolis? Cleme(n)s veteranus leg(ionis) V Ma[cedonicae] q. q. c] anab(ensium) et dec(urio) Troesm(ensium)*.

<sup>2474</sup> CIL III 6188 = ISM V 183.

<sup>2475</sup> CIL III 7560 = ISM II 244 = Ferjančić, *Settlement of Legionary Veterans*, p. 302, no. 448: *C. Arrius Quintianus bisduumviralis et augur municipii / Troesmens(ium) veterani filius et Clauldia Servata uxor se vivi[s] melioriam sibi fecerunt curan[tibus] Ariis Quintiano filio et Ianuario lib[er]to [...]*.

By far, the largest number of recorded soldiers pertains, as one would expect given its stationing duration on the territory of Moesia Inferior, to legion I Italica. Thus are recorded six *optiones*; a *speculator*; fourteen *beneficarii consularis* (among who are distinguished three sent in the province of Dalmatia, at Skelani, Salonae and Naronae and three at Montana among whom one is recorded *ag(ens) t(erritorio) M(ontanensium)*, as well as the famous *M. Pompeius Lucius, beneficarius consularis*, mentioned at Dionysopolis. On this occasion, we learn he was member of the city councils of Dionysopolis, Callatis and Marcianopolis, due to his activity of law enforcement); two *frumentarii*, both recorded at Rome; two *signiferi*; a *custos armorum*; a *vexillarius*, still in Montana area; two *cornicines*; three *tesserarii*; two *librarii*; a *duplicarius*; a *discens mensor*; two *equites legionis*; 36 *milites* (among who I mention one who became *miles* of a praetorian cohort at Rome, five appear at Salonae, in Dalmatia, furthermore confirming the military relations between the two provinces, one at Artaxata, capital of Armenia, during the Parthian expedition of Trajan, two at Aulutrene, part of the vexillation sent to take part in the Parthian expedition of Septimius Severus); 34 *veterani* (among who are distinguished an *ex centurione*, three *ex beneficariis consularis* and a *beneficarius legati*; an *ex duplario*, an *ex signifero*, two *ex imaginiferis*, an *ex custode armorum*).

The following members of legion XI Claudia are recorded: a *decurio*, member of the vexillation around Montana in 155; two *optiones*, of whom one is *agens regione Montanensium*; two *cornicularii*, of whom one with the legion laticlave tribune; seventeen *beneficarii consularis* and one *beneficarius legati legionis* (again are distinguished eleven *beneficarii consularis* sent to various locations of the province Dalmatia, including Skelani and two sent in the area of Montana, one member of the vexillation of 155, where the above mentioned decurion was also part); a *speculator*, present still on the territory of Dalmatia under Gordian III; three *signiferi* (among who distinguishes one recorded north Italy, at Ticinum, probably during the 3rd C, when on various occasions vexillations from the Danubian legions were sent north of Italy); two *immunes* (of whom one was a member of the vexillation at Montana in 155); two *stratores*; a *mensor*; a *quaestionarius*, recorded at Aquileia, who could also be part of one of the vexillations sent north of Italy by the end of the 3rd C; two *tubicines*, of whom one was a member of the vexillation from Montana in 155; a *cornicen*, member of the same vexillation; two *immunes venatores*, members of the same vexillation; two *equites legionis*, of whom one still *discens equitum*, both recorded at Aquileia, by the end the 3rd, if not even by the beginning of the 4th C; they could have been part of the *comitatenses*; 65 *milites* composed the vexillation, mentioned so often, from Montana in 155 and separately are known other seventeen *milites* (of which I mention one deceased during the Jewish war of emperor Hadrian, three appear at Aquileia by the end of the 3rd C, 2 appear as members of the vexillation from Aulutrene during the Parthian expedition of Septimius Severus, one at Thyatira, province of Asia, reconfirming the military relations between Moesia Inferior and Micro-Asian provinces and one at Slava Rusă); twelve *veterani* (of whom distinguishes an *ex custode armorum*, an *ex equite*, an *ex signifero* and probably an *ex immuni*); separately is recorded an *architectus legionis*, however civilian (*salariarius*).

These are the main conclusions of the study on the existent epigraphic material concerning the Roman army from Moesia Inferior. Obviously, for complete image, one should examine in more detail the civil careers of the former soldiers, yet such endeavour would make up a substantive study, in fact another study, and, therefore, I preferred to disregard it.





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**TABLES**

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**TABLE I. LEGATI LEGIONVM**

<b>No.</b>	<b>Name</b>	<b>Legio</b>	<b>Date</b>	<b>Bibliography</b>
1.	<i>Aelius Optatus</i>	V Macedonica	158/159–160	AÉ 1960, 337 = ISM V 158
2.	<i>T. Calestrius Tiro</i>	V Macedonica	105–110	CIL III 8084; AÉ 1965, 320
3.	<i>Q. Caecilius Reddinus</i>	V Macedonica	151–154	AÉ 1957, 266 = ISM V 155
4.	<i>Cominius Secundus</i>	V Macedonica	142–144	AÉ 1972, 547 = AÉ 1975, 756 = ISM V 141
5.	<i>P. Martius Verus</i>	V Macedonica	162	CIL III 6169 = ISM V 159
6.	<i>Plotius Iulianus</i>	V Macedonica	134	ISM V 137
7.	<i>Q. Pomponius Rufus</i>	V Macedonica	ante 95	CIL VIII 13 = ILS 1014 = AÉ 1948, 3
8.	<i>Q. Roscius Sex. f. Quir. Coelius Murena Pompeius Falco</i>	V Macedonica	101–106	CIL X 6231 = ILS 1035 ( <i>Tarracina</i> , Italia); CIL III 12117 = ILS 1036 ( <i>Hierapolis Castabala</i> , Cilicia)
9.	<i>M. Sedatius C. f. Quir. Severianus Iulius Acer Metilius Nepos Rufinus Ti. Rutilianus Censor</i>	V Macedonica	144–147	AÉ 1913, 55 = ILS 9487 = IDR III/2 97; AÉ 1933, 249 = IDR III/2 98
10.	<i>P. Vigellius Raius Plarius Saturninus Atilius Braduanus Caucidius Tertullus</i>	V Macedonica	159–162	CIL III 6183 = ILS 1116 = ISM V 145
11	<i>... Volcasius</i>	V Macedonica	Trajan/Hadrian	CIL XI 4647 = AÉ 1985, 365
1.	<i>M. Fabius M. f. Quirina Magnus Valerianus</i>	I Italica	177–180	CIL XI 2106 = ILS 1138
2.	<i>Appius Claudius Martialis [A?]nius [S] ibinus</i>	I Italica	161–169	<i>Montana</i> , II, p. 24–25, no. 48
3.	<i>Avidius Cassius?</i>	I Italica ?	cca 170	<i>Historia Augusta</i> (4, 6–9)
4.	<i>M. Clodius Laetus</i>	I Italica	cca 170	ILN 7
5.	<i>Fonteus Maximus</i>	I Italica	233	AÉ 1987, 862 = ILN 50

No.	Name	Legio	Date	Bibliography
6.	<i>Lucius Iulius Lucillianus</i>	I Italica	2nd C.?	CIL III 784 = Gerov, <i>Romanizmät</i> , II, p. 358, no. 21; <i>vide etiam</i> CIL XI 4089
7.	<i>C. Mansuanus Severus</i>	I Italica	112–113 (110–112, apud Th. Franke)	AÉ 1998, 1131; CIL III 6813 = ILS 1038
8.	<i>L. Marius L. f. Quirina Maximus Perpetuus Aurelianus</i>	I Italica	cca 193	CIL VI 1450 = ILS 2935; 2936
9.	<i>Mucius Maior [legatus legionis?]</i>	I Italica	177–180	ILN 38
10.	<i>L. Novius Crispinus Martialis Saturninus</i>	I Italica	post 142	CIL VIII 2747 = ILS 1070
11.	<i>L. Ovinus L. f. Quir. Rusticus Cornelianus</i>	I Italica	?	CIL II 4126; CIL VI 31744; AÉ 1935, 21; AÉ 1954, 182
12.	<i>Q. Planius Sardus L. Varius L. f. Fal. Ambibulus</i>	I Italica	164–165	CIL X 3872; ILS II/3 7910 = ILS 9486 = AÉ 1911, 111 = AÉ 1966, 545
13.	<i>[Pompeius ...f. Pomptina Vopiscus C. Arrunt[us Cate]llius Celer Allius Sabinus</i>	I Italica	132–135	AÉ 1980, 426
14.	<i>P. Septimius Geta</i>	I Italica	Commodus	AÉ 1946, 131 = IPD <sup>4</sup> 863 = IDRE II 438
15.	<i>Q. Servaeus Fuscus Cornelianus</i>	I Italica	227	AÉ 1972, 526 = ILB 272 = ILN 13; CIL VIII 22721 = ILS 8978 = IDRE II 440; CIL VIII 11028 = ILTun 12
16.	<i>M. Valerius Maximianus</i>	I Italica	Commodus	AÉ 1956, 124 = IPD <sup>4</sup> 536 = IDRE II 445
17.	<i>Valerius [Opt]avianus</i>	I Italica	208 (208–210?)	AÉ 1982, 849 = ILB 268 ter = ILN 28; AÉ 1962, 119
18.	<i>L. Venuleius L. f. Gal. Apronianus Octavius</i>	I Italica	142–143	CIL XI 1432 = InscrIt VII, I, 16; 1433 = InscrIt VII, I, 17 = AÉ 1955, 120, 6
19.	<i>...ERNO</i>	I Italica	?	AÉ 1957, 302 = ILB 13; <i>vide etiam</i> G. Alföldy, REMA 1, 2004, p. 54–58 = AÉ 2004, 1239
20.	<i>Ignotus</i>	I Italica	Gordianus III	ILN 46
21.	<i>Ignotus</i>	I Italica	Caracalla/Elagabal	CIL III 12439



No.	Name	Legio	Date	Bibliography
1.	<i>M. Annaeus Saturninus Clodius Aelianus</i>	XI Claudia	end 2ndC/beginning 3rd C	CIL VI 1337 = 41204 = AÉ 2004, 191
2.	<i>M. Claudius Ti. f. Quir. Fronto</i>	XI Claudia	ante 161	CIL III 1457 = ILS 1097 = IDR III/2 90; CIL VI 1377 = ILS 1098 = IPD <sup>4</sup> 819 = IDRE I 10
3.	<i>Ti. Claudius Ti. fl. Quir. Gordianus</i>	XI Claudia	184/185–186	AÉ 1954, 138
4.	<i>Tib. Claudius Iulianus</i>	XI Claudia	145–147	CIL III 7474 = ILS 2475
5.	<i>Ti. Claudius Saethida Caelianus Claudius Fronto</i>	XI Claudia	169–177	CIL X 1123 = ILS 1086
6.	<i>Cornelius Plotianus</i>	XI Claudia	160	CIL III 10507
7.	<i>L. Iulius L. f. Fabia Marinus Caecilius Simplex</i>	XI Claudia	Nerva/Trajan	CIL IX 4965
8.	<i>P. Metilius P. f. Cla. Secundus Pontianus?</i>	XI Claudia	Trajan/Hadrian	CIL XI 3718 = ILS 1053
9.	<i>C. Oppius C. f. Vel. Sabinus Iulius Nepos M. Vibius Sollemnis Severus</i>	XI Claudia	135–138	CIL IX 5833 = ILS 1059
10.	<i>T. Prifernius Sex. f. Quirina Paetus Rosianus Nonius Geminus Laecanius Bassus [Fron]io?</i>	XI Claudia	116–117	M. Buoncore, Epigraphica 65, 2003, p. 47-61 = AÉ 2003, 579
11.	<i>Ignotus</i>	XI Claudia	post 89/ legatus legionis I Minerviae p. f.	AÉ 1964, 18
12.	<i>Ignotus</i>	XI Claudia	2nd C?	CIL XIV 3518
13.	<i>Ignotus</i>	XI Claudia	2nd C	AÉ 1950, 91 = AÉ 1974, 344
14.	<i>Ignotus</i>	XI Claudia	116/117	I. I. Russu, AISC 2, 1933–1935, p. 217 = AÉ 1936, 14

TABLE II. TRIBVNI MILITVM LEGIONVM

No.	Name	Legio	Date	Bibliography
1.	M. Acilius A. f. Volt. Priscus Egrilius Plarianus, laticlavus	V Macedonica	post 105/106	AÉ 1945, 34; CIL VI 31677 = ILS 155; AÉ 1955, 170–172
2.	P. Cluvius Maximus Paullinus, laticlavus	V Macedonica	Trajan/ Hadrian	AÉ 1940, 99 = AÉ 1946, 168
3.	C. Corne[lius ..f.] C. n. Rufus, angusticlavus	V Macedonica	beginning 2nd C	CIL V 3364; PME, C 249
4.	L. Fadius Cornutus Titius Messianus, angusticlavus	V Macedonica	2nd C	CIL XI 1597 = CIL VI 3519; PME, F 20
5.	T. Flavius Claudianus T. fil. Aemona, angusticlavus	V Macedonica	2nd C	CIL X 6302; PME, F 45
6.	C. Iavolenus Calvinus Geminius Kapito Cornelius Pollio Squilla Q. Vulkacius Scuppidius Verus, laticlavus	V Macedonica	117/120	CIL XIV 2499 = ILS 1060
7.	C. Lu[cilius...] Proc[ul]us, angusticlavus	V Macedonica	beginning 2nd	M. Torelli, <i>Elogia Tarquiniensia</i> , Florence, 1975, p. 160–161, no. 5; PME, L 34bis
8.	P. Mummius P. f. Gal. Sissena Rutilianus, laticlavus	V Macedonica	Hadrian	CIL XIV 3601 = Inscr It, IV, I, 115; 4244 = InscrIt, IV, I, 116
9.	T. Nummius T. f. Hor. Augustalis, angusticlavus	V Macedonica	Trajan	CIL XI 3099 (p. 1323); PME, N 23
10.	Q. Papirius Q. f. Pupinia Maximus, angusticlavus	V Macedonica	110/150	CIL VI 1822 = ILS 1893; PME, P 13
11.	Tib. Pompeius Pompei Iusti f. Priscus, Cadurcus, angusticlavus	V Macedonica	2nd C?	CIL XIII 1686 = ILS 7017 = IDRE I 186; PME P 65
12.	Salvius Neni[us] L. Anius Campanianus Cn. Plotius Maximinus T. Oeni[us] Severus Serveienus V[rsus], laticlavus	V Macedonica	2nd C	CIL III 6755; PIR <sup>2</sup> VII, 2, p. 49, S no. 140
13.	C. Set[ti]dus C. F. Pup. Fir[mi]us, angusticlavus	V Macedonica	1st C/2nd C	InscrIt X, I, 67; PME, S 45
14.	[...] Cn. f. Clu(stumina tribu) Celer [...M]aximus Corneli[us] [...Ce]llinus [...], laticlavus	V Macedonica	1st C/2nd C	CIL VI 41153 = CIL VI 3831 (p. 3142) = CIL VI 31699
15.	T. Trauius T. f. ..., angusticlavus ?	V Macedonica	end 2nd C	CIL XI 4374; PME, T 32
16.	Q. Volteius Q. f. Horatia Dexter, angusticlavus	V Macedonica	2nd C?	CIL XI 4788, p. 1374; PME, V 128
17.	[...]cus Po[...], angusticlavus	V Macedonica	70–120	AÉ 1950, 170; Pflaum, <i>Carrières</i> , no. 178bis; PME, P 125

No.	Name	Legio	Date	Bibliography
18.	Ignotus, laticlavus	V Macedonica	110–150	S. Orlandi, ZPE 115, 1997, p. 271–277 = AÉ 1997, 279
19.	Ignotus, angusticlavus	V Macedonica	2nd C?	CIL III 4859 = ILLPRON 608
20.	Ignotus, angusticlavus	V Macedonica	2nd C	M. Ribas i Bertrán, Els orígens de Mataró, Mataró, 1964, p. 186; PME, Inc 9
21.	Ignotus, angusticlavus	V Macedonica	2nd C	AÉ 1957, 301; PME, Inc 51
22.	Ignotus, angusticlavus	V Macedonica	1st C/2nd C	F. Cumont, J. G. C. Anderson, JRS 2, 1912, p. 234; PME, Inc 62
23.	Ignotus	V Macedonica	2nd C	CIL VIII 26585; PME, Inc 142
1.	C. Aetrius C. f. Lemonia Naso, angusticlavus	I Italica	end 1st C	CIL XI 5745 = ILS 6644; PME, A 95
2.	L. Antonius L. f. Galeria Numida, angusticlavus	I Italica	50–100	CIL II 3845; 3850; PME, A 141
3.	Antonius Valens, angusticlavus ?	I Italica	150–200	AÉ 1998, 1154–1156.
4.	C. Aponius Memmius Celer, angusticlavus	I Italica	2nd C/3rd C	CIL III 3268; PME, A 151
5.	L. Arrius Alcibiades, angusticlavus	I Italica	ante 185–186	CIL III 13750 = IGR I 860 = AÉ 1893, 126 = Solomonik, Latinskie nadpisi, p. 20–27, no. 1; PME, A 161
6.	Atilius Primianus, angusticlavus	I Italica	185–186	CIL III 13750 = IGR I 860 = AÉ 1893, 126 = Solomonik, Latinskie nadpisi, p. 20–27, no. 1; PME, A 161
7.	[Au]rel(ius) [...], angusticlavus	I Italica	3rd C	AÉ 1995, 1333
8.	C. Caesidius C. f. Clustumina Dexter, angusticlavus	I Italica	Hadrian	CIL XI 6033; PME, C 39
9.	M. Cassius Paullinus, laticlavus	I Italica	2nd C?	CIL VI 1373 (p. 3141, 4688)
10.	Ti. Claudius Claudii Iasonis f. Quirina Agrippinus, angusticlavus	I Italica	101–150	TAM II/2 423 = IGR III 670; PME, C 116
11.	M. Cosconius M. f. Pollia Fronto, angusticlavus	I Italica	Septimius Severus/Caracalla	CIL X 7584 = ILS 1359; PME, C 253
12.	Q. Gilitius P. f. Stellatina Atilius Agricola, laticlavus	I Italica	cos. II 103	CIL V 6974 = ILS 1021; CIL V 6977 = ILS 1021 <sup>a</sup> ; IDRE I 157–161; E. Groag, RE Suppl. III, 1918, col. 786–789, no. I; PIR <sup>2</sup> G 181

<b>No.</b>	<b>Name</b>	<b>Legio</b>	<b>Date</b>	<b>Bibliography</b>
13.	T. Iulius T. f. Fabia Saturninus, angusticlavus	I Italica	Hadrian/Antoninus Pius	AE 1928, 153 = ILB 246; AE 1934, 107 = ISM V 10; PME, I 120
14.	C. Maesius C. f. Picantianus, laticlavus	I Italica	Antoninus Pius	CIL V 4338 = InscIt X, V/1, 126; PIR <sup>2</sup> , V/1, M 78
15.	L. Marcus Celer Calpurnius Longus, laticlavus	I Italica	2nd C	AE 1972, 620, 621; TAM II 426
16.	[...] Memm[i]us ... Anie(n)s(i) Barbarus, angusticlavus ?	I Italica	50–100	CIL II 2638 (p. 911) = IRPLeon 77 = EAstorga 18; PME, M 39
17.	C. Nummius Horatia Verus, angusticlavus	I Italica	101–106	CIL XI 3100; PME, N 24
18.	Ti. Plautius Ti. f. Papiria Felix Ferruntianus, angusticlavus	I Italica	ante 170	CIL VIII 619 = ILS 2747 = IPD <sup>4</sup> 535; AE 1969–1970, 580; PME, P 41
19.	Sex. Quintilius Sex. f. Aniensi tribu Valerius Maximus, laticlavus	I Italica	110 legatus Achaiae	CIL XIV 2609 = IDRE I 103
20.	Fl. Sergianus Sosibius, angusticlavus	I Italica	184	AE 1900, 199 = CIL III 14214 <sup>34</sup> = IOSPE I <sup>2</sup> 417 = Solomonik, Latinskie nadpisi, p. 37–38, no. 9; PME, F 71
21.	M. Ulpius Peregrinus, Napuca, angusticlavus	I Italica	end 2nd C/ beginning 3rd C	ILB 279 = ILN 6; PME, U 13bis
22.	P. Vedius Antoninus, angusticlavus ?	I Italica	2nd C	AE 1975, 802; PME, V 60
23.	C. Vettius C. f. Voltinia Sabinianus Iulius Hospes, angusticlavus	I Italica	Antoninus Pius	AE 1920, 45 = IPD <sup>4</sup> 524 = IDRE II 427; PIR V 339; PME, V 80
24.	....Pollio, angusticlavus	I Italica	post 165	AE 1968, 484; PME, P 127; vide etiam PME, C 169
25.	Ignotus, laticlavus (D. Terentius Scaurianus ?)	I Italica	70–90	CIL XII 3169 = IDRE I 183; I. Piso, ActaMN 19, 1982, p. 39–50
26.	Ignotus ([---]ti fil. Quir. I[---]), laticlavus	I Italica	2nd C/3rd C	AE 1951, 203
27.	Ignotus, laticlavus	I Italica	Hadrian	AE 1922, 36
1.	M. Aelius Aurelius Theo, laticlavus	XI Claudia	Maximinus Thrax/ Gordianus III /Philippus Arabs	CIL III 89 = ILS 1193
2.	Ti. Claudius Agrippa, angusticlavus	XI Claudia	Antoninus Pius	SEG VI 628 = AE 1929, 125; PME, C 115



<b>No.</b>	<b>Name</b>	<b>Legio</b>	<b>Date</b>	<b>Bibliography</b>
3.	[L. Eggius] Cor. Ambibulus Pomponius Longinus Cassianus L. Maecius Postumus, laticlavus	XI Claudia	Trajan	CIL IX 1123
4.	L. Fabius M. f. Gal. Cilo Septimius Catinus Acilianus Lepidus Fulcinianus, laticlavus	XI Claudia	175–180	AÉ 1926, 79 = AÉ 1927, 93; CIL VI 1408 = ILS 1141 = IDRE I 12 = AÉ 2003, 298; CIL VI 1409 = ILS 1142. PIR <sup>2</sup> F 27
5.	M. Fabius M. f. Quirina Magnus Valerianus, laticlavus	XI Claudia	Marcus Aurelius	CIL XI 2106 = ILS 1138; E. Groag, RE VI, 1909, col. 1775–1776, no. 97
6.	P. Maevius Saturninus Honoratianus, laticlavus	XI Claudia	Septimius Severus/Caracalla	AÉ 1912, 17; vide etiam CIL VIII 2741 = AÉ 1913, 11
7.	L. Minicius L. f. Galeria Natalis Quadronius Verus, laticlavus	XI Claudia	115–120	CIL XIV 3599 = ILS 1061 = InscrIt IV, I, 113; CIL XIV 3600 = InscrIt IV, I, 114; CIL II 4509 = 6145 = ILS 1029 = IDRE I 172; PIR <sup>2</sup> , V/1, M 620
8.	Cl. Paternus Clementianus, angusticlavus	XI Claudia	Trajan	CIL III 5776 = ILS 1369 = AÉ 1968, 406 = IDRE II 243; CIL III 5775 = IDRE II 242; 5777; Pflaum, <i>Carrières</i> , 150 bis; PME, C 162
9.	A. Seius Zosimus, angusticlavus	XI Claudia	2nd C/3rd C	CIL VI 3536; PME, S 14
10.	M. Stabius M. f. Fabia Colonus, domo Luca, angusticlavus	XI Claudia	Antoninus Pius	AÉ 1901, 48 = CIL III 14214 <sup>1</sup> ; PME, S 60
11.	T. Vibius Pius, angusticlavus	XI Claudia	193–235	AÉ 1933, 270; PME, V 103
12.	Ignotus, angusticlavus	XI Claudia	Septimius Severus/Caracalla	CIL III 6075 = ILS 1366; PME, Inc. 19

TABLE III. TRIBVNI PRAEFECTIQVE ALARVM ET COHORTIVM

Alae et cohortes	Name	Bibliography
ala I Asturum	<i>T. Iulius Agricola</i>	CIL XVI 45; PME, I 14.
ala I Asturum	<i>P. Priferrius Pactus Memmius Apollinaris</i>	CIL IX 4753 = IPD <sup>4</sup> 7960 = 432 = IDRE I 112; Pflaum, <i>Carrières</i> p. 166–167, no. 71 PME, P 107
ala I Asturum	<i>L. Seius L. f. Tro. Avitus</i>	RGZM 11
ala I Vespasiana Dardanorum	<i>C. Mulvius C. f. Pomptina tribu Ofilius Restitutus</i>	AE 1972, 148; PME, M 71
ala I Vespasiana Dardanorum	<i>T. Flavius Apollinaris</i>	CIL III 7512 = ISM V 251; PME, F 41
ala I Vespasiana Dardanorum	<i>P. Bestius P. f. Quirina tribu Betunianus C. Marius Memmius Sabinus</i>	CIL VIII 9990 = ILS 1352 = IPD <sup>4</sup> 796 = IDRE II 468; PIR I <sup>2</sup> , p. 364, no. 112; Pflaum, <i>Carrières</i> , p. 108–169, no. 73; PME, B 21;
ala I Vespasiana Dardanorum	<i>P. Baebius P. [f. ...]</i>	W. Eck, P. Weiß, <i>Chiron</i> 32, 2002, p. 453–457, no. 2
ala I Vespasiana Dardanorum	<i>Crepereius</i>	IGRRP III 777; Pflaum, <i>Carrières</i> , p. 347–348, no. 147; PME, C 254
ala I Vespasiana Dardanorum	<i>Ignotus</i>	AE 1949, 37; Jarrett, <i>EpigrSt</i> 9, 1972, p. 219, no. 147; PME, Inc. 149
ala I Flavia Gaetulorum	<i>Q. Planius Sardus Q. f. Pup. Truttedius Pius</i>	AE 2002, 1775 = RMD V 337; W. Eck, A. Pangerl, <i>Dacia</i> , N. S. 50, 2006, p. 97–99, no. 2
ala I Flavia Gaetulorum	<i>Q. Naevius</i>	RGZM 14
ala I Flavia Gaetulorum	<i>Quint[...]</i>	RMD IV 221
ala I Flavia Gaetulorum	<i>[B]etius Cilo</i>	P. Weiß, <i>ZPE</i> 117, 1997, p. 239–243, no. 6 (p. 241); W. Eck, D. MacDonald, A. Pangerl, <i>Chiron</i> 32, 2002, p. 461–468, no. 5 = AE 2002, 1766 = RMD V 356; W. Eck, A. Pangerl, <i>Chiron</i> 39, 2009, p. 533–537, no. 9
ala I Flavia Gaetulorum	<i>M. Ulpus Attianus</i>	M. M. Roxan, W. Eck, <i>ZPE</i> 116, 1997, p. 193–203 (p. 196–197); M. M. Roxan, <i>ZPE</i> , 118, 1997, 287–297 (p. 294–295)
ala I Flavia Gaetulorum	<i>L. Flavius T. f. Quirina tribu Saecularis</i>	CIL VI 3520 = ILS 2731; PME, F 68
ala I Flavia Gaetulorum	<i>Sex. Artius Senecio</i>	CIL VI 3505; Saxer, <i>Vexillationen</i> , p. 28, no. 49; PME, A 188

<b>Alae et cohortes</b>	<b>Name</b>	<b>Bibliography</b>
ala I Flavia Gaetulorum	<i>T. Antonius Claudius Alfenus Arignotus (praepositus)</i>	CIG 3497 = IGRRP IV 1213 = ILS 8853 = IDRE II 383; C. C. Petolescu, ZPE 110, 1996, p. 256
ala I Flavia Gaetulorum	<i>P. Aelius Ammonius</i>	IGRRP I 623 = ILS 8851 = ISM II 106; Pflaum, <i>Carrières</i> , p. 854–855, no. 32; PME, A 21; I.
ala Gallorum Aetorigiana	<i>T. Flavius Marcianus</i>	CIL III 12452; PME, F 59
ala Gallorum Aetorigiana	[...] <i>lvius Futianus Sa</i> [...]	P. Weiss, <i>Chiron</i> 38, 2008, p. 302–307, no. 12
ala Gallorum Aetorigiana	<i>Flavius</i>	W. Eck, A. Pangerl, <i>Chiron</i> 39, 2009, p. 557–561, no. 17
ala I Claudia Gallorum Capitoniana	<i>P. Curtius P. f. Palatina tribu Aburianus</i>	CIL VI 3517; PME, C 263; PME, VI, p. 17
ala Gallorum Flaviana	<i>M. Arruntius [...]</i>	W. Eck, A. Pangerl, <i>Chiron</i> 39, 2009, p. 519–522, no. 5
ala Gallorum et Pannoniorum	<i>M. Maenius C. f. Cor. Agrippa L. Tuisidius Campester</i>	CIL XI 5632 = ILS 2735 = IPD <sup>4</sup> 348; Pflaum, <i>Carrières</i> , p. 292–295, no. 120; PME, M 5
ala II Hispanorum et Aravacorum	<i>L. Fabius L. f. Pal. Fabullus</i>	R. Petrovsky, <i>Mitteilungen des historischen Vereins der Pfalz</i> 102, 2004, p. 10–17
ala II Hispanorum et Aravacorum	<i>L. Marcus Sabula</i>	RMD IV 222
ala I Pannoniorum	<i>M. Artorius Priscillus Vicasius Sabidianus</i>	CIL VI 32929 = ILS 2700; Pflaum, <i>Carrières</i> , p. 185–186, no. 88; PME, A 168
ala I Pannoniorum	<i>Ignotus (?)</i>	AÉ 1973, 485 = AÉ 1976, 583; Moretti, <i>RIFC</i> 102, 1974, p. 454–458; W. Eck, <i>Chiron</i> 5, 1975, p. 365–392 (p. 368–371); PME, Inc. 75
ala I Pannoniorum	<i>C. Iulius Fal. Ianuarius (?)</i> or the homonym ala from Africa	CIL V 4095; PME, I 68; PME, VI, p. 22
cohors II Flavia Bessorum	<i>D. Iunius D. f. [...]</i>	W. Eck, A. Pangerl, <i>Chiron</i> 39, 2009, p. 525–530, no. 7
cohors II Bracaraugustanorum equitata	<i>Atinius Paternus</i>	CIL VI 1838 = ILS 2727; PME, A 182
cohors II Bracaraugustanorum equitata	<i>Ti. Claudius Helvius Secundus</i>	AÉ 1925, 44; PME, C 143
cohors II Bracaraugustanorum equitata	<i>T. Stadius Lupus</i>	N. Schindel, <i>ZPE</i> 174, 2010, p. 259–263
cohors II Flavia Brittonum equitata	<i>M. Maenius Agrippa L. Tuisidius Campester</i>	CIL XI 5632 = ILS 2735 = IPD <sup>4</sup> 348; Pflaum, <i>Carrières</i> , p. 292–295, no. 20; PME, M 5
cohors II Flavia Brittonum equitata	<i>Septimius Agathonicus</i>	CIL III 7478; PME, S 28
cohors I Cilicum sagittaria milliaria	<i>Ti. Claudius Ulpianus</i>	AÉ 1987, 867
cohors I Cilicum sagittaria milliaria	<i>Q. Castricius Manilianus, Carthagina</i>	P. Weiß, <i>ZPE</i> 117, 1997, p. 252–254, no. 13.
cohors I Cilicum sagittaria milliaria	<i>Capitonius Priscus</i>	H. Devijver, <i>ZPE</i> 47, 1982, p. 184–192 = AÉ 1982, 850; PME, C 78

<b>Alae et cohortes</b>	<b>Name</b>	<b>Bibliography</b>
cohors I Cilicum sagittaria milliaria	<i>T. Antonius Claudius Alfenus Arignotus</i>	CIG 3497 = IGRPP IV 1213 = ILS 8853; PIR <sup>2</sup> , A 821; Pflaum, <i>Carrières</i> , p. 567–579, no. 218 <i>ter</i> = no. 309; PME, A 132
cohors I Cilicum sagittaria milliaria	<i>Anternius Antoninus</i>	CIL III 14437 <sup>2</sup> = Tudor, AUB 5, 1956, p. 54–55 = AÉ 1957, 333 = IPD <sup>4</sup> 843 = IDRE II 338; PME, A 124
cohors I Cilicum sagittaria milliaria	<i>Iulius Faustinus</i>	C. Scorpan, JRS 71, 1981, p. 98–102, no. 4 = AÉ 1981, 744; PME, I 59 bis
cohors III collecta civium Romanorum	<i>Aelius Maximus</i>	CIL III 7450 = ILS 2622; AÉ 1957, 340; PME, A 45
cohors III collecta civium Romanorum	<i>P. Aelius Antonianus</i>	CIL III 7450 = ILS 2622; PME, A 23
cohors I Flavia Commagenorum	<i>M. Antonius Modianus</i>	CIL VI 3504; PME, A 138
cohors II Gallorum	<i>Visulanius Crescens</i>	CIL XVI 44; CIL XI 709 = ILS 1394; Pflaum, <i>Carrières</i> , p. 1058; PME, V 120
cohors III Gallorum	<i>P. Valerius Sabinus</i>	CIL XVI 50; PME, V 33
cohors IV Gallorum	<i>C. Vindilius C. f. Pub. Fontanus</i>	RMD 14; PME, V 114 bis
cohors IV Gallorum	<i>Sex. Pulfennius Salutaris M. Lucius Valerius Severus</i>	CIL X 4873 = IPD <sup>4</sup> 291 = IDRE I 104; PME, P 114
cohors VII Gallorum	<i>C. Iulius C. f. Col. Capito</i>	C. C. Petolescu, A. T. Popescu, ZPE 148, 2004, p. 269–276
cohors VII Gallorum	<i>Claudius Ti. f.</i>	P. Weiß, ZPE 124, 1999, p. 289–290, no. 2
cohors I Germanorum civium Romanorum	<i>L. Atilius L. f. Quir. ...</i>	ISM V 16; PME, A 174 b
cohors I Germanorum civium Romanorum	<i>Celsus?</i>	I. Opriș, M. Popescu, Pontica 30, 1997, p. 177–181 = CEpR XVII, 753
cohors I Germanorum civium Romanorum	<i>C. Munatius Venustus</i>	ISM V 36; PME, M 74
cohors I Germanorum civium Romanorum	<i>T. Flavius Longinus Q. Marcus Turbo (?)</i>	IGR I 622 = ISM II 57; PME, F 54
cohors II Lucensium equitata	<i>Claudius Lupus</i>	AÉ 1925, 66 = V. Velkov, ActaArchHung 41, 1989, p. 253, no. 5 = AÉ 1991, 1402
cohors II Lucensium equitata	<i>P. Gavius P. f. Palat. Balbus (?)</i>	PME, G 7
cohors I Lusitanorum Cyrenaica	<i>C. f. Torquatus</i>	AÉ 1977, 747 = ISM II 80; PME, T 47 b



<b>Alae et cohortes</b>	<b>Name</b>	<b>Bibliography</b>
cohors I Lusitanorum Cyrenaica	<i>Rutilius Pudens Crispinus</i>	AE 1929, 158 = AE 1995, 124; PME, R 20
cohors II Mattiacorum milliaria equitata	<i>T. Flavius Laco</i>	CIL XVI 83; PME, F 53
cohors II Mattiacorum milliaria equitata	<i>T. Aurelius Aquila (tribunus)</i>	CIL III 14428 = ILS 8915 = ILB 260; PME, A 212
cohors II Mattiacorum milliaria equitata	<i>Faustinianus Marci f. (tribunus)</i>	AE 1968, 422; PME, F 105
cohors I Flavia Numidarum	<i>L. Manlius L. f. Col(rnelia tribu)</i>	W. Eck, D. MacDonald, A. Pangerl, Chiron 32, 2002, p. 413–417, no. 5
cohors I Raetorum	<i>P. Besius Betuianus C. Marius Memmius Sabinus</i>	CIL VIII 9990 = ILS 1352 = IPD <sup>4</sup> 796 = IDRE II 468; Pflaum, <i>Carrières</i> , p. 168–169, no. 73, PME, B 21
cohors I Raetorum	<i>C. Cassius C. f. Pup. Primus</i>	CIL XII 4232; PME, C 96
cohors I Raetorum	<i>C. Caelius C. f. Ouf. Martialis</i>	AE 1934, 2 = IPD <sup>4</sup> 811 = IDRE II 367; Pflaum, <i>Carrières</i> , p. 170, no. 74, PME, C 31
cohors II reducum	<i>Aurelius Domitianus, centurion legionis et praepositus cohortis</i>	W. Eck, R. Ivanov, ZPE 170, 2009, p. 191–200
cohors I Sugambrorum veterana equitata	<i>M. Iulius Pisonianus qui et Dion</i>	AE 1927, 95
cohors I Sugambrorum veterana equitata	<i>Ignotus</i>	CIL VI 1543; PME, V 125
cohors I Sugambrorum veterana equitata	<i>Q. [...]iorius Severus (?) or I Sugambrorum tironum</i>	CIL VIII 9363 = ILS 1351
cohors I Sugambrorum tironum	<i>M. Acilius Alexander</i>	CIL XVI 78; PME, A 7
cohors I Tyriorum sagittariorum	<i>L. Rutilius Ravonianus</i>	RGZM 10; W. Eck, A. Pangerl, Chiron 39, 2009, p. 514–519, no. 4
cohors I Tyriorum sagittariorum	<i>L. Valerius [...] (?)</i>	CIL III 8716; Pflaum, <i>Carrières</i> , p. 193–197, no. 92 and p. 967–968; PME, V 3
cohors I Tyriorum sagittariorum	<i>Ignotus (?)</i>	AE 2000, 466
cohors I Thracum Syriaca	<i>C. Navius Quadratus</i>	AE 1939, 101; PME, N 8
cohors I Thracum Syriaca	<i>Pollio</i>	Ritterling, RE XII, 1925, col. 1476–1478; PME, P 127
cohors I Ubiorum	<i>C. Iunius Tertius</i>	CIL X 6015; PME, I 54

TABLE IV. CENTVRIONES LEGIONVM

No.	Name	Legio	Date	Bibliography
1.	<i>L. Artorius Castus primus pilus</i>	V Macedonica	150–162	CIL III 1919 = ILS 2770 = IDRE II 303
2.	<i>Ti. Claudius Celsus primus pilus</i>	V Macedonica	Antoninus Pius	CIL III 6168 = ISM V 140
3.	<i>P. Aelius Quintianus Magni fil.</i>	V Macedonica	162	CIL III 6169 = ISM V 159
4.	<i>P. Aelius Firmus</i>	V Macedonica	162–167	AÉ 1991, 1475
5.	<i>P. Aelius S[...]<i>Janus</i></i>	V Macedonica	ante 155	CIL XIII 6504
6.	<i>L. Aconius L. f. Clu. Statura</i>	V Macedonica	Domitian/ Nerva	CIL XI 5992 = IPD <sup>4</sup> 509
7.	<i>Annaeus Pulcher, centurio frumentarius</i>	V Macedonica	107–162	ISM V 239
8.	<i>M. Caesius M. f. Pol. Verus</i>	V Macedonica	107–166	AÉ 1990, 896
9.	<i>M. Calventius Viator</i>	V Macedonica	Trajan-Hadrian	AÉ 1915, 42; CIL III 7094 = IDR III/3 205
10.	<i>Q. Cassius Q. f. Romilia (tribu) Saturninus, Zmyrna</i>	V Macedonica	107–166	SEG 32, 1982, 1276.
11.	<i>Tib. Claudius Tib. f. Quirina Ulpianus</i>	V Macedonica	107–162	IL III 6186 = ISM V 179
12.	<i>...filius Cl[audia (tribu)] Decimus</i>	V Macedonica	Trajan/Hadrian	IL III 6193 (frg. a, b, c) + CIL III 6187 (frg. d) = ISM V 201
13.	<i>M. Ennius Illadianus</i>	V Macedonica	116–117	AARMSI III, 19, 1937, p. 219–220, no. 2; 26, 1944, p. 501–510
14.	<i>Eptidius Modestus</i>	V Macedonica	around 170	CIL III 14433
15.	<i>[. I]ulius Candidus</i>	V Macedonica	110–117	AÉ 1998, 1435
16.	<i>Iulius Proculus</i>	V Macedonica	around 160	CIL VIII 2627
17.	<i>Cn. Iulius L. f. [Fa]b. Rufus</i>	V Macedonica/ I Italica	Domitian/ Trajan	AÉ 1998, 1435; CIL III 13606 = IGLS VI 2955
18.	<i>Iulius Severus</i>	V Macedonica	107–162	CIL III 222
19.	<i>C. Iulius C. f. Valens</i>	V Macedonica	around 150	CIL III 14214 <sup>10</sup>
20.	<i>(A.) Laberius Camerinus</i>	V Macedonica	116–117	CIL III 12117 = ILS 1036

No.	Name	Legio	Date	Bibliography
21.	[...] <i>Musvidiu[s] Procula[s]</i>	V Macedonica	107–162	AÉ 1895, 100
22.	<i>T. Seranius Primianus</i>	V Macedonica	107–162	CIL VI 3631
23.	<i>L. Solicius Aurelianus</i>	V Macedonica	100–110	IL XII 264 (p. 808) = ILN I 22
24.	<i>Q. Trebellius Q. f. Fab. Maximus, Roma, ex trecenario, (centurio) I h(astatus) p(osterior)</i>	V Macedonica	107–162	CIL III 7534 = ILS 4063 = ISM II 140
25.	<i>T. Trebius Fronto</i>	V Macedonica	107–162	AARMSI III, 19, 1937, p. 219, no. 1
26.	[...] <i>M]aximus</i>	V Macedonica	107–162	CIL VI 31736
27.	<i>M. Ulpius Cl. Magnus Sav(aria)</i>	V Macedonica	132–135	AÉ 1927, 146
28.	<i>L. Valerius Fuscus</i>	V Macedonica	107–162	ISM V 221
29.	<i>C. Valerius Paternus</i>	V Macedonica	107–162	AÉ 1946, 51
30.	[C.? <i>Vale]rius Pu[den]s</i>	V Macedonica	Trajan/ Hadrian	CIL III 6193 (frg. a, b, c) + CIL III 6187 (frg. d) = ISM V 201
31.	[...] <i>Ferox</i>	V Macedonica	Trajan	CIL III 8048
32.	<i>Ignotus</i>	V Macedonica	107–162	CIL III 6192 = ISM V 202
1.	<i>Arius Coryphus primus pilus</i>	I Italica	Caracalla	AÉ 1957, 282 = ILB 143
2.	<i>Aurelius Concessus primus pilus</i>	I Italica	196	AÉ 1993, 1364
3.	<i>M. Aurelius Iustus primus pilus</i>	I Italica	224	CIL III 6224 = CIL III 7591 = ILS 2295 = ILB 282
4.	<i>M. Aurelius M. f. Aelia Paulinus primus pilus</i>	I Italica	208	AÉ 1982, 849 = ILB 268 ter = ILN 28
5.	<i>C. Baienius C. f. Claudia Ianuarius primus pilus</i>	I Italica	227	AÉ 1972, 526 = ILB 272 = ILN 13
6.	<i>L. Betutius L. f. Palatina Furianus primus pilus</i>	I Italica	2nd C/3rd C	CIL XI 385; 386 = ILS 6659; AÉ 1944, 29

No.	Name	Legio	Date	Bibliography
7.	<i>Cn. Iulius L. f. [Fa]b. Rafus primus pilus</i>	I Italica/ V Macedonica	Trajan/ Hadrian	AÉ 1998, 1435; CIL III 13606 = IGLS VI 2955
8.	<i>Flavius Constans primus pilus</i>	I Italica	196	AÉ 1993, 1364
9.	<i>[D. Furi]us D. f. Octavius Secundus, Curib(us) Sab(imis) primus pilus</i>	I Italica	Hadrian/ Antoninus Pius	CIL III 7334 = CGLBI 671
10.	<i>C. Iulius Carianus primus pilus</i>	I Italica	150–200	CIL III 750 = ILB 292 = IGLN 30
11.	<i>M. Maesius Geminus primus pilus</i>	I Italica	182	CIL III 6223 = ILB 283; AÉ 1982, 848 = ILB 284
12.	<i>L. Maximus L. f. Volinia Gaetulicus, Vienna, primus pilus</i>	I Italica	184	AÉ 1985, 735 = ILN 27 = IGLN 46
13.	<i>C. Valerius C. f. Pap. Valentinianus primus pilus</i>	I Italica	Severus Alexander	AÉ 1957, 294 = ILB 17
14.	<i>M. Val. M. Val. Mucaceni f. Quir. Flavianus, domo Cirta, primus pilus</i>	I Italica	Elagabal	AÉ 1988, 984 = ILN 18 = IGLN 33
15.	<i>[...]inu[s p(rimus)] p(ilus)</i>	I Italica	2nd C/3rd C	ArchWarszawa 56, 2005, p. 145, note 5
16.	<i>Ignotus, primus pilus legionis felicis I Italicae victricis piae</i>	I Italica	Gallienus	AÉ 1993, 1363
17.	<i>Aelius Artemidorus, centurio r(egionarius)</i>	I Italica	159–160	CIL III 12371 = <i>Montana II</i> , p. 26, no. 51
18.	<i>Ael(ius) Cydas, centurio secundus bastatus posterior</i>	I Italica	196	AÉ 1993, 1364
19.	<i>P. Aelius P. f. Romanus ex Mysia</i>	I Italica	170–190	CIL VIII 2786 = ILS 2659
20.	<i>M. Aemil(ius) L. f. Severinus</i>	I Italica	2nd C	<i>Nadpisi Obvii</i> , p. 101, no. 131
21.	<i>L. Antonius L. fil. Arnensi Felix Karthagine</i>	I Italica	170–200	CIL III 6185 = ISM V 176
22.	<i>Ant(oni)us Pl(...)</i>	I Italica	162–167	AÉ 1925, 78
23.	<i>Q. Apidius Sabinus, centurio has(tatus) leg(ionis) I Ital(icae) ex trecena(rio)</i>	I Italica	2nd C	AÉ 1998, 1132
24.	<i>M. Atal(ius) Placidus</i>	I Italica		ZPE 95, 1993, p. 214, no. 8; AÉ 1995, 1350
25.	<i>M. Aur(eli)us Claudianus, centurio bis</i>	I Italica	2nd C/3rd C	AÉ 1981, 158
26.	<i>M. Aur(eli)us Iaso[n]</i>	I Italica	202–225	CIL III 12388
27.	<i>L. A(... ) C(...)</i>	I Italica	250–275	AÉ 1900, 200 = CIL III 14215
28.	<i>P. A[e]l(ius) M[onimus]</i>	I Italica	around 150	CIL III 13720



No.	Name	Legio	Date	Bibliography
29.	<i>Bae(bius) Urvinianus, centurio primus hastatus posterior</i>	I Italica	196	AE 1993, 1364
30.	<i>Baebius</i>	I Italica	2nd C/3rd C	ILN 111
31.	<i>[C.]Blandius C. [f.] Volinia Latinus</i>	I Italica	85/86–88	CIL XII 2601
32.	<i>Calvisius Flavin(us)</i>	I Italica	159–160	AE 1987, 879 = <i>Montana</i> , II, p. 26, no. 50
33.	<i>Cassius Bassus</i>	I Italica	end 1st C	ILB 329 = ILN 59 = IGLN 85
34.	<i>Carisius Clemens</i>	I Italica	post 167	AE 1957, 195
35.	<i>Cl(audius) Dexter, centurio tertius princeps prior</i>	I Italica	196	AE 1993, 1364
36.	<i>Tib. Cl(audius) D[- - -]</i>	I Italica	2nd C	<i>Madara. Razkopki i Proučvanija</i> , II, Sofia, 1936, p. 22, no. 3
37.	<i>Ti. Claudius Ti. f. Galeria Vitalis</i>	I Italica	Domitian/ Trajan	CIL VI 3584 = ILS 2656 = IPD <sup>4</sup> 794 = IDRE I 3
38.	<i>Cornelius Firmus</i>	I Italica	167–169	IL III 778 = 7514 = ISM V 297
39.	<i>Dov(ius) Fortunatus, centurio secundus princeps posterior</i>	I Italica	196	AE 1993, 1364
40.	<i>El(- - -) Eugeminus, centurio secundus hastatus prior</i>	I Italica	196	AE 1993, 1364
41.	<i>G. Ers[idius?]</i>	I Italica	2nd C/3rd C	ILB 170
42.	<i>Enn(ius) Deccius, centurio primus hastatus posterior ?</i>	I Italica	196	AE 1993, 1364
43.	<i>Fan(nius) Semminus, centurio primus princeps posterior</i>	I Italica	196	AE 1993, 1364
44.	<i>C. Firmin[ius] Luca[nus] do[mo] Daci[a]</i>	I Italica	Caracalla	AE 1989, 638 = <i>Montana</i> , II, p. 15, no. 25 = IDRE II 317
45.	<i>Fla(vius) Augustalis</i>	I Italica	250–300	CIL V 914 = InscrAquil 2739
46.	<i>T. Fl(avius) Carantinus</i>	I Italica	150–200	Conrad, <i>Grabstelen</i> , p. 232, no. 393
47.	<i>Fl(avius) Honoratus</i>	I Italica	3rd C	ILN 8
48.	<i>T. Flavius Iulius, praepositus numeri civium Romanorum</i>	I Italica	around 250	AE 1975, 743 = AE 1979, 548 = <i>Montana</i> , II, p. 16, no. 30; AE 1987, 884 = <i>Montana</i> , II, p. 21–22, no. 44
49.	<i>Gra(nius?) Ie[.][a.][lida], centurio tertius hastatus prior</i>	I Italica	196	AE 1993, 1364
50.	<i>Q. Granius Romanus</i>	I Italica	150–200	AE 1985, 742 = <i>Montana</i> , I, p. 32–33, no. 26 = <i>Montana</i> , II, p. 36, no. 78
51.	<i>Humid(ius), centurio quintus hastatus prior</i>	I Italica	196	AE 1993, 1364

No.	Name	Legio	Date	Bibliography
52.	<i>Iulius Candidus, centurio</i>	I Italica	208–211	AE 1971, 226
53.	<i>Iul(ius) Col[- - -], centurio tertius princeps posterior</i>	I Italica	196	AE 1993, 1364
54.	<i>C. Iulius C. f. Col. Crescens</i>	I Italica	Trajan	CIL III 7428 = ILB 56
55.	<i>C. Iulius (?) C(- - -)</i>	I Italica	201–225	ZPE 95, 1993, p. 216, no. 44
56.	<i>C. Iulius Faventianus</i>	I Italica	196–197	AE 1930, 74
57.	<i>Iul(ius) Ni[- - -], centurio tertius hastatus posterior</i>	I Italica	196	AE 1993, 1364
58.	<i>C. Iulius Saturninus, centurio regionalis</i>	I Italica	Severus Alexander	<i>Montana</i> , I, p. 29–30, no. 17 = <i>Montana</i> , II, 39; 135
59.	<i>Iulius Verecundus</i>	I Italica	I st C	CIL III 6232 = ILB 311 = IGLN 87
60.	<i>Iunius Pacatus</i>	I Italica	Trajan	AE 1985, 762
61.	<i>Q. Lucilius Piscinus</i>	I Italica	193–211	CIL III 12468
62.	<i>C. Maenius Haniochus, domo Corinthi</i>	I Italica/ XI Claudia	ante 127	CIL III 42
63.	<i>C. Marius Victorinus</i>	I Italica	203	<i>Montana</i> , I, p. 26–27, no. 11 = AE 1985, 744 = AE 1987, 877 = <i>Montana</i> , II, 14
64.	<i>L. Messius [P]rimus, centurio r(egionarius)? vel fr(umentarius)</i>	I Italica	157–159	CIL III 6125 = 7420
65.	<i>Maf(eius?) Ter[- - -], centurio quartus hastatus posterior</i>	I Italica	196	AE 1993, 1364
66.	<i>[Nu]mis(ius) Florus, centurio secundus princeps prior</i>	I Italica	196	AE 1993, 1364
67.	<i>Novius Ulpianus</i>	I Italica	170–185	AE 1998, 1154
68.	<i>Num(- - -) F[- - -], centurio quintus pilus prior</i>	I Italica	196	AE 1993, 1364
69.	<i>L. Octavius Pulcher</i>	I Italica	Flavian	AE 1972, 512 = IMS VI 36
70.	<i>[M. Petronius Fortunatus]</i>	I Italica	150–200	CIL VIII 217 = 11301 = ILS 2658 add. = AE 1991, 1633
71.	<i>Pet(ronius?) Flo[rus?], centurio quintus princeps prior</i>	I Italica	196	AE 1993, 1364
72.	<i>Sab(vinius?) Pudens, centurio primus hastatus prior</i>	I Italica	196	AE 1993, 1364
73.	<i>M. Ratin(ius) M. f. P(... ) Saturninus</i>	I Italica	250	AE 1996, 1358 = AE 1999, 1349
74.	<i>[M. Tuccius - - -]</i>	I Italica/ XI Claudia	Domitian/Trajan	CIL VIII 3005

No.	Name	Legio	Date	Bibliography
75.	<i>Ulpus Balimber, (centurio) princeps</i>	I Italica	150–230	ISM II 260 = AÉ 1988, 1003
76.	<i>M. Ulpus Modianus</i>	I Italica	150–200	ILB 343
77.	<i>Valerius Clemens</i>	I Italica	around 170	AÉ 1901, 50 = CIL III 14433 = ILS 9118
78.	<i>C. Valerius Firmus</i>	I Italica	173	CIL III 6176 = ILS1108 = ISM V 146
79.	<i>L. Valerius L. f. Proclus</i>	I Italica	Domitian/Trajan	CIL III 12411 = ILS 2666b = IPD <sup>4</sup> 771 = ILB 432
80.	<i>M. Val(erius) Vitalis</i>	I Italica	160–211	ILB 241
81.	<i>Vasellius Marcellus</i>	I Italica	80–100	CIL III 7441 = ILB 301
82.	<i>Quietus, centurio secundus hastatus prior</i>	I Italica	196	AÉ 1993, 1364
83.	<i>[ - - ] Pudentinus</i>	I Italica	201–250	<i>Montana</i> , II, p. 29–30, no. 58
84.	<i>Ignotus</i>	I Italica/ V Macedonica	Trajan/Hadrian	CIL III 6192 = ISM V 202
85.	<i>Ignotus, centurio pri(nceps) pri(or)</i>	I Italica	Septimius Severus	CIL VI 3628
86.	<i>Ignotus, [pri]nceps</i>	I Italica	2nd C/3rd C	AÉ 1968, 454bis = ILB 299
87.	<i>Ignotus, ordinarius</i>	I Italica	Gallienus	AÉ 1992, 786
1.	<i>M. Aquilius M. f. Fabia Felix primus pilus</i>	XI Claudia	193	CIL X 6657 = ILS 1387; AÉ 1945, 80
2.	<i>Iulius Ferox primus pilus</i>	XI Claudia	162–164	AÉ 1969–1970, 567
3.	<i>L. Flavius L. f. Palatina Victor, Ostia, primus pilus</i>	XI Claudia	Severus Alexander	AÉ 1972, 504
4.	<i>Nonius Felix primus pilus</i>	XI Claudia	198–211	AÉ 1987, 941; AÉ 1995, 1512
5.	<i>C. Valerius C. Valeri f. Iulianus, Zermizegetusa, primus pilus</i>	XI Claudia	Gallienus	AÉ 1983, 880 = IDRE II 333
6.	<i>Ignotus [primus pilus]</i>	XI Claudia	3rd C	CIL V 934 = InscrAquil 286
7.	<i>M. Aebutius M. f. Ulpia Papiria Troiana Victorinus</i>	XI Claudia	161–169	CIL III 6761 = IDRE II 399

No.	Name	Legio	Date	Bibliography
8.	<i>P. Aelius Fronto</i>	XI Claudia	2nd C	AÉ 1987, 876 = <i>Montana</i> , II, p. 10–11, no. 16; AÉ 1987, 886 = <i>Montana</i> , II, p. 18, no. 34
9.	<i>Aelius Severus</i>	XI Claudia	150–200	<i>Montana</i> , II, p. 39, no. 88
10.	<i>C. Aemilius Donatus</i>	XI Claudia	150–200	AÉ 1987, 871 = <i>Montana</i> , II, p. 11, no. 17
11.	[.] <i>Aemilius Q. fil. Pap. Pudens</i>	XI Claudia	Marcus Aurelius/ Commodus	AÉ 1949, 38
12.	<i>Annius Saturninus</i>	XI Claudia	Marcus Aurelius	CIL III 7483 = AÉ 1960, 342
13.	<i>Antonius Proclus</i>	XI Claudia	180–200	AÉ 1998, 1161
14.	<i>Aurelius Maturus</i>	XI Claudia	Caracalla	AÉ 1925, 108; AÉ 1957, 305
15.	<i>Aurelius Mica</i>	XI Claudia	3rd C	CIL III 12440
16.	<i>Q. Caecilius Larensis</i>	XI Claudia	165–166/167	AÉ 1987, 869 = <i>Montana</i> , II, p. 7–8, no. 10
17.	<i>Cocceius Hortensius</i>	XI Claudia	150–230	ISM II 260 = AÉ 1988, 1003
18.	<i>L. Cocceius Marcus, centurio praepositus numeri civium Romanorum</i>	XI Claudia	around 250	AÉ 1985, 746 = <i>Montana</i> , II, p. 32, no. 65
19.	<i>M. Cocceius Silvanus</i>	XI Claudia	198–211	AÉ 1987, 887 = <i>Montana</i> , II, p. 19, no. 38
20.	<i>Castus Attici f.</i> ,	XI Claudia	250–300	Conrad, <i>Grabstelen</i> , p. 199–200, no. 274
21.	<i>Cornelius Faustus</i>	XI Claudia	150–250	CIL III 7445
22.	<i>M. Domitius Capetolinus, domo Capetoliade</i>	XI Claudia	Trajan/Hadrian	CIL III 771 = ISM II 348
23.	<i>Flavius Maximus</i>	XI Claudia	155	CIL III 7449 = <i>Montana</i> , II, p. 2, no. 1
24.	<i>M. Herennius Tromentina Valens</i>	XI Claudia	2nd C	CIL III 13360
25.	<i>C. Iulius Africanus</i>	XI Claudia	157–159	AÉ 1985, 751 = AÉ 1987, 247 = <i>Montana</i> , II, p. 23, no. 47
26.	<i>Iulius Favor</i>	XI Claudia	3rd C	AÉ 1972, 522
27.	<i>Iulius, centurio R(egionarius?)</i>	XI Claudia	Hadrian?	AÉ 1974, 574
28.	<i>Iulius, centurio supernumerarius</i>	XI Claudia	280–300	CIL V 8278 = ILS 2333 = InscrAquil 2776
29.	<i>Iulius Saturninus</i>	XI Claudia	193–235	ISM I 292



No.	Name	Legio	Date	Bibliography
30.	<i>C. Maenius Haniochus, domo Corinth</i>	XI Claudia/ I Italica	ante 127	CIL III 42
31.	<i>Sex. Pilonius Sex. f. Stellatina Modestus</i>	XI Claudia	90–101	CIL III 1480 = ILS 273 = IDR III/2 437
32.	<i>Q. Pisenius Severinus</i>	XI Claudia	150–250	CIL III 1789 = 6363 = 8485
33.	<i>M. Sabidius [M. f.] Aemilia Maximus</i>	XI Claudia	ante 132	AÉ 1937, 101 = IDRE II 364
34.	<i>Urbanus</i>	XI Claudia	201–250	AÉ 1987, 883 = <i>Montana</i> , II, p. 21, no. 42
35.	<i>Valerius Aulucentius</i>	XI Claudia	290–300	CIL V 940 = InscrAquil 2778
36.	<i>Valerius Longinianus, natus in Mensi(a) infer(iore) castell(o) Abritanor(um)</i>	XI Claudia	290–300	CIL V 942 = ILS 2670 = InscrAquil 2779
37.	<i>Valens</i>	XI Claudia	3rd C?	CIL III 12458
38.	<i>Ignotus</i>	XI Claudia	166	AÉ 1997, 1332
39.	<i>Ignotus</i>	XI Claudia	Trajan	CIL V 955 = InscrAquil 2748



June 14, 92 (ZPE 148, 2004, p. 269–276)	September 9, 97 (RMD V 337)	September 9, 97 (RMD V 338; Chiron 39, 2009, p. 510–512, no. 2)	August 14, 99 (CIL XVI 45; RGZM 8; Dacia, N. S. 50, p. 97–99)	August 14, 99 (CIL XVI 44)	May 13, 105 (RGZM 10)	May 13, 105 (RGZM 11; Mittelungen des historischen Vereins der Pfalz 102, 2004, p. 10–17)	May 13, 105 (CIL XVI 50)
cohors I Bracaraugustanorum	cohors II [C] hal[cidenorum]	cohors I Fla[via Numida]rum	cohors VII Gallorum	cohors Ubiorum	cohors II Brittonum Augusta Nerviana Pacensis (milliaria)	cohors II Flavia Brittonum	cohors III Gallorum
cohors I Lusitanorum Cyrenaica	cohors [...?]	cohors I Flavia Commagenorum	classici		cohors VII Gallorum		cohors III Gallorum
cohors I Flavia Commagenorum	cohors [...?]	cohors II Flavia Bessorum					classici
cohors I Sugambrorum tironum	cohors [...?]	cohors II Lucensium					
cohors I Sugamborum veterana	cohors [...?]	cohors III Gallorum					
cohors II Chalcidenorum	cohors [...?]	cohors Ubiorum					
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cohors II							
Bracaraugustanorum							
cohors II Flavia Bessorum							
cohors II Gallorum							
cohors III Gallorum							
cohors III Gallorum							
cohors VII Gallorum							

September/ December 107 (Chiron 39, 2009, p. 514–519, no. 2; p. 519–522)	September 25, 111 (RMD IV 222)	[September 25, 111? or 112–114 (CIL XVI 58)	October 19, 120 (Chiron 39, 2009, p. 533–537, no. 9)	May/December 121 (Chiron 38, 2008, p. 296–300, no. 10)	June 1, 125 (RMD IV 235; RMD V 364)	August 20, 127 (RMD IV 241; RGZM 23)
ala [Hispan]orum	ala I Pannoniorum	ala I Vespasiana Dardanorum (113? Chiron 38, 2008, p. 293–296, no. 9)	ala I Vespasiana Dardanorum	ala I Gallorum et Pannoniorum	ala I Gallorum et Pannoniorum	ala I Pannoniorum et Gallorum
ala I Pannoniorum	ala I Claudia Gallorum (1 September 118/ October 31, 119, RMD V 350)	ala [...]?	ala I Gallorum et Pannoniorum	ala I Flavia [Gaetulorum]	ala I Flavia Gaetulorum	ala Gallorum Aetorigiana
ala Gallorum Flaviana	ala II Hispanorum et Aravacorum (113? Chiron 38, 2008, p. 293–296, no. 9)	ala I Flavia Gaetulorum	ala I Flavia Gaetulorum	ala III Hispanorum et Aravacorum	cohors I Thracum Syriaca	ala I Vespasiana Dardanorum (September 1, 118/ October 31, 119, RMD V 349)
cohors I Sugambrorum [veterana] ?	cohors I Flavia Numidarum	cohors I Lepidiana	ala Gallorum Aetorigiana	cohors I Claudia Sugambrorum veterana/tironum]	cohors I Lepidiana c. R.	ala I Flavia Gaetulorum
cohors I Lepidiana	cohors I Sugambrorum veterana	cohors [...]um	ala II Hispanorum et Aravacorum	cohors I Lusitano[rum Cyrenaica]	cohors I Bracarorum c. R. (105/127, RMD V 369)	ala II Hispanorum et Aravacorum
cohors I Tyriorum sag.	cohors I (milliaria) Brittonum	cohors I Bracaraugustanorum	cohors I Sugambrorum veterana	cohors I [...]?	cohors II Mattiacorum	cohors I Lusitanorum
cohors II [Chalcide] norum	cohors I Claudia Sugambrorum tironum	cohors II Lucensium	cohors I Flavia Numidarum	cohors I Ger[manorum]	cohors II Flavia Brittonum	cohors I Flavia Numidarum (125/129, RMD V 375)
cohors II Flavi[a Numidarum]	cohors I Flavia Commagenorum	cohors II Gallorum	cohors I Lepidiana c. R.	cohors I [...]?		cohors I Thracum Syriaca (RGZM 23)



September/ December 107 (Chiron 39, 2009, p. 514–519, no. 2; p. 519–522)	cohors [III/IIII Gallorum]	September 25, 111 (RMD IV 222)	[September 25, 111? or 112–114 (CIL XVI 58)	116 (Dacia, N. S. 50, 2006, p. 99–102, no. 3; Chiron 39, 2009, p. 525–530, no. 7)	October 19, 120 (Chiron 39, 2009, p. 533–537, no. 9)	May/December 121 (Chiron 38, 2008, p. 296–300, no. 10)	June 1, 125 (RMD IV 235; RMD V 364)	August 20, 127 (RMD IV 241; RGZM 23)
	cohors II Mattiacorum (113?; Chiron 39, 2009, p. 22–524, no. 6)	cohors III Gallorum	cohors III Gallorum		cohors I Flavia Numidarum	cohors [I Lepi]diana c. R.		cohors I Germanorum
cohors [V]II Gallorum	cohors II Flavia Brittonum	cohors VII Gallorum (May/August 109, RMD IV 219)	cohors VII Gallorum (May/August 109, RMD IV 219)		cohors II Chalcidenorum sagit.	cohors [II Chalcidenorum sag.]		cohors I Bracarorum
	classici				cohors II Lucensium	cohors [II Lucen]sium		cohors I Lepidiana
					cohors II Flavia Brittonum	cohors II Fla[via Brittonum]		cohors II Flavia Brittonum
					cohors II Mattiacorum			cohors II Lucensium (105/127, RMD V 369)
								cohors II Chalcidenorum
								cohors II Mattiacorum
								classici

April 2, 134 (CIL XVI 78)	135 (Chiron 39, 2009, p. 541– 543, no. 12)	February 28, 138 (CIL XVI 83)	April 7, 145 (RMD III 165/RMD V 399)	146 (RMD IV 270)	September 27, 154 (RMD V 414)	156/158 (RMD I 50)
ala I Gallorum et Pannoniorum	ala [I] Vespasiana Dardanorum]	ala I [...?]	ala Gallorum et Pannoniorum	ala Gallorum et Pannoniorum	ala [I] Vespasiana Dardanorum]	ala Gallorum et Pannoniorum
ala I Vespasiana Dardanorum	ala I Flavia Gaetulorum	ala I [...?]	ala I Gallorum Aetorigiana (RMD IV 265, 138/142)	ala I Gallorum Aetorigiana	ala [I] Gallorum et Pannoniorum]	ala I Gallorum Aetorigiana (156, in exped. MT)
cohors I Cilicum	cohors I [...?]	ala II Hispanorum et Aravacorum	ala I Vespasiana Dardanorum	ala II Hispanorum et Aravacorum	ala [I] Flavia Gaetulorum]	ala II Hispanorum et Aravacorum
cohors I Bracarorum	cohors [I] Sugambrorum ve] terana	cohors I [...?]	ala I Flavia Gaetulorum Dardanorum	ala I Vespasiana Dardanorum	ala I Gallorum Aetorigiana	ala I Vespasiana Dardanorum (156, in exped. MT)
cohors II Mattiacorum	cohors I Germanorum	cohors I [...?]	ala II Hispanorum et Aravacorum	ala I Flavia Gaetulorum	ala [II] Hispanorum et Aravacorum]	ala [I] Flavia Gaetulorum]
cohors I Claudia Sugambrorum (tironum?)	cohors I [...?]	cohors I (I) Chalcidenorum	cohors I Bracarorum c. R.	cohors I Bracarorum c. R.	cohors [I] Bracarorum c. R.]	cohors I Bracarorum c. R.
cohors II Chalcidenorum	cohors [I] Flavia Numidarum	cohors I Lusitanorum [Cyrenaica]	cohors II Mattiacorum	cohors II Mattiacorum	cohors [I] Flavia]	cohors I Flavia Numidarum (February 8, 157)
	cohors [...?]	cohors II Mattiacorum	cohors I Flavia Numidarum (RMD IV 265, 138/142)	cohors I Flavia Numidarum	cohors [II] Flavia Brittonum]	cohors [II] Flavia Brittonum]
		classici	cohors Claudia Sugambrum veterana	cohors I Claudia Sugambrum veterana	cohors I Claudia Sugambrorum veterana	cohors I Claudia Sugambrorum veterana
			cohors II Chalcidenorum sag.	Cohors I Lusitanorum	cohors [I] Lusitanorum Cyrenaica]	cohors I Lusitanorum Cyrenaica
			cohors I Cilicum sag.	cohors II Chalcidenorum sag.	cohors II Chalcidenorum sag.	cohors II Chalcidenorum sag. (February 8, 157)
			cohors I Thracum Syriaca	cohors I Cilicum sag. (RMD V 412, 148/153)	cohors [I] Cilicum sag.]	cohors I Cilicum sag.
			cohors I Germanorum	cohors I Thracum Syriaca	cohors I Thracum Syriaca	cohors I Thracum Syriaca
			cohors II Bracaraugustanorum (RMD IV 265, 138/142)	cohors I Germanorum	cohors I Germanorum	cohors I Germanorum c. R. (February 8, 157)
			cohors Lusitanorum Cyrenaica	cohors I(1) Bracar(augustanorum)	cohors II Bracaraugustanorum	cohors II Bracaraugustanorum (February 8, 157)
			cohors II Flavia Brittonum	cohors II Flavia Brittonum	cohors I Cisipadensium	cohors I Cisipadensium (February 8, 157)

TABLE VI. THE AUXILIARY UNITS FROM MOESIA INFERIOR IN TRAJAN'S DACIAN WAR

ala I Asturum	<i>praefectus P. Prifernius Paetus Memmius Apollinaris</i> (IDRE I 112; PME, P 107); Dacia Inferior
ala I Vespasiana Dardanorum	<i>praefectus P. Besius P. f. Quirina Betuinianus C. Marius Memmius Sabinus</i> (IDRE II 468; PME, B 21); Moesia Inferior
ala I Claudia Gallorum	Dacia Inferior
ala Gallorum Aetorigiana	Dacia Inferior (122; RGZM 20); Moesia Inferior
ala Hispanorum	Dacia Superior (119; RMD V 351); Dacia Inferior
ala I Pannoniorum	Dacia 114 (RMD IV 225); Moesia Inferior ( <i>ala I Gallorum et Pannoniorum</i> )
cohors II Flavia Bessorum	Tile and brick stamps from Stolniceni, Bârsești, Rucăr (IDR II 561–562; 571; 607); Dacia Inferior
cohors I Bracaraugustanorum	Dacia Inferior
cohors I Augusta Nerviana Pacensis milliaria Brittonum	Moesia Inferior (105, RGZM, no. 10; 111, RMD IV 222); brick stamp found at Buridava ( <i>CORSMB</i> ; IDR II 560); Dacia Inferior
cohors II Brittonum Augusta Nerviana Pacensis milliaria	Moesia Inferior (105; RGZM, no. 10); Pannonia Inferior (114 CIL XVI 61; RMD II 87)
cohors I Flavia Commagenorum	Brick and tile stamps found at Drajna de Sus (CIL III 12530 = IDR II 603; AÉ 1997, 1323), Voinești (ILD 166); Târgșor ( <i>Dacia Augusti Provincia</i> , p. 127, fig. 5); Dacia Inferior
cohors II Gallorum	Dacia Inferior
cohors III Gallorum	Dacia Inferior
cohors I Hispanorum veterana	Buridava ( <i>praesidium</i> ) and Piroboridava ( <i>vexillatio</i> ); the unit is recorded: <i>trans Danuvium in expeditionem</i> (Hunt papyrus); Dacia Inferior
cohors II Flavia Numidarum	Moesia Inferior (116; Dacia, N. S. 50, 2006, p. 99–102, no. 3); Dacia Inferior
cohors Ubiorum	Dacia Inferior (119/129; RMD V 374); Dacia Superior (possible change of the frontiers)
cohors I Tyrriorum sagittariorum	Dacia Inferior

TABLE VII. THE TRANSFER OF THE AUXILIARY UNITS FROM MOESIA INFERIOR TO DACIA INFERIOR

Auxiliary Units in Moesia Inferior before Trajan's Dacian war	Transferred Auxiliary Units to Moesia Inferior for Trajan's Dacian war	Auxiliary Units from Dacia Inferior Transferred from Moesia Inferior	Auxiliary Units in Moesia Inferior after the Making of Dacia Inferior province
ala I Vespasiana Dardanorum	–	–	ala I Vespasiana Dardanorum
ala I Flavia Gaetulorum	–	–	ala I Flavia Gaetulorum (114 PI; 120 MI)
ala I Pannoniorum	–	–	ala I (Gallorum et) Pannoniorum (114 D; 125 MI)
ala I Claudia Gallorum	–	ala I Claudia Gallorum	–
ala Gallorum Flaviana	–	–	ala Gallorum Flaviana (118/119 MI; 132/133 MS)
ala Gallorum Atectorigiana	–	ala Gallorum Atectorigiana (120 MI; 122 DI)	ala Gallorum Atectorigiana (120 MI; 122 DI; 127 MI)
ala Hispanorum	–	ala Hispanorum (129 DI; 119–120 DS)	–
ala I Asturum	–	ala I Asturum	–
ala II Hispanorum et Aravacorum	–	–	ala II Hispanorum et Aravacorum
cohors I Raetorum (92 MI; Asia ?)	–	–	–
cohors I Bracaraugustanorum	–	cohors I Bracaraugustanorum	–
cohors I Lusitanorum Cyrenaica	–	–	cohors I Lusitanorum Cyrenaica
cohors I Flavia Commagenorum	–	cohors I Flavia Commagenorum	–
cohors I Sugambrorum tironum	–	–	cohors I Claudia Sugambrorum tironum (156 Syria)
cohors I Sugambrorum veterana	–	–	cohors I Claudia Sugambrorum veterana (after 127 Asia; 146 MI)
cohors II Chalcidenorum	–	–	cohors II Chalcidenorum
cohors II Lucensium	–	–	cohors II Lucensium (127 MI; 136 Th.)
cohors II Bracaraugustanorum (92 MI; 114 Th.)	–	–	Cohors II Bracaraugustanorum (138/142 MI)
cohors II Flavia Bessorum	–	cohors II Flavia Bessorum	–



Auxiliary Units in Moesia Inferior before Trajan's Dacian war	Transferred Auxiliary Units to Moesia Inferior for Trajan's Dacian war	Auxiliary Units from Dacia Inferior Transferred from Moesia Inferior	Auxiliary Units in Moesia Inferior after the Making of Dacia Inferior province
cohors II Gallorum	–	cohors II Gallorum	–
cohors III Gallorum	–	cohors III Gallorum	–
cohors IV Gallorum (92 MI; 114 Th.; 121 Gil.)	–	–	–
cohors VII Gallorum (92 MI; Syria)	–	–	–
cohors Ubiorum	–	cohors Ubiorum (119/129 DI; 144 DS)	–
cohors I Hispanorum veterana	–	cohors I Hispanorum veterana	–
cohors I Tyriorum sagittariorum	–	cohors I Tyriorum sagittariorum	–
cohors I Lepidiana c. R.	–	–	cohors I Lepidiana c. R. (after 127 Capp.)
cohors I Flavia Numidarum	–	–	cohors I Flavia Numidarum (165 Lyc. et Pamph.)
cohors II Mattiacorum	–	–	cohors II Mattiacorum (ca 155 Th; 198 MI)
cohors II Flavia Brittonum	–	–	cohors II Flavia Brittonum
cohors II Flavia Numidarum	–	cohors II Flavia Numidarum	–
–	cohors I Nerviana Augusta Pacensis milliaria Brittonum	cohors I Nerviana Augusta Pacensis milliaria Brittonum	–
–	cohors II Nerviana Augusta Pacensis milliaria Brittonum (114 PI; 123 DP)	–	–

- cohors I Thracum Syriaca (125 from MS)
- cohors I Bracatorum c. R. (120 from MT)
- cohors I Cilicum milliaria sag. (134 from MS)
- cohors I Germanorum c. R. (121 from GS?)
- cohors I Cisipadensium (ante 154 from Th.)



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