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# THE GOVERNORS OF MOESIA

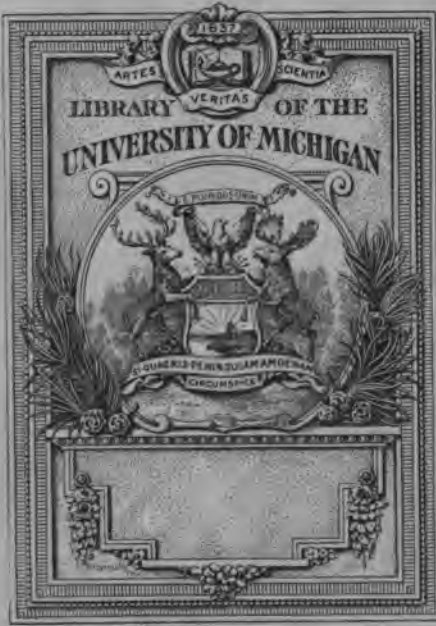
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BY  
SIR JAMES FINLAYSON

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# THE GOVERNORS OF MOESIA

A DISSERTATION SUBMITTED TO THE FACULTY OF  
PRINCETON UNIVERSITY  
IN JUNE 1910  
IN CANDIDACY FOR THE DEGREE OF  
DOCTOR OF PHILOSOPHY  
(DEPARTMENT OF CLASSICS)

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BY  
SELATIE EDGAR STOUT

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PRINCETON  
1911

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TO  
FRANCES BLODGETT STOUT





## PREFACE

I wish to acknowledge gratefully the kindness and the help that I have received from all of the teachers with whom I have studied in Princeton University and in The University of Chicago. My thanks are due especially to Professor Frank Frost Abbott, whom I have followed more closely than any other teacher in my university study. His criticism of this paper, also, during its preparation has been helpful at many points. I have received valuable suggestions also from Professor Duane Reed Stuart, of Princeton University, who read the paper in manuscript, and from Professor Mary B. Peaks, of Vassar College, who read it in the proof. I owe to Miss Peaks also the suggestion that the general field in which the subject of this paper lies was available for a dissertation. I wish also to thank my printer for courtesies extended me during the printing of this paper.

S. E. STOUT.

WILLIAM JEWELL COLLEGE,  
Liberty, Mo.,  
September 1, 1911



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## INTRODUCTION

1. Roman arms were first carried into the territory later known as Moesia by C. Scribonius Curio<sup>1</sup> in 75-73 B. C. and M. Licinius<sup>2</sup> in 72 B. C. Their campaigns were not serious attempts to reduce the tribes of this district to Roman rule, although the late historians of the empire usually give them the credit for the conquest of Moesia, but were intended to teach these tribes respect for Roman arms and to deter them from making marauding incursions into Roman territory further south. Dio<sup>3</sup> places in the mouth of Augustus in 27 B. C. the claim that Julius Caesar had conquered Moesia, but there is no other evidence of any campaign in this region under the auspices of Julius. He probably planned the conquest of the tribes of this territory, but never found leisure from more pressing cares to execute it. Augustus<sup>4</sup> himself in his campaigns in Illyricum in 35-34 B. C. did not reach the territory of Moesia. In 29-28 B. C. M. Licinius Crassus<sup>5</sup> made a thorough conquest of this territory; at least there is no evidence of a revolt here at any later time.

2. The government of the country was for a time at least in the hands of allied princes,<sup>6</sup> as was that of Thrace until 46 A. D. The evidence is slight and opinions differ as to just when Roman civil administration was organized here.<sup>7</sup> There is evidence that this district was regularly occupied in 6 A. D. by Roman troops under a consular commander.<sup>8</sup> That it was continuously so occupied after this date is certain. I see no valid reason for assuming that civil administration was not in operation here at this date, and believe that this territory was regularly organized as a province some years before this time.

3. When in 15 A. D. Achaia and Macedonia sought relief from the burdens of proconsular government under the Senate and were given to the Emperor, he placed them under the care of the governor

<sup>1</sup> Liv. Ep. 92, Florus 1.39.6, Eutrop. 6.2, Oros. 5.23, Ruf. Fest. 7, Front. Strat. 4.1.43.

<sup>2</sup> Liv. Ep. 97, Florus 1.39.6, Eutrop. 6.10, Oros. 6.3.4, Ruf. Fest. 9, App. Illyr. 30, Am. Marc. 27.4.11, Serv. ad Aen. 7.604, Hieron. a. 1946 = Ol. 277.2.

<sup>3</sup> Dio 53.7. Cf. Strabo 7.3.5, Jordanes Get. 11.

<sup>4</sup> App. Illyr. 16 ff., Dio 49.34-38, Suet. Aug. 20-21.

<sup>5</sup> Liv. Ep. 134-135, Florus 2.26, Dio 51.23-27, Zon. 10.32.

<sup>6</sup> Dio 51.26. Cf. Mommsen, *The Provinces of the Roman Empire*, Eng. tr., 1 p. 16, n. 2.

<sup>7</sup> The evidence on this subject can be found most completely brought together in an article by A. v. Premmerstein, *JÖI* 1 (1896) Beibl. pp. 146-196. He argues for the date 15 A. D. See my note 18 below. This article has been briefly criticised by Gardthausen, *Augustus und seine Zeit*, 2 p. 786, n. 79. Cf. also Mommsen, l. c.

<sup>8</sup> §§ 6, 7.

of Moesia. This arrangement continued until 44.<sup>9</sup> It led to a peculiar administrative situation in Moesia which is briefly discussed in § 9.

4. Moesia was divided into two provinces, Moesia Superior and Moesia Inferior, by Domitian, during his Dacian war, a. 86-89. This fact was proved by Gsell.<sup>10</sup> His evidence is as follows: 1) Pliny in his Natural History, published a. 77, knows only the undivided province;<sup>11</sup> 2) Oppius Sabinus seems to have been governor of the undivided province in 85 or 86;<sup>12</sup> 3) L. Funisulanus Vettonianus was governor of Pannonia as late as Sept. 15, 85, and after that he was governor of Moesia Superior,<sup>13</sup> and apparently it was as governor of Moesia Superior that he won the *dona militaria* during the Dacian war of Domitian; 4) The exigencies of this war were likely to make the division necessary; 5) The earliest known governor of Moesia Inferior is of the year 100,<sup>14</sup> but Moesia Inferior is mentioned in the time of Domitian.<sup>15</sup> On "5)" it should be added that the discovery of diploma CIII<sup>16</sup> gives us the name of a governor of Moesia Superior in that province Sept 16, 93; Moesia had therefore certainly been divided at that time. On 3) it should be noted that in both 3.4013 and 11.571 the reading of the inscriptions is "leg. aug. pr. pr. provinc. Delmatiae, item provinc. Pannoniae, item Moesiae Super.", in which the word *provincia* is not used with Moesia Superior though used with both Delmatia and Pannonia. This omission may mean that at the time when Funisulanus was in command of the troops of Moesia Superior the division of the forces of the province of Moesia and the assignment of them to two *legati* were regarded as tentative measures, and that the province had not yet been definitely and formally made into two provinces. It is probable however that the arrangement was made permanent at once. We may conclude from this evidence that the division was made certainly between the years 86 and 93, and probably in 86 or 87.

<sup>9</sup> §§ 8-16.

<sup>10</sup> Gsell, *Essai sur le regne de l'empereur Domitian*, Paris, 1894, pp. 185-187.

<sup>11</sup> Plin. N. H. 3.149. *Pannoniae iungitur provincia quae Moesia appellatur, ad Pontum usque cum Danuvio decurrens. Incipit a confluenta supra dicto (sc. of the Save and Danube).*

<sup>12</sup> See § 28.

<sup>13</sup> Bormann, *JOI* 1 (1896), p. 174, n. 6, thinks that he was governor of Moesia superior before Pannonia (Cf. Lieb. p. 160) and thus fixes on 88 or 84 as the date of the division of Moesia. See § 29 and n. 57.

<sup>14</sup> § 60. Cf. § 59.

<sup>15</sup> Vit. Hadr. 2.3 *Post hoc in inferiorem Moesiam translatus extremis iam Domitiani temporibus.*

<sup>16</sup> *CIL* 3 p. 2328<sup>06</sup>, partly quoted in 30.

5. The province of Moesia before its division and both Moesia Superior and Moesia Inferior after the division were governed by imperial legates of consular rank. There is only one exception to this rule.<sup>17</sup> In the troublesome period from the death of Alexander Severus to the beginning of the reign of Diocletian, when the central imperial authority was often weakened by dissensions between the armies in different parts of the empire and when the pressure of the barbarian hordes was becoming greater and greater along the lower Danube, in order to organize a more effective defence, larger commands were often built up from varying combinations of the two Moesias, the two Pannonias, Macedonia, and Dalmatia. The epigraphical evidence for the governors in this period is slight; the evidence of the coins ceases under Philip, and the literary evidence must be used with great care. Yet even in this period, so far as we have reliable evidence, the governors were uniformly of consular rank.

It has not been my purpose to present and discuss all the evidence for the careers of the men treated below, but only such as connects them with Moesia as governors and serves to date that connection. The lower limit of the work is the beginning of the reign of Diocletian. All dates are A. D. unless marked B. C. Most of the abbreviations used will be self-explanatory to those who will make use of this paper. For a few works to which frequent reference is made shorter abbreviations have been adopted as follows:

AEM, *Archeologisch-Epigraphische Mittheilungen aus Oesterreich*, Wien, 1877—.

Beuch., F. Beuchel, *De Legione Romanorum I Italica*, Leipzig, 1903.

IGR, *Inscriptiones Graecae ad Res Romanas Pertinentes*, Paris, 1901—.

CIL, *Corpus Inscriptionum Latinarum*, is referred to by numbers merely, without the usual CIL, where ambiguity would not arise.

v. Dom., A. von Domaszewski, the particular article or work being referred to by abbreviation for its title.

<sup>17</sup> This exception occurs in the reign of Alexander Severus (see 112), at the beginning of a period of internal disorder in the empire during which many precedents were broken and many changes made in administrative arrangements. The increasing importance of the Moesias from a military standpoint during this period, however, made it necessary to have in charge of them only tried and experienced men, and there is no other certain exception in either province to the rule that their governors had previously held the consulship. For a special arrangement giving praetorian legati Augusti pro praetore in Moesia a. 15-44, who were not however governors of the province, see § 9.



- Des., *Inscriptiones Latinae Selectae*, ed. Hermannus Dessau, Berlin, 1892—.
- Filow, Bogdan Filow, *Die Legionen der Provinz Moesia von Augustus bis auf Diokletian*, *Klio*, Beiträge zur alten Geschichte, Ergänzungsband I, Leipzig, 1906.
- JOI, *Jahreshefte des Oesterreichen Archaeologischen Institutes in Wien*, Wien, 1898—.
- Klein, Josephus Klein, *Fasti Consulares inde a Caesaris Nece usque ad Imperium Diocletiani*, Lipsiae, 1881.
- Lieb., W. Liebenam, *Forschungen zur Verwaltungsgeschichte des römischen Kaiserreichs*, I Band, *Die Legaten in den römischen Provinzen von Augustus bis Diocletian*, Leipzig, 1888.
- P-W., Pauly-Wissowa, *Real-Encyclopädie*, Stuttgart, 1894—.
- Pick, *Die antiken Münzen Nord-Griechenlands*, Band I, *Dacien und Moesien*, bearbeitet von Behrendt Pick, Berlin, 1899.
- v. Prem., A. v. Premerstein, *Die Anfänge der Provinz Moesiens*, JOI 1 (1898) Beibl. pp. 146-196.
- Pros., *Prosopographia Imperii Romani*, Berlin, 1897—
- Waddington, *Fastes*, Waddington, W. H., *Fastes des provinces asiatiques de l'empire romain depuis leur origine jusqu'au règne de Dioclétien*, Paris, 1872.
- H. v. d. W., H. van de Weerd, *Étude historique sur trois légions romaines du Bas-Danube*, Paris, 1907.

In the articles below, the date which is regarded as certain is placed to the right of the name at the head of the article, while in the discussion that follows an effort is made to approximate the dates of the beginning and ending of the administration under consideration. In printing the inscriptions the brackets used in CIL to indicate restorations have often been omitted when no point in my argument is affected by the restoration or when the restoration is certain. Cross references are to sections unless n, = note, accompanies the numeral. I have used - - - to indicate that a part of an inscription has been omitted as irrelevant, . . . to indicate that a part is missing and cannot be supplied. An asterisk placed after a name indicates that the person to be discussed, though requiring mention in this paper, was not, in my opinion, a governor of Moesia. In giving dates x/y means "at some time within the period beginning in the year x and ending in the year y", and x—y means "throughout the period beginning in the year x and ending in the year y."

# GOVERNORS OF MOESIA BEFORE ITS DIVISION

6

L. Calpurnius Piso Frugi \*

It has been thought by some that Piso was *legatus Augusti pro praetore provinciae Moesiae* in 13-11 B. C. There is no direct evidence for this hypothesis, but he was in command of a military force with which he subdued the Thracians in these years, and at a later date military operations in Thrace were on several occasions conducted by commanders from Moesia with Moesian troops. Dio, however, states that Piso was sent to Thrace *ἐκ Παμφυλίας ἢς ἤρχε*, and his statement is supported not only by *Anth. Graec.* 10.25, as pointed out in *Pros. C* 249, but by the circumstances under which he was sent to Thrace. The Bessi had risen against the Thracian kings Rhescuporis and Rhoemetalces, who were in alliance with Rome, and after killing Rhescuporis they had driven Rhoemetalces into the Thracian Chersonese, and had done much damage there. When affairs had progressed to this point, Piso was sent against them, evidently bringing with him the troops over which he had been in command, for when the Bessi learned of his approach they retired before him into their own country. This looks as if he came from Pamphylia. Had Rhoemetalces fled north of Haemus instead of into the Chersonese it would have been natural to send relief from Moesia. Piso continued his campaign in Thrace for three years. None of the ancient writers who mention these campaigns connects him at that time with any provincial command. *Sen. Ep.* 12.1.14 *Huic et divus Augustus dedit secreta mandata cum illum praeponeret Thraeciae, quam perdomuit, - - - - . Vell. Paterc.* 2.98 (*quippe legatus Caesaris triennio cum his (Thracis) bellavit - - - - ) eiusque patratione Asiae securitatem, Macedoniae pacem reddidit. Tac. Ann.* 6.10 - - - - *decus triumphale in Thraecia meruerat.* He was probably not commissioned as governor of any province, but under a special commission from the Emperor was assigned the task of restoring the allied king Rhoemetalces to his throne and establishing him there by thoroughly reducing the Thracian tribes. If a provincial command aside from his special mission in Thrace must be assumed, the natural supposition would be that he continued to hold his command in Pamphylia from which he brought his troops, but it is not even clear what his official position there had been, for Pamphylia certainly had not yet been organized as a province. I find nothing to warrant the assumption that he was proconsul of Macedonia. (*V. Prem.* pp. 160-161.) Velleius states that Piso brought *securitas* to Asia, peace to Macedonia by his conquests in Thrace, and it should be noted that in mentioning the two countries he gives priority to Asia. This would not be the natural order if Piso had been acting in the capacity of proconsul of Macedonia. The principal sources for his Thracian campaigns are *Dio* 54.34, *Sen. Ep.* 12.1.14, *Florus* 2.27, *Vell. Paterc.* 2.98.1-2, *Liv. Ep.* 140, *Zon.* 10.34; to which it may be well to add *Anth. Pal.* 10.25, 6.335, 9.428, 9.552, 6.241, 6.249, 9.541.

Dio 55.29.3 The Pannonian Breuci attack Sirmium but are kept from taking it by *Καικίνας Σεουήρος ὁ τῆς πλησιοχώρου Μυσίας ἄρχων*. (a. 6)

Dio 55.30.4 *Καὶ μετὰ ταῦτα τοῦ τε Σεουήρου ἐς τὴν Μυσίαν διὰ τε τοὺς Δακῶν καὶ διὰ τοὺς Σαυρομάτας πορθοῦντας αὐτὴν ἀπάραντος* - - -

Vell. Paterc. 2.112.4 - - - A. Caecina et Silvanus Plautius consulares - - -

Tac. Ann. 1.31 (a. 14) Duo apud ripam Rheni exercitus erant: cui nomen superiori, sub C. Silio legato, inferiorem A. Caecina curabat.

Caecina is the first governor of Moesia<sup>18</sup> of whom we have record. The earliest reference to him in this capacity is of the year 6 A. D. when he was already a consular. This year may not have been his first in the province. He probably remained until sent to lower Germany, at least we hear of him nowhere else until he is spoken of as being there in 14, and we learn of no other governor of Moesia antedating Poppaeus Sabinus. (See next governor.) His public service seems also to have been continuous. Tac. Ann. 1.64 (a. 15) *Quadragesimum id stipendium Caecina parendi aut imperitandi habebat.*

Tac. Ann. 1.80 (a. 15) *Prorogatur Poppaeo Sabino provincia Moesia, additis Achaia ac Macedonia.*

Tac. Ann. 4.47 See under Pomponius Labeo, § 14.

Tac. Ann. 6.39 *Fine anni (sc. a. 35) Poppaeus Sabinus concessit vita, modicus originis, principum amicitia consulatum ac triumphale decus adeptus maximisque provinciis per quattuor et viginti annos impositus, nullam ob eximiam artem, sed quod par negotiis neque supra erat.*

Dio 58.25.4-5 *Ποππαιὸς δὲ Σαβίνος τῆς τε Μυσίας ἑκατέρας καὶ προσέτι καὶ τῆς Μακεδονίας ἐς ἐκεῖνο τοῦ χρόνου παρὰ πᾶσαν ὡς εἰπεῖν τὴν τοῦ Τιβερίου ἀρχὴν ἡγεμονεύσας, ἥδιστα προσηλλάγη πρὶν τινα αἰτίαν λαβεῖν. Καὶ αὐτὸν ὁ Ῥήγουλος ἐπὶ τοῖς αὐτοῖς διεδέξατο· καὶ γὰρ ἡ Μακεδονία, ὡς δὲ τινὲς φασί, καὶ ἡ Ἀχαΐα, ἀκληρωτὶ προσετάσσοντο.*

Sabinus died in 35, after having had charge of important provinces twenty-four years. His administration seems to have con-

<sup>18</sup> V. Prem. 146 ff. seeks to prove that Moesia was not organized as a province before the time of Tiberius. His conclusions have been adopted by most writers who have had occasion to refer to the subject since the publication of his article. He would class Caecina as governor of the military district of Moesia, which he is careful to distinguish from the province of Moesia. The parts of his evidence which can be satisfactorily established do not however seem to me to be sufficient to warrant his conclusions. But to discuss the question in detail would require more space than can be given to it in this paper. See § 2.

tinued until the time of his death. The beginning of his administration of provinces then was probably in 11, not later than 12. We know that he was consul in 9.<sup>19</sup> So far as we know, Moesia was his first province, and although our first notice of him there is in the year 15 the word *prorogatur* implies that his administration was then in progress.<sup>20</sup> It may therefore have begun in 11 or 12, and he may have been the successor of Caecina Severus.

9. In the period 15-44, while Moesia, Macedonia and Achaia were united into a single administrative district under a consular *legatus Augusti*, Poppaeus Sabinus a. 15-35, P. Memmius Regulus a. 35-41/44, several other men are mentioned in a way that would ordinarily be construed to mean that they were governors of Moesia. In three of these cases there is definite proof that the person concerned had not held the consulship, and in two cases there is definite proof that these *legati* were acting in subordination to the governor of the larger district. (See 10, 14, 16.) In one case the person is known to have held the consulship previously, but he had held it very recently, and there were special reasons why he should at this time be temporarily placed in this position under a man who had preceded him by eight years in the consulship, and was probably even more his senior in years and experience. (See 12.) These officers seem to have held command of the two legions directly, which were apparently without the usual *legati legionis* (see 11.1835, quoted under 16), and to have had a certain amount of initiative in the employment of their troops (Tac. Ann. 3.39, quoted under 13), though subject in general to the control of the governor of the larger district. There is no evidence to show that these *legati* performed any civil or judicial functions in Moesia. Direct evidence on this point is equally lacking as regards Moesia for the *legatus* of the larger district, but the form of Tacitus' statement, *prorogatur Poppaeo Sabino provincia Moesia, additis Achaia ac Macedonia*, implies that Poppaeus was regarded by Tacitus primarily as governor of Moesia, to whom the care of Achaia and Macedonia had been given in addition. Suet. Calig. 25.2 C. Memmio Regulo consulari exercitus regenti shows that to Suetonius it was chiefly this governor's command of the legions of Moesia, for there were no legions at this time in Achaia or Macedonia, rather than the exten-

<sup>19</sup> 10.968, 10.6869 l. 1, and *Fasti Capitolini*.

<sup>20</sup> Cf. appointment of Iunius Blaesus to Africa, Tac. Ann. 8.85 (a. 21) and "provincia Africa Iunio Blaeso prorogata," Tac. Ann. 8.58 (a. 22).

sion of his command over the other two provinces, that gave him dignity. The inference from these authors is clearly that the civil and judicial functions in Moesia devolved upon him. His residence however, seems to have been Macedonia, from which at least both the negotiations and the campaign described in Tac. Ann. 4.46-49 were conducted. That it was not in Moesia is to be inferred also from the fact that it is not Poppaeus Sabinus, but his lieutenant, Vellaeus, who acts in the emergency of a. 21 (Tac. Ann. 3.39). A. v. Domaszewski has discussed some phases of this anomalous administrative situation in Rh. Mus. 45 (1890) pp. 1-5.

10

**L. Pomponius L.f. Flaccus \***

15—16

Ovid, Ex Ponto 4.9.75-80:

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.

This letter was written in the first half of a. 16, as is shown by lines 3-8, in which Ovid expresses the hope that it may reach Rome on the first day of Graecinus' consulship, July 1, 16. Flaccus' stay in Moesia ended therefore not later than the spring of that year. He may have been a legatus legionis under Sabinus, and at the end of 15, when Achaia and Macedonia were added to Sabinus's district, may have been given increased authority in Moesia, Sabinus being absent that winter organizing the new administration in Achaia and Macedonia. The words "Praefuit his locis" could hardly have been used of him while he was merely a legatus legionis; the time referred to, therefore, must be as late as the end of 15. The capture of Troesmis from the Thracians must, then, have taken place in the winter of 15/16, its recovery by the joint forces of the Thracian king Rhescuporis and the legatus of the Moesian legions in the spring of 16.

11

**Latinus Pandusa \***

19

See Tac. Ann. 2.64-67. 2.64 - - - laetiore Tiberio quia pacem sapientia firmaverat quam si bellum per acies confecisset. Igitur Rhescuporim quoque, Thraeciae regem, astu adgreditur. - - - 65. - - - molliter rescriptum, si fraus abesset, posse eum innocentiae fidere; ceterum neque se neque senatum nisi cognita causa ius et iniuriam decreturos: proinde tradito Cotye veniret transferretque invidiam criminis. 66. Eas litteras Latinus Pandusa pro

praetore Moesiae cum militibus quis Cotys traderetur in Thraciam misit. Rhescuporis inter metum et iram cunctatus maluit patrati quam incepti facinoris reus esse: occidi Cotyn iubet mortemque sponte sumptam ementitur. Nec tamen Caesar placitas semel artes mutavit, sed defuncto Pandusa quem sibi infensum Rhescuporis arguebat, Pomponium Flaccum, veterem stipendiis et arcta cum rege amicitia eoque accommodatiorem ad fallendum, ob id maxime Moesiae praefecit.

This account is given under the year 19. It covers the events of several years connected with the succession to the throne in Thrace. The circumstance that makes the account appropriate at this point in the Annals, as the word *igitur* suggests, is the adoption of subtle diplomatic means instead of resorting to military force for the settlement of the succession. It is the inauguration of this policy that belongs to the year 19, as is shown by the tense of *adgreditur*. The appointment of Flaccus marks the definite entrance upon the methods of diplomacy, in the deliberate effort to avoid the war which would naturally have followed the failure of Rhescuporis to deliver Cotys to Pandusa on Tiberius's order. The appointment of Flaccus fell therefore in 19. It was probably well along in the year, for it was the announcement of the success of diplomacy in the settlement of the troubles in Armenia that led to the employment of the same means in Thrace. Pandusa's death therefore probably occurred in 19 rather than in 18. He had probably succeeded Flaccus early in 16. See the preceding governor.

12

**L. Pomponius L.f. Flaccus \***

19—20

See the preceding governor for text and discussion. Flaccus was consul ordinarius a. 17. His full name is known from Tac. Ann. 2.66, 6.27; CIL 10.6639.15; and Dio's index of consuls. His successor was in office a. 21. See next governor. He is the same as the governor of 15-16. See § 10. It was probably in his former administration that he had cemented the close friendship with King Rhescuporis, which made him a suitable instrument in the hands of Tiberius to manage the delicate diplomatic situation with that prince at this time, and led to this second appointment as lieutenant in Moesia.

13

**P. Vellaeus \***

21

Tac. Ann. 3.39 Quae (sc. that Thracian tribes were besieging Philipopolis) ubi cognita P. Vellaeo (is proximum exercitum praesidebat), alarios equites ac levis cohortium mittit in eos qui praedabundi aut adsumendis auxiliis vagabantur, ipse robur peditum ad exsolvendum obsidium ducit.

This passage belongs to the account of the year 21. The nearest army can only have been that of Moesia. Vellaeus seems to have acted without receiving orders from his superior Poppaeus Sabinus. This fact may be explained by the urgency of the situation. The events of the year 25 (see 14 below) show clearly that the Moesian legions were subject to the orders of Sabinus.

Tac. Ann. 4.47 At Sabinus, donec exercitus in unum conduceret, datis mitibus responsis, postquam Pomponius Labeo e Moesia cum legione, rex Rhoemetalces cum auxiliis - - - venere, addita praesenti copia, ad hostem pergit.

Tac. Ann. 6.29 At Romae caede continua Pomponius Labeo, quem prae-fuisse Moesiae rettuli, per abruptas venas sanguinem effudit; aemulataque est coniunx Paxaea.

Dio 58.24.3 - - - καὶ Πομπώνιος Λαβέων. Καὶ οὗτος μὲν τῆς τε Μυσίας ποτὲ ὀκτῶ ἔτεσι μετὰ τὴν στρατηγίαν ἄρξας, καὶ δῶρων μετὰ τῆς γυναικὸς γραφεὶς, ἐβελοντι σὺν αὐτῇ διεφθάρη.

Tac. Ann. 4.47 forms part of the narrative of the year 26. The campaign there described ended late in the autumn. Tac. Ann. 4.51 - - - reliquis quo minus vi aut obsidio subigerentur praematura Montis Haemi et saeva hiems subvenit. The first thing mentioned under the year 26 is the bestowal of the triumphal insignia upon Sabinus for this victory, so that the campaign must have been made in 25. This shows that Pomponius Labeo was legatus in Moesia in that year. He killed himself in 34 (Tac. Ann. 6.29) as a result of a charge of bribery lodged against him. (Dio, l. c.) The charge would probably follow soon after the laying down of his command. Dio tells us that he was in Moesia eight years. His term probably began in 25, and ended in 32 or 33. He had probably been recalled after the death of Sejanus, and remained in disfavor as his friend.<sup>30a</sup>

IG 4.1139c (Asclepieum Epidaurium) Οἱ Ἀχαιοὶ Πόπλιον Μέμμιον Ποπλίου υἱὸν Ῥήγλον τὸν ἑαυτῶν ἐνεργέτην.

Dio 58.25.4-5 Quoted under 8.

IG 3.613 Πόπλιον Μέμμιον Ῥήγλον [ὑπατικόν, πρεσβευτ]ὴν Τιβερίου Καίσαρος Σεβαστοῦ κ[αὶ ἀντιστ]ράτηγον καὶ Τιβερίου Κλαυδίου Καίσαρος Σεβαστοῦ Γερμανικοῦ Ἀθηναίων ὁ ἐπὶ τοῖς ἀπλίτας στρατηγὸς καὶ ἀγωνοθέτης τῶν Τιβερίου Κλαυδίου Καίσαρος Σεβαστοῦ ἀγώνων Νοῦσιος Φιλείνου ἐξ Οἴου τὸν ἑαυτοῦ ἐνεργέτην ἐκ τῶν ἰδίων ἀνέθηκεν.

Suet. Calig. 25.2 Lolliam Paulinam, C. Memmio consulari exercitus regenti nuptam, facta mentione aviae eius ut quondam pulcherrimae, subito ex provincia evocavit ac perductam a marito coniunxit sibi brevique missam fecit, interdicto cuiusquam in perpetuam coitu. Cf. Dio 59.12, a. 38, a brief account of the same.

6.2028 c, ll. 34-5 [P. Memmius Regulus] (probable restoration) chosen a frater arvalis, May 24, 38. Ibid., e, l. 4 [P. Memmius Re]gulus present at meeting of fratres aruales, just before Sept. 23, 38; *ibid.*, l. 10, [P. Mem]mius Regulus present Sept. 23, 38; *ibid.*, f, l. 1, [P. Me]mmius Regulus present Oct. 12, 38.

<sup>30a</sup> Compare the contemporary case of Lentulus Gaetulicus, Tac. Ann. 6.30.

That P. Memmius Regulus was the son of Publius is fully established by IG 4.1139 c.<sup>21</sup> He was consul a.31.<sup>22</sup> He became imperial legate of the combined provinces of Moesia, Macedonia, and Achaia a. 35,<sup>23</sup> succeeding C. Poppaeus Sabinus in this command. IG 3.613 shows that he governed these provinces under both Tiberius and Claudius. The name of Caligula has been omitted from the inscription as a damnatus, but Suet. Calig. 25.2 and Dio 59.12 show that he continued to hold the command under that emperor. He was absent from his provinces for a time in 38, at least from May until October (6.2028), having been summoned to Rome by the emperor. How long he held the office under Claudius we have no means of determining. He can not have held it later than 44, for in that year Macedonia and Achaia were given back to the Senate.<sup>24</sup> It may be that the union of the three provinces under one command was discontinued earlier than this in the reign of Claudius. (See n. 26.) This would mean that Regulus was relieved of this com-

<sup>21</sup> This inscription should have prevented the incorrect restoration [Γα]λῶν υἱὸν in 912a of the same volume of IG. It shows the text of Suet. Calig. 25.2 to be incorrect in giving him the praenomen Gaius. It also justifies Dittenberger's restoration in Arch. Zeit. 35 (1877) p. 191, n. 93, which Dessau, Pros. M 342, hesitated to accept.

<sup>22</sup> Tac. Ann. 5.11, 6.4; Dio 58.9-11, 13.

<sup>23</sup> Dio 58.25.4-5. The date has often been wrongly given as 36, especially in notes on Greek inscriptions. Dio's statement in this passage has been called in question without good reason by Mommsen in his note on 3.7267, an inscription of Epidaurus. [Aesculapio?] d. d. [q prov. Cretae et Cyren]arum, trib. pl., | [XVvir] sacr. fac., sodalis | [augustalis], leg. Caesarum | [D]almatiae et exercitus | [Illyrici, procos] provinc. Asiae. He restores this inscription in the way indicated above and suggests in his note that its subject may be our P. Memmius Regulus. He adds, "obstat, quod legatus praefuisse dicitur non Dalmatiae, sed secundum Dionem 58.25 successit Poppaeo Sabino legato Moesiae utriusque et Macedoniae; (quotes Dio 58.25.5. See above). Sed potest in hac narratione error inesse." There are several objections to the suggestions in this note. Dalmatia is not found as the name of a province so early as the proconsulship of Regulus in Asia. The expression exercitus Illyricus is also later than this date. No other legatus Dalmatiae et exercitus Illyrici is known. Dio's testimony that Regulus governed Achaia as a legatus Augusti is supported by Greek inscriptions (Cf. IG 3.613 above; and CIG 1076). We know from Tac. Ann. 1.80 and from other passages that Poppaeus Sabinus governed Moesia, Macedonia and Achaia; that this combination should have continued until Macedonia and Achaia were returned to the Senate a. 44 (Dio 60.24, Suet. Claud. 25) is more probable than that the new combination of Dalmatia and Moesia should have been made, especially since the latter would have placed the governor in command of very great forces close to Rome, a situation which would have been avoided. Even without the two legions of Moesia a governor of Dalmatia raised the standard of revolt against Claudius in the second year of his reign. (Dio 60.15, Suet. Claud. 13.) It should be added that Mommsen elsewhere (3.567 n.) accepts this passage of Dio at its face value. I am unable to believe that P. Memmius Regulus was the subject of the inscription 3.7267.

<sup>24</sup> Dio 60.24 (quoted n. 26), Suet. Claud. 25. Since we must suppose that the "veterani qui militaverunt (in leg. V Maced.) sub P. Mem[mi]o Regulo legato Augustali et missi sunt Q. Eutetio Lusio Saturnino M. Seio Verano coss" (3.8753) were mustered out under Regulus the date of the consulship of Saturninus and Veranus, which is unknown, lies within the period of this administration.



mand earlier than 44. We have no record of any governors who held the joint command of the three provinces except Poppaeus Sabinus and Regulus.

16

Martius L.f. Pom. Macer \*

41/44

11.1835 (Arretium). Martio L. f. Pom. [Mac]ro, trib. mil. leg. II, IIII-vir. v[iar. cur., q.,] aed. cur., pr., leg. Ti. Claudi Caes[aris Aug. pr.] pr. provinc. Moesiae leg. IV Scyt[hic. et leg.] V Maced., procos. prov. Achai[ae citr]a sortem, ex d. d. p.

Since Martius Macer governed Moesia, with a garrison of two legions, as a praetor, he must have been subordinate to a governor of higher rank who was in charge of Moesia, Macedonia, and Achaia jointly, as Poppaeus Sabinus and Memmius Regulus (see 8 and 15) were. This arrangement was terminated a. 44.<sup>28</sup> His legateship in Moesia therefore was in the interval between the accession of Claudius, a. 41, and this date.<sup>29</sup>

17

C. Avidius Nigrinus \*

3.567 (Delphi) is a decree of C. Avidius Nigrinus leg. Aug. pro pr., deciding a boundary dispute between Delphi and Anticyra, by the order of the emperor, who is styled "optimus princeps."

Achaia was under a proconsul except from 15 to 44, when, together with Macedonia and Moesia, it was governed by a legatus Augusti pro praetore. It has been suggested that this decree belongs to that period. Mommsen has pointed out (CIL, I. c.) that "optimus princeps" suits Trajan better than an earlier emperor. (Cf. Hirschfeld on 12.3164.) I have not found the title applied to an earlier emperor than Trajan, nor to Trajan earlier than 109/110 (2.2010). An Avidius Nigrinus was killed in 118, either on the charge of conspiring against the Emperor Hadrian, after having been designated by Hadrian as his successor (Vit. Hadr. 7.1-3), or merely because of his wealth and influence, as Dio has it (69.2). It is evident that this man can not have been governor of the united provinces Moesia, Achaia, and Macedonia seventy-four years earlier. If there were evidence for a governor of that name and date

<sup>28</sup> Dio 60.24; Suet. Claud. 25.

<sup>29</sup> From the fact that he was procos. prov. Achaiae citra sortem it seems probable that he was transferred directly from Moesia to Achaia by the favor of Claudius, and that his term in Achaia may have ended rather than begun in 44. His proconsulship would then form a transition step between the recent arrangement and the return to the regular order of senatorial government described by Dio, 60.24, τὴν τε Ἀχαιῶν καὶ τὴν Μακεδονίαν ---- ἀπέδωκεν ὁ Κλαύδιος τότε τῷ κλήρῳ καὶ τοῖς στρατηγοῖς τοῖς ἐπὶ τῆς διοικήσεως καταλύσας ταμίαις αὐτὴν κατὰ τὸ ἀρχαίων ἐπέτρεψεν, ----. Compare ἀκκληρωτί, used by Dio 58.25.5. in describing the appointment of Regulus, and citra sortem in 11.1835 above, used of the appointment of Macer in Achaia, with ἀπέδωκεν τότε (sc. a. 44) τῷ κλήρῳ in this passage.

Von Domaszewski has discussed this inscription in Rh. Mus. 45 (1890) pp. 1 f.

we should have to assume that he was a different Nigrinus from the one killed in 118. But there is no such evidence. The most probable assumption is that he was a legatus of the emperor, whose special mission was to the civitates liberae as corrector or curator, such as are met with in Achaia from Trajan's time on, but do not appear earlier than the age of Trajan. The order of the names *Νιγρίνε καὶ Κόννε* in Plutarch *Moralia* 478 B, where he dedicates his *Περὶ Φιλαδελφίας* to them, indicates that he was an older brother of T. Avidius Quietus. (See 26.) He can hardly have been identical with the C. Avidius Nigrinus of 3.7904. (See 58.)

3.7247 (Olympia) A. Didius G[allus, leg]atus [Ti.] Claudi Caes[aris] Aug. Ger[mani]ci, triumphal[ibus o]rnamen[tis] XVvir] s. f., proco[s]. . . . ]e et Sicilia[e, leg. | pro. pr. Moe]siae, pr[aefectu]s equitat. | [ . . . . ]mpe]ratoris [iussu?] | . . . .<sup>27</sup>

Tac. Ann. 12.15 At Mithradates Bosporanus amissis opibus vagus, postquam Didium ducem Romanum roburque exercitus abisse cognoverat, relictos in novo regno Cotys iuventa rudem et paucas cohortium cum Iulio Aquila equite Romano, spretis utrisque, concire nationes, illicere perfugas, - - - .

Catalogue of Greek Coins in the British Museum, Pontus, p. 52, no. 1 A coin of Cotys, head of Claudius on one side, on the other Ba. K. and BMT.

Frontinus, De Aquaed. 2.102 Gallo, Q. Veranio et Pompeio Longo cos., (successit) Cn. Domitius Afer.

The expulsion of Mithradates and the establishment of Cotys on the throne of Bosphorus, which Tacitus here attributes to Gallus, would most naturally have been undertaken by him as governor of Moesia and justifies the reading [Moe]siae in 3.7247. The coin of Cotys shows that Cotys was ruling in Bosphorus Oct. 45/Oct. 46. Gallus was therefore governor of Moesia as early as 45 or 46. After the departure of Gallus from Pontus, Mithradates and Cotys each formed alliances among the neighboring kings and continued the war (Tac. Ann. 12.15-17). Mithradates after being defeated surrendered to Eunones, and finally after negotiations with Claudius went to Rome, arriving a. 49 (Tac. Ann. 12.18-21). These facts seem to favor the later of the two dates given above as the year of the interference of Gallus in the affairs of Bosphorus, for the war

<sup>27</sup> I have used the restoration proposed by Mommsen in CIL. A different restoration is proposed by v. Domaszewski, Mitt. d. arch. Inst. zu Rom 6 (1891) pp. 163-167, which Mommsen criticises, CIL 3.12278. As they agree in the restoration at the end of line 4 and the beginning of line 5, their difference does not affect the reading of the inscription for the purpose for which I wish to use it.

between Cotys and Mithradates probably did not last more than one year after the withdrawal of the Roman governor.

In a. 49 Gallus gave up the curatorship of the aquae at Rome. (Frontinus, l. c.)<sup>28</sup> He must have returned from his province some time, say two or three years, before this. It seems likely therefore that a. 46 or at latest a. 47 was his last in Moesia.

Tac. Hist. 3.75 Hic exitus viri (sc. Flavi Sabini) haud sane spernendi. Quinque et triginta stipendia in re publica fecerat domi militiaeque clarus. Innocentiam iustitiamque eius non argueres; sermoni nimius erat: id unum septem annis quibus Moesiam, duodecim quibus praefecturam urbis obtinuit calumniatus est rumor.

L. Volusius Saturninus died while prefect of the city in 56 (cf. Tac. Ann. 13.30 with Plin. N. H. 7.14.62). If duodecim is the correct reading in our passage Sabinus must have been appointed as his successor in 56. Borghesi, Op. 3.327-328, 9.265, emends here, with great probability, as it seems to me, for duodecim or XII totidem

<sup>28</sup> The ms. of Frontinus is corrupt at this point. The photographic facsimile of the ms. reproduced in Herschel, Frontinus and the Water Supply of Rome, gives the following reading: laenatiaquila iulianus. et nonius asprenate con[sule]bus. M.porcus cato huic successit.postquem serasinius celera.] tonio quintiliano consulibus.adidius.gallius.gallo Q. veranius.[et pompeius longus consules.cn.domitius afer. The division of words, the points, and capitals are those of the ms. The space before tonio quintiliano is at the beginning of the line and the same amount of space in the line above it contains the letters sule. The acta fratrum arvalium in a fragment (see Henzen, Acta Frat. Arv., p. XLV; CIL 6.2028. d. 18) which seems to belong to the year 88 has . . . nio Quintiliano cos., being part of the name of the second of the consules suffecti of the year to which the fragment belongs. Aquila Iulianus and Nonius Asprenas were the consules ordinarii of a. 88. Nipperdey (Philologus, 6 (1851), 378; op. 450) arguing from Tac. Ann. 4.68 and 4.71 that Cato certainly was put to death under Gaius, and comparing the passages in Frontinus and the acta, emends "post quem" to "post mensem", and following his emendation the passage is given in our editions as follows: Laenati Aquila Iuliano et Nonio Asprenate consulibus M. Porcius Cato. Huic successit post mensem Ser. Asinio Celere A. Nonio Quintiliano consulibus A. Didius Gallus. Gallo Q. Veranio et Pompeio cos. Cn. Domitius Afer. This makes Gallus curator aquarum from a. 88 to a. 49. But we know, as shown above, that he was governor of Moesia about 45. He could not, of course, have held both these offices at the same time. V. Domaszewski, l. c., meets this difficulty by making a different restoration of our inscription and supposing that our evidence concerns two Galli, of which the curator aquarum and the governor of Britain, 51 or 52 to 57 or 58, is the father, and the governor of Moesia named in Tac. Ann. 12.15 and in this inscription is the son. We know from Tac. Ann. 12.40, Didius senectute gravis et multa copia honorum per ministros agere et arcere hostem satis habebat, that the governor of Britain was too old to keep the field in person. His predecessor had been worn to death by the heavy burdens imposed upon him by this war (Tac. Ann. 12.39), and although Gallus made a hasty journey to Britain he found affairs in a bad way on his arrival. Tac. Ann. 12.40, Is prope vectus, non tamen integras res invenit, adversa interim legiones pugna. Tacitus seems to imply that at the time of his appointment it was felt that he was not the proper man for the place, but that a suitable man was not available. Tac. Ann. 12.40 At Caesar, cognita morte legati, ne



or VII. We know from Tac. Ann. 14.42 that Pedanius Secundus was killed while prefect of the city in 61. It is difficult to account for a break in the prefecture of Sabinus to admit that of Pedanius and suppose that he was a second time appointed to this office in 61. If Sabinus became prefect for the first time in 61, he would have served about seven years by the end of Nero's reign, to which he added a few months under Otho and Vitellius. We know that in 43 he was an officer in Britain serving under his brother Vespasian who was at that time a *legatus legionis*. Dio 60.20.3 - - - - *ἐπιδιέπεμψε τὸν τε Οὐεσπασιανὸν τὸν Φλάουιον - - - - καὶ τὸν ἀδελφὸν αὐτοῦ Σαβίνον ὑποστρατηγούντά οἱ*. Suet. Vesp. 4 *Narcissi gratia legatus legionis in Germaniam missus est (Vespasianus)*; inde in Britanniam translatus - - - -. Sabinus probably had not been praetor, since he was serving under a *legatus legionis*, and would thus have the praetorship and the consulship yet to hold before being sent to Moesia. Vespasian seems at this time to have been ahead of Sabinus in the *cursus honorum*. It does not seem

*provincia sine rectore foret, A. Didium suffecit.* If there was an A. Didius Gallus, the Younger, who was governor of Moesia Inferior in 45 or 46, he must have been forty-five years old at least by 51 or 52; he had won triumphal ornaments for success in an independent campaign; he was surely back from Moesia by this time, and would have been much more suitable for the task in Britain than his aged father. Besides, if the elder Didius had a son of this age he must himself have been 65 or 70 years old at the time of his appointment and would hardly have been retained in the province for five or six years, as we know this governor was. These reasons, together with those urged by Mommsen against the novelties in the reading of the inscription proposed by v. Domaszewski, make it seem to me very improbable that we are dealing in our evidence with two men, father and son. But Nipperdey's emendation of the passage is also open to another objection. The copyist who made the manuscript of Montecassino seems to have been a very careful one, and whenever he could not make out the reading of his original his custom was to leave a lacuna or to indicate his uncertainty by a different style of lettering. (See Gunderman's review of Herschel's *Frontinus* in *Berl. Phil. Woch.*, Nov. 14, 1903, col. 1464.) He indicates no uncertainty in 'post quem', and paleographically it would be a difficult thing to mistake *mensem* for *quem*. Again, post quem followed by the names of the consuls and the name of the new curator occurs a few lines further down, and is thus in harmony with Frontinus's mode of expression, and in this place it furnishes a variation for the dative of the name of the retiring curator or the dative of *huic* standing for such name, which he has been using down to this point. It seems to me more probable that a line of the copyist's original has been dropt after *huic successit*, and that this line contained (1) the names of the consuls of some year, possibly the *suffecti* of 38, and (2) the name of the successor of Cato. This would then be followed by *post quem Ser. Asinius Celer . . . tonio consulibus A. Didius Gallus*. It is not at all certain that Ser. Asinius Celer was consul in 38. We know from Sen. *De Mort. Claud.* 13.5 that he was a friend of Claudius, a consular, and that Claudius caused his death. He may have enjoyed the consulship also under Claudius; or he may have been consul under or before Caligula, but Plin., *N. H.* 17.67 does not necessarily imply this. It is also to be seriously questioned whether the . . . tonio Quintiliano of Frontinus is the . . . nio Quintiliano of the *acta* of (probably) a. 38, or the Nonius of our *fasti*. No A. Nonius Quintilianus is known from any other source, and the 'a' at the end of Celer is plain in the *ms.*, as is the 't' in the . . . tonio. However the tangle of the *ms.* of Frontinus be explained, we can feel reasonably certain that Gallus did not become curator aquarum in 38. The most probable date seems to be 47, after his return from Moesia. The *consules suffecti* of that year are unknown.

likely that Sabinus would have been promoted faster than Vespasian while Narcissus was alive, especially since Vespasian's record in Britain was notably a fine one<sup>29</sup> (Tac. Hist. 3.44; Agric. 13). Vespasian was consul in 51. Unless Sabinus was consul by 48 he could not have served seven years in Moesia, and after that have become praefectus urbis in 56. Even this would have required him to be sent to Moesia immediately after his consulship, which is hardly in accord with the importance of the command at this period. His predecessor was made curator aquarum and he himself praefectus urbis on returning from Moesia, offices filled only by the most experienced and able men in the state at this period. Of the next three governors two had been proconsul of Asia before being sent to Moesia and the other was proconsul of Asia, but we cannot say whether before or after his Moesian command. These considerations seem to me to add somewhat to the probability of Borghesi's emendation. While no positive assertion can be made, the years 53 to 60 seem probable dates for his administration of Moesia.

14.3608 (Tibur) Ti. Plautio M. f. Ani. Silvano Aeliano pontif., sodali Aug., IIIvir. a. a. f. f., q. Ti. Caesaris, legat. leg. V in Germania, pr. urb., legat. et comiti Claud. Caesaris in Britannia, consuli, procos. Asiae, legat. pro praet. Moesiae, in qua plura quam centum mill. ex numero Transdanuvianor. ad praestanda tributa cum coniugib. ac liberis et principibus aut regibus suis transduxit. Motum orientem Sarmatar. compressit quamvis parte magna exercitus ad expeditionem in Armeniam misisset. Ignotos ante aut infensos p. R. reges signa Romana adoraturos in ripam quam tuebatur perduxit. Regibus Bastarnarum et Roxolanorum filios, Dacorum fratrum (sic) captos aut hostibus ereptos remisit; ab aliquis eorum opsides accepit per quem pacem provinciae et confirmavit et protulit; Scytharum quoque regem a Cherronensi, quae est ultra Borustenen, opsidione summoto. Primus ex ea provincia magno tritici modo annonam p. R. adlevavit. Hunc legatum in Hispaniam ad praefectur. urbis remissum senatus in praefectura triumphalibus ornamentis honoravit, auctore imp. Caesare Augusto Vespasiano verbis ex oratione eius q. i. s. s.:

"Moesiae ita praefuit ut non debuerit in me differri honor triumphalium eius ornamentorum; nisi quod latior ei contigit mora titulus praefecto urbis.

<sup>29</sup> Tacitus' statement, Hist. 3.75, Quod inter omnis constiterit, ante principatum Vespasiani decus domus apud Sabinum erat, is to be understood only of the time after 51, and is explained by Seut. Vesp. 4, Medium tempus (from his consulship) ad proconsulatum usque in otio secessuque (Vespasianus) egit, Agrippinam timens potentem adhuc apud filium et defuncti quoque Narcisi amici perosam. During these years Sabinus was holding high offices, and was looked upon as the leading man of the family.

Hunc in eadem praefectura urbis imp. Caesar Aug. Vespasianus iterum cos. fecit.

Le Bas 3.600 a (Tralles, Asia) *Νέρωνα Κλαύδιον Καίσαρα Σεβαστόν Γερμανικόν Αὐτοκράτορα θεόν ὁ δῆμος ὁ Καισαρέων καθιέρωσεν, ἐπὶ ἀνθυπάτου Τιβερίου Πλαντίου Σιλουανοῦ Αἰλιανοῦ* - - - .

The Greek inscription shows that Silvanus was proconsul of Asia under Nero. It was probably early in Nero's reign, possibly in 55. The Latin inscription shows that the proconsulship in Asia preceded the legateship in Moesia. His date in Moesia was therefore not earlier than 56. Vespasian's words, *ut non debuerit in me differri honor triumphalium eius ornamentorum*, imply that the deeds for which Silvanus is honored were performed under a former emperor, whom we readily see to have been Nero. This shows the date to have been not later than 68. All who have studied the inscription<sup>30</sup> assign a date within these limits. Two statements in the inscription have formed the basis of attempts to date it more closely: *per quem pacem provinciae et confirmavit et protulit*, and, *quamvis parte(m) magna(m) exercitus ad expeditionem in Armeniam misisset*. Reasoning from these statements one of two dates has usually been reached, 57 or 62/63.

The earlier date is usually arrived at by interpreting the first statement, *per qu[ae]* (sc. his deeds) *et pacem provinciae confirmavit et [fines] protulit*. It is proved by 3.781 and Latyschew I.1, that the era used in Tyra, a city on the coast of the Black sea north of the mouth of the Danube, subject in later years to the governor of Moesia Inferior, began with the year 57. It has been supposed that it was added to the empire and to the province of Moesia by the activity of this governor and began a new era in its chronology because of this. The change in the Latin required to secure this interpretation of the inscription is violent. It leaves *Ab aliquis eorum opsides accepit* without natural connection with the preceding and the following clauses, changes *quem* to *quae*, moves *et* back to precede *pacem*, and introduces the word *fines* which could hardly have been omitted. Moreover it gives a sense that is not in harmony with the whole tenor of the praise bestowed on Silvanus. Nowhere in the inscription is it claimed that

<sup>30</sup> Some of these are the following: Borghesi, *Op.* 4 p. 230, 8 p. 427; Henzen, *Annal. Inst. Arch.* 1859 pp. 5 ff.; Mommsen, *Provinces of the Roman Empire*, vol. I, pp. 235 f., Eng. tr.; Dessau, *CIL*, 1. c.; v. Domaszewski, *Rh. Mus.* 47 (1892) pp. 208-210; Vollmer, *Rh. Mus.* 53 (1898) pp. 636 f.; Sehmadorf, *Die Germanen in den Balkenländern*, pp. 34-38; Filow, *op. cit.*, pp. 8 ff. Many others have used it in discussions in such a way as to be compelled to pass judgment on its date.

he added to the territory of his province. He is honored for having secured the peace of his province and made it profitable to the Roman people, achievements which Emperor and Senate were well able to appreciate at the time when this decree was passed, just after serious losses at the hands of these same troublesome neighbors, including the life of a consular governor<sup>21</sup> and perhaps the complete annihilation of a Roman legion.<sup>22</sup> These events had occurred probably not more than two or three years after the close of his administration, which may have covered seven years. To 100,000 Transdanuvians he gave homes within the province, changing them from a menace to payers of tribute; he checked the Sarmatae who were threatening to disturb the peace of the province; he won the gratitude of the kings of the Bastarnae and the Rhoxolani, frequent marauders of the province, by helping them against some wandering foe that had attacked them, probably the Iazyges;<sup>23</sup> a like service he performed for the kings of the Dacians who had been called *fratres*<sup>24</sup> of the Roman people; the Bosporan Chersonese, which had long been nominally Roman, he relieved from siege. His province, with the population within its borders increased and the blessings of peace secured, was able to furnish such a supply of grain to Rome as to lower the price in the city. The only change necessary in the passage in question under this interpretation is to change quem to quos,<sup>25</sup> "ab aliquis eorum (regum) opsides accepit, per quos pacem provinciae et confirmavit et protulit," through these hostages he both secured<sup>26</sup> and prolonged peace for the province.

The second date, 62/63, has been arrived at from the statement "quamvis parte[m] magna[m] exercitus ad expeditionem in Armeniam misisset." In Tac. Ann. 15.6 we find named among the forces received from Corbulo by Paetus legio quinta "quae recens e Moesis excita erat." The further narrative of Tacitus shows that this was legio quinta Macedonica. This is the only expeditio Armenia that we know of for which Moesian troops were drawn in this period. and it seems that it must be the sending of this legion that is re-

<sup>21</sup> See 22.

<sup>22</sup> Trommsdorff, *Quaestiones duae ad historiam legionum Romanorum spectantes*, Leipzig, 1896, pp. 69-85; Filow p. 34.

<sup>23</sup> Sehmsdorf, l. c.

<sup>24</sup> Vollmer, l. c.

<sup>25</sup> Or quem may be changed to quae, "through these deeds," no other change being made, and this interpretation stands equally well.

<sup>26</sup> Cf. Tac. Ann. 2.1 partemque prolis firmandae amicitiae miserat.

ferred to in our inscription. This gives us a date in the administration of Silvanus in Moesia. The account is given in the Annals under the year 62. Schoonover<sup>37</sup> has shown that the events described in Tac. Ann. 15.1-17 covered three winters and two summers, and that the arrival of Paetus and of this division of troops occurred in 61. It was probably in the late summer, and the legion may have left Moesia in the spring of that year. It is reasonable to assume that Silvanus had arrived in Moesia by the end of 60.

Recently Filow<sup>38</sup> has argued that the part of the Moesian army referred to in our inscription was not legio V Macedonica but legio IV Scythica. Tac. Ann 13.35 *adiectaue ex Germania legio cum equitibus alariis et peditatu cohortium*, has been shown by Grotefend<sup>39</sup> and Mommsen<sup>40</sup> to refer to legio IV Scythica. The account in Tacitus belongs to the year 58. Filow assumes that Tacitus was mistaken in the province and that the legion came to Corbulo from Moesia and not from Germany. His reasons are as follows: (1) We know that legio IV Scythica was in Moesia as late as the beginning of the reign of Claudius. (2) We do not know any reason why it should have been sent from Moesia to Germany between that time and the year 58. If it was sent to Germany within this period we must assume that its place in Moesia was taken by legio VIII Augusta from Pannonia. It would have been simpler to send legio VIII Augusta from Pannonia to Germany. (4) No trace of legio IV Scythica has been found in Germany. (5) If legio IV Scythica was sent to Corbulo from Moesia by Silvanus in 58, he sent away one legion out of a force of three legions; if it was sent to Corbulo from Germany in 58 and Silvanus sent legio V Macedonica to him from Moesia in 62, one legion was sent away out of a force of two legions. The first supposition comports better with the words of the inscription *magna[m] parte[m]*, which would naturally have been written *dimidiam partem* in the second case.

But these considerations hardly furnish a reasonable ground for doubting the direct and detailed statement of Tacitus. Affairs had been quiet for several years along the Rhine in 57 or 58. When the army in the East needed strengthening it was more reasonable to take

<sup>37</sup> A Study of Cn. Domitius Corbulo as Found in the Annals of Tacitus, pp. 12 f., published by The University of Chicago Press. For parallels see 11, 12.

<sup>38</sup> Filow, *op. cit.*, pp. 8 ff.

<sup>39</sup> Bonn. Jahrb. 11 (1847) pp. 82-85.

<sup>40</sup> *Res Gestae*<sup>2</sup>, p. 68, n. 2.



away one of the eight German legions in these circumstances than to take two legions from Moesia within the space of three or four years. We can not fix the date when legio IV Scythica was sent to Germany, but Filow himself points out that in 46 legio XIII Gemina left Germania Superior and that we do not know what legion took its place if legio IV Scythica did not do so. Though no trace of its stay in Germany from, say 46 to 57, has been found, it is equally true that no trace of it has been found in Moesia after the first years of the reign of Claudius. The saving of a few hundred miles marching would not have been considered if the good of the service seemed to demand a shift for both legio IV Scythica and legio VIII Augusta. It is well known that with each legion stationed in permanent quarters in a province there was joined about an equal force of auxiliaries. It may well be supposed that when legio V Macedonica was sent to help out temporarily in the East it took only a small part of its auxiliaries in contrast to legio IV Scythica which was sent there to stay and never again left the East. This is certainly suggested by the difference in the two statements of Tacitus, *addita quinta (legione) quae recens e Moesis excita erat, and adiecta ex Germania legio cum equitibus alariis et peditatu cohortium*. This being the case only a fourth or a third of his exercitus was given up by Silvanus in sending the fifth legion, that is *magna pars* and not *dimidia pars*. I have no hesitancy in believing that the sending of legio V Macedonica is referred to in our inscription. This would show the presence of Silvanus in Moesia probably by the fall of 60. That he remained several years may be inferred from the results that he accomplished. So far as we know his stay may have equalled that of his predecessor. His administration may then have covered the years 60-67.

The full name is known from Tac. Hist. 1.79 and 2.85, and from CIL 6.2039-2042, 2044. Saturninus was in Rome as late as a. 66. (6.2044.) As governor of Moesia under Otho he was presented with a triumphal statue for annihilating a predatory band of Sarmatae that had made an incursion into Moesia (Tac. Hist. 1.79). He continued to hold his post in Moesia under Vitellius (Tac. Hist. 2.96), although he had probably been in charge of the Moesian

troops that had gone to Otho's assistance, but had arrived too late for the battle with the Vitellians (Tac. Hist. 2.85). After wavering when Vespasian was proclaimed emperor he followed the temper of his troops (Tac. Hist. 2.96) and with the three Moesian legions joined the advance force of Vespasian's party under Antonius<sup>4</sup> (Tac. Hist. 3.5, 3.9-11).

Tac. Hist. 3.46 Fonteius Agrippa ex Asia (proconsule eam provinciam annuo imperio tenuerat) Moesiae praepositus est, additis copiis e Vitelliano exercitu, quem spargi per provincias et externo bello inligari pars consilii pacisque erat.

Ios. Bell. Iud. 7.4.3 (90-92, ed. Niese. Cf. 89-95) - - - πολλοὺς μὲν τῶν ἐπὶ τῆς φρουρᾶς Ῥωμαίων ἀναιρούσι (sc. οἱ Σαρμάται) καὶ πρεσβυτὴν τὸν ὑπατικὸν Φοντήϊον Ἀγρίππαν ὑπαγτιάσαντα καρτερῶς μαχόμενον κτείνουσι, τὴν δ' ὑποκειμένην χώραν ἅπασαν κατέτρεχον ἀγορτες καὶ φέροντες ὄψω περιπέσοιεν. Οὐεσπασιανὸς δὲ τὰ γεγενημένα καὶ τὴν πόρθησιν τῆς Μυσίας πυθόμενος Ῥούβριον Γάλλον ἐκπέμπει δίκην ἐπιθήσοντα τοῖς Σαρμάταις.

Iordanes, Get. 13. Quoted under 28 below.

The withdrawal of Aponius Saturninus (see 21) with his legions left Moesia open to the attack of the Sarmatae (Daci) from north of the Danube, an opportunity of which they did not fail to take advantage. They had mastered the north bank, were gaining a foothold on the south bank, and preparing to attack the camps of the legions, whose defenders had been in large part drawn away for the Italian campaign. Mucianus on his way from the East to Rome arrived in Moesia in time to save these camps with the sixth legion. He had already heard of the battle of Cremona which had been fought in the last days of October. He probably stopped only long enough to drive the invaders from the south bank, and he probably strengthened temporarily the garrisons in the legionary camps, leaving Fonteius Agrippa, who had just finished his year as proconsul in Asia, in command. This seems to have been about Nov. 15, 69. Soon increased forces were sent to the province from Rome. These can hardly have arrived before the middle of December, perhaps even later. It was some time after this, prob-

<sup>4</sup> Van de Weerd's reference to "Antonius, le gouverneur de Mesie", p. 78, can not be other than a mere oversight, since the least attention to the account of Tacitus will show that Saturninus was the governor of Moesia and that Antonius was the legatus leg. VII. Galb. from Pannonia.

ably January or February, that Agrippa lost his life bravely resisting another sudden and unexpected attack of the same enemies, who unobserved had again crossed the river in force.

23

**Rubrius Gallus**

70

Ios. Bell. Iud. 7.4.3 (92). See 22 for text.

Gallus was sent out by Vespasian to avenge the death of Agrippa. He probably arrived before the middle of 70. There is no evidence to show how long he remained, except the rather indefinite considerations relied on to date approximately the beginning of the administration of the next governor about 75. There may or may not have been other governors between these two men. From the task that Gallus had to accomplish we should judge that he was there longer than the remaining portion of 70.

24

**Sex. Vettulenus Cerealis**

About 75

Latyschew, Inscr. Antiq. Orae Septentrionalis Ponti Euxini, 1.197 (Chersonesus) [Σ]έ[τορ] Οδεττουληνόν] Κεριάλι, Δότοκράτορος Οδ[εσ]πασιανού Καίσαρος Σεβαστού πρεσβευτήν και ἀντιστράτηγον, ὁ δᾶμος.

Latyschew is sure that the praenomen is Sextus from remains of the lower parts of the first three letters. Waddington (no. 104) shows that the consulship of Cerealis was about 73 or 74. Moesia<sup>48</sup> was probably his first command after his consulship. His military training in Judaea (Ios. Bell. Iud. 3.7.22, 6.4.3, 7.6.1) made him the logical candidate for this post, which was usually filled in this period by men with military experience.

25

**C. Vettulenus Civica Cerealis**

82

Dipl. XIV, CIL 3 p. 1960 Imp. Caesar divi Vespasiani f. Domitianus Augustus pontifex maximus, tribunic. potestat. II, imp. II, p. p., cos. VIII, designat. VIII, iis qui militaverunt equites et pedites in - - - , quae sunt in Moesia sub C. Vettuleno Civica Cereale - - - . A. d. XII K. Octobr. M. Larcio Magno Pompeio Silone, T. Aurelio Quieto cos.

The date of this inscription is Sept. 19, 82.

<sup>48</sup> Dessau, Pros. V 351, makes him governor of Moesia Inferior, but the province certainly had not been divided at this time. Note "sunt in Moesia" in diploma of a. 82 (quoted under 25 below), naming as governor of the undivided province at that time, C. Vettulenus Civica Cerealis, whom Dessau thinks to have been a son of our governor.

6.3828 Imp. Domitiano [Aug. VIII] T. Flavio Sabi[no cos.] I dibus Iu . . . . , - - - [Av]idio Quieto leg. Aug., ornatissimo viro [deferendum patrocini]um coloniae nostrae esse; - - - Cum militaverimus in leg. VIII Aug. et, poti[ti] honesta missione] a sacratissimo imp., in coloniam Deultum [deducti simus, ei, quod non]dum alicui, secundum summam human[itatem] dandum esse, ut velit pat]rocinium succipere coloniae n[ost]rae, tabulamque de ea re con]scriptam in domu sua poni per[m]ittere, ut sic coloniae nostrae] humanitate sua increment[um] addat, quippe cui omnia singula]que eius nota sint. . . . .

The inscription is dated by the consuls of 82, imp. Domitiano [Aug. VIII] T. Flavio Sabi[no cos.]. The patrocini]um coloniae is offered to Quietus. This is done, apparently, either because he is at the time legatus Augusti pro praetore provinciae Thraciae, with whom in their new capacity the colonists will have close relations, or because they have in the recent past as soldiers of legio VIII Augusta been intimately associated with him. Mommsen, *EE* 5 p. 501, n. 5, assumes that he was leg. Aug. pr. pr. prov. Thraciae at this time, though he gives the date incorrectly as 89.<sup>43</sup> Liebenam, p. 93, Klebs in *Pros.* A 1172, v. Rohden in *P-W* 2 col. 2385 n. 8, agree with Mommsen in making him governor of Thrace. Homolle is not sure.<sup>44</sup> Thrace was under a procurator, a freedman of the emperor, as late as 88/89.<sup>45</sup> Hirschfeld<sup>46</sup> and Kalopothakes<sup>47</sup> harmonize the evidence of the two inscriptions by assuming that under Domitian Thrace was ruled at times by a freedman procurator and at other times by a legatus Augusti pro praetore. Clearly this assumption should not be made except upon very good evidence. No other legatus of Thrace is known earlier than 106/107. Quietus, it should be noticed, is not styled leg. Aug. pr. pr. but simply leg. Aug. Von Premerstein<sup>48</sup> proposes a solution of the difficulty. "Wir werden den T. Avidius Quietus wohl ohneweiters als Legaten von Moesia ansprechen dürfen, der im J. 82 die Deduction von Veteranen der legio VIII Augusta nach Deultum leitete." But the difficulties in the way of this solution also are great. We know from *CIL* 3 p. 1960 dipl. XIV (quoted under 25) that C. Vettulenus Civica Cerealis was governor of Moesia Sept. 19, 82. We know too that legio VIII Augusta was stationed in Germania Superior in 82, and had not been in Moesia since 69, and it is a little puzzling to see why Quietus, even if he were governor of Moesia, should be leading a deductio of veterans from this German legion to their new home in Thrace. We can hardly assume that the patronate of the

<sup>43</sup> This error of date also appears in Lieb. p. 93; Dumont-Homolle, *Mélanges d'archéologie et d'épigraphie*, p. 523; and *CIL* 3 p. 1960, n. 4.

<sup>44</sup> Dumont-Homolle, *op. cit.*, p. 523.

<sup>45</sup> Dumont-Homolle, *op. cit.*, 72 a, p. 381, which is incorrectly dated a. 94 on p. 490, the consular having been mistaken for a tribunicial number. See also Gsell, *Essai sur le règne de l'empereur Domitien*, p. 188.

<sup>46</sup> *Die Kaiserlichen Verwaltungsbeamten bis auf Diocletian*, p. 372, n. 4.

<sup>47</sup> *De Provincia Thracia*, pp. 47 f.

<sup>48</sup> *Op. cit.*, p. 184.

colony was offered to him because he was governor of Moesia. It seems certain, however, that these veterani had been closely associated with Quietus in the recent past or that they were at the time of the inscription, that they had because of this some claim to a friendly interest in them on his part, and that this led them to make him their first patronus. It seems to me quite possible that he had been their legatus legionis at the time of the missio, and that, having been succeeded in this command by another at that time, under a special commission from the Emperor had led them to their new home and assisted in establishing them there. This would account for the simple form of his title in this official and very formal inscription, and make the "Cum militaverimus in leg. VIII Aug.", as a reason for choosing him patronus, especially applicable.

## 27 **M. Cornelius M.f. Gal. Nigrinus Curiatius Maternus**

2.6013 (Liria, Tarraconensis) M. Cornelio, M. f., G[al.], Nigrino Curiatio Materno cos., leg. Aug. pro pr. provinc. Moes., provinc. Syriae.

2.3783 is a duplicate of this inscription.

Muratori and Borghesi identify the subject of this article with the Maternus who was consul in 185. Bormann, arguing from an incorrect reading of 2.3783 (See on CIL I. c., note.) dates him earlier than Domitian. While the use of Moesia without Superior or Inferior after the division is common enough in the authors it is not found in inscriptions set up to governors after the division was made, unless 9.2592 (See 139.), whose evidence seems to me to be worthless, be considered an exception. The mention of Moesia without distinguishing Superior and Inferior therefore favors a date as early as Domitian. The length of his name is not necessarily inconsistent with this date, and the name Curiatius Maternus appears in a long name in 3.429, 10.1486, in combination with Acilius Strabo, consul suffectus probably in 71. We may then with a fair degree of confidence place him in the number of the governors of the undivided province.<sup>49</sup> If this be correct he should in all probability precede Oppius Sabinus.

28

**Oppius Sabinus<sup>50</sup>**

**About 85 or 86**

Iordanes, Get. 13 - - - Domitiano imperatore regnante - - - Gothi - - - ripam Danubii iam longe possessam ab imperio Romano, deletis militibus cum

<sup>49</sup> If his date should be later there is no means of deciding which Moesia he governed. Without reason he is included among the governors of Moesia Inferior in H. v. d. W., p. 299.

<sup>50</sup> If C. Oppio, C. f., Vel., Sabino - - - , 9.5833, is the son of this man, as is assumed in Pros. O 77, we learn from it his praenomen. But the adlectio inter tribunicios a sacratissimo Imp. Hadriano could not have taken place before 117 or 118, which seems a little late for the son of a man who was consul in 84 and dead by 86. It is not impossible, but that he was a grandson is more likely.

eorum ducibus vastaverunt; cui provinciae tunc post Agrippam<sup>51</sup> Oppius praeerat Sabinus.<sup>52</sup>

Suet. Dom. 6 (Expeditiones) in Dacos duas (suscepit Domitianus), primam Oppio Sabino consulari oppresso, secundam Cornelio Fusco, praefecto cohortium praetorianarum, cui belli summam commiserat.

Eutrop. 7.23.4 - - - a Dacis Oppius Sabinus consularis et Cornelius Fuscus praefectus praetorio cum magnis exercitibus occisi sunt.

Sabinus was consul in 84, probably went out as governor in 85, and was killed in that year or in 86.<sup>52a</sup>

<sup>51</sup> This expression does not mean that Oppius immediately followed Agrippa in the province. Fonteius Agrippa is meant, who lost his life in fighting these same enemies in a. 70. (See 22.) After this war was settled the Romans possessed the bank long in peace (*iam longe possessam*), until the war of 85 or 86 f. broke out. To Jordanes then, who identified the Getae with the Goths, whose history he was following, Oppius Sabinus was the next Roman governor that came under cognizance after Agrippa.

<sup>52</sup> In his edition of Jordanes, *Getica*, Mommsen spells the cognomen Savinus as many of the mss. have it. The inscription quoted in n. 50 above, however, seems decisive as to the proper spelling of the name, though Jordanes may have written Savinus.

<sup>52a</sup> Lieb. p. 276 and H. v. d. W. p. 296 make him a governor of Moesia Inferior, but it is not probable that the province had been divided at this time (see 4), and the authors quoted above seem to have regarded him as a governor of the undivided province.

## GOVERNORS OF MOESIA SUPERIOR

29

L. Funisulanus L.f. Ani. Vettonianus

86/89

3.4013 (Andautonia) L. Funisulano L. f. Ani. Vettoniano trib. mil. leg. VI Vict., quaestori provinciae Siciliae, trib. pleb., praet., leg. leg. IIII Scythic., praef. aerari Saturni, curatori viae Aemiliae, cos., VIIvir epulonum, leg. pro pr. provinc. Delmatiae, item provinc. Pannoniae, item Moesiae Superioris, donato<sup>88</sup> . . . bello Dacico coronis IIII—murali, vallari, classica, aurea—hastis puris IIII, vexillis IIII. Patrono d. d.

11.571 (Forum Populi) [L. Funisulanu]s L. f. Ani. Vet[toni]anus, cos., [VIIvir epulonum, s]odalis Aug., pro[cos. pr]ovinc. Africae, [leg. Aug. pr. pr. provi]nc. Delmatiae, ite[m provi]nc. Pannoniae, [item Moesiae Sup]er., curator aquaru[m, curat]or viae Aemil., praet., [trib. pleb., praef. aera]ri, quaest. [prov. Sic., tr. mil. leg.] VI Victr., IIIv[ir a. a. f. f.]

The second inscription was set up much later than the first, for Funisulanus had in the meantime been made a sodalis Augustalis and had held the offices of curator aquarum and proconsul Africae. The first inscription is arranged in the direct order, the second in the inverse. But in both we find the same order in the provinces Delmatia, Pannonia, Moesia Superior. It is therefore open to question whether he was governor of Moesia Superior after or before being governor of Pannonia. The position of cos. in the first inscription is an almost certain indication that it is strictly chronological throughout. The titles cos., [VIIvir epulonum], sodalis Aug., curator aquarum, [praef. aera]ri, in the second inscription all stand out of their chronological order. The prefectship of the treasury should come after the praetorship, as indicated in the first inscription. The curatorship of the aqueducts came after the governorship of the provinces of Delmatia, Pannonia, and Moesia Superior, since it is not mentioned in our first inscription, and since the name of Funisulanus is not found in Frontinus, *De Aquaed.* 102, where a complete list of the *curatores aquarum* up to the begin-

<sup>88</sup> Des. 1006 supplies in this erasure *ab imp. Domitiano, Aug., Germanico*; Henz. 5481, *ab imp. Caes. Domitiano, Aug.* The title *Germanicus* was given to Domitian in 84, and it was probably found in our inscription.

ning of Fronto's curatorship, a. 97, is given. The offices in the first inscription are given in an order entirely consistent with the usage of the time. Even the phrase *donato . . . bello Dacico . . .* is in its chronological position, since it was surely as *legatus* of Moesia Superior that Funisulanus took part in the Dacian war. For these reasons it seems probable that the administration of Moesia Superior followed that of Pannonia, as indicated in the first inscription.<sup>54</sup> An additional reason for this conclusion is that F. was in Pannonia Sept. 3, 84 (Dipl. XVI, CIL 3 p. 1963) and Sept. 5, 85 (Dipl. XVII, CIL 3 p. 1964 and p. 855), while it is generally agreed that the evidence points to 86-89 as the time of the Dacian war of Domitian. (Suet. Dom. 6; Eutrop. 7.23.4.) It is probable that the administration of F. in Moesia Superior fell within these dates.<sup>55</sup>

### 30 Cn. Pinarius<sup>56</sup> Aemilius Cicatricula Pompeius Longinus 93

Dipl. CIII, CIL 3 p. 2328<sup>57</sup> Imp. Caesar divi Vespasiani f. Domitianus Augustus Germanicus pontifex maximus, tribunus potestatis XIII, imp. XXII, cos. XVI, censor perpetuus, p. p., equitibus et peditibus qui militant in . . . et sunt in Moesia Superiore sub Cn. Aemilio Cicatricula Pompeio Longino . . . A. d. XVI K. Domit., T. Pomponio Basso L. [Sili]o Deciano cos. . . .

The date of the inscription is Sept. 16, 93.<sup>58</sup>

<sup>54</sup> Lieb. p. 160, arranges his *cursus* differently, and Bormann, *JOI* 1 (1898) p. 174 n. 6 thinks he was in Moesia before being in Pannonia. Another possible explanation of the evidence of these two inscriptions is that the three provinces were administered at the same time and that "leg. pr. pr. provinc. Dalmatiae, item provinc. Pannoniae, item Moesiae Superioris" is all one title, a unit in the inscriptions, and therefore keeps the same order in the two. Ritterling, *AEM* 20 (1897), p. 12, rightly rejects this interpretation. Many other examples could be added to the three instances he cites showing that this is not the correct interpretation of item connecting titles that contain a common part.

<sup>55</sup> These inscriptions give us the earliest reference to Moesia as divided between two *legati*, and it should be noted that "provinc." is not used with Moesia Superior in either inscription. (See 4.)

<sup>56</sup> There can be little doubt that the governor mentioned in this diploma is Cn. Pinarius Aemilius Cicatricula Pompeius Longinus, governor of Pannonia in 98 (Dipl. XXVI = XIX, CIL 3 p. 862) and of Numidia in 79/80 (8.22060). From these inscriptions I have given the name Pinarius here. That he is not the Cn. Pompeius Longinus, governor of Judaea in 86 (Dipl. XIX = XIV, CIL 3 p. 857) and consul in 90, is shown by the fact that the governor of Judaea and the Longinus of our inscription have different colleagues in the consulship. (Cf. dipl. XXI, CIL 3 p. 1965 and dipl. XXVIII, CIL 3 p. 1968.)

<sup>57</sup> Wrongly given as 94 in *L'année épig.*, 1897. This inscription narrows the known limits of the date of dipl. XXVIII, CIL 3 p. 1968, in which this governor is named as consul, to the years 74/92. Mommsen hesitatingly suggests a. 79 as the date of his consulship. This is not proved wrong, but it is made less probable by the fact that he was governor of Numidia in that year. (8.22060. Cf. n. 73.)



6.1444 [cum?] imp. Caesar Nerva Traianus [Aug. Germanicus] Dacicus gentem Dacor. et regem Decabalum bello superavit; sub eodem duce leg. pro pr., ab eodem donato hastis puris VIII vexillis VIII coronis muralib. II vallarib. II classicis II auratis II, leg. pro pr. provinciae Belgicae, - - - .

This inscription has been with probability referred to L. Licinius Sura. It is not necessary to assume with Liebenam, p. 74, that he was governor of any province. The number VIII shows that he took part in two expeditions, without doubt the two Dacian wars of Trajan, as commander of an independent corps of the army. This might mean that he was acting as governor of a province and commander of the troops drawn from that province for these wars, or it might mean that he was merely a commander of troops under a special commission, such an appointment being necessitated by the exigencies of the war. The latter seems more probable from the language of the inscription, since leg. pro pr. provinciae Belgicae is written out in full while here we have merely leg. pro pr., and since sub eodem duce leg. pro pr. seems to emphasize this as a purely military rather than a regular provincial assignment. If he acted as governor of a province, it was doubtless one of the Moesias or Pannonia, as Liebenam suggests. In that case he must have been twice governor of one of these, or governor of one of them at some time during the first Dacian war of Trajan and of another at some time during the second war.

11.3364 (Tarquinium) P. Tullio Varronis fil. Stel. Varroni cos., auguri, procos. provinc. Africae, leg. Aug. pro pr. Moesiae Superior., curat. alvei Tiberis et riparum et cloacarum urbis, praef. aerari Saturn., procos. prov. Baeticae Ulterioris Hispaniae, leg. leg. XII Fulminatae et VI Victricis P. F., praetori, aedil. Cereali, quaestori urb., tribuno milit. leg. XVI Fl., Xviro stlitibus iudicand., praetori Etruriae, quinquennali Tarquinis, P. Tullius Callistio posuit.

Cf. 11.3365 (Tarquinium) L. Dasumio P. f. Stel. Tullio Tusco cos., comiti August.,<sup>88</sup> auguri, sodal. Hadriani, sodali Antoniniano, curat. operum publicorum, legato pr. pr. provinciar. Germaniae Superior. et Pannoniae Superior., praefecto aer. Saturni, praetori, tribun. pleb., leg. provinc. Africae, quaest. imp. Antonini Aug. Pii, trib. milit. leg. IIII Flaviae, triumviro a. a. a. f. f., P. Tullius Callistio posuit.

Tullius Tuscus is believed by Mommsen (CIL 6 p. 1349), Bormann (CIL 2 p. 513), and Dessau (Des. 1081, 1047) to have been the natural son of Tullius Varro and the adopted son of L. Dasu-

<sup>88</sup> The words comiti August. are cut in the margin of the stone.

mius Tuscus. This view finds support from the two cursuses given above. The son was tribunus militum leg. IIII Flaviae. This legion was stationed in Moesia Superior, and he was taken out by his father Varro when governor of this province. Varro's next office was the proconsulship of Africa, and the son was taken along in the rank of quaestor as his legatus, just as was L. Minicius Natalis Quadronius Verus<sup>88</sup> (see 71) by his father. This sequence in the offices of the son assists in dating the administration of our governor, the elder Tullius. The quaestorship of the younger Tullius fell in the reign of Antoninus Pius. Both the mention of the name of the emperor in this connection and the son's later career point to the fact that he held this office at the beginning of the reign of Antoninus. The father then seems to have been in Moesia Superior about the close of the reign of Hadrian.

33

Caecilius \*

3.8272 (Skupi) Imp. Caesari divi Traiani Parth. f. divi Nervae nepoti Traiano Hadriano Aug. p. m. t[rib. pot. . . . cos. . . .] ICIIIOR COI MI

The note in CIL on this inscription is,—legatus nominari videtur fortasse ex gente Caeciliorum. I see no satisfactory basis for the note. The inscription belongs in the time of Hadrian.

34 P. Mummius P.f. Gal. Sisenna Rutilianus About 158/160

14.3601 (Tibur) P. Mummio P. f. Gal. Sisennae Rutiliano cos., auguri, procos. provinc. Asiae, legato Aug. pr. pr. Moesiae Superioris, praef. aliment. per Aemiliam, praef. aer. Saturni, leg. leg. VI Victric., praetori, tr. pl., quaest. trib. leg. V. Maced., Xviro stlitib. iudic., patrono municipii, cur. fani H. V., salio, Herculanii Augustales, l. d. s. c. (In latere intuenti sinistro) Dedicata Kal. Iun., Maximo et Orfito cos. - - -

Lucian, *Ἀλέξανδρος ἢ Ψευδομάντις* 48. "Ἐχων γὰρ (Ἀλέξανδρος) οὐ μικρὰν ἐπὶ τὰ βασιλεια καὶ τὴν αὐλὴν καὶ τὸν Ῥουτιλιανὸν εὐδοκιμοῦντα πάροδον, διαπέμπεται χρῆσμον τοῦ ἐν Γερμανίᾳ πολέμου ἀκμάζοντος, ὅτε θεὸς Μάρκος ἤδη τοῖς Μαρκομάνοις καὶ Κουάδοις συρεπλέκετο. Ἡξίου δὲ ὁ χρῆσμός δύο λέοντας ἐμβληθῆναι ζῶντας ἐς τὸν

<sup>88</sup> 14.8569 (Given in full in 71) - - - quaestori candidato divi Hadriani et eodem tempore legato prov. Afric. dioeceseos Carthaginien. proconsulis patris sui, - - -

"Ιστορον μετὰ πολλῶν ἀρωμάτων καὶ θυσιῶν μεγαλοπρεπῶν, ----. Γενομένων δὲ τούτων ---- αὐτίκα δὲ τὸ μέγιστον τραῦμα τοῖς ἡμετέροις ἐγένετο δισφυρίων που σχεδὸν ἀθρόων ἀπολομένων. Εἶτα ἐπηκολούθησε τὰ περὶ Ἀκυληΐαν γενόμενα καὶ ἡ παρὰ μικρὸν ἐκείνης τῆς πόλεως ἄλωσις.

The inscription was set up in 172. At this time Rutilianus had been governor of Asia, after having been governor of Moesia Superior. His administration in Moesia can not therefore have terminated later than the end of 170 or the beginning of 171. In this inscription, as also in 14.4244, the singular form of Augustus is used so that he must have either continued in Moesia until after the death of Verus in 169, and therefore have followed Fronto (See 39.), or he must have been there earlier than the joint reign of Marcus and Verus. This means of dating should be reliable in these inscriptions set up at Tibur so soon after the death of Verus. There is hardly time for his administration in Moesia after the death of Fronto and before his proconsulate of Asia, so that it is more probable that he was in Moesia at the close of the reign of Antoninus Pius. The date about 167 given by Waddington (p. 237) and Pros. M 519 is based upon the hypothesis that Lucian's account seems to require the presence of Rutilianus at the front at the time of the incident,<sup>66</sup> but certainly his presence there is not necessarily implied and ἐπὶ τὰ βασιλεια καὶ τὴν ἀυλὴν . . . . πάροδον seems rather to favor the presence of both Marcus and him at Rome. It may have been at the time of the burial of Verus in 169. The date of his consulship was probably about 157 (Waddington), and no offices are given in his cursus between that date and 167 if we accept 167 as the date of his legateship in Moesia. It seems much more likely that he was sent to Moesia soon after his consulship, perhaps immediately thereafter.

35

C. Curtius C.f. Pol. Iustus

About 160

5.5809 (Mediolanum) C. Curtio C. f. Pol. Iusto cos., sodali Augustali, leg. pr. pr. imp. Caes. T. Aelii Antonini . . . .

3.8110 (Viminacium) [Pro salute [imp. Cae]s. T. Ael. [Anton. A]ug. Pii [et Veri] Caes., [vet. le]g. VII [Cl. P. F., pr]obati [Servia]no et [Varo

<sup>66</sup>The date of this incident can not be certainly fixed from our sources, but it was probably after the death of Verus. Nothing but success is reported while he was, against his will, present at the front, and Roman success in clearing Pannonia, practically terminating the war, as was thought, was his excuse for setting out for Rome. It was in an early stage of this journey that his death occurred.

et Po]ntian. [et Attic]o cos., [m. h. m. pe]r Cur[tium Ius]tum [leg. Aug.] pr.  
pr. - - - -

Since these soldiers began their service in 134 and 135 the  
missio should fall in 160.<sup>61</sup>

36 **M. Staius M.f. Cl. Priscus Licinius Italicus** 161

6.1523 [M. Stati]o M. f. Cl. Prisco [L]icinio Italico, leg. Augustorum  
pr. pr. prov. Cappadociae, leg. Aug[g]. pr. pr. prov. Britanniae, leg. Aug[g].  
pr. pr. prov. Moesiae Super., curatori alvei Tiberis et clacarum urbis, c[os.],  
leg. Aug. prov. Daciae, leg. leg. XIII G. P. F., leg. leg. [X]IIII Gem. Martiae  
Victricis, sacerdoti Titiali Flaviali, pr. inter cives et peregrinos, tr. pl., quaest.,  
proc. Aug. XX hereditatum prov. Narbones. et Aquitan., pr. eq. alae I Pr.  
C. R., trib. mil. leg. I Adiutr. P. F. et leg. X. G. P. F. et leg. [III] Gallicae,  
praef. coh. IIII Lingonum vexillo mil. donato a divo Hadriano in expeditione  
Iudaica, Q. Cassius Domitius Palumbus.

He was consul in 159, curator alvei Tiberis et cloacarum urbis  
in 160, governor of Moesia Superior in 161 and probably in 162, of  
Britain probably in 163 and 164, of Cappadocia probably in 165 and  
166, certainly during the eastern war of Marcus and Verus, and  
probably at its close.<sup>62</sup>

37 **Avidius Cassius ?** 162/165

Vit. Avid. Cass. 4. 6, Cum exercitum duceret et inscio ipso manus  
auxiliaria centurionibus suis auctoribus tria milia Sarmatarum neglegentius  
agentum in Danuvii ripis occidissent et cum praeda ingenti ad eum redissent,  
sperantibus centurionibus praemium quod perparva manu tantum hostium  
segnius agentibus tribunis et ignorantibus occidissent, rapi eos iussit et in  
crucem tolli servilique supplicio adfici, quod exemplum non extabat, dicens  
evenire potuisse ut essent insidiae ac periret Romani imperii reverentia.

This campaign against the Sarmatae would most naturally have been  
undertaken in the capacity of governor of Moesia Superior. He was consul  
161/169, probably early in this period.<sup>63</sup> He was appointed legatus of Syria  
before 169 (Vit. Avid. Cass. 5) to discipline the legions which were in sore

<sup>61</sup> Pros. C 1321 says circa a. 155 vel paulo post. The usual term of service for soldiers of  
the legions in this period however was twenty-five years, and there is no other reason for  
assuming that these inscriptions were set up earlier than the last year of Antoninus Pius.

<sup>62</sup> Vit. Marci, 9.1, Gestae sunt res in Armenia prospere per Statium Priscum, Artaxatis  
captis, delatumque Armeniacum nomen utrique principum. 3.7505 (Iglitzae) - - - - functus  
expeditione orientali sub Statio Prisco, C. V. - - - -

<sup>63</sup> Borgheasi, Op. 6.98 ff. proposes a. 161.

need of it. His appointment may have been due to the vigorous discipline he had practised in his Moesian legateship. It is likely also that Marcus did not wait many years after the beginning of his reign to correct the legiones Syriacae - - - diffuentes luxuria. If this appointment may be supposed to have been made as early as 164 (Pros. A 1165) or 165, allowing his consulship to fall in 161 or 162, we should have him governor of Moesia Superior 162/164.

This portion of the Vita is held by some to be untrustworthy. Nothing that we know of Avidius Cassius, however, from any other source contradicts it, and it has seemed proper to give it this notice.

**38 M. Servilius Q.f. Hor. Fabianus Maximus 163/169**

6.1517 M. Servilio Q. f. Hor. Fabiano Maximo leg. Augustorum pro praetore provinciarum Mysiae Superioris, item Mysiae Inferioris, curatori aedium sacrarum, cos., fetiali, praef. aer. S., leg. leg. III Gal., cur viae Valeriae, leg. pr. provin. Asiae, praet., aed. cur., ab actis senatus, q. urb., tr. mil. leg. I Minerv., III viro viar. curandar. Licinii Fortis et Honoratus centurio leg. I . . . . amico.

For other inscriptions and discussion see 82.

The cursus of our governor is given in this inscription in inverse order. He therefore governed Moesia Superior after Moesia Inferior,\* that is, after 162. The plural Augustorum shows that his term in Moesia Superior began and probably that it ended before 169.

**39 M. Claudius Ti.f. Quir. Fronto 167 or 168—169 or 170**

6.1377, with the corrections suggested in 6.31640 M. Claudio [Ti.] f. Q[uir.] Frontoni cos., . . . . leg. Aug. pr. pr. provincia[e Moesiae] Super. simul leg. Aug. pr. pr. provinciar. [trium] Daciae., leg. Augg. pr. pr. Moesiae Super. [simul] Daciae Apuleis [et Poroliss.], leg. Augg. pr. pr. provinciae Moesiae Super., comiti divi Veri. - - - - Huic senatus auctorem (sic) imperatore M. Aurelio Antonino Aug. Armeniaco Medico Parthico Maximo quod post aliquot secunda proelia adversum Germanos et Iazyges ad postremum pro r. p. fortiter pugnans ceciderit, armatam statuum in foro divi Traiani pecunia publica cen[suit ponendam].

\* Dessau, Pros. S 416, places the governorship in Moesia Superior earlier than that in Moesia Inferior, but there seems to be no good reason to disregard the evidence of our inscription. There were three legions at this time in the lower province and only two in the upper. This would ordinarily make the lower province the more important province. This was a time of unrest, however, among the Germanic tribes adjacent to Moesia Superior, with whom war actually broke out in 167. This is a sufficient reason for a reversal of the more usual order in which the two provinces were held. Cf. n. 71. Cf. also Vit. Marc. 22 Provincias ex consularibus consulares aut ex consularibus proconsulares aut praetorias pro belli necessitate fecit.

3.1457 (Sarmizegetusa) M. Cl. Ti. filio Quirin. Frontoni cos., leg. Aug. pr. pr. trium. Dac. et Moes. Sup., comiti Divi Veri Aug., - - - -

Fronto went out to the Marcomannic war as comes of Verus. Before the death of Verus, which occurred between Dec. 10, 168, and Dec. 10, 169, he was made, first, leg. Augustorum Moesiae Superioris; next, two of the three Dacias were added to his command; and after the death of Verus the third Dacia was also placed under his command. His administration of Moesia Superior began then in 167 or 168, and continued until his death, which he met in battle. His death occurred not later than 170, for we find another governor of the Dacias in 170: 3.7505 - - - - functus expeditione - - - - Germanica sub [Cal]pur[nio] Agricola,<sup>88</sup> Cl[audio] Fron-to[ne], C. V., missus honesta missione in Dacia, Cethego et Claro consulibus, sub Cornelio Clemente, C. V. Another indication that this inscription, which was set up after his death, belongs soon after 169 is the appearance of the titles Armeniacus Medicus Parthicus Maximus, which Marcus ceased to use after the death of Verus.

40                      **L. Vitrasius L.f. Pos.<sup>89</sup> Flamininus      About 169 ?**

10.3870 (Capua) L. Vitrasio L. f. Pos. Flaminino cos., procos. provinciae Africae, leg. pr. pr. Italiae Transpadanae et provinciae Moesiae Superioris et exercitus provinciae Dalmatiae, curatori alvei Tiberis riparum cloacarum urbis . . . .

3.14499 (Vidin) L. Vit[r]asio Flamin[ali], leg. Aug. [pr. pr.] Moesiae [Supe]rioris [col.] Ulp. Tra. [Rat.] d. d.

It seems probable to me that these two inscriptions relate to the same man, although the restoration Flamin[ali] implies that the editor of the second inscription, v. Domaszewski, did not think so. The date of the first inscription is certainly as late as Trajan, as cloacarum urbis in the title of the curatorship shows. The command of the forces of Delmatia and the jurisdiction over Italia Transpadana added to the usual functions of the governor of Moesia Superior indicate that the post was given him at a time of

<sup>88</sup> It seems probable that Calpurnius Agricola was governor of Dacia immediately preceding Claudius Fronto, since this bf. cons. (3.7505) of leg. V. Mac. (which was just being transferred from Moesia Inferior to Dacia) fought in the German expedition under him just before fighting in the same war under Claudius Fronto, being finally mustered out under the governor of Dacia that succeeded Claudius Fronto.

<sup>89</sup> The text of 10.3870 is admittedly not to be thoroughly trusted, "propter characteres iam fugientes." Pos. should be Pol. or Pom. or Pob. indicating the tribe.

unusual danger in this part of the empire, such as best corresponds to the latter part of the reign of Marcus, soon after the barbarians came almost to Aquileia (in 169?). The cura alvei Tiberis, etc., often immediately preceded the appointment to Moesia Superior in this period. See Tullius Varro, a. 138, § 32; Staius Priscus, a. 161, § 36; cf. Servilius Fabianus, 163/169, §§ 38, 82, who was curator aedium sacrarum after his consulship before being sent out to Moesia Inferior.

41

. . . . Caerellius . . . .

13.6806 (Mogontiacum) [Caerellius . . . . leg. Aug.] pr. pr. provinc. Thrac., Moes. Sup., Raet., Germ. Sup., et Britt., et Modestiana eius et Caerellii Marcianus et Germanilla filii.

This inscription is our only certain trace of this governor. The nomen is inferred from that of his children. Raetia received a legion and a legatus first about 170, during the first German war of Marcus Aurelius.<sup>67</sup> Britain was divided into two provinces, probably a. 197, after the attempt of Albinus, the commander of its legions, to gain the imperial power.<sup>68</sup> The language of the inscription, Moes. Sup., Ger. Sup., Britt., implies that Caerellius governed undivided Britain. He was therefore in Raetia after 170 and in Britain before 197. He governed Moes. Sup., Raetia, Britt. in the order named. His earliest possible date in Moesia Superior is therefore a little before 170, his latest possible date several years before 197. Raetia was regularly a praetorian command, but Caerellius must have governed it as a consular since he had already been governor of the consular province of Moesia Superior. It seems likely therefore that he was sent to Raetia at a time when the situation in that province or near its borders temporarily raised its importance as a command.<sup>69</sup> The period of the Marcomannic wars of Marcus suits this situation better than any other period within the limits above established for his date. Compare also the state-

<sup>67</sup> Peaks, *The General Civil and Military Administration of Noricum and Raetia*, University of Chicago Studies in Classical Philology, vol. IV.

<sup>68</sup> Herod. 8.8.2; Hübner, *CIL* 7 p. 4; v. Domaszewski, *Westd. Zeitschr.* 11 (1892) p. 304.

<sup>69</sup> The statement of Peaks, *op. cit.*, p. 168, that the legates of Raetia ranked higher than those of Moesia Superior is based entirely on this inscription, and is clearly incorrect. Only consulars governed in Moesia Superior, which had a garrison of two legions, while the legates of Raetia, which was garrisoned by one legion, were regularly of praetorian rank.

ment of the biographer of Marcus, Vit. Marc. 22.9, Provincias ex proconsularibus consulares aut ex consularibus proconsulares aut praetorias pro belli necessitate fecit. Since we know of several governors of Moesia Superior in the first half of the reign of Marcus, it is most probable that Caerellius governed in Moesia Superior after 170 and in Raetia toward the end of this reign.<sup>10</sup>

Vit. Pert. 2.10-3.2 Cassiano motu composito, e Syria ad Danuvii tutelam profectus est atque inde Moesiae utriusque, mox Daciae regimen accepit. Bene gestis his provinciis Syriam meruit. Integre se usque ad Syriae regimen tenuit, post excessum vero Marci pecuniae studuit. Quare etiam dictis popularibus lacessitus. Curiam Romanam post quattuor provincias consulares, quia consulatum absens gesserat, iam dives ingressus est, cum eam senator antea non vidisset.

He was consul absens<sup>11</sup> in 175, spending this summer as leg. leg. in the Cassian war. Returning from this war he was made governor of one of the Moesias apparently in 176,<sup>12</sup> and later of the other. While the language does not indicate clearly whether he ruled them consecutively or both at the same time, they are counted separately in the "quattuor provincias consulares." His administration of Dacia followed immediately and continued not later than 179, for he was sent to Syria as governor before the death of Marcus in 180. He must have left Moesia for Dacia in 178 or by the beginning of 179.

<sup>10</sup> Lieb. p. 129 calls attention to the fact that three Caerellii Macrinus, Faustianus and Iulianus were among the nobles put to death by Septimius Severus after the victory over Albinus. Vit. Sev. 13.6. Our Caerellius may have been one of these.

<sup>11</sup> He had also been promoted to the praetorian rank by allection and did not serve in the office. Vit. Pert. 2.6 Marcusque imperator, ut compensaret iniuriam, praetorium eum fecit et primae legioni regendae imposuit, statimque Raetias et Noricum ab hostibus vindicavit. This was apparently leg. I. Adiutrix, and as it was at no time stationed in Raetia or Noricum, it was temporarily used here, in conjunction with the regular forces of these provinces to clear them of the enemy. It seems probable since Pertinax was of praetorian rank at this time and since the glory and rewards of the campaign came to him (Vit. Pert. 2.7-9), that he was acting as governor of these provinces at this time (a. 174) rather than under their respective governors. There is no evidence showing which Moesia he ruled first. The lower province had been the more important command up to the reign of Marcus, and came to be so again later. But the wars with the Germans, though a truce was on just at this time, and the strengthening of the garrison of Dacia by a legion drawn from Moesia Inferior about this time, tended both to increase the responsibilities of the governor of Moesia Superior and to lessen the importance of Moesia Inferior as a command. They must have been regarded as of equal rank at this time.



43 **M. Macrinus Avitus M.f. Claud. Catonius Vindex 176/180**

6.1449 M. Macrinio Avito M. f. Claud. Catonio Vindici cos., aug. p. R. Quiritium, leg. Aug. pr. pr. prov. Moes. Inf., leg. Aug. pr. pr. prov. Moes. Sup., cur. civitat. Arimin., proc. prov. Dac. Malv., praef. alae Contar., praef. alae III Thrac., trib. mil. leg. VI Victr., praef. coh. VI Gall., donat. donis mil. in bell. Germ. ab imp. M. Aur. Antonino Aug. hast. pur. II et vexill. II corona mural. et vallar. Iunia Flacinilla marito karissimo et Macrinia Rufina patri piissimo, vixit annis XLII, m. V.

The equestrian and senatorial offices are given in inverse order. The *dona militaria* were presented to Vindex as a prefect or as a tribunus militum, as is shown by their number and character, probably after 169, since they are from Marcus and not from Marcus and Verus. It is not safe to assume from the position of donat. donis etc. that he received the *dona militaria* in his first prefecture, but it could not have been later than his prefecture of the ala Contariorum, so that this position must have been held as late as 169. Since no mention is made of *allectio* it is probable that he held the offices of quaestor and praetor. The offices of proc. prov. Dac. Malv., [quaestor], curator civitat. Arimin., [praetor], consul, would bring him at least to 175 before he could have become governor of Moesia Superior, and 176 before he could have gone to Moesia Inferior as governor. It might of course have been later that he reached each of these appointments. Since they both came to an end before the death of Marcus, as may be inferred from the fact that he is not called *divus* in this inscription, they must have been held in the last years of his reign.

44

. . . . n. Pompeianus

195

3.14507 (Viminacium) [Pro salute imp. Caes. L. Septimi Severi Pertin]a[cis Aug. Arab. Adiab. et M.] Aurel[i Antonini Caes. veterani ]leg. VII Cl. [P. F. probati Prisco et Ap]ollinar. cos. [missi h. m. per . . . . ]n. Pompeianum [leg. Augusti pr. pr.] et Lael. Maximum [leg. leg. VII Cl. P. F. Cle]ment. et Prisco cos., - - -

The restorations in this inscription seem to be certain. The date is a. 195.

6.1408 L. Fabio M. f. Gal. Ciloni Septimino Catinio Aciliano Lepido Fulciniano cos., comiti imp. L. Septimi Severi Pii Pertinacis Aug. Arab. Adiab. p. p., sodal. Hadrianal., cur. min., leg. Aug. pr. pr. provinc. Pann. et Moesiae Sup., Bithyn. et Ponti, duci vexill. per Italiam exercitus imp. Severi Pii Pertinacis Aug. et M. Aureli Antonini Aug., praeposito vexillation. Perinthis pergentib., leg. Aug. pr. pr. provin. Galat., praef. aer. militar., procos. prov. Narbon., leg. Aug. leg. XVI F. F., pr. urb., leg. pr. pr. prov. Narb., trib. pl., quaest. prov. Cret. Cyr., trib. mil. leg. XI Cl., Xvir stlit. iudic., cur. r. p. Nicomedensium inter Amnatium Nartium, item Graviscanorum. Ti. Cl. Ambrelianus, (centurio) leg. V Macedonicae, ob merita.

6.1409 L. Fabio M. f. Gal. Ciloni Septimino cos., praef. urb., leg. Augg. pro pr. Pannon. Super., duci vexill., leg. pro pr. provinciar. Moesiae Super., Ponti et Bithyniae, comiti Augg., leg. Augg. pro pr. prov. Galatiae, praef. aer. militaris, pro cos. itemq. leg. prov. Narbonens., leg. leg. XVI Fl. F. Samosate, sodal. Hadrianal., pr. urb., trib. pleb., q. prov. Cretae, trib. leg. XI Cl., Xvir stlitib. iudicandis, Mediolanenses patrono.

Vit. Comm. 20.1 Et cum iussu Pertinacis Livius Laurensis, procurator patrimonii, Fabio Chiloni consuli designato dedisset, per noctem Commodi cadaver sepultum est.

The position of comiti and sodal. Hadrianal. in these two inscriptions shows that the chronological order of the honors of Cilo is better preserved in 1409 than in 1408. Beginning with the consulship Cilo seems to have been successively consul, leg. Aug. pr. pr. prov. Galatiae, praepositus vexil. Perinthis pergentibus, comes imp. Severi, leg. Aug. pr. pr. Ponti et Bithyniae, leg. Aug. pr. pr. Moes. Sup., dux vexil. per Ital., leg. Aug. pr. pr. prov. Pannon. He was designated by Commodus in 192 to be consul in 193 (Vit. Comm., l. c.), but not to be one of the consules ordinarii, who were Erucius Clarus and Sosius Falco (Dio 73.22). Our inscriptions show that he entered upon the consulship. It was probably in the place of Falco, who gave up his office after the abortive plot to make him emperor (Dio 73.8). After a short consulship he was sent out by Pertinax as governor of Galatia. After the death of Pertinax, Mar. 28, 193, and before Septimius reached Rome, about Nov. 1, 193, Pescennius Niger had been proclaimed emperor by the Syrian legions, and his cause made rapid progress in the East. Cilo favored Septimius, and had to withdraw into Europe. Septimius placed him in charge of the vexillationes gathering for the defence of Thrace (Perinthis pergentibus), and he stopped the advance of

the Pescennian party at Perinthus, not without severe losses. (Vit. Sev. 8.13 Perinthum etiam Niger volens occupare plurimos de exercitu interfecit.) When reached by Septimius in his advance against Pescennius at the end of 193 or the beginning of 194 he was made one of his staff (comiti imp. L. Septimi Severi - - - 1408, comiti Augg. 1409.) After the victory over Pescennius in the summer of 194, Cilo was placed over Pontus and Bithynia.<sup>12</sup> (Cf. vit. Veri, 7.8 confecto sane bello, regna regibus, provincias vero comitibus suis regendas dedit.) Then in 195 he was sent to govern Moesia Superior, where there was need of a faithful and able lieutenant to checkmate the plans of Geta, Septimius's brother, who was ruling in Dacia at that time (3.905,7794) and aspiring to imperial power. Vit. Sev. 10.3 Et cum iret (Septimius) contra Albinum, in itinere apud Viminacium filium suum maiorem Bassianum adposito Aurelii Antonini nomine Caesarem appellavit, ut fratrem suum Getam ab spe imperii quam ille conceperat summovertet. It is not probable, since Moesia Superior and Bithynia are separated by other provinces, that Cilo was governor of Moesia Superior and Bithynia-Pontus at the same time, as might possibly be inferred from the way the names of the provinces are combined in our inscriptions. In the summer of 196 after declaring Albinus, who had been Caesar up to this time, a public enemy, Septimius set out from the East to contest the throne with him in the West. On the way, at Viminacium, he made Caracalla Caesar in his stead, hoping thereby to stop the intrigues of the elder Geta. (Vit. Sev., l. c.; Herod. 3.5.2.) He turned aside to Rome for a short time where disaffection was arising. (Herod. 3.5.2 ff.; Dio 76.8; Petr. Patr., Exc. Vat. 130, p. 210, 19-26, Dind.) He probably took Cilo with him from Moesia Superior and made him dux vexillationum per Italiam exercitus imp. Severi Pii Pertinacis Aug. et M. Aureli Aug. (6.1408; cf. Herod. 3.6.10: ἔπεμψε δὲ καὶ στρατὸν [δυνάμεως] τὸν τὰ στενὰ τῶν Ἀλπεων καταληψόμενον καὶ φρουρήσοντα τῆς Ἰταλίας τὰς εἰσβολάς.) The use of Aug. with the name of Antoninus here seems to indicate a date later than the summer of 198. But the position of this item in 1409 shows that his ducatus fell between his administrations in Moesia Superior and Pannonia

<sup>12</sup> It is interesting to note that the first town of Bithynia to take up the cause of Severus was Nicomedia (Herod. 3.2.9), of which much earlier in his career Cilo had been curator (6.1408). Bithynia was the first province of the East visited by Severus after the victory over Niger at Cyzicus.

Superior. Ritterling, AEM 20 (1897) pp. 34-36, has shown that his administration of Pannonia began before Nov. 1, 197. Numerous inscriptions show him to have been in this office as late as 201. (e. g. 3.4638,4642). He was curator Miniciae and praefectus urbis before his second consulship, which was in 204. These two inscriptions were set up before his designation for his second consulship. There seems no place then so probable for his ducatus vexillationum as between the Moesian and Pannonian administrations, and at no other time within this period were conditions in Italy such as to call so imperatively for the services of one of Septimius's ablest and most trusted lieutenants in such an office. Caracalla was already a Caesar, as shown above, and in the summer of 197, after the end of the campaign against Albinus and before the start from Rome for the Parthian campaign the imperatoria insignia were decreed to him by the senate (Vit. Sev., 14.3), and this may have led one writing an inscription several years later (a. 203) to use the title Augustus rather loosely in connection with his name. Compare comiti Augg., leg. Augg. pro. pr. prov. Galatiae of 1409 with comiti imp. L. Septimi Severi - - - and leg. Aug. pr. pr. provinc. Galat. of 1408. For these reasons it seems probable that his administration of Moesia ended in 196. Certainly it can not have continued longer than the autumn of 197.

3.1685 (Ulpiana) Imp. Caesari, divi Marci Antonini Pii Germanici Sarmatici filio, divi Commodi fratri, divi Antonini Pii nepoti, divi Hadriani pronepoti, divi Traiani Parthici abnepoti, divi Nervae adnepoti, L. Septimio Severo Pio Pertenaci Aug. Arabico Adiabenico Parthico Maximo pontifici max., trib. pot. III/, imp. XI, cos. III, procos., r. p. sua Ulp., curante Q. Anicio Fausto, leg. Augustorum pr. pr.

This stone is no longer extant. We have reports of several who saw it between 1680 and 1742. Their copies do not agree in the part reported above "trib. pot. III, imp. XI," and it is impossible to have any confidence in a conjecture at this point based on their reports. They do all agree in reporting "cos. III." This fixes the upper limit of the date of the administration of Faustus in Moesia as 202. This conclusion is supported by 8.6 and 8.10992, which

prove that he was governor of Numidia<sup>17</sup> as late as 201. Since the title Britannicus is not among the cognomina of the emperor the lower date is probably not later than 210, and it is certainly not later than his death, Feb. 211.

It seems probable to me that his administration began early in the period marked by these limits, and it may have lasted several years, as did his administration in Numidia.

47

Pomponius Bassus

212/217

Dio 78.21.2 - - - - *ὅτι ἄλλους τέ τινας καὶ τὸν Βάσσου τὸν τοῦ Πομπωνίου παῖδα, ᾧ τῆς Μυσίας ἀρχαῖντι ὑπεστρατηγήκει, ἐσσυκοφαντήκει. Καὶ οὗτοι (the informers) τε ἐς νῆσουσ ὑπερωρίσθησαν* (by Macrinus a. 217).

His administration must have been before the reign of Macrinus, and probably was in the latter part of the sole reign of Caracalla. This is the only passage that certainly refers to him. He may however be identical with the consul of 211, and with the Pomponius Bassus killed in 219 by Elagabalus (Dio 79.5), who had conceived a passion for the wife of Pomponius. I have no means of deciding whether he ruled upper or lower Moesia.

<sup>17</sup> Q. Anicius Faustus was governor of Numidia 197-201. 8.6048, 17870, 18256, "M. Aurelio Antonino - - - - imperatori destinato" indicate probably a. 197, certainly not later than an early month of a. 198. (See discussion of preceding governor, and appendix.) See references above for the lower date. Between these two dates he was consul designatus, consul amplissimus, and consularis. As he was legatus of Numidia and consul at the same time, he was consul in absentia. The year of his consulship is variously given. Klein, Pros. A 489, and Waddington p. 259, make him cos. suff. a. 198; Lieb. p. 298, and OIL, a. 199. The considerations which follow seem to me to prove the correctness of the later date.

In three inscriptions he is named consul amplissimus. 8.17871 Imp. Caesari M. Aurelio Antonino Aug. Parthico Maximo tribuniciae potestatis bis proconsuli - - - - - dedicante Q. Anicio Fausto [leg. Augustorum pro praetore, cos. amplissimo - - - - - 8.18068 - - - - - dedica]nte Q. Ani[cio Fausto] leg. Augg. [pr. pr. C. V. cos.] ampl[issimo] veteran[i leg. III] Aug. P. V. q[ui] militare c[oeperunt] Cn. Cl. Se[vero] II Tib. Cl. P[ompelano II cos.] 8.2553 Imp. Caes. L. Septimio [Severo . . . . et M.] Aurelio Antonino - - - - - [dedicante Q. Anicio] Fausto cos. ampl. - - - - - 17871 seems to be dated clearly a. 199 by tribuniciae potestatis bis. The use of bis in giving the number of the tribunicial power is found in 8.3746 - - - - - tribuniciae potestatis bis, cos. bis, designatus ter - - - - , and in 12.5638 tribunicia potestas bis, consul bis, and may be the correct reading in 8.7002. 8.17940 is similar to 17871. To read bis proconsuli would be quite exceptional, 10.8028 - - - - - procos. IIII being the only instance that I have seen where a numeral stands with procos. among the titles of an emperor. 6.587 contains bis proconsulis used in a different way of a man not an emperor. 8.18068 contains no means of dating it independently with certainty, but the fact that these veterani enlisted in 173 makes it probable that their missio would fall in 199, since the usual term of service in the legions at this period was twenty-six years. Cf. 8.14507, 6580. There are no means of dating 8.2553 with exactness independently, but it justifies the reading "consul amplissimus" in the other two. Pros., l. c., bases its "cos. amplissimus (suff.) a. 198" on these same three inscriptions, together with others that can not be independently dated, but does not explain on what grounds the date is assigned.

Four inscriptions refer to Faustus as consul designatus. 8.2550 Imp. Caes. - - - - - Septimio Severo - - - - - Aug. Arabico Adiabenico Parthico p. m., trib. potestati VI, imp. XI, cos.

3.1178 (Karlsburg, Dacia) L. Mario Perpetuo cos. Dac. III, leg. Aug. pro pr. provinciae Moesiae Super., curat. rerum publicar. urbis, item Tusculanorum, praesidi prov. Arabiae, leg. leg. XVI Fl., quaes. candid. Aug., trib. latic. leg. IIII Scyth., praes. iustiss. M. Ulp. Caius (centurio) [leg.] III Ital. Antoninianae.

This inscription was set up between the years 212 and 222, as is shown by the use of Antoninianae as cognomen of the legion. Perpetuus was at this time cos. Dac. III. Since his administration of

II . . . . et imp. Caes. M. Aurelio Antonino Aug. . . . . dedicante Q. Anicio Fausto, leg. Augg. pro pr., C. V., cos. desig. . . . . 8.2551 Imp. Caes. L. Septimio Severo . . . . Aug. Arab. Adiabeno. Parth. Maximo et M. Aurelio Antonino Aug. . . . . dedic. Q. Anicio Fausto, leg. Augg. pr. pr., cos. desig. . . . . 8.2527-2528 . . . . pro salute imp. Caes. L. Septimii Severi . . . . Aug. et M. Aureli Antonini Aug. . . . . Aug. . . . . dedicant. Q. Anicio Fausto, leg. Augg. pr. pr., C. V., cos. des. . . . . 2550 is definitely dated 198 by trib. potestati VI, with which every thing in the inscription is in accord. That 2551 is not earlier than 198 is shown by Parth. Maximo, Antonino Aug., and Augg. (See appendix.) The same is shown for 2527-2528 by Antonino Aug. and the third Aug., which once belonged to Geta. The leg. Augg. would not be conclusive, as is shown by 8.17870. These four inscriptions show that Faustus was consul designatus in 198. (See n. 73a.)

8.2438 Imp. Caes. L. Septimio Severo Pertinaci Aug. Pio Fel. Fortissimoque Principi Arabico Adiabeno dedicante [Q. An]icio Fausto [leg.] Aug. pr. pr., [desig.] cos., C. V., [possess. vici La]mb. Afundensium faciendum curaverunt pecunia conlata quorum nomina at latus basis inscripta sunt Laterano et Rufino cos. This is the inscription that has given the trouble. The restoration [desig.] does not seem to be doubtful, and these are the consuls of 197. But possibly this dating belongs only with the last thing mentioned in the inscription: the collection of the money for the monument and the beginning of it may have been in 197, and its completion and dedication by the consul designate in 198. The omission of Parthicus Maximus from the titles of Septimius indicates an early month in 198 for the dedication. (See appendix, and Wirth, Quaestiones Severianae, pp. 31-2.) However, no matter what the interpretation of this inscription, the main contention here, that Faustus was consul suffectus in 199, is not affected.

<sup>73a</sup> The seven inscriptions just discussed show that Faustus was leg. Augg. pr. pr. of Numidia in 198 and 199, and that Lieb. p. 316 is therefore in error in assigning this office to Victorianus in 198. This is also inconsistent with his own assignment of Faustus to Numidia in 197-199 (p. 316), and with his correct extension of Faustus's term in Numidia to 200 and 201 on page 295.

<sup>74</sup> (a) He is shown by his cursus not to have been identical with L. Marius L. f. Quir. Maximus Perpetuus Aurelianus of 6.1450-1453.

(b) The indications of date in 3.6709 and 6710 of L. Marius Perpetuus as leg. Augg. leg. XVI F. F. do not agree. Henzen's conjecture by which he dated these two inscriptions a. 200 (reported in Mommsen's note to these inscriptions in CIL and EE 5 p. 20) is made less probable by 3.14150, from which Perpetuus appears to have been governor of Arabia in 200. It is dated by "Septimius Severus . . . . tribun. potest. VIII, imp. XI, cos. III". Trib. pot. VIII indicates the year 200. Imp. XI is often found in a. 200 and later, even to the time of his death. Cos. III belongs to 202. We may feel reasonably sure in assigning 200 as the date of this inscription. If the stone cutter's mistake in 3.6709 and 6710 be supposed to be the cutting of trib. pot. XII instead of the VII of his copy the date 199 would be indicated, and cos. II would harmonize with this assumption. The number of the salutations of Septimius is often wrongly given on the monuments and could not be held to invalidate a dating based upon the number of the tribunicial power. In 3.1178 Perpetuus' service as praeses Arabiae is shown to have been his next public employment after serving as leg. leg. XVI Fl. Thus the date 199 for 3.6709 and 6710 agrees well with 200 for 3.14150.

Moesia Superior was earlier than his governorship of the Dacias it can not have ended later than 221. If we may trust the one 'g' in the title leg. Aug. pro pr. provinciae Moesiae Super., his term of office in Moesia began after the death of Geta in 212.

49 **C. Furius Octavianus C. V.?** **About 223**

3.8169 (Near Ulpiana) Fortunae Aeternae domus Furianae pro salute C. Furi Octaviani C. V. Furius Alcimus et Pontius Veranus pecunia Octaviana faciendum curaverunt.

3.8238 was set up by a slave of C. Furius Octavianus, and 3.8240 to a slave of his mother (cf. 6.1423). Both inscriptions were found in the southern part of Moesia Superior. These with the inscription quoted seem to show that he had estates in this region. He may have been a governor of the province, though our evidence is not conclusive. The date a. 223 is given from 9.338, in which he is named as a patronus of Canusium.

50 **Severianus** **244**

Zos. 1.19. fin. - - - Σεβηριανῶ δὲ τῷ κηδεστῇ τὰς ἐν Μυσίᾳ καὶ Μακεδονίᾳ δυνάμεις ἐπίστευσεν (sc. Φίλιππος).

This was at the beginning of the reign of Philip, the selection of a relative being a measure of precaution on the part of the new Emperor in establishing himself on the throne. Probably both Moesias were included in the command.<sup>15</sup> If only one Moesia is meant, it would certainly be Moesia Superior which was contiguous to Macedonia.

51 **Ti. Claudius Marinus Pacatianus** **248**

Zos. 1.20. end. τὰ δὲ Μυσῶν τάγματα καὶ Παίωνων Μαρῖνον (παρήγαγον εἰς τὴν τῶν ὅλων ἀρχήν).

Zon. 12.19 (PI 624 end) Οὗτος δ' ὁ αὐτοκράτωρ Φίλιππος πρὸς Σκύθας ἀράμενος πόλεμον εἰς Ῥώμην ἐπανήλθεν. Ἐν δὲ Μυσοῖς Μαρῖνός τις ταξιάρχης ὦν παρὰ τῶν στρατιωτῶν βασιλεῦσιν ἤρθε.

Cohen V<sup>2</sup> p. 182, n. 7 Imp. Ti. Cl. Mar. Pacatianus Aug. | Romae Aeter. an. mill. et primo.

The name and date are from the coin. The fact that Zonaras mentions only the Moesi and that Zosimus mentions them first

<sup>15</sup> Large commands were common on the lower Danube in these troublous years. See 5.

indicates that they were the prime movers in elevating Marinus and that, if his command did not include both the Pannonias and the Moesias, which is probable, it was in the Moesias. In 248, the date of the coin, he was wearing the imperial insignia. The accounts of the historians indicate that the war against the Scythians came late in the reign and that Marinus was placed in charge of affairs on the lower Danube after this war was begun. He probably held his imperial station but a few months. His administration in Moesia as governor therefore may have begun and ended in 248.

Zos. 1.21 παρακάλει τοίνυν τὸν Δέκιον τῶν ἐν Μυσίᾳ καὶ Παιονίᾳ ταγμάτων ἀναδέξασθαι τὴν ἀρχήν. τοῦ δὲ διὰ τὸ καὶ ἐαυτῷ καὶ Φιλίππῳ τοῦτ' ἀξίμορον ἡγεῖσθαι παραιτουμένου, τῇ Θετταλικῇ λεγομένη πειθανάγκῃ χρησάμενος ἐκπέμπει κατὰ τὴν Παιονίαν αὐτόν, σωφρονιούντα τοὺς ἐκείσε τὰ Μαρίνου φρονήσαντες. οἱ δὲ ταύτῃ στρατιῶται τὸν Δέκιον ὀρώντες τοῖς ἡμαρτηκόσιν ἐπεξιώντα, κάλλιον εἶναι σφίσι ἡγήσαντο καὶ τὸν παρὰ πῶδας ἀποσείσασθαι κίνδυνον καὶ ἅμα προστήσασθαι μόναρχον δὲ καὶ τῶν κοινῶν ἂν ἐπιμεληθείη κρείσσον καὶ οὐ σὺν πόνῳ περιέσται Φιλίππου πολιτικῇ τε ἀρετῇ καὶ πολεμικῇ πείρᾳ προήκων. (22) περιθέντες οὖν αὐτῷ τὴν ἀλουργίδα, καὶ ἐφ' ἐαυτῷ λοιπὸν ὀρωδοῦντα πρὸς τὴν τῶν πραγμάτων καὶ ἄκοντα συνωθοῦσι κηδεμονίαν.

Zon. 12.19 (PI. 625) Θαναμάσας οὖν ὁ Φίλιππος διὰ τοῦτο τὸν Δέκιον, ἀπελθεῖν προετρέπετο εἰς Μυσίαν καὶ κολάσαι τοὺς αἰτίους τῆς στάσεως. Ὁ δὲ τὴν ἀποστολὴν παρητέτο, λέγων μὴθ' ἐαυτῷ μῆτε τῷ στέλλοντι συμφέρειν αὐτὸν ἐκεῖ ἀπελθεῖν. Ὁ δὲ Φίλιππος καὶ ἔτι ἐρέκειτο. Κάκεινος καὶ ἄκων ἀπῆγε· καὶ ἀπελθόντα εὐθὺς αὐτὸν οἱ στρατιῶται βασιλέα εὐφήμεσαν. Τοῦ δὲ ἀπαναινομένου τὰ ξίφη σπασάμενοι δέξασθαι αὐτὸν ἠνάγκασαν τὴν ἀρχήν.

It is evident that Decius had scarcely reached his command to take charge as governor when the soldiers proclaimed him emperor. The battle with the Philips to decide who should bear the imperial authority took place in the autumn of 249. Decius had probably gone out to his provinces in the spring of that year. Zosimus and Zonaras evidently follow the same source here. Zosimus first says that Decius was asked by Philip to take charge of the armies in Moesia and Pannonia, and later that he was sent to Pannonia. Zonaras says that he was asked to go and did go to Moesia. It seems then that he was really placed in charge of both Moesias and both Pannonias. This assignment was not unusual at this period. See 5. On the possible identity of this governor with Q. Decius Valerianus see 115, end.



Vit. Claud. 15.1 Dux factus est (Claudius) et dux totius Illyrici. Habet in potestatem Thracios, Moesos, Dalmatas, Pannonios, Dacos exercitus. Vir ille summus nostro quoque iudicio speret consulatum - - -.

This extract from a letter of Valerian dates his appointment between 253 and 259, but the evidence of the letters in this biography is worthless.<sup>16</sup> It should be noted here that Claudius had not yet been consul and his command was a very large one. It looks like an invention from the time of equestrian duces limitis. Cf. 54, 128.

Vit. Tyr. Trig. 10.1 Regilianus denique in Illyrico ducatum gerens imperator est factus auctoribus imperii Moesis, qui cum Ingenuo fuerant ante superati, in quorum parentes graviter Gallienus saevierat. 10.14 Nec a Gallieno quidem vir iste promotus est, sed a patre eius Valeriano.

Vit. Epit. 32 His (sc. Valeriano et Gallieno) imperantibus Regilianus in Moesia, Cassius Latienus Postumus in Gallia, Gallieni filio interfecto imperatores effecti sunt. Cf. Vict. Caes. 33.2 Ibi Ingebum quem curantem Pannonos comperta Valeriani clade imperandi cupido incesserat Mursiae devicit; moxque Regalianum qui receptis militibus quos Mursina labes reliquos fecerat bellum duplicaverat.

AEM 16(1893) p. 240 Imp. C. P. C. Regalianus Aug. | Liberalitas Augg.

The form of the name given is based on the coins<sup>17</sup> and Vict. Caes. 33.2. The brief elevation of Regalianus by the Moesian troops occurred some years after the defeat of Ingenuus in 258 and before the end of the reign of Gallienus in 268. Vit. Gallieni 9.1 implies that his administration as governor was in progress in 263. In Tyr. Trig. 10.9 he is called Illyrici dux. Cf. 10.1 In Illyrico ducatum gerens. This may be an anachronism of the author in applying a title from the administrative arrangements of his own day to an earlier time.<sup>18</sup> Regalianus may, however, have had the armies of both Moesias under his command or even have had a wider command than that.

<sup>16</sup> Cf. Klebs, *Hist. Zeitsch.* N. F. 25 (1889) p. 229 f.

<sup>17</sup> This rare coin is published by Th. Rohde, *AEM*, 1. c. It is figured in connection with the same article. Cf. Eckhel 7 p. 462, *Coh.* 6. p. 10, n. 3. His name as emperor is given from this coin Imp. Caesar Publius C...ius Regalianus. This may or may not have been the exact form of his name before his elevation. The two g's are explained as referring to him and his wife, and a parallel is found in coins of Aurelianus and his wife.

<sup>18</sup> Cf. 53 for a similar anachronism.

JOI 6 Beibl. 14 (Viminacium) E[g]natius Marinianus leg. Aug. pr. pr.

This inscription is on the base of a statue. I see no means of determining with any confidence the date of this governor. A coin of diva Mariniana was minted at Viminacium, a. 253/254.<sup>99</sup> A Marinianus was consul a. 268.<sup>100</sup> Egnatii are not uncommon after the latter part of the first century. V. Premerstein suggests<sup>101</sup> that our governor may have been connected with the emperor Gallienus on his mother's side. His administration may belong within the reign of that emperor.

9.1572 (Beneventum) M. Caecilio Novatilliano, C. V., oratori et poetae industri, allecto inter consulares, praesidi prov. Moes. Sup. - - -

I have found no means of dating his administration of the province within narrow limits. "Litteris aevi labentis" is the note in CIL on this inscription. The title praeses, the allecto inter consulares, and the order of the letters C. V., indicate probably the third century.<sup>102</sup>

3.1566 (Mehadia, Dacia) Herculi, genio loci, fontibus calidis, Calpurnius Iulianus V. C. leg. leg. V Mac., leg. Aug. pr. pr. [prov.] Moesiae . . . . [erioris] s v. l. s.

I have given the reading of Mommsen, whose note is, Contuli ectypum non optime factum partis inferioris. Hirschfeld, Sitzb. Wien. Akad. 77 (1874) p. 365, n. 2, having re-read the inscription, reports having made out [M]oesiae [ . . . . ] s, with the vertical strokes of PE or FE in the position to make out in the second word 'Superioris' or 'Inferioris.' We may then consider him to have been governor either of Moesia Superior or of Moesia Inferior. But of

<sup>99</sup> Pick, p. 59, n. 191.

<sup>100</sup> Pros. M 213.

<sup>101</sup> JOL, l. c.

<sup>102</sup> Pros. C 50.

which province we can not say.<sup>88</sup> The fact that the inscription was found in Dacia proves that its date is later than the conquest of Dacia under Trajan. The same inference might be made from the title *vir clarissimus*.

3.7904 (Sarmizegetusa, Dacia) Eponab. et Campestr. sacr. M. Calventius Viator (centurio) leg. IIII F. F., exerc. eq. sing. C. Avidi Nigrini leg. Aug. pr. pr., v. s. l. m.

V. Domaszewski's note in CIL is, *Litterae omnino saeculi tertii*. In AEM 13 p. 143 he suggests that Nigrinus was probably governor of Moesia Superior in which leg. IIII F. F. was stationed rather than of Dacia, in whose capital the inscription was found. It seems better, however, with Dessau (*Inscr. Sel.* 2417 n.) and Jung (*Fasten d. Provinz Dacien* p. 15, no. 18) to believe that the exercitator eq. sing. C. Avidi Nigrini leg. Aug. pr. pr. (prov. Daciae) was an ex-centurion from the army of the neighboring province. Cf. A. Müller, *Philologus* 41 (1882) p. 497: Da dieses Corps (sc. singulares) nur Decurionen hatte, so können jene Officiere nur von anderen Truppenkörpern abcommandiert gewesen sein. We need not, however, with Lieb. p. 5 identify this C. Avidius Nigrinus with the legatus of the same name of Trajan's time (3.567. See 17 above.) No other inscription of an exercitator equitum singularium of a governor, nor even of an exercitator outside of Rome, is known earlier than the last half of the second century.

<sup>88</sup> Mommsen, CIL, l. c., n., saw that the fact that Julianus had been leg. leg. V. Mac. gave no reason to assume that the province which he governed was Moesia Inferior. Domaszewski's hypothesis (AEM 13 (1890) p. 142 ff.) that Mehadia formed part of Moesia Superior at this time lacks convincing proof, and has not commended itself to Dessau (*Inscr. Sel.* 2417) and Jung (*Fasten der Provinz Dacien*, p. 16). On this hypothesis he wished to make Julianus a governor of Moesia Superior (l. c. p. 144, n. 81).

## GOVERNORS OF MOESIA INFERIOR

59

**Sex. Octavius Fronto**

92

Bull. corr. hell. 11 (1887) pp. 163-168 (Chersonesus) Σέξτον 'Οκτάβιον Φρόντ[ω]να, πραιβευτήν και ἀντιστράτηγον Ἀδοκράτορος Δομειτιανοῦ Καίσαρος Θεοῦ Σεβαστοῦ Γερμανικοῦ. 'Ο δῆμος.

Dipl. XXII = XV, CIL 3 p. 858 Imp. Caesar divi Vespasiani f. Domitianus Augustus Germanicus pontifex maximus, tribunic. potestat. XI, imperator XXI, censor perpetuus, consul XVI, p. p., iis qui militant in classe Flavia Moesica, quae est sub Sex. Octavio Frontone, - - - .

Fronto was consul suffectus in 86. (Dipl. XIX = XIV, CIL 3 p. 857.) The inscription from Chersonesus makes it certain that he was governor of Moesia Inferior.<sup>64</sup> Diploma XXII had left the question as to whether he was a governor or merely the prefect of the fleet in some doubt,<sup>65</sup> though the fact that he had been consul in 86 might have seemed decisive, since the praefecti classium were of the equestrian rank. The Greek inscription may have been set up at the time of his departure from Moesia when his successor was named by Nerva. His administration began as early as 92, the date of the diploma.

60

**Q. Pomponius Rufus**

99

Dipl. XXXI, 3 p. 1971 Imp. Caesar divi Nervae f. Nerva Traianus Augustus Germanicus pontifex maximus, tribunic. potestat. III, cos. II, p. p.,

<sup>64</sup> See 4. This inference is based on the supposition that Moesia had already been divided.

<sup>65</sup> Cf. Mommsen, CIL 3 p. 909, praeses nisi est praefectus classis, and p. 910, praefectus nisi est legatus provinciae. Later in CIL 3 p. 2018 he explains the name following sub in this diploma as nomen praefecti, but on p. 2020 he lists him as praeses and on p. 2023 omits his name from the list of praefecti classium. Fiebiger, P-W 3 p. 2648 names him as prefect of the fleet. This confusion seems to have arisen from the fact that most of our diplomata referring to fleets are concerned with the fleets at Misenum and Ravenna, and name the praefectus classis, preceded by the preposition sub. But these fleets of Italy were not subject to any provincial governor. There are only seven diplomata known that are concerned with provincial fleets. Six of these (Dipl. XXX, XXXIII, XXXVI, LIX, CVIII, and the one under discussion, XXII) do not mention the praefectus classis and do name the provincial governor. (The name has been lost in dipl. OVIII.) One of them, dipl. XVIII, the earliest, names the praefectus classis after naming the governor, "sub C. Septimio Vegeto et Claudio Clemente praefecto classis." In another, dipl. XXV, where classicis seems to be a correct restoration, only the provincial governor is named. A provincial fleet formed a unit in the military forces of a province, just as a legion, a cohort, or an ala, and over this entire force the governor was commander. It would be surprising rather than natural to find the name of the praefectus classis in a diploma in the position occupied by the name of Fronto in this diploma, when the names of legati legionum, and praefecti cohortium et alarum are not so found.

equitibus et peditibus qui militant in - - - et sunt in Moesia Inferiore sub Q. Pomponio Rufo - - - . A. d. XVIII K. Septembr. Q. Fabio Barbaro, A. Caecilio Faustino, cos.

8.13 (Leptis) Q. Pomponius [Q. f. R]ufus cos., pont., so[dalis . . . . , leg. Aug.] pro pr. provinc[iae M]oesiae, Dalmati[ae . . . .

Dipl. XXXI and XXX = XX. CIL 3 p. 863 show him to have been governor of Moesia Inferior Aug. 14, 99.

61

**M'. Laberius Maximus**

**Circa 100—102**

Plin. ad Traj. 74.1 Appuleius - - - scripsit mihi quendam nomine Callidromum - - - 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 pervenisse.

Dipl. XXXII = dipl. XXI 3 p. 864 - - . A. d. XIII K. Febr. M'. Laberio Maximo II Q. Atilio Agricola II cos.

6.854 Imp. Caesare Nerv[*a* Traiano Aug.] Germanico [Dacico II] M. Laberi[o Maximo II cos.]

Dio 68.9.4 - - - - ὁ Μάξιμος ἐν τῷ αὐτῷ χρόνῳ τὴν τε ἀδελφὴν αὐτοῦ (sc. Δεκεβάλου) καὶ χωρὶον τι ἰσχυρὸν εἶλεν, - - - .

Borghesi, Op. 3 p. 70 f., infers that Maximus was governor of Moesia during the first Dacian war of Trajan. This seems very probable from all the evidence. He was cos. II in 103<sup>86</sup> first with the Emperor and later with Q. Glitius Atilius Agricola, who was also holding his second consulship. Agricola had won laurels in this war as governor of Pannonia in 100-102.<sup>87</sup> The high honor of a second consulship seems to have been bestowed on both these men this year in recognition of their achievements in the same campaigns. The probable date of the administration of Maximus in Moesia Inferior is 100-102, during which the preparation for the war and the principal campaigns were made.

The praenomen is from the diploma. It is given also in the apparatus to 6.854 as a variant reading for M., though not there printed in the inscription by the editor.

<sup>86</sup> 6.854 is incorrectly dated a. 104 in CIL.

<sup>87</sup> 5.6974-6980. Ritterling, Die Statthalter der pannonischen Provinzen, AEM 20 (1897) p. 14.

62

**[Fa]bius Postuminus****102/103**

3.14451 (Tomi) . . . . Nervae f. Nerv . . . . pot. VII, imp. IIII, c[os.]  
 . . . . [Fa]bio Postumino [leg. Aug. pr. pr. . . . . ]

This restoration is fairly certain. Postuminus is known as a consular or an ex-praetor, a. 97, from Pliny, Epist. 9.13, and as a proconsul of Asia from coins.<sup>88</sup>

63

**L. Licinius Sura \***

For text and discussion see 31.

64

**A. Caecilius Faustinus****105**

Dipl. XXXIII, 3 p. 1972 = XXII, 3 p. 865 Imp. Caesar divi Nervae f. Nerva Traianus Augustus Germanicus Dacicus pontifex maximus, tribunici potestat. VIII, imp. IV, cos. V, p. p., equitibus et peditibus qui militant in ---- et sunt in Moesia Inferiore sub A. Caecilio Faustino ----- A. d. III Idus Mai C. Iulio Basso Cn. Aeranio Dextro cos.

The date of this diploma is May 13, 105.

65

**P. Calpurnius Macer Caulius Rufus****112**

3.777 (Troesmis) Imp. Caes. divi fil. Nervae Traiano Aug. Germ. Dacico pont. max., trib. pot. XVI, imp. VI, cos. V[I], p. p., P. Calpurnio Macro Caulio Rufo, leg. Aug. pro pr.

Dipl. XXXVIII, 3 p. 1974 is probably to be restored - - - - et sunt [in Moesia Inf]eriere sub P. Ca[lpurnio Macr]o - - - -

The inscription shows him to have been in Moesia in 112.

66 **Q. Roscius Sex.f. Quir. Coelius Murena Silius Decianus****Vibullus Pius Iulius Eurycles Herclanus****Pompeius Falco.****116—117**

3.12470 (Tropaeum Traiani) [Imp. Caes. divi Nervae f.] Ner[vae Traiano Op]t. Aug. Germ. Dac. Parthic. [pont. max., trib. p]ot. XX, imp. XII, cos. VI, p. p., [Tra]ianenses Tropaeenses [Q. R]oscio Murena Coelio Pompeio Falcone, leg. Aug. pr. [pr.]

<sup>88</sup> Waddington, *Fastes*, no. 115.

3.7537 (Alakapu) Imp. Caesari divi Nervae f. Nervae Traiano Optimo Aug. Ger. Dac. Parth. pont. max., trib. pot. [X]XI, imp. XII, cos. VI, p. p., respublica Tomit. Q. Roscio Murena Coelio Po[mp.] Falcone, leg. Aug. pr. pr.

10.6321 (Tarracina) Q. Roscio Sex. f., Quir. Coelio Murenae Silio Deciano Vibullo Pio Iulio Eurycli Herclano Pompeio Falconi cos., XVvir s. f., procos. provinc. Asiae, leg. pr. pr. imp. Caes. Traiani Hadriani Aug. provinc. Britanniae, leg. pr. pr. imp. Caes. Nervae Traiani Aug. Germanici Dacici provinc. Moesiae Inferior., curator viae Traianae et leg. Aug. pr. pr. provinc. Iudaeae et leg. X. Fret., leg. pr. pr. prov. Lyciae et Pamphyliae, leg. leg. V Macedonic., [in bello Dacico donis militari]bus donato . . .

3.12117 (Budrum) Q. Roscio Sex. f. Qui. Coelio Pompeio Falconi decemviro stlitibus iudicandis, trib. mil. leg. X Fret., quaestori, trib. pleb., pr. inter cives et peregrinos, leg. Aug. leg. V. Maced., leg. Aug. pr. pr. provin. Lyciae et Pamphyliae, leg. Aug. leg. X Fret. et leg. pr. pr. provinciae Iudaeae consularis,<sup>99</sup> XVviro sacris faciundis, curator viae Traianae, leg. Aug. pr. pr. prov. Moes. Inf., Πομπείων Φάλκωνα Δῶλος Λαβέριος Καμερίνος καὶ Λαβέριος Καμερίνος υἱὸς αὐτοῦ ἑκατοντάρχης λεγ. Ε Μακεδονικῆς, τὸν ἴδιον φίλον καὶ ἐεργέτην ἐκ τοῦ ἰδίου τεύμης ἐνεκεν.

3.12470 is dated Dec. 10, 115/ Dec. 10, 116. His term may have begun before that time, and probably did, since he seems to have been governor of Judaea by 107, and the curatorship of via Traiana and possibly the consulship (See note 89.) are the only offices that intervened between his administration of Judaea and of Moesia Inferior. Since in 10.6321 he is styled legatus of Trajan in Moesia Inferior and legatus of Hadrian in his next province, his successor in Moesia probably was appointed at the beginning of Hadrian's reign.

67

- - - - [A?]rtorius

120

3.12493 and 3.7539 (Tomi) [Imp. Caesari divi Traiani Pa]rthici [fil. divi Nervae nepot]i Tr[ai]ano Hadria[no Aug. pont. max., trib.] pot. IIII, cos. [I]II, respublica Tomita[norum dedicante . . . rto]rio, leg. Aug. pr. pr.

[Ἀντοκρ. Καίς., θεοῦ Τραιανοῦ] Παρθικοῦ υἱῶ, θεοῦ [Νεροῦα υἱωνῶ, Ἄδριανῶ Σεβαστῶ], ἀρχιερεὶ μεγίστῳ, δη[μαρχικ. ἐξους. τὸ . . , ὑπατῶ τὸ . . , ἡ βουλή δήμος Τομεϊτων. . . [Ἀ]ρτώριος πρεσβευτῆς τοῦ [Σεβαστοῦ καὶ ἀντιστρα]τηγὸς καθιερώσεν.

The Latin part of this inscription (3.7539.) is republished as 3.12493,<sup>99</sup> its readings being supplemented by the help of an additional fragment. I

<sup>99</sup> The word consularis in this inscription is puzzling. There was no Judaea consularis. The legates of Judaea were regularly of the praetorian rank. If we suppose that by exception Falco was sent to Judaea as a consular, we find him strangely filling next another praetorian office as curator viae Traianae.

<sup>99</sup> The reference in CIL is to 7359 by mistake.

have given the Latin part from 3.12493 and the Greek part from 3.7539. It is republished in IGR 1.606.

The date is fixed as 120 by the tribunicial number, from the newer portion of the Latin part of the inscription.

68      **Sex. Minicius Faustinus [C.?] Iulius C.f. Serg.  
Severus**      128/131

3.2830 Cf. 3 p. 1059, 3.9891. (Kistagne, Dalmatia) [Sex.] Minicio Faustino [C.?] I[ulio] C.? f[il]. Serg. Severo [V. C. se]v[iro] turmae V Eq. [R., I]IIIviro viarum curandarum, XVviro s. f., trib. mil. leg. [X]III (or XIII) Geminae, quaestor. provinciae Macedoniae candidato divi Trai. Partici, trib. pleb. candidato eiusdem, praetor, leg. leg. XIII Geminae, leg. pr. pr. imp. Traiani Hadriani Aug. provinciae Daciae, cos., leg. pr. pr. provinciae Moesiae Inferioris, leg. pr. pr. provinciae Britanniae, leg. pr. pr. provinciae Iudaeae, leg. pr. pr. provinciae Suriae. Huic [senatus] auctore [imp. Tra]jiano Hadriano Aug. ornamenta triumphalia decrevit ob res in Iudea prospere gestas. d. d.

Iulius Severus was consul suffectus Oct. 11, 127 (See dipl. XLIV = XXXI, 3 p. 874.), and is probably identical with this governor. Dio 69.13, speaking of the war in Judea, a. 130-134 (Cf. Schulz, *Leben des Kaisers Hadrian*, p. 82 f., with Anm. 235.), and apparently under the year 133, says:

*τότε δὴ τότε τοὺς κρατίστους τῶν στρατηγῶν ὁ Ἀδριανὸς ἐπ' αὐτοὺς ἐπέμψεν, ὧν πρῶτος Ἰούλιος Σεουήρος ὑπήρχεν, ἀπὸ Βρεττανίας ἧς ἦρχεν ἐπὶ τοῖς Ἰουδαίοις σταθελίς.*

His administration of Moesia Inferior, falling between his consulship and his administration of Britain, belongs within the years 128/131.

69      **L. Minicius L.f. Gal. Natalis Quadronius<sup>21</sup> Verus**      128/133

14.3599 (Tibur) L. Minicio L. f. Gal. Natali Quadronio Vero. cos., procos. prov. Africae, auguri, leg. Aug. pr. pr. provinciae Moesiae Infer., curator operum publicorum et aedium sacrar., curat. viae Flamin., praef. alimentor., leg. Aug. leg. VI Victr. in Britannia, praetori, trib. pleb. candidato, quaestori candidato divi Hadriani et eodem tempore legato prov. Afric. dioeceseos Carthaginien. proconsulis patris sui, trib. mil. leg. I Adiut. P. F., item leg. XI CL. P. F., item leg. Gemin. Martiae Victric., IIIviro monetali a. a. a. f. f., patrono municipii, curat. fani Herc., - - -

<sup>21</sup> The cognomen Quadronius was probably assumed in honor of Q. Licinius Silvanus Gravianus Quadronius Proculus, his father's colleague in the consulship.



8.4643 (Thagora) [Imp. Caes. T. Aelio] Hadriano [Antonino] Aug. Pio [pont. max., trib. pot. II, [cos. II, des. III], d. d., p. p., [L. Quadronius] Minicius [Natalis Verus] procos., dedic.<sup>22</sup>

From the second inscription he is known to have been proconsul of Africa in 139. His father was consul in 106<sup>23</sup> and held the proconsulship of Africa, therefore, not far from 118, which would, therefore, be the date of the son's quaestorship. (14.3599, 2.4509, 4510, 4511.) Both these facts point to about 127/130 as the date of our governor's consulship. (Cf. Borghesi, *Op.* 8 pp. 46 ff.) His administration of Moesia, therefore, probably immediately preceded or followed that of Julius Severus (see the preceding governor) and certainly came before 139.

70

Sex. Iulius Maior

134

Dipl. XLVIII, 3 p. 1979 = XXXIV, 3 p. 877 Imp. Caesar divi Traiani Parthici f. divi Nervae nepos Traianus Hadrianus Aug. pont. max., trib. potest. XVIII, cos. III, p. p., equitibus et peditibus qui militaverunt in - - - et sunt in Moesia Inferior. sub Iulio Maiore - - - . A. d. IIII Non. Apr., T. Vibio Varo T. Haterio Nepote cos.

8.10296 (Near Constantina, Numidia) Ex auctoritate imp. Caesaris Traiani Hadrian. Aug. pontes viae novae Rusicadensis r. p. Cirtensium sua pecunia fecit Sex. Iulio Maiore leg. Aug. leg. III Aug. pr. pr.

The praenomen is known from the Numidian inscription. From the diploma we learn that he was governor of Moesia Inferior April 2, 134.

<sup>22</sup> Other inscriptions of this governor are 2.4509, 4510, 4511, 8.4643, 14.3554, 3599, 11.2925; IG 14.1125 = CIG 5977, IG 7.89. A few other fragmentary inscriptions add nothing to our knowledge of him. Ritterling *JOI* 10 (1907) pp. 307 ff.) seems to be right also in correcting the restoration of the inscription from Callatis given in *AEM* 19 (1896) p. 108, n. 63 = IGR 1.653 and referring it to this governor. The order of the three military tribunships is, however, the reverse of what we should expect. The use of the cognomen *Νεκρήφορος* of the fourteenth legion without the other titles seems to be justified by IG 7.89, though I have not observed a parallel in a Latin inscription.

<sup>23</sup> The date of this consulship is shown by 6.2016, and is wrongly given as 107 in 2.4509, 10.5670, and 8.4676; also in CIG 5977, an inscription of the son there incorrectly assigned to the father. IG 14.1125 re-edits this inscription without mentioning CIG in the list of previous editions of it.

3.14422<sup>1</sup> (Jajdzi) Ex auctoritate imp. Caesaris divi Traiani Parthici filii divi Nervae nepotis Traiani Hadriani Aug. p. p. pontifici maximo, tribuniciae potest. XX, cos. III, Ant[ius]<sup>84</sup> Rufinus inter Moesos et Thracas fines posuit.

3.749 (Cf. 3 pp. 992, 1338) and 3.12407 are other occurrences of the same inscription.

These boundary stones inter Moesos et Thracas were set up by Antius Rufinus in 136 under a special commission from the emperor. Perhaps trouble over jurisdiction had arisen through the aggressiveness of the thriving Thracian municipium of Nicopolis ad Istrum, now about thirty years old, which with its territorium was transferred a half century later from the authority of the governor of Thrace to that of the governor of Moesia Inferior. We are not told in what capacity Antius Rufinus was acting. It has been generally considered that he was a governor of Moesia Inferior.<sup>85</sup> More can not be asserted, however, than that he may have been. It seems a little remarkable, if the boundaries were in dispute, that the decision should have been left to the governor of either province.<sup>86</sup> If left to either governor, it would naturally have been to the Moesian governor, who had the more important command and was an ex-consul, while his neighbor was only an ex-praetor. But Rufinus may have been a special commissioner, and not the governor of either province.<sup>87</sup>

IGR 1.609 (Tomi) (a) [Ἀὐτοκράτορι Τίτῳ Ἀδελῷ] Ἀδριανῷ Ἀπρωλείῳ Ἐὐσεβεί Σεβαστῷ καὶ [Μάρκῳ Ἀθήλῳ] Ἰφ Κ[αίσαρι] . . . .

(b) [Φ]ουφικῶν Κοι[νῶν] . . . .

<sup>84</sup> The restoration of the nomen Ant[ius] is made certain by the other stones bearing the same inscription. The praenomen Marcus, given by v. Prem. p. 189 and with an indication of doubt by Klebs in P-W 1 p. 1265 (not in Pros. A 621), seems to have no foundation other than a guess in the restoration of 3.749, and is clearly not used in the later copies of the inscription, 3 p. 992 and 3. 14422<sup>1</sup>. The dative pontifici maximo of 3.749 is corrected to the genitive in the later reading 3 p. 992, but occurs also in 3.12407 and 14422<sup>1</sup>.

<sup>85</sup> Mommsen, CIL 3.749, thought the name might have been Antoninus Rufinus, whom he identified with the consul of that name of a. 131, and on the basis of his having held the consulship thought that he was a governor of Moesia Inferior. The more recently discovered copies of the inscription have shown this identification to be wrong. Klebs accepts him as a governor of Moesia Inferior, but without discussion.

<sup>86</sup> In 12.113, referred to by v. Prem. p. 189, the governor of Germania Superior, ex auctoritate imp. Caes. Vespasiani, marks the boundaries inter Viennenses et Ceutrones, neither of which was in his province.

<sup>87</sup> Cf. l'annee epig. 1894 n. 65 (Henschir-es-Souar) ex auct. imp. Vespasiani Aug. p. p. fines [provinciae] novae et veteris directi qua fossa afit per Rutiliu[m] Gallicum cos. pon[t. et] Sentium Caecilianum praetore[m] legatos Aug. . . . . Here we seem to have special commissioners, an ex-consul and an ex-praetor, to mark the boundaries between the old and the new province. That Gallicus was not the proconsul of Africa at this time seems to be sufficiently indicated by the word legatos.

These are two of several fragments apparently of the same inscription. The restoration given is that proposed by Tocilescu. As Fuficius Quintianus is otherwise unknown, Cagnat proposes with much more probability the restoration *κο[ρνούτου]*. Fuficius Cornutus is known from dipl. LIX, 3 p. 1984, dated between 138 and 146<sup>88</sup> by peculiarities in its formulas. He was at this time governor of Pannonia. This date agrees with that of our inscription.<sup>89</sup>

73

**T. Pomponius Proculus Vitrasius Pollio**

**139/151**

6.1540 [T. Vitrasio. . . . f. Pollioni cos. II, . . . . Aug]ustorum comit[i M. Antonini et L. Ver]i Augg. expeditio[nis . . . . Germ]anicae, item comiti [M. Antonini et Com]modi Augg. expedit[ionis Germanicae Sar]maticae bis donis m[ilitaribus donato cor]onis muralibu[s II vallar. II aur. II] has[itis puris IIII, vexillis IIII, procos. Asiae, . . . . leg. Aug. pr. pr. Moesiae Inf., . . . . leg. Aug. leg. . . . . pontif., s]odali Antonin[iano, praef. alimento]rum, praetori, qu[ae]stori, IIIviro monetal]i a. a. a. f. f., - - - -

3.14214<sup>1</sup> (Tropaeum Traiani) I. O. M., Her. In., Cer., Lib. Patr., pro sal. imp. Caes. T. Ael. Hadr. Ant. Aug. Pi et Aur. Ces., libero. eo., T. Vitrasio Pollioni leg. Aug. pr. pr., M. Stabius M. f. fil. Fab. Colonus, d. Luca, trib. mil. leg. XI Cl. d. d.

3.7420 (Almus) Herculi, pro salute T. Vitrasi Pollion. leg. Aug. pr. pr. L. Messius Primus, (centurio) leg. I Ital. fr.

2.5679 (Leg. VII G. P. F., Conventus Asturum.) Nymphis. T. Pomponius Proculus Vitrasius Pollio cos., pontif., pro cos. Asiae, leg. Aug. pr. pr. provinciar. Moesiae Inf. et Hisp. Citer., - - - -

3.762 (Odessus) Imp. Caesare T. Aelio Hadriano Antonino Aug. Pio, p. m., p. p., civitas Odessitanorum aquam novo ductu adduxit, curante T. Vitrasio Pollione, leg. Aug. pr. pr.

Ἀγαθῆι Τυχῆι, Ἀποκράτορι Καίσαρι Τίτῳ Ἀδλίῳ Ἀδριάνῳ Ἀντων[εῖῳ Σεβαστῶι] Ἐδσεβεί, ἀρχιερεῖ μεγίστῳ, πατρὶ πατρίδος, ἡ πόλις Ὀδησσι]τῶν καινῶ ὀλεῶ τὸ ὕδωρ ἰσῆγαγεν προρουμέ[νου Τίτου Βι]τρασίου Πολλίωνος, πρεσβευτοῦ καὶ ἀντιστρατ[ήγου].

IGR 1.663 (Dionysopolis) Ἀ. Τ. [Οὐτρ]άσιον Πολλίωνα, πρεσβυτὴν καὶ ἀντιστράτηγον Σεβαστοῦ Καίσαρος, ἐβεργέτην βουλὴ δῆμος Διονυσοπολιτῶν.

His full name is given only in 2.5679. He was governor of Moesia Inferior under Antoninus Pius (3.14214<sup>1</sup>, 762), after M. Aurelius became a Caesar (3.14214<sup>1</sup> and others). It was probably in the early part of the reign since he became proconsul of Asia in 152 (Waddington, *Fastes*, no. 142), consequently his consulship should have fallen in the early years of Antoninus.

<sup>88</sup> IGR, 1. c., gives a. 148, apparently overlooking dipl. LVII, 3 p. 1928.

<sup>89</sup> 9.6078.91 is also of a Fuficius Cornutus.

- 15.960 L. Annio Largo C. Prast. Pacat. cos. - - - -  
 9.4957 Dedic. V L (Sic)—Kal. Mai L. Annio Largo C. Prastina Messalino cos. - - - -  
 3.7529 (Tomi) Genio loci. C. Prastina Messalinus, leg. Aug. pr. pr.

Comparison of 15.960 and 9.4957 gives us the full name Tocilescu, AEM 8 (1884) pp. 5-6, editing this inscription, says, "Unser C. Prastina Messalinus ist nach der Buchstabenform ohne Zweifel der Statthalter von Numidien aus dem Jahre 144-146. - - - - An Prastina Messalinus, den Statthalter von Moesia Inferior unter Kaiser Philip ist wegen der schönen Schrift keineswegs zu denken." V. Domaszewski, CIL, I. c., approves this statement. Prastina was consul in 147, hence his administration of Moesia Inferior was later than 147.

- 3.13727 (Razgrad) [Imp. Caesari,<sup>101</sup> div]i Hadriani f., divi [Traiani Parthici nep., divi Nervae pronepoti, T. Ae]l. Hadriano Anto[nino Aug. Pio p]er Iulium Crass[um, leg. Aug. pr. pr. coh. . . . .] fecit, cui prae[est . . . .] Janus.

There is no reasonable doubt that leg. Aug. pr. pr. stood in this inscription as restored. The inscription belongs in the reign of Antoninus Pius, and perhaps can not be dated more exactly.

- 3.7474 (Viminacium) I. O. M. pro salute imp. Caes. T. Aeli Hadriani Antonini Aug. Pii et Veri Caes. - - - - . Dedicatum est per Tib. Cl. Saturninum leg. Aug. pr. pr. Tib. Cl. Iuliano leg. Aug.

It is known from dipl. LXX, 3 p. 1990 that Tib. Claudius Iulianus was consul with Calpurnius Agricola in some year between 145 and 161. Our inscription, in which he appears as leg. leg., is

<sup>100</sup> Not in Prosopographia.

<sup>101</sup> Incorrectly restored Caesar, in CIL.

therefore earlier than 161. Verus became Caesar Jan. 1, 139. The date of this inscription is, therefore, within the period 139/160.<sup>102</sup>

77

**M. Pontius Laelianus C. V. 145/147 or after 149**

3.6182 = 774 (Troesmis) M. Pontio Laeliano C. V., patri Pont. Laeliani, leg. Aug. pr. pr., ordo Troesm.

Dipl. LX, 3 p. 1985 Imp. Caes. divi Hadr. f. divi Traian. Part. nep. divi Nerv. pronepos T. Aelius Hadrianus Antoninus Aug. Pius pont. max., tr. pot. XI, imp. II, cos. IIII, p. p. equitib. et peditib. qui militaver. in - - - et sunt in Pann. Super. sub Pontio Laeliano - - - . A. d. VII Id. Oct. C. Fabio Agrippino M. Antonio Zeno cos. - - -

Cf. also the following: 6.1497 M. Pontio M. f. Pup. Laeliano Larcio Sabino cos., pontifici, sodali Antoniniano Veriano, fetiali, leg. Aug. pr. pr. prov. Syriae, leg. Aug. pr. pr. prov. Pannon. Super., leg. Aug. pr. pr. Pannon. Infer., comiti divi Veri Aug., donato donis militarib. bello Armeniaco et Parthico ab imp. Antonino Aug. et a divo Vero Aug., [coron.] mu[rali vallari clas]sica aur[ea] . . . .

We have in these inscriptions two Laeliani, father and son. The father was governor of Moesia Inferior,<sup>103</sup> and of Pannonia Superior in 148-149.<sup>104</sup> The son's cursus is given in 6.1497. The son was consul in 163, with A. Iunius Pastor<sup>105</sup> (Klein), the father in 144/147

<sup>102</sup> Attempts to date this and allied inscriptions more closely have been unsuccessful. Borghesi (Fasti) thought 158 probable for the date of the consulship of Iulianus and Agricola, but he has not been followed in this by later writers. In P-W 3 p. 2727 n. 194 v. Rohden dates our inscription not later than 148 because of form of the expression "et Veri Caesar." But Verus is referred to by the simple title of Caesar later than 146, as is shown not only by the exception which v. Rohden himself notes in P-W 1 p. 2284, but also by 3.7466, and especially by 3.8110, almost certainly of the year 160 (see § 35), where the formula is identical with the one used in our inscription. I am inclined to regard as correct the suggestion of Klein that the Claudius Iulianus leg. Aug. pro prae. of Germania Inferior a. 160 (Des. 2907) is the Ti Claudius Iulianus of our inscription. If this suggestion is correct, the limits of our date are narrowed by at least one year. CIL, I. c., and P-W 3 p. 2866, n. 334 give the date 139/161.

<sup>103</sup> The reading leg(ati) in 3.6182, suggested in Pros. P 569, would make the son the governor of Moesia. It would certainly be remarkable for the capital city of a province to set up a tablet in honor of the father of its governor, and for no other stated reason than that he was the father of the governor. V. Domaszewski's suggestion in Rh. Mus. 45 (1890) p. 206, n. 2, that the inscription was not set up until the son had become a leading man in the state under Marcus accounts much better for the mention of both in the inscription. See note 105 below.

<sup>104</sup> Dipl. LX, 3 p. 1985 (a. 148); dipl. LXI, 3 p. 1986 (a. 149).

<sup>105</sup> Renier, Comptes rendus, 1864, p. 197 f. doubts this, and identifies the Laelianus of 6.1497 with the governor of Moesia in 3.6182. (See note 103 above.) V. Domaszewski, discussing this in the article above referred to, points out that the year 163 for his consulship agrees much better with his cursus as given in 6.1497. In addition to the references given in Klein, a. 163, we may note also the following:

IG 4.1584 - - - [τῶν Αὐ]γοστόων. Ἐπίδοτος Μάρκῳ Ποντίῳ Λαί[λιανῶ], Ἀδελφῶν Ἰουνίῳ Πάστορι κατὰ Ἐπιδαυρίους, [ἔτους τεσσαρακοστοῦ] τῆς θεοῦ Ἀδριανοῦ τὸ πρῶτον εἰς τὴν Ἑλλάδα ἐπιδημίας μὴρὸς] δεκάτου τρισκαίδεκάτη, - - - a letter from the emperors

with Q. Mustius Priscus. His administration of Moesia may have been in 145/147, or after 149. The latter is more probable as the later date is more consistent with the setting up of the stone in his honor in 163/166, or a short time thereafter.

78                    **T. Flavius Pal. Longinus Q. Marcius Turbo**                    155

3.7449 (Kutlovica) . . . . Longini leg. Aug. pr. pr., vexillat. leg. XI Cl., sub cura Fl. Maximi (centurionis) leg. eiusdem, Severo et Sabiniano (beneficiarius) cos. Ulpium cos. Alexander - - - -

3.7542 = 3.767 (Near Tomi) T. Flavio Longino Q. Marcio Turboni leg. Aug. pr. pr., Titius Crispus, cornicul. eius.

IGR 1.622 (Tomi) T. A. Ἁ βουλὰ καὶ ὁ δᾶμος τᾶς θεοκτίστου Ἡρακλείας ἐπέμισαν τὸν ἐαυτᾶς πᾶτρωνα καὶ εὐεργέταν Τ. Φλ. Παλατεῖρα Δογγῖνον Κ. Μάρκιον Τοῦρβωνα, ἑπατον, πρεσβ. Σεβ. καὶ ἀ[ντιστράτηγον ἐ]παρχείας Μυσίας τῆς κ[άτω], - - -

The year of his consulship is unknown. His full name is given by the second and third inscriptions above, the tribe by the third. The year 155 is determined by the consuls in the first inscription.

79                    **L. Iulius Statilius Severus<sup>108</sup>**                    **Soon after 155, in 159?**

3.12371 (Kutlovica) Dianae Reginae et Apollini pro salute L. Iu[li] Statilii Severi leg. Aug. pr. pr., et liberorum eius. Aelius Artemidorus, (centurio) leg. [I] Ital., r.

The only L. Iulius Severus known is the consul of Dec. 11, 155, known from the acta arv., 6.2086.1.62. V. Domaszewski, in a note on 3.12371, thinks that this governor is not the same as T. Statilius Iulius Severus, governor of Moesia Inferior in 159. (See 3.12513, and next governor below). Neither of the inscriptions, however,

Marcus and Verus to the consuls. The restorations in this inscription are based on IG 4.1406, showing Hadrian's presence in Greece between December 10, 123 and December 10, 124 (Sept. 124, Weber), and are so probable as to add support to the other evidence for 163 as the date of the consulship of Laelianus and Pastor. 6.24162 D. M. Phoebus - - - - natus - - - - C. Bellicio Torquato Ti. Claudio Attico Herode cos., defunctus - - - - Q. Mustio Prisco M. Pontio Laeliano cos. shows a Pontius Laelianus consul with a different colleague. Phoebus was born in 143, the consulship of Priscus and Laelianus was therefore later than that. Since the Laelianus who was governor of Pannonia Superior in 148 must have been consul before that time, it is probable that he was the colleague of Priscus and that their consulship fell within the period 144/147. The fact that the consulship of the father and son are thus nearer together than twenty years is easily accounted for by the fact that the father's influence with the emperors and the son's evident ability won a rapid promotion for the younger man. Cf. § 90.

<sup>108</sup> Pros. I 382, treating this man, has two incorrect references to CIL.

has been read by more than one person, and it may yet be found that they refer to the same man. The dates of their legateship in Moesia Inferior come as near to coinciding as do their names.

This may be the Iulius Severus of 3.7505. If he was consul Dec. 11, 155, and governor of Moesia Inferior in or about 159, he may well have been in Syria during the Parthian war of Verus.<sup>107</sup>

80

**T. Statilius Iulius Severus**

159

3.12513 (Kassabkiöi) Imp. Caes. divi Hadr. fil. Trai. nep. T. Ael. Hadr. Ant. Aug. Pius p. m., tr. pot. XXII, cos. IIII, p. p., T. Statilio Iul. Sever., leg. Aug. pr. pr., m. p. XVIII.

See the preceding governor. Tocilescu, AEM 14 (1891), p. 21, editing this inscription says: "T. Statilius Severus, der hier zum ersten Male als Statthalter von Moesia Inferior erscheint, ist sicher der Consul des Jahres 171 n. Chr." The governor of Moesia must have been consul before 159, the date of this inscription, and the consul of 171 is nowhere referred to as cos. II. It seems therefore not unreasonable to doubt their identity.

81

**C. Zeno \***

A coin of Antoninus Pius struck in Nicopolis ad Istrum and bearing the name of C. Zeno as governor of the province led Liebenam (Lieb. p. 281) to regard him as a governor of Moesia Inferior. But in the time of Antoninus Pius Nicopolis ad Istrum belonged to Thrace, and Zeno was governor of Thrace and not of Moesia Inferior. See 138.

82

**M. Servilius Q.f. Hor. Fabianus Maximus**

162

3.12385 (Gromsin) I. O. M. pro salute imp. Caes. M. Aureli Antonini Aug. et imp. Caes. L. Aureli Veri Aug. M. Servilius Fabianus leg. Aug. pr. pr. templum vetustate corruptum a solo per reg. Mont. restituit.

3.12514 (Kassabkiöi) Imp. Caesar M. Aurelius Antoninus Aug. pontifex maximus, trib. potestat. X[VI], cos. III, et imp. Caesar Lu. Aurelius Verus

<sup>107</sup> Another Iulius Severus, with the praenomen Gaius was a consul ordinarius of 155. Of him we know nothing further and it is suggested in 3.7505 n. that he may be the Iulius Severus of that inscription.

Aug. trib. potestat. II, cos. II, divi filii Pii, divi Hadriani nepotes, divi Nervae abnepotes, M. Servilius Fabianus Maximus leg. Aug. pr. pr., m. p. XVIII.

Fabianus Maximus was governing Moesia Inferior in 162 (3.12514). He was consul in 158 (Dipl. LXVII, 3 p. 1989). See § 38 for another inscription and further discussion concerning him.

83            **M. Iallius M.f. Volt. Bassus Fabius Valerianus**            165

3.6169 (Troesmis) Pro sal. imp. Ant. et Veri Aug., leg. V Mac., Ialli Bassi, leg. Aug. pr. pr., Marti Veri, leg. Aug., P. Ael. Quintianus, Magni fil., (centurio) leg. V M. - - -

12.2718 (Joyeuse, Gallia Narb.) M. Iallio M. f. Volt. Basso Fabio Valeriano cos., prae[f. aer. . . . leg. Aug. pr. pr.] provinc. Pannoniae Inferioris, curator oper. pu[bl., leg. Aug. pr. pr. prov.] Mysiae Inferior., comiti Augustorum Parthicae ex[peditionis?].

6.1119 b Locus adsignatus ab Iallio Basso et Commodo Orfitiano cur. oper. publ., C. V.; cur. M. Caecilio Athenaeo, M. Valerio Midia, L. Aelio Amphitale; dedic. XVIII k. Ian. Augustis n. Antonino III et Vero II cos.

Martius Verus, mentioned as leg. Aug. in 3.6169 at the time when Iallius Bassus was leg. Aug. pr. pr., was consul March 23, 166. (Dipl. LXXIII, 3 p. 1991; Orelli 4038.) As he would be leg. Aug. before being consul, 3.6169 is earlier than March 23, 166. 6.1119 b shows that Iallius Bassus was curator operum publicorum Dec. 14, 161. 12.2718 names him as comes Augg. Parthicae expeditionis. Verus returned from this expedition in 165, and it is likely that Iallius Bassus was sent at that time to be governor of Moesia Inferior. Cf. Jul. Cap. Verus, 7.8 Confecto sane bello, regna regibus, provincias vero comitibus suis regendas dedit. He may of course have been sent to Moesia earlier and probably remained later than 165.

84    **Antonius Hiberus**    **Before 201**

3.781 (Tyra) In a letter from Septimius and Caracalla to their procurator in regard to the immunity of the Tyrani are the words,—tamen quoniam divi Antonini parentis nostri litteras, sed et fratrum imperatorum cogitamus, item Antonii Hiberi grivissimi praesidis, - - - . This letter is embodied in a communication from the governor of the province to the people of Tyra, under date of



Feb. 17, 201. Antonius Hiberus was therefore earlier than that date. The fact that there is no mention here of a rescript of Commodus on the question shows that the immunity of the Tyrani was not in dispute during his reign. It is not likely that the question would be brought before the emperor for decision more than once in the same reign. It had not therefore been decided by Septimius earlier than the present instance in 201. The letter of the governor Antonius Hiberus would therefore most naturally have been written in connection with the case when it was being considered by Marcus Aurelius or by Marcus and Verus. Since rescripts both of Marcus and of Marcus and Verus are mentioned, the case may have been under consideration about the time of the death of Verus, and Antonius Hiberus may have been governing Moesia about 169. He may have been the son of the Antonius Hiberus who was consul in 133.

85 **P. Vigellius Raius Plarius Saturninus Atilius Braduanus**  
**Caucidius Tertullus** 168/175

3.6183 = 3.775 (Troesmis) P. Vigellio Raio Plario Saturnino Atilio Braduano Caucidio Tertullo leg. Aug. ordo Troesmen. ex decreto suo.

Acta Sanct. Scillit.,<sup>108</sup> init. Praesente bis et Claudiano consulibus XVI Kalendas Augustas, Kartagine . . . Saturninus dixit. . . .

Tertull. Ad Scap. 3 Vigellius Saturninus qui primus hic gladium in nos egit lumina amisit.

P. Vigellius Saturninus was proconsul of Africa July 17, 180. We may then with Dessau<sup>109</sup> place the date of his consulship circa a. 167. If he was leg. Aug. leg. V Mac. at the time of our inscription the date would then be a short time before 167, if leg. Aug. pr. pr. prov. Moes. Inf. it would be a little later than 167. Legio V Mac. was transferred from Moesia to Dacia probably in 167 or 168<sup>110</sup> and was absent from Moesia in whole or in major part with its legatus from 162/164 to 166.<sup>111</sup> Troesmis was at this period the residence of the leg. Aug. pr. pr. provinciae. In these circumstances we should believe that the subject of our inscription was the gov-

<sup>108</sup> From the text given in Robinson, *Texts and Studies*, Cambridge, 1898, vol. 1, p. 112.

<sup>109</sup> *Pros.* V 434.

<sup>110</sup> Filow pp. 77-78, H. v. d. W. pp. 37-44, v. Dom. in *Rh. Mus.* 48 (1898) p. 244.

<sup>111</sup> H. v. d. W. pp. 85-86, Filow pp. 74-76.

ernor of the province rather than that he was the *legatus legionis*. Inscriptions in honor of a *legatus legionis* by the *ordo* of the *municipium* where the legion had its quarters must be very rare. In a brief search I found no inscriptions of any *ordo civitatis* honoring a *legatus legionis*. Inscriptions set up by the *ordo* of the capital city of a province in honor of the governor of the province are common.<sup>112</sup> It is not inherently any more probable that, if such an inscription were set up, the last and distinctive part of the title *leg. Aug. leg. V Mac.* would be omitted than that the last part of the title *leg. Aug. pr. pr.* should be omitted. It ought to be even less likely when the *leg. Aug. leg.* was quartered in the capital city of the province when he would be outranked by the consular *leg. Aug.* In such a city any one seeing a stone set up to the *leg. Aug.* would think at once of the governor of the province. The more probable explanation of our inscription is that it was set up after the legion had been removed, when there was but one *leg. Aug.* left in *Troesmis*, the *leg. Aug. pr. pr. provinciae*.

His administration came after his consulship and probably before that of *Pertinax*; that is, within the period 168/175.

86 **P. Helvius Pertinax** 176/178

See *Moesia Superior* § 43.

87 **M. Macrinus Avitus M.f. Claud. Catonius Vindex** 175/179

For reference and discussion see under *Moesia Superior* § 44.

88 **M. Caecilius Servilianus \***

A coin of *Commodus* struck in *Nicopolis ad Istrum* and bearing the name of *M. Caecilius Servilianus* as governor of the province led *Liebenam* (*Lieb. p. 283*) to regard him as a governor of *Moesia Inferior*. But in the time of *Commodus* *Nicopolis ad Istrum* belonged to *Thrace*, and *Servilianus* was governor of *Thrace* and not of *Moesia Inferior*. Cf. 138.

<sup>112</sup> See 3.6177, 6182 for other instances in *Troesmia*.

Pick 1.544 f., coins of Marcianopolis. *Αύ. Κ. Α. Σεπ. Σευήρος Πε.* | 'U. Κ. Γεντιάου Μαρκιανοπολιτών.

Pick 1.1264 ff., coins of Nicopolis ad Istrum. *Αύ. Και. Α. Σεπ. Σευήρος Περ.* | 'Vπ. Κοσκ. Γεντιάου. Νικοπολι. πρὸς Ἴστρ.

This governor is known only from coins. Since no coins of other members of the royal family are found bearing his name, his date probably lies between the beginning of the reign a. 193 and a. 197, when Caracalla became Caesar and Imperator Destinatus, or a. 198, when Caracalla became Augustus and Geta Caesar.<sup>113</sup> (See Appendix.)

IGR 3.618 - - - [Πολληρία]ν Ὀνωράταν, ἐκγόνην Φλ. Λατρωνιαοῦ ὑπατικοῦ, πορτίφικος, ἐπάρχου Ῥώμης, καὶ Ἀθσπικος ὑπατικοῦ Βριτανίας, Μυσίας, Δακίας, ἐν χώρῃ Σεβαστοῦ δικάσαντος, προεκγόνην Ἀθσπικος ὑπατικοῦ, ἀνθυπάτου Ἀφρικῆς, ἐπάρχου ἀλειμέντων Ἀπίας καὶ Φλαμνίας τρίς, κινδεκεμύρου, ἐν χώρῃ Σεβαστῶν διαγνήντος, ὑπατικοῦ Δελματίας, θυγατέρα Τιβ. Πο[λληνίου] Ἀρμενίου Περεγρέινου . . .

Pick 1.543. *Αύ. Κ. Α. Σεπ. Σευήρος Πε.* | Μαρκιανοπολιτῶν ὑπ. Ἀθσπεκος.

Pick 1.1252 *Αύ. Και. Σεπ. Σευήρο[s Περ.]* | 'Vπα. Πολ. Ἀθσπικος Νικοπολιτω. πρὸς Ἴστρ. Similar are 1252-1263.

From the fact that no members of the royal household except Septimius appear on the coins of Auspex we may conclude that his administration came early in the reign, probably between 193 and 197 or 198. Coins of this governor and the preceding are found, of which one side is made from the same die. This is true both of coins of Nicopolis and of Marcianopolis. From this we may conclude with Pick, *Num. Zeitschr.* 23 (1891) p. 36, that one of these two governors followed the other immediately. We cannot, however, as he does in Pick 1 pp. 186, 198, 331, 357, without giving any reason for the order in which he there places them, say which was the earlier.

<sup>113</sup> The incorrect interpretation of the abbreviation of the nomen on the coins by Mionnet accounts for the incorrect form of this name, C. Cl. Gentianus, given in Lieb. p. 286.

<sup>114</sup> 6.32327 twice and 8.2748 give this name Pollienius, 6.2101, IGR 3.618 and 556 give it Pollenius. The grand-daughter's name is given as Pollenia. Pros. P 410, gives this governor the praenomen A(ulus). This is apparently due to a misinterpretation, or at least to an unsafe interpretation of the letter following ὑπ on the coins (Cf. Pick 1.1252 above), which usually belongs to the abbreviation for ὑπατεύοντος. Pick warns against this interpretation in *Num. Zeitschr.* 23 (1891) pp. 38 ff. Cf. n. 122. The son (or grandson) of this governor has the praenomen Tiberius. (IGR 3.556.)

In the inscription of Pollenia Honorata the senatorial offices held by two Auspexes, her grandfather and her great-grandfather, are given, and we get the impression that none has been intentionally omitted. Her grandfather is said to have governed Moesia. This is not said of her great-grandfather. The mention of the quindecemvirate and the plural of *Σεβαστῶν* make it practically certain that the great-grandfather is the same as the Pollenius Auspex of 6.32327, a fragment relating to the *ludi saeculares* Septimi of a. 204. If his son was the governor of Moesia in 193/198 it seems strange that his grandson, the father of Honorata, did not attain the consulship until 244 (See IGR 3.618, 556; CIL 6.413; 7.103;<sup>115</sup> Wilm. 1486.), thus throwing the consulships of father and son fifty years apart. This is however the best solution of the difficulties presented by our evidence. IGR, l. c., and Stein, AEM 19 (1896) pp. 148-149, make the great-grandfather the governor of Moesia, but this seems very unlikely since this position is not mentioned among his honors, while his governorship of Delmatia is mentioned, and the governorship of Moesia is given among the grandfather's honors. That the first of these Auspexes was of great influence with Severus is shown by his honors, by the fact that in the list of the quindecimvirs given in 6.32327 but one name separates him from that of the emperors, and by his having been able to shield his nephew from punishment for misconduct in his province (Dio 76.9.2-3). It is likely, therefore, that his son would attain the consulship at the earliest legal age, and that important commands would follow quickly. This is especially likely since the son's own career shows him to have been an able man. He seems to have governed Spain and Dacia before Moesia, though we need not necessarily assume a chronological order in an inscription written so long after the offices were held. His administration of Moesia may have been as late as 196 or 197. His consulship as *suffectus* may then have fallen in 193 or 194. If he was at this time only 33, his son may have been born a few years later, say 200/210. The influence of the family may have declined after the death of Septimius, its representative in the third generation may not have been as able or as ambitious as his fathers. We hear nothing of him from any source except as governor of Lycia and consul in the two inscriptions IGR 3.618, 556, and he may not have reached the consulship before the age of forty or forty-five. It therefore

<sup>115</sup> The date with this inscription is incorrectly given in CIL as a. 224.

seems to me that there is not sufficient reason for assuming, contrary to the authority of our inscription, that the great-grandfather was governor of Moesia in the early years of Severus.<sup>116</sup> But we do need to assume as late a date as possible for the administration of the younger Auspex in Moesia, and it is therefore better to place him after than before Gentianus.

91

### Iulius Castus \*

H. v. d. W. p. 298 gives Iulius Castus as governor of Moesia Inferior a. 198-199, referring to *L'Année Épig.* 1902, n. 116. This inscription is missing from the copy of *L'Année Épig.* to which I have access, but its date is there given as 184-185. C. Ovinus Tertullus is also given by H. v. d. W. as governor of Moesia Inferior a. 198-199. (See next governor.) It is well known that Iulius Castus was governor of Thrace under Commodus. In addition to the coins quoted in *Pros. I* 170 and Kalopothakes, *De Provincia Thracia*, p. 44, n. 22, in support of this, the inscription from Nikopolis ad Istrum given in *IGR* 1.573, belonging to the years 184-5, may be quoted (Cf. n. 138). I suspect that it is this inscription that has misled van de Weerd in assuming that this man was a governor of Moesia Inferior, and that he has taken the date 198-199 from *L'Année Épig.* 1902, n. 115.

92

### C. Ovinus Tertullus

198—201

3.14428 (Lometz) Imp. Caes. L. Septimo Severo Pio Pertinaci Aug. Arabico Adiabenico Parth. Max., pont. max., trib. p. VI, imp. XI, cos. II, p. p., pro consuli, dedicante C. Ovinio Tertullo, leg. Augg.<sup>117</sup> pr. pr., T. Aurelius Aquila, praef. Coh. II Matt., devotus numini eius, de suo posuit.

AEM 10 (1886) p. 243, n. 11<sup>118</sup> Ἀγαθῆ Τυχῆ. Ἰουλιανὸν Δόμναν Θεῶν Σεβ. μητέρα κάστρων, αὐτοκράτορος Λ. Σεπτιμίου Σεύηρου Περτρίνακος Σεβ., Εὐσεβοῦς,

<sup>116</sup> If Stein and *IGR* are correct in assuming that the great-grandfather of Honorata was the governor of Moesia in 198/198, we should then on the authority of this inscription assume that his son was also governor of the same province, probably under the sole rule of Caracalla. See § 102.

<sup>117</sup> The inscription is dedicated to one emperor, but in the title of the governor the plural of Augustus is used. The only inscription giving an earlier date than this one for Caracalla Augustus is 8.2465. 6.1062 and 11.3876a are others of the year 198.

<sup>118</sup> *IGR* 1.575 edits this inscription from Dobrusky, *Materiaux d'archéologie en Bulgarie* 5 (1901), to which I have not access at the time of writing this note. It seems to be from the same original as this inscription though a slight variation, not affecting the sense, is reported as to the condition of the stone in ll. 9 and 10. *IGR* 1.576 is from another stone bearing the same inscription.

Παρθικοῦ, Βρεταννικοῦ,<sup>119</sup> Ἀραβικοῦ, Ἀδιαβηνικοῦ, ἀρχιερέως μεγίστου, δημαρχικῆς ἐξουσίας τὸ Σ', αὐτοκράτορας τὸ ια', ὑπάτου τὸ η', πατρὸς πατριδος, γυναῖκα, κ(αι) αὐτοκράτορας Καίσαρος Μάρκου Αἰρηλ. Ἀντωνίνου Σεβ. κ(αι) [Λ. Σεπτιμίου Γέτα Καίσαρος] μητέρα, ὑπατεύοντος τῆς ἐπαρχείας Γ. Ὀουεινίου Τερτύλλου, πρεσβ. Σεββ. ἀντιστρ. ἢ ἱερωτάτη βουλή κ(αι) ὁ κράτιστος δῆμος Οὐλπίας Νικοπόλεως τῆς πρὸς Ἴστρον ἀνέστησεν.

3.7602 (Near Cernavoda) Imp. Caes. L. Septimius Severus Pius Pertinax Aug. Arab. Adiab. Parthicus Max. pon. max., trib. pot. VIII, imp. XI, p. p., et imp. Caes. M. Aurel. Antoninus Aug., trib. pot. II,<sup>120</sup> et P. Septimius Geta Caes. Aug., restituerunt per C. Ovinium Tertullum, leg. pr. pr.<sup>121</sup>

3.781 (Tyra) (Cf. 3 pp. 1009, 1010, 1366, and 3.12509 ll. 41 ff.): - - - - Ἀπεδόθη πρὸ γγ' καλανδῶν Μαρτίων, Ἀνηῶνος ἡ'. Ἀνεστάθη ἐπὶ Μουκιανοῦ καὶ Φαβιανου ὑπάτων, - - - -.

Pick 1272 Αὐ. Κ. Α. Σεπ. Σευήρος Π. | Ὡπα.<sup>122</sup> Ὀουίνι. Τερτύλλου, Νικοπολιτῶν ἐπ. Ἴστρον. Similar are 1271-1283.

Coins of Nikopolis bearing the name of Tertullus as governor are found with the names and images of Severus and Caracalla as Augusti (Pick 1449), of Domna (Pick 1450-1452), of Caracalla Augustus (Pick 1516-1534), and of Caracalla Augustus and Geta Caesar (Pick 1622-1625).

3.14428 shows Tertullus to have been governor of Moesia by July 20, 198. The Greek inscription quoted from AEM 10 (1886) is also of a. 198. 3.7602-7604 and 14461 belong to 200. 3.781 is of date Feb. 17, 201. In 3.7540, of a. 201, the name of Tertullus is correctly restored.

<sup>119</sup> The earliest appearance of Britannicus among the titles of Severus is usually stated to be in 209 (Egbert, Lat. Inscr., p. 186) or 210 (Cagnat, Cours d'épigraphie<sup>2</sup>, p. 195). I am unable to account for its use in these inscriptions (See n. 118). It does not seem possible to assume that they were not set up until after that date.

<sup>120</sup> 3.7603, 7604, and 14461 are similar to this inscription in having VIII for the tribunicial number of Severus and II for that of Caracalla. The former gives us the date 200, the latter 199 according to the usual reckoning. The date 200 is probably correct, since the tribunicial numbers of Severus as the senior emperor were more likely to be given without mistake.

Most inscriptions that contain the names of both of these emperors show a difference of five in their tribunicial numbers. In the following however the difference is six: 3.14201, 9.2122, 8.2550, of the year 198; the four inscriptions mentioned above of the year 200; 3.14485a, of 201; and 8.14395, of 209. In 10.7275, a. 199, the difference is seven; in 3.5981 and 4624, a. 201, the difference is eight; in 8.8469 the difference is nine; in 3.18900 and 8.6306, a. 205, the difference is four. This list of exceptions to the rule of five is probably incomplete. It is not the result of a special investigation, but contains only the instances that have forced themselves on my attention in the course of this investigation.

<sup>121</sup> 3.7604 and 14461 also are similar to this one in omitting Aug. from the title of Tertullus.

<sup>122</sup> This governor was formerly thought to have the praenomen Lucius through a mistake in reading the Α of ὩΠΑ on the coins as Λ and connecting it with the name of the governor. Compare n. 114.

Lieb. p. 286 gives P. Antonius Faustus as a governor of Moesia Inferior, a. 202, quoting Orelli 909. From Liebenam H. v. d. Weerd, p. 298, transfers him to his list of the governors of Moesia Inferior. But Orelli 909 is only an imperfect copy of 3.1685 ( See § 46.) and properly gives us the name of Q. Anicius Faustus, governor of Moesia Superior. The date is 202/210.

Pick 1632 Φουλ. Πλαυτίλλα Σεβασ. Ὑπ. Λ. Αὐρ. Γάλλου Νεικοπολιτῶν πρὸς Ἰ.

This governor is known only from coins. Although the number of the extant coins of Plautilla is not large they are of at least nine different varieties from the mint at Nicopolis ad Istrum. As the name of Gallus is on all of them, it is likely that he was governor during all of the time that Plautilla was Augusta. Coins in her honor would almost certainly have been struck immediately after the marriage, which occurred in 202 (Dio 76.1.). Gallus's administration seems therefore to have begun by this year. Dio 76.6.3 says that she was banished after the death of her father, and the account implies that her banishment followed his death immediately. If we can fix then the date of his death we should think that Gallus's term in Moesia extended at least to near that date, possibly of course beyond it.

The Chronicon Paschale, p. 496, ed. Dindorf, has the entry, Ὑπ. Πλαυτιανοῦ καὶ Γέτα, Πλαυτιανὸς ὁ ὑπατος ἐσφάγη πρὸς ἰά' καλανδρῶν Φεβρουαρίων.<sup>128</sup> According to this statement Plautianus was killed January 22, 203, the year of the consulship of Plautianus and the elder Geta. But Herodian, speaking of Plautianus just before his death, says (3.11.2) ἔν τε τοῖς δεύτερον ὑπατεύσασιν ἐτέτακτο. Dio, 76.2.4, leading up to the account of the killing of Plautianus says: ἐπεὶ δὲ ὁ ἀδελφὸς αὐτῷ Γέτας τελευτῶν πάντα τὰ κατὰ τὸν Πλαυτιανὸν - - - ἐμήνευσεν, - - - οὐκέθ' ὁμοίως ἐτιμησεν, ἀλλὰ καὶ τῆς δυνάμεως τῆς πολλῆς παρέλυσεν. The last statement could hardly have been made if Plautianus had been consul as well as prefect of the pretorium at the time of his death. Vit. Sev. 14.10, Filios dein consules designavit. Getam fratrem exulit. This im-

<sup>128</sup> Plautianus probably owes the distinction of a mention in this Chronicle to activity in the persecution of the Christians.

plies that the sons were designated consuls before the death of Geta frater. They were the consules ordinarii of 205, hence their designation was in 204. The earliest date at which it can be said with certainty that the successors of Plautianus in the prefectship of the praetorium were in office is May 28, 205. (6.228.) The name of Plautilla as the wife of Caracalla and an Augusta was inscribed in 8.2557, dated Aug. 22, 203, and in 6.1035, dated 204. Considering all the evidence then it seems probable that the statement of the Chronicle is incorrect,<sup>124</sup> and that Plautianus was killed late in 204 or early in 205. (Cf. Borghesi, Op. 11 p. 85; EE 8 p. 295; CIL 6.1035, note.)

95      **C. Iunius Faustinus . . . . . Postumianus C. V.**

8.597 (Byzacena) [I]unio<sup>125</sup> Faustino . . a . . | . . . do Postumiano C. V. . . cos., adlecto inter comites Augg. nn., sacerdoti Flaviali Titiali, leg. Augg. pr. pr. provinciae Mysiae Inferioris, leg. Augg. pr. pr. provinciae Belgicae, [legato] Augg. pr. pr. provinciae Lusetaniae, [leg. Aug. leg]ionis . . . Ma . . . . . e Victricis [Piae F]idelis, iuridico per Aemiliam et Etruriam et Tusciam, praetori kandi[dato, leg. pr]ovinciae . . . . . dio]eceseros,<sup>126</sup> . . . . .

It is under Marcus and Verus that we first find the comites Augusti constituted as a sort of board. Before this time we find only occasionally a single official bearing the title of comes Augusti. This quasi-board disappears apparently under Alexander Severus. (Seeck, P-W 4 p. 626 ff.) Within this period the only years when there were two Augusti were 160-169, 198-209, 211-212. Our governor's consulship would come between his legateships in Lusitania and Moesia since Lusitania was a praetorian and Moesia a

<sup>124</sup> The Chronicle has so many inaccuracies in its dates as to be practically useless for anything more than approximate dating. For example it gives the date of the death of M. Aurelius as Mar. 25, 178 instead of Mar. 17, 180, that of the death of Septimius Severus as 212 instead of 211, that of the death of Alexander Severus as 237 instead of 235. The material of many of the statements inserted in the Chronicle is evidently derived from Epiphanius Cyprius, but the chronology of the work in general does not agree closely with that of Epiphanius in his *Περὶ Μέτρων καὶ Σταθμῶν*.

<sup>125</sup> 8.11763 gives the name in the form C. Iunius Faustinus Postumianus.

<sup>126</sup> It is not clear to me why this word is written dioeceseros in the second column of 8.597, unless it is merely a misprint.

<sup>127</sup> The order of offices in the cursus of this governor given in Pros. I 490 would lead one to suppose incorrectly that the legateship in Moesia Inferior preceded the consulship.



consular province.<sup>127</sup> The period of the two Augusti would therefore be too long for 211-212. The general style of the inscription favors the period 198/212 for his career.

Pick 579 *Αὐ. Κ. Α. Σεπτ. Σευήρος* | 'V. Φλ. Οὐλπιανοῦ *Μαρκιανο* πολιτῶν. Similar are Pick 578-584 from Marcianopolis, and 1332-1339 from Nicopolis ad Istrum.

Pick 595 *Αὐ. Κ. Α. Σεπ. Σευήρος* 'Ιουλίᾳ Δόμνᾳ Σεβ. | 'V. Φλ. Οὐλπιανοῦ *Μαρκιανο* πολιτῶν. Similar are Pick 595-602.

Pick 622 *Αὐ. Κ. Μ. Αὐρ. Ἀντωνίνος* | 'V. Φλ. Οὐλπιανοῦ *Μαρκιανο* πολιτῶν. Similar are Pick 622-626 from Marcianopolis and 1564-1585 from Nicopolis ad Istrum.

Pick 649 *Αὐ. Κ. Μ. Αὐ. Ἀντωνίνος, Αὐ. Κ. Π. Σ. Γέτας* | 'V. Φλ. Οὐλπιανοῦ *Μαρκιανο* πολιτῶν. Similar are Pick 649-652.

Pick 1660 *Αὐτ. Κ. Π. Σεπ. Γέτας* *Αυ.* | 'V. Φλ. Οὐλπιαν. *Νικοπολιτ. πρὸς Ἰ.* Similar are Pick 1660-1678.

This governor is known only from coins. The coins of Severus and of Severus and Domna show that he was governor before the death of Severus, Feb. 4, 211; those of Geta Augustus show that he was governor after the beginning of 209. As he is the only governor whose name appears on coins of Geta Augustus or of Caracalla Augustus with Geta Augustus, he was probably already in the province at the time that Geta was made an Augustus, for this event would certainly have been celebrated at once by coins bearing the face and name of the new Augustus. See the text under the next governor, with note 129 for further discussion.

3.6177 (Troesmis) L. Iulio Faustiano, leg. Aug[gg] pr. pr., ordo municipi Troesm.

3.7485 (Axiopolis) Iuliae Domnae Aug., matri castrorum, nautae universi Danuvi ex r. p. [sua] sub cura L. Iul. Faustianiani, leg. Aug. n., n.<sup>128</sup>

Pick 569 *Αὐ. Κ. Α. Σεπτ. Σευήρος* Π. | 'V. Ι. Φαυστινιάνου *Μαρκιανο* πολιτῶν. Similar are Pick 560-577.

Pick 610 *Αὐ. Κ. Μ. Αὐρ. Ἀντωνίνος* | 'V. Ι. Φαυστινιάνου *Μαρκιανο* πολιτῶν. Similar are Pick 610-613.

<sup>128</sup> 9.729 is of the same man. So 6.2003.11. See note to 3.7485, where the reading Ti. of 6.2003 is corrected to L.

Pick 614 *Αὐτ. Μ. Ἀρχλι. Ἀπτωνεῖρος* | 'V. I. Φαυστινιάνου ΜαρκIANOΠΟΛΙΤΩΝ. Similar are Pick 614-621. In 610-613 the face of Caracalla is without beard, in 614-621 it has a light beard.

The three g's in 3.6277 show that Faustianus was in the province between 209 and 211; the one g in 3.7485 that he continued there until after Caracalla was sole ruler in 212. We should be able to depend on this evidence in this case, for the inscription was set up during his administration and in his own province, so that if there had been more than one Augustus at the time he would surely have been styled legatus Augustorum. The only time when he could have been a legatus of one Augustus was after the death of Geta. Hence I have placed him after Flavius Ulpius.<sup>129</sup>

98

### Aurelius Pontianus \*

This man is given by Lieb., p. 286, as a governor of Moesia Inferior under Septimius Severus, on the evidence of coins described in Mionnet Suppl. 2.74, 115. Pick 1.584\* shows that these are incorrectly copied, and there is thus no evidence that Pontianus governed Moesia Inferior.

<sup>129</sup> Pick p. 186, places Faustianus before Ulpius. "Dagegen könnte allerdings eingewendet werden, dass Caracalla auf den Münzen des Faustianus in der Regel älter aussieht als auf denjenigen des Ulpius; auf der ersteren hat er meistens schon leichten Bart, auf den letzteren ist er unbärtig. . . . Aber es wäre doch sehr auffallend, dass es mit dem Namen des letzteren (sc. Faustianus) gar keine Fünfer gäbe; dass solche mit Caracalla und Geta fehlen, liesse sich zur Noth durch spätere Einziehung (nach Getas Ermordung) erklären; aber warum es keine mit Severus und Domna geben, überhaupt das wichtigste Nominal von Marcianopolis nachdem es einmal eingeführt war, gerade unter diesem Statthalter nicht geprägt worden sein sollte, wäre unverständlich. Ich glaube daher, dass trotz der Münzen mit dem unbärtigen Gesicht des Caracalla, Ulpius der spätere Statthalter ist". Pick thus accounts for the absence of Fünfers under Faustianus by supposing, against the weight of other evidence, that he was governor before they began to be coined. But the absence of Fünfers is not sufficient to outweigh the evidence both of the existing coins and of the inscriptions that his administration was later than that of Ulpius. Pick has sufficiently accounted for the absence of Fünfers of Caracalla and Geta. If Faustianus had been governor only during the last year of Geta's life such coins might not have gone largely into circulation at Geta's death, and it would have been easy to destroy the whole mintage of them. He may have been in office only a month or two, or even less at the death of Severus, and in that case it would not be remarkable if no Fünfers of Severus and Domna had been struck in that time. Fünfers had been made for the first time under the preceding governor, and while they were popular later, the demand for them may not have been great at first. Pick, Num. Zeitschr., 23 (1891) p. 37, doubts the reading of three g's in Auggg. in 3.6177, but it seems to be well attested. Even if this difficulty were disposed of, the one g in Aug. in 3.7485 would be difficult to account for on his theory. The fact also that Caracalla is nearly always bearded on the coins of Faustianus, and never is bearded on those of Ulpius except on the four Fünfers where his younger brother is also complimented in the same way, brings strong support to the inscriptional evidence for the later date of Faustianus.

This man is given by Liebenam, p. 286, as a governor of Moesia Inferior under Septimius Severus on the evidence of coins described in Mionnet Suppl. 2.76 189-131. These coins are shown by Pick 1.600\* ff. to have been incorrectly copied and restored, and there is thus no evidence that he governed Moesia Inferior.

100

Quintilianus

211/217

Pick 635 Πίος Αύγ. Ἀπτωνίνος | Ὡπ. Κυντιλιανοῦ Μαρκιαροωλιτῶν. Similar are Pick 635-648. Some of these read Ἀπτωνίνος Πίος Αἰγούστος.

Pick 653 Ἀπτωνίνος Αἰγούστος, Ἰούλια Δόμνα | Ὡπ. Κυντιλιανοῦ Μαρκιαροπνλιτῶν. Similar are Pick 653-695.

This governor is known only from coins of Antoninus Pius Augustus and Domna.<sup>120</sup> These determine his date to be between 201, when Caracalla received the title Pius, and 217, when he died. The absence of coins of Severus and Geta make it probable that the date is between 212 and 217, during the sole reign of Caracalla.

101

Pomponius Bassus

212/217

It is uncertain whether he was governor of Moesia Inferior or of Moesia Superior. See § 47.

102

Pollenius Auspex \*

There is no evidence that there was a governor of this name at this period if my interpretation of IGR 3.618 is correct. See discussion under Pollenius Auspex, § 90 and n. 116.

<sup>120</sup> Liebenam, p. 292, gives L. Quintilianus as governor of Moesia Inferior a. 247/249 from two coins reported in Mionnet, Suppl. 2.116, 860, having on one side the heads of the elder Philip and Otacilia. Pick 1206\*\* says that the heads are those of Caracalla and Domna, and refers them to this governor. The L. is derived as pointed out in n. 122.

Pick 1764 *Αὐτ. Κ. Μ. Ὀπέλ. Σευήρος Μακρίνος | Ὑπ. Στατίου Λογγίνου Νικοπολ. . . . πρὸς Ἴσρ.* Similar are Pick 1720-1785.

Pick 1833 *Κ. Μ. Ὀπέλ. Ἀντων. Διαδουμενιάνος | Ὑπ. Στατίου Λογγίνου Νικοπολιτῶν πρὸς Ἴστρον.* Similar are Pick 1827-1872.

Among the names of the patroni of Canusium of the year 223 (9.338) M. Staius Longinus (column 1, line 8) and M. Staius Longinus, Iun. (column 1, line 31) appear. The first of these is probably our governor, and the praenomen given above is from this inscription. For discussion of the date see § 105, end.

Pick 1680 *Αὐτ. Κ. Ὀπέλ. Σευή. Μακρίνος | Ὑπ. Π. Φου. Πορτιανοῦ Νεικοπολιτῶν πρὸς Ἴστρον.* Similar are Pick 1679-1682.

Pick 709 *Αὐτ. Κ. Ὀπέλλ. Σευή. Μακρίνος | Ὑπ. Πορτιανοῦ ΜαρκIANOΠΟΛΕΙΤῶΝ.* Similar are Pick 708-714.

Pick 717 *Αὐτ. Κ. Ὀπέλ. Σευ. Μακρίνος, Κ. Μ. Ὀπέλ. Ἀντωνείνος Κ. | Ὑπ. Πορτιανοῦ ΜαρκIANOΠΟΛΕΙΤῶΝ.* Similar are Pick 715-784. Several of these contain also some abbreviation for Diadumenos, the name of the younger Augustus.

This governor is known only from coins, the nomen and praenomen only from Pick 1681 and 1682. See the next governor for discussion of the date.

Pick 1683 *Αὐτ. Κ. Ὀπέλ. Σευή. Μακρίνος | Ὑπ. Ἀγρίππα Νικοπολιτῶν πρὸς Ἴστρον.* Similar are Pick 1683-1719. The governor's name in 1691 is *Μάρκ. Ἀγρίππα*, in 1709 *Κλαύ. Ἀγρίππα*.

Pick 1794 *Κ. Μ. Ὀπέλ. Ἀντωνῆ. Διαδουμενιάνος | Ὑπ. Ἀγρίππα Νικοπολιτῶν. . . .* Similar are Pick 1792-1826.

Pick 785 . . . . Ὀπέλ . . . . ἴνος Κ. Μ. Ὀπέλ. Ἀντωνείνος ΜαρκIANOΠΟΛΕΙΤῶΝ.

The name Claudius is from *Κλαυ.* in Pick 1709. Several other coins have *Κ.* for *Κλαύδιος*. At the time of the murder of Caracalla Agrippa was not yet of consular rank and was prefect of the fleet. (Vit. Caracallae 6.7.) He was enrolled among the consulares by Macrinus and sent to govern Pannonia. He was soon replaced there and sent to Dacia. (Dio 78.13.1.) These coins show that he was sent to Moesia Inferior before the end of his reign. The

appointment to Moesia was not mentioned by Dio because the other two appointments, both made in the first weeks or months of the reign, were those that aroused the censure of the better element. His administration in Moesia Inferior, then, probably came in the second year of Macrinus. Coins of Macrinus from Moesia Inferior are numerous, and three governors of the province are known in this short reign. Two coins made from the same die, one bearing the name of Pontianus and the other that of Agrippa, indicate that one of these was the immediate successor of the other. (Pick p. 432.) The reasons stated above for putting Agrippa late in the reign make it probable that he, and not Longinus, was the last of the three. If this is true Longinus must have been the first. The probable reason for the sudden promotion of Agrippa and the frequent change of governors under Macrinus is that there were not many men of the higher class of the nobility on whose loyalty the emperors could count with assurance. Dessau, Pros. M 165, infers that Agrippa was governor of Dacia and Moesia Inferior at the same time, but this would be unusual. The appointment to Dacia in the first place certainly did not include Moesia, since Moesia is not mentioned by Dio and was a more important command than Dacia.

106

**Iulius Antonius Seleucus**

**218/222**

Pick 810 *Αύτ. Κ. Μ. Αύρῆ. Ἀγρωνείδος Αύγ. | Ὡπ. Ἰούλ. Ἀγρ. Σελεύκου, Μαρκανοπολιτῶν.* Similar are Pick 810-875.

Pick 935 *Αύτ. Κ. Μ. Αύρ. Ἀγρωνείδος Ἰουλίᾳ Μαῖσα Αύγ. | Ὡπ. Ἰούλ. Ἀγρ. Σελεύκου, Μαρκανοπολιτῶν.* Similar are 935-974.

Pick 979 *Αύτ. Κ. Μ. Αύρ. Ἀγρωνείδος Αύγ, Ἰουλίᾳ Σουαμίς.* Similar are Pick 979-981.

This governor is known only from coins of Marcianopolis. Pick p. 162, points out that the face of Elagabalus is unbearded on the coins of Seleucus but usually bearded on those of Titianus, and infers from this that the administration of Seleucus is earlier than that of Titianus.

107

**T. Flavius Novius Rufus**

**218/222**

3.6170 = 3.773 (Troesmis) Imp. Caesari M. Aurelio [Antonino] Pio Fel. Aug. divi Severi [nepoti] divi Antonini [fil.], dedicante T. Fl. Novio Rufo leg. Aug. pr. pr., M. Ulp. Antipater sacerd. provin. et bis duumviral., ob hon. pontif.

Pick 1898 *Αὐτ. Κ. Μ. Αὐρ. Ἀντωνεῖνος* | *Ῥπ. Νοβίου Ῥούφου Νικοπολιτῶν πρὸς Ἴστρου*. Similar are Pick 1893-2010.

There are no coins of this reign from Nicopolis ad Istrum bearing the name of any other governor than Novius Rufus. There is nothing to determine with certainty whether he preceded or followed either or both Seleucus and Titianus.

108

**Sergius Titianus**

218/222

Pick 876 *Αὐτ. Κ. Μ. Αὐρ. Ἀντωνεῖνος* | *Ῥπ. Σέργ. Τίτιανού Μαρκιανοπολιτῶν*. Similar are Pick 876-902.

Pick 977 *Αὐτ. Κ. Μ. Αὐρ. Ἀντωνεῖνος. Αὐγ., Ἰουλία Μαῖσα Ἀγ.* | *Ῥπ. Σέργ. Τίτιανού. Μαρκιανοπολιτῶν*. Similar are Pick 975-978.

Pick p. 262 Fast auf allen gut erhaltenen Münzen mit dem Namen dieses Statthalters ist das Gesicht des Kaisers leicht bärtig; Sergius Titianus scheint also die provinz Moesia inferior erst in der letzten Zeit des Elagabalus verwaltet zu haben, jedenfalls später als Antonius Seleucus, auf dessen Münzen der Kaiser immer unbärtig ist.

109

**Iulius Gaetulicus**

222?

Pick 983 *Αὐτ. Κ. Μ. Αὐρ. Σευή. Ἀλέξανδρος* | *Ῥπ. Ἰου. Γετουλικού, Μαρκιανοπολιτῶν*. Similar are Pick 982-984.

Pick 1068 *Αὐτ. Κ. Μ. Αὐ. Σευή. Ἀλέξανδρος, Ἰου. Μαρμεία* | *Ῥπ. Ἰού. Γετουλικού, Μαρκιανοπολιτῶν*.

Pick p. 281 Von den vier Statthaltern, die unter Alexander auf Münzen von Markianopolis genannt sind, ist Iulius Gaetulicus sicher der erste; denn auf den Münzen mit seinem Namen ist das Gesicht des Kaisers ganz jugendlich wie auf den ersten römischen. Für die drei anderen (Tib. Iulius Festus, Um. Tereventinus, Fir. Philopappus) ist die reihenfolge nicht sicher festzustellen.

Our only inscription of a Iulius Gaetulicus (8.8421) throws no light on this question.

Pick 996 *Αὐτ. Κ. Μ. Αὐρ. Σευή. Ἀλέξανδρος* | *Ῥπ. Τιβ. Ἰούλ. Φήστου, ΜαρκIANOπολιτῶν*. Similar are Pick 995-1022.

Pick 1051 *Αὐτ. Κ. Μ. Αὐρ. Σευή. Ἀλέξανδρος, Ἰουλία Μαῖσα* | *Ῥπ. Τιβ. Ἰούλ. Φήστου ΜαρκIANOπολιτῶν*. Similar are Pick 1051-1062.

Pick 1070 *Αὐτ. Κ. Μ. Αὐρ. Σευή. Ἀλέξανδρος, Ἰουλία ΜΑΜΜΑΙΑ* | *Ῥπ. Τιβ. Ἰούλ. Φήστου ΜαρκIANOπολιτῶν*. Similar are Pick 1070-1075.

The coins of Maesa show that his administration came early in the reign of Alexander Severus. Cf. Her. 6.1.4 *ἐπὶ πολὺ δ' οὕτω ἀρχῆς διοικουμένης, ἣ μὲν Μαῖσα πρεσβύτις ἤδη οὖσα ἀνεπαύσατο τοῦ βίου* - - - . This may also be inferred from dipl. LXXVI, 3 p. 1993, which shows him to have been a tribunus militum in 178, forty years before the beginning of the reign of Alexander Severus. For this reason I have placed him earlier than Um. Tereventinus and Fir. Philopappus.

3.6154 (Tomi) L. Annio L. f. Quir. Italico Honorato cos., sodali Hadri-  
anali, leg. Aug. pr. pr. prov. Moes. Inf., cur. oper. pub., cur. Neap. et Atell.,  
praef. aer. milit., leg. leg. XIII Gem., iurid. per Fl. et Umbriam, cur. viae  
Lavic. et Lat. veter., praetori qui ius dixit inter civ. et civis et peregr., trib. p.,  
q. prov. Achaiae, sevir. turmar. equ. IIIIvir viar. curandarum Fl. Severianus  
dec. alae I Atectorum Severianae candidatus eius.

3.7591 (Moesia Inferior) - - - dedicatum XII Kal. Oct. Iuliano II et  
Crispino cos. per Annium Italicum<sup>121</sup> leg. Aug. pr. pr.

The full name is from the first inscription, the second is dated  
Sept. 20, 224.

Pick 1023 *Αὐτ. Κ. Μ. Αὐρ. Σευή. Ἀλέξανδρος* | *Ῥγ.<sup>122</sup> Οὐμ. Τερεβετίνου*  
*ΜαρκIANOπολιτῶν*. Similar are Pick 1023-1039.

Pick 1063 *Αὐτ. Κ. Μ. Αὐρ. Σευή. Ἀλέξανδρος, Ἰουλία Μαῖσα* | *Ῥγ. Οὐμ. Τερεβε-*  
*τίνου ΜαρκIANOπολιτῶν*. Similar are Pick 1063-1066.

Pick 1076 *Αὐτ. Κ. Μ. Αὐρ. Σευή. Ἀλέξανδρος, Ἰουλία ΜΑΜΜΑΙΑ* | *Ῥγ. Οὐμ. Τερε-*  
*βετίνου ΜαρκIANOπολιτῶν*. Similar are 1076-1081.

<sup>121</sup> An earlier incorrect reading of this inscription (3.6224, EE 2.363) is responsible for the  
form Annius Felix given in Lieb. p. 290.

<sup>122</sup> Ῥγ(εμορεύοντος) indicates that Tereventinus governed Moesia Inferior before having  
held the consulship. No other praetorian governor of the province is known.

Cf. Pick's statement, quoted under 109.

From the coins of Maesa we may infer that his administration fell in the first half of Alexander's reign (cf. Herod. 6.1.4, quoted in § 110), probably then in 222/230. The fact that her coins bearing the name of this governor are more numerous than those bearing the name of Philopappus may indicate that his administration is the earlier, though little reliance can be placed on such an inference.

113 **Fir. - - - Philopappus** 222/235

Pick 1040 *Αὐτ. Κ. Μ. Αὐρ. Σευ. Ἀλέξανδρος | Ὑπ. Φίρ. Φιλοπάππου Μαρκιανοπολιτῶν*. Similar are Pick 1040-1044.

Pick 1067 *Αὐτ. Κ. Μ. Αὐρ. Σευῆ. Ἀλέξανδρος καὶ Ἰουλία Μαῖσα | Ὑπ. Φίρ. Φιλοπάππου Μαρκιανοπολιτῶν*.

Pick 1082 *Αὐτ. Κ. Μ. Αὐρ. Σευῆ Ἀλέξανδρος, Ἰουλία Μαμαῖα | Ὑπ. Φίρ. Φιλοπάππου Μαρκιανοπολιτῶν*. Similar are Pick 1082-1085.

See remarks under Um. Tereventinus, above.

114 **Anicius Faustus Paulinus** 230

3.7473 Imp. Caes., divi Magni Antonini Pii fil., [divi Severi Pii nep., M. Aur. Severo Alexandro Pio Felici Aug., pon]tif. maximo, t. [p.] IX, cos. III, p. p. [et Iuliae Mamaeae matri] Aug. n. et castrorum balnea coh. II Fl. Britt. Alexandrianae a solo restitutae sub Anicio Fausto Paulino leg. Aug. pr. pr. per Septimium Agathonicum praef.

The year is determined to be 230 by the number of the tribunicial power.

115 **Q. Decius Valerianus** 234

3.12519 (Near Ezibey) Imp. Caesar M. Aurelius Severus Alexander Pius Felix sanctissimus Aug. tribuniciae potestatis XIII, consul III, pater patriae, proconsul, pontes derutos et vias conlapsas restituit, curante Qointo Decio pr. pr. leg. suo, m. p.

3.13724 (Markova Kapii) - - - Quintus Decius, leg. ac pr(aeses) provinciae.

2.4816 (Tarraconensis) Imp. Caes. C. Iulius Verus Maxsiminus P. F. Aug. Germ. Max. Dac. Max. Sar. Max. Pont. Max. trib. pot., imp. V, p. p., cos., proc., et Gaius Iulius Verus Maxsumus nob. Caes. Germ. Max. Sar. Max.



principis iuventut. f. d. n. Imp. C. Iuli Veri Maximini p. f. Aug. curante Quinto Decio Valeriano leg. Augg. - - - - .

3.12519 shows him to have been governor of Moesia Inferior in 234, 2.4816 shows him to have been governor in Spain in 237, where he still was in the early part of 238. (2.4756.) His cognomen is given by 2.4816, and fragments of it remain in 2.4831, 4834, and it is corrupted in 2.4828. It is more often however omitted in the inscriptions of Spain (2.4788, 4826, 4853, 4858, 4870, 4886, 4887) as it is in the two from Moesia. This fact seems to make sure the identification of the two men. While it is possible that the later emperor, C. Messius Quintus Traianus Decius, is the same man, the fact that he was proclaimed by the troops of Moesia does not compel us to assume this when we consider the circumstances of his proclamation as described in Zosimus 1.21 and Zonaras 12.19. The omission of Valerianus from the name of the emperor seems opposed to it. If they are the same man he was twice governor of Moesia. (See § 52.)

116

**Flavius Lucilianus<sup>128</sup>**

235

3.14462 (Cogelak) [Imp. Caes. C. Iul. Verus Maximinus Pijus Fel. Invictus Aug. et C. Iul. Verus Maximus nobilissimus Caes. restituerunt per Fl. Lucilianum leg. pr. pr., m. p. C.

3.7605 is a duplicate of this inscription. The date certainly falls between 235 and 238. It is probably 235, for after Jan. 1, 236 we should have had cos. and after Jan. 16, 236 tr. pot. II among the titles of the emperor.

117

**Domitius G . . . .<sup>129</sup>**

236

3.14429 (Near Lometz) Imp. Caesari Caio Iulio Vero [Maximino] Aug., pontifici max., tribuniciae potest., cos., p. p., coh. I Cispadensium, devota numini maiestatiq. eius, d. p. quaestur., dedicante Domitio Gooi...in leg. Aug. pr. pr.

There is no further evidence concerning this man. This inscription is dated a. 236.

<sup>128</sup> 9.8608 (Aveia) Imp. Severo Antonino Aug. IIII cos. T. Fl. Lucilianus eq. pub. et T. Avidiacus Furianus eq. pub. speleum Soli Invicto consummaver., cur. ag. P. Peticen Primo. In this inscription of a. 218 we may have the father of the legatus of 235. L. Flavius Lucilianus, patronus Canusii a. 228 (9.888) may be our governor.

<sup>129</sup> The letters of the name following Domitio in the inscription have perhaps not been correctly read.

37606 (Near Hirschova) Imp. Cae[s.] M. Antonio Gord[iano] Pio Fel[ici in]victo A[ug. p. m.], trib. p[ot. p. p.], pr[oc.], pontes] et vi[a] restituit pe[r] C. P[e....] leg. A[ug.] pr. [pr.]. (An inscription of Diocletian was later placed on the same stone.)

37607 (Near Hirschova) [Imp. Caes. M. Antonio Gordiano Pio Felici Invicto Aug. p. m., tri]b. pot., p. p., procos., C. Pe!!!!!!!!!!!!!!!!!!!!<sup>126</sup>, leg. Aug. pr. pr., m. p.

Comparison of these two inscriptions makes the restorations fairly certain. They belong to the year 238, the first of the reign of Gordianus III. See the next governor also.

Pick 1087 *Αὐτ. Κ. Μ. Ἀντ. Γορδιανὸς Αὐγ. | Ὑπ. Μηροφίλου Μαρκιανοπολιτῶν.* Similar are Pick 1087-1097.

Pick 1121 *Αὐτ. Κ. Μ. Ἀντωνίος Γορδιανὸς Αὐγ. | Ὑπ. Μηροφίλου Μαρκιανοπολιτῶν,* with busts of Gordianus and Serapis. Similar are Pick 1121-1170.

Petr. Patr., Exc. 9 (Script. Hist. Byz.) "Ὅτι Κάρποι - - - - ἐπεμψαν πρὸς Τύλλιον Μηροφίλον πρεσβείαν - - - - Ὁὗτος δὲ δοῦξ ἦν Μυσίας, - - - - Οἱ δὲ μετὰ ἀγαπηκτικῆς ἀνεχώρησαν, καὶ τὴν τοῦ Μηροφίλου ἀρχὴν εἰς τρία ἔτη ἀνυσθεῖσαν ἡσυχίαν ἔσχον.

There are no coins of Tranquillina bearing the name of this governor; he seems, therefore, to have preceded Tertullianus. He was governor three years, according to Petrus Patricius. 37607 (see preceding governor for copy) proves C. Pe - - - - a damnatus, to have been governor in 238. This may have been his last year, however, and Pros. T 281 and IGR 1.580 may be correct in assigning the administration of Menophilus to 238-241, though it may have been a year later.

Pick 2040 *Αὐτ. Κ. Μ. Ἀντ. Γορδιανὸς Αὐγ. | Ὑπ. Σαβ. Μοδέστου Νικοπολιτῶν πρὸς Ἰστρὸν.* Similar are Pick 2040-2107.

Sab(inius?) Modestus may have been a relative of Furia Sabinia Tranquillina, whom Gordian married in 241, and may have owed his appointment to her. If this is so he probably succeeded Menophilus in 241 or 242, and preceded Tertullianus.

<sup>126</sup> The fact that he was a damnatus, and that we have no evidence that Tullius Menophilus was such, makes it probable that IGR 1.580, an inscription of the time of Gordianus, belongs to him rather than to Menophilus. The inscription adds nothing however that can serve our purpose here.

AEM 17 (1894) = IGR 1.581 (Nicopolis ad Istrum) *Αἰτ.* [Καίσαρα] Μ. [Ἀντών. Γ]ορδι[α]ν[όν] και Σα[βί]νι[αν] Τ[ρα]νγκ[υλλ]εινα[ν] Σ[εβ. Αἰγ]ούσταν [ή] βου[λή] και ὁ ιερώτατος [δῆμος Νεικ]οπολειῶν [Οὐλπίας Νεικοπ]όλεως [ἀνέστησα]ν εὐτυχῶς [ὁ] πατέρο[ν]τος ΠΡΟΣΙΟΥ Τερτ[υλ]λιανοῦ, πρε[σ]β. [ἀν]τιστ[ρατή]γου].

Pick 1098 *Αἰτ.* Κ. Μ. Ἀντ. Γορδιανὸς Αἰγ. | Ὑπ. Τερτυλλιανοῦ ΜαρκIANOΠΟΛΙΤῶ. ὁμοιοῦ. Similar are Pick 1098-1100.

Pick 1172 *Αἰτ.* Κ. Μ. Ἀντ. Γορδιανὸς Αἰγ. Σέ., Τρανκυλλεῖνα | Ὑπ. Τερτυλλιανοῦ ΜαρκIANOΠΟΛΙΤῶν. Similar are Pick 1172-1192.

The name may be P. Rosius or Prosius. Both Rosius and Prosius are found elsewhere as nomina, but only the former among names of the nobility, so far as I know.<sup>186</sup> His coins that bear the name of Tranquillina show that he was governor under Gordian after 241. His term was probably at the close of Gordian's reign.

See § 50 for text and discussion.

From an incorrect description of two coins of Marcianopolis in Mionnet, L. (Cl.) Quintilianus has been given by some as governor of Moesia Inferior a. 247/249. See n. 130.

Pick 1194 *Αἰτ.* Μ. Ἰούλ. Φιλίππος Αἰγ., Μ. Ἰτακ. Σεβᾶρα Σε. | Ὑπ. Πράστ. Μεσσαλείνου ΜαρκIANOΠΟΛΙΤῶν. Similar are Pick 1194-1206.

Pick 1207 Μ. Ἰούλιος Φιλίππος Καῖσαρ. | Ὑπ. Μεσσαλείνου ΜαρκIANOΠΟΛΙΤῶν. Similar are Pick 1207-1209.

This governor is known only from coins. He came later in the reign of Philip than Severianus (see § 122) and earlier than Marinus (see following). There is no evidence that his command extended over Moesia Superior, but it seems probable on general grounds that it did.

<sup>186</sup> The inscription seems to have escaped the notice of Dessau in *Pros.* T 89, and of van de Weerd, in *H. v. d. W.* p. 299, where this governor is given without his nomen. Cf. *Pros.* V 572. There is no doubt that the same man is referred to in the inscription and the coins.

125 **Ti. Claudius Marinus Pacatianus** 248

For texts and discussion see § 51.

126 **C. Messius Quintus Traianus Decius** 249

For texts and discussion see § 52.

127 **P . . . . . Post . . . . .** 249/250

3.12515 (Kasabkiöi) Imp. Caes. [Gai]o Messio [Quin]to Tra[iano]  
 Decci[o P. F. Aug.] *G* re[stituit] *FP* per P - - - - *O* *C*  
 Post . . . . *O* leg. Au[g. pr. pr.] *R*

The italicized letters appear to belong to an older inscription on the same stone. Trebonianus Gallus (see next governor) was governor at the close of the reign of Decius; this governor's term, therefore, ended by the close of 250 at least.

128 **C. Vibius Trebonianus Gallus** 251

Jordanes Get. 18 The Goths attack Novae and are repulsed "a Gallo duce." Also from Thrace the Emperor Decius fled into Moesia "ubi tunc Gallus dux limitis cum plurima manu bellantium morabatur." (19) "Defuncto tunc Decio Gallus et Volusianus regno potiti sunt Romanorum."

Zos. 1.23 Γάλλον δὴ ἐπιστήσας τῇ τοῦ Τανταίου ἐχθρῇ μετὰ δυνάμει ἀρκούσης αὐτὸς τοῖς λειπομένοις ἐπήγει.

Zon. 12.20 Γάλλον ἕνα τῶν τῆς συγκλήτου - - - .

Jordanes differs materially from Zosinus and Zonaras in many details of this campaign,<sup>187</sup> but all agree that Gallus was the leading general assisting Decius, and Jordanes is doubtless correct in connecting him with Moesia Inferior. The title *dux limitis* is an anachronism. Cf. §§ 53, 54. It is probable that the troops of both Moesias were under his command. He became emperor in the autumn of 251. He was therefore governor of Moesia Inferior in that year. The full form of the name is known from many inscriptions set up while he was Emperor.

<sup>187</sup> In these details however he agrees with Syncellus, who quotes Dixippus, an excellent source for this period and locality. Dixippus seems therefore to be the ultimate source of Jordanes in making Gallus commander of the Moesian forces.

Eutrop. 9.5 Sub his (sc. Gallus and Volusianus) Aemilianus in Moesia res novas molitus est.

Jordanes Get. 19 Tunc et Aemilianus quidam - - - tyrannidem in Moesia arripuit. Cf. Romana 285 - - - Aemilianum, qui in Moesia res novas moliebatur, - - -.

Zon. 12.21 Αιμιλιανὸς δὲ τις Λίβυς ἀνὴρ, ἀρχὼν τοῦ ἐν Μωσίᾳ στρατευματος, - - -.

Zos. 128 Αιμιλιανὸς Παιονικῶν ἡγούμενος τάξεων - - -.

3.8270 (Kacanik) Imp. Ca[esar]i M. [Aemil.] Aemiliano P. F. [Invic]to Aug. pontif[ici] maximo trib[unicia] pot. p. p. cos. procos., ab Vi[m.] m. p. CC.

The reign of Aemilianus began in 253, so that he was governor of Moesia in that year. He may have been there throughout the short reign of Gallus and Volusianus. Zosimus is either mistaken in giving him Pannonia instead of Moesia, or his command covered both the Moesias and the Pannonias. It is at least probable that it extended to both Moesias. The inscription was found in Moesia Superior.

For texts and discussion see § 54. \

See § 53 for text and discussion.

IGR 1.591 (near Nicopolis ad Istrum) Ἀγαθῆι Τύχηι, τὸν γῆς καὶ θαλάσσης καὶ πάσης οἰκουμένης δεσπότην [Αἰν. Καίσ.] Αὐρηλιανὸν [Εὐσεβῆ Εὐτυχ]ῆ Σεβ. ἡ κρατί[στη βουλή καὶ ὁ ἱερώτατος δῆμος τῆς Νεικοπ]ο[λει]τῶ[ν πόλεως, ὑπ]α[τε]ύον[τ]ο[ς τῆς] ἐπα[ρχείας] το[ῦ] δια[σημ]ιστάτου Αὐρ. . . . εὐτυχῶς ἐν ἐμ[π]ορίῳ [Ν]εικο(πολειτῶν) Δουροτέλις.

The inscription is from Gastilica on the Iantras river near Nicopolis. The restoration ὑπατεύοντος is certain. Διασημοτάτου is not used in its later technical sense. Aur . . . was clearly a governor of Moesia Inferior under Aurelian. The omission of the titles Medicus Maximus and Gothicus Maximus seems to indicate a date at the very beginning of the reign.

IGR 1.582 (Nicomolis ad Istrum) τὸν γῆς καὶ θαλάσσης δεσπότην . . . .  
 Εὐτ(υχῆ) Σεβ(αστὸν) [Γ]ε[τ]ικὸν ? Μέγιστον Παρθικὸν Μέγιστον ἢ κρατίστη βουλῆ καὶ  
 ὁ ιερῶτατος δῆμος τῆς Νεικοπολειτῶν πρὸς Ἴστρον πόλεως ἀνέστησαν εὐτυχῶς, ὑπατεύ(οντος)  
 Κλ. Ἄν(νίου) Ν[ατ]αλιανοῦ πρεσβ(ευτοῦ) Σεββ. ἀντιστρ(ατήγου), ἐπιμελουμένου  
 Ἀσκληπιωδώρου Ἀσκληπιάδου ἀρχιερατικοῦ.

The name of the emperor has been erased. It seems to have been Aurelian. Probus also has been proposed. If Aurelian is correct the date is 272/275.<sup>138</sup>

IGR 1.593 (Polikraste, near Tirnovo) . . . . Μ . . . . . ἐπ[ι]φανέστατον καὶ  
 Εὐσ. Σεβ., ὑπατεύοντος ἐπαρχίας Οὐιττεννίου Ἰουβενίου ἀντ[ι]στρ., ἐπιμελουμένου Ἰουλλίου  
 Εὐτυχοῦς ἀρχιερατικοῦ, ἐκ τῶν ἰδίων ἀνέστησε ὑπὲρ φιλοτιμίας.

The identification with Λ. Οὐέτιος Ἰούβεις (Pros. V 516 and Homolle in Dumont-Homolle, *Mél. d'archéol. et d'épigr.*, p. 365), a governor of Thrace, is not satisfactory to the editors of IGR, l. c. This stone, found in Moesia, is supposed by Dessau and Homolle to have been brought from Thrace. The word *ὑπατεύοντος*, properly used of a governor of consular rank, instead of *ἡγεμονεύοντος*, regularly used of governors of praetorian rank, indicates that we have here a governor of Moesia Inferior, not of Thrace. This inscription seems to belong to the time of some emperor of the third century of proscribed memory. I see no way to date it more closely.

For text and discussion see § 57.

3.6222, 3.7516, 3.12457 are each fragmentary inscriptions of governors of Moesia Inferior. In 3.6175 the first letter of the nomen of the governor seems to have been F; there is no indication of the

<sup>138</sup> Pros. C 629 states that Natalianus was governor of Thrace, referring to this inscription. But Nicopolis was transferred from Thrace to Moesia Inferior under Septimius Severus. The word *ὑπατεύοντος* used here also points to a consular governor, and therefore to the consular province of Moesia Inferior, since Thrace was governed by ex-praetors.

date. 3.14460 is an inscription of the time of Aurelian from which the governor's name has been erased. 3.14430 is a similar inscription of the time of Gordian. Cf. § 33.

137 **L. Ovinius L.f. Quir. Rusticus Cornelianus \***

2.4126 (Tarraco) L. Ovinio L. f. | Quir. Rustico | Corneliano | cos. desig., praet., | inter tribunicios | adlecto, | curat. viae Flamin., | leg. leg. Mys. Inferior., | curat. viae Tiburtin., | curat. r. p. Ricieniens., | Rufria Ovinia | Cornelia fil., | patri pientissimo. |

The reading "leg. leg. Mys. Inferior" is certain, but so far as I can see is inexplicable as it stands. Mommsen's note is, "Est legatus legionis Mysiae Inferioris, ut CIL 3.1701 videtur nominari legio Viminaciensis, ut certe legio Mesiaca invenitur in titulo urbano Annal. 1864 p. 18; nisi erravit quadratarius et pro leg. Aug. dedit leg. leg." This leaves us almost no nearer to its meaning. Since Cornelianus died before reaching the consulship he could not have been legatus Augusti pro praetore Moesiae Inferioris.

The most probable explanation that occurs to me is that the stonemason deliberately changed the copy given him. He has evidently tried to give each office in one line. In the fifth where he could not cut 'inter tribunicios adlecto', and where each word was necessary, he gave the entire sixth line to the word adlecto. In the eighth line his copy may have been 'leg. leg. XI Cl. (or I Ital. or V. Mac.) in Mys. Inferior.' (VII Cl. as given by Gruter 'ex interpolatione' is not good, since that legion was not stationed in Moesia Inferior.) He chose the first two words and the last two as filling his line and as to him sufficiently describing the office. The offices are given in two divisions, the constants of the cursus together and the remaining offices together, those in each division being in inverse order. Those of the second division are all of praetorian rank, so that his designation to the consulship came while he was curator of the Flaminian road. This curatorship immediately precedes the consulship in 6.1529 (an inscription of the year 221, wrongly referred by Korneman, P-W 4 p. 1783, to the reign of Macrinus, and wrongly restored, Valerius instead of Vettius in CIL. See Bonn. Jahrb. 55 and 56 (1879) p. 219; LeBas et Waddington, Voyage, 3.1839; EE 1 p. 136, n. 4) and immediately follows the legateship of a legion in 6.1333, 2.4510, 14.2933. The cursus of the last inscription is much like that in ours, [cur. viarum] Flamin. et Ti[burtinae] utriusque, [legato legionum] - - - et XV Apollinaris, pr., - - - , in which the curatorship of the via Tiburtina probably preceded the legateship of the legion.

Our inscription seems to belong about the middle of the second century.

138 **T. Suellius Marcianus \***

IGR 1.584 (Nicopolis ad Istrum) Ἀγαθῆ Τύχη . . . πατὴρ πατρίδος ἀνθυπάτου, [ἡγεμονεύοντος τῆς] ἐπαρχίας Τ. Σουελλ[λου Μαρκικαίου πρεσβευτοῦ Σεβαστοῦ ἀντιστρατήγου].

Cat. Brit. Mus., Thrace, p. 163, n. 17, a coin of Philippopolis of the time of Commodus has on the reverse, ἡγ. Σουέλ. Μαρκιανού.

The note in IGR, l. c., is, T. Suellius Marcianus Moesiae Inferiori praefuit Commodo imperante. The coin quoted above shows that he was governor of Thrace under Commodus. The coins of Nicopolis ad Istrum under Antoninus Pius and Commodus—there are none under M. Aurelius—use the word ἡγεμονεῖω to describe the rule of the governor, those of Septimius Severus and later, ὑπαρατεῖω. The former is the word used of a praetorian legate, the latter of a consular legate. Pick I pp. 67, 330 rightly concludes from this that Nicopolis belonged to Thrace until the time of Commodus and to Moesia Inferior from the reign of Septimius on. The coin of Commodus from Philippopolis taken in connection with our inscription from Nicopolis naming the same man as governor supports this view for the time of Commodus. There is therefore no reason to conclude with IGR for this inscription that Marcianus was ever governor of Moesia Inferior.

We may note also in regard to Marcianus that 6.30967, by correcting the reading of 6.3702, shows him to have been curator aedium sacrarum et operum locorumque publicorum in 192 instead of 175 as given in P-W 4 p. 1789.

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### M. Salonius Longinius Marcellus C. V.\*

9.2592 (Terventum) M. Salonio Longino Marcellus C. V. quest. cand., leg. pro. Afr., trib. ple., leg. pro pret. prov. Moestae, pr. pe. aer. Sat., Tertuennates patrono pimo d. d.

Litteris pravis, is Mommsen's note in CIL. It seems probable that Moesiae is meant by Moestae. It should be noted however that the subject of this inscription is not said to have been leg. Aug. pro pret. prov. Moestae. He is given as a governor of the undivided province by Liebenam, who, however, dates the inscription in the third century. In CIL 9, index, p. 763, he is given among the legati Augusti pro praetore provinciae. Henzen 5172 explains, "sc. legatus legati consularis Moesiae." He held the office, whatever it was, just before his praetorship. This makes the assumption that he was governor of undivided Moesia or of either Moesia quite untenable, for these governors were ex-consuls. We have not, then, here merely the omission of Aug. from the title of a regular consular governor, as in 3.2830 and 9.2454, 2455, and as is frequent on milestones, e. g. 3.7602, 7604. There seem to be no parallels to Henzen's legatus pro praetore legati consularis of an imperial province. The only one that he cites, Henz. 5449, an ex-praetor, styled simply legatus Citerioris Hispaniae, is rightly explained in Des. 1021 n. 1, as a legatus iuridicus. No legati iuridici are known for Moesia. Legati pro praetore provinciae, as officers subordinate to the governor, are common enough in senatorial provinces, and often they have not yet reached the praetorship, but I cannot explain the presence of such an officer in an imperial province.<sup>120</sup>

<sup>120</sup> The peculiar administrative situation in Moesia existing from a. 15 to a. 44 (see §§ 5, 9 ff), giving us several subordinate legati of praetorian rank, the last of whom is styled legatus Claudii pro praetore provinciae Moesiae et legionum quartae Scythicae et quintae Macedonicae, ended in 44. This inscription is shown by C. V. to be of the second century or later.



Nothing else in the *cursus* given in our inscription gives any ground for assuming that it is not strictly chronological, and our Marcellus had not reached the consulship at the time the inscription was set up. In the rank of quaestor he was leg. prov. Africae of the diocese of Hipponne (9.1592) or of Carthage (2.1262, 14.3599, 2942, cf. 5.4347). Such quaestorii legati are also known from Asia (14.3609, 10.3724, 3.6814, 5.4327). The praefecti aerari Saturni were chosen from the ex-praetors at this period. The only conclusion then that I can reach is that among the many mistakes in this wretched inscription one is that the "Tertunentimates" have not made it clear in what capacity this man served his country in "Moesta."

140 **A. Iulius Pompilius A. fil. Cornelia Piso T. Vibius  
Laevillus Berenicianus \***

8.2582 (Lambaesis) [A.] Iulius Pompilius A. fil. Cornelia Piso T. Vib[ius . . . . Laevillus] Berenicianus Xvir stlitibus iudicandis, tri[bunus militum leg. . . . ], item XV Apollinaris, quaestor urb., adlec[tus inter tribunicios, praetor] candidatus Augustorum, legatus leg. XIII [Geminae, item IIII Flaviae], praepositus legionibus I Italicae et III[I Flaviae cum omnibus copiis] auxilliorum dato iure gladi, leg. August[orum pro. praetore leg. III Aug.], consul desig[natus].

8.2745 (Lambaesis) [Laevillo Bereniciano] [Xviro stlit. iud.], trib. m[il. leg. . . . ], item XV A[poll., quaest. u]rb., alle[cto inter tri]bunicios, [praetori] candida[to Augustor.], leg. leg. XII[I Gem., item IIII Fl.], prae[posito le]gionib[us I Italicae et IIII Fl. cum [auxiliis].

8.2547 (Castra Lambaesis) [Imp. Caes. M. Aurelio Antonino Aug. Germ. Sarm. pont. max. trib. p]ot. XXX<sup>140</sup> imp. VI[II cos. I]II p. p. fortissimo [libe]ralissimoq. [prin]cipi dedicante [A. I]ulio Pisone [le]g. Aug. pro pr. veterani leg. III Aug. [qui] militare coeperun. [Glab]rione et Homullo [et Praesente et Rufino cos.].

The name Laevillus is from 8.2488. The inscriptions quoted above make the restorations in the *cursus* certain. The restorations at the end of 8.2547 are vouched for by 8.2744, where the names of the consuls remain on the stone.

At some time during the first Marcomannic war (a. 167-173) legio I Italica of Moesia Inferior and legio IIII Flavia of Moesia Superior were

<sup>140</sup> Beuch. p. 84 n. 3 seems to be at fault in assuming that since Marcus's trib. pot. XV extended into a. 161 his trib. pot. XXX extended into 177, and we must with Wilmanns and Dessau assign 8.2547 to a. 176. This shows that discharge was granted to certain soldiers of leg. III Augusta, some of whom had served only twenty-four years and some only twenty-three years. But the first Marcomannic war was now ended and a very large number of new troops had been enlisted in preparation for this war and during its progress. Moreover the treasury was well nigh depleted. It is hardly surprising, therefore, that when peace came, with extra troops on hand and without extra need, expenses were reduced by granting an early *missio* to some of the troops that had almost served out their time. This does not of course disprove the assumption of Klein and of Goyau (*Chronologie de l'empire romain*) that Julius Piso was consul suffectus in 178, and yet there is no proof that this was the exact year of his consulship, since 8.2582 cannot be certainly dated a. 177. He may have been in Numidia several years.

detached from the commands of the governors of the provinces to which they regularly belonged and formed into an independent corps for some special service. Julius Piso, who was leg. leg. IIII Flaviae at the time the corps was formed, was placed in command of the united force, that is, the leg. leg. I Italicae was subordinated to him. It is probable that he still acted as leg. leg. IIII Flaviae. He was given the *ius gladii* that he might have sufficient authority to maintain discipline in the legions, now detached from the command of the governors of the provinces who ordinarily exercised the *ius gladii* over them. We should not, however, it seems to me, assume with Beuch. pp. 84 f. that the civil jurisdiction over Dacia was at the same time given to Julius Piso. Had he been leg. Aug. pro pr. Daciae such would have been stated in our inscriptions. (Cf. § 31.) That he was not a governor of either Moesia is clear since it is not claimed for him in the inscriptions and his troops were partly from one province and partly from the other, and since he was afterwards sent to the praetorian command of Numidia before attaining the consulship.

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### C. Caecina Largus \*

C. Caecina Largus is given by Lieb. p. 284 as a governor of Moesia Inferior on the evidence of AEM 10 (1886) p. 73. Later editions of this inscription, 3.7418 = 12337 = 14207<sup>m</sup>, report it as belonging to Thrace.

# CONSPECTUS<sup>148</sup>

## GOVERNORS OF THE UNDIVIDED PROVINCE

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<sup>148</sup> Several men who have at times been assumed to have been governors of Moesia are omitted from this conspectus, but are discussed in the text. For references to these discussions see the general index under the following names: P. Antonius Faustus, C. Avidius Nigrinus, T. Avidius Quietus, Aurelius Appianus, M. Aurelius Claudius, Aurelius Pontianus, Caecilius, M. Caecilius Servilianus, C. Caecina Largus, L. Calpurnius Piso Frugi, Iulius Castus, A. Iulius Pompilius Piso, T. Vibius Laevillus Berenicianus, L. Licinius Sura, L. Ovinus Rusticus Cornelianus, Pollenius Auspex, L. Quintilianus, M. Salonius Longinius Marcellus, T. Suellius Marcianus, C. Zeno. A few others in regard to whom it is doubtful whether they ever governed Moesia or not, are included in this list, with an interrogation point after their names. A few who governed one of the Moesias, but it is uncertain which, are given in this list under each province and enclosed in brackets.

<sup>148</sup> The date given here is usually an approximate one. For discussion of the evidence see the sections to which reference has been made. In the articles in the text the dates that are regarded as certain are placed beside the names at the head of the sections.

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For names not included in this conspectus see note 142.

## APPENDIX

### SOME TITLES OF THE EMPEROR SEPTIMIUS SEVERUS, AND CIL 3.6904 AND 6911.

#### PARTHICUS MAXIMUS.

Wilmanns, *Exemp. Inscr. Lat.* (a. 1873), 978, n. 2: *Ceterum nescio cur obsit Parthici Maximi titulus quem susceperit Severus iam a. 199.* CIL 5 (a. 1877), index, p. 1158: ab a. 197 - - - - Parthicus Maximus; but the earliest of the inscriptions to which it refers is dated a. 198 in the body of the work. CIL 2 Suppl. (a. 1892), index, p. 1103: a. 198, 200 - - - - Parthicus Maximus; but the earliest of the inscriptions to which it refers is dated a. 200 in the body of the work. Egbert, *Lat. Inscr.* (a. 1895), p. 136: 198, Parthicus Maximus. Cagnat, *Cours d'Épigr.*<sup>3</sup> (a. 1898), p. 195: Parthicus maximus en 199; and in a footnote to this (n. 1, p. 195), *Le titre Parthicus Maximus n'apparaît qu'en 199.* He refers however in n. 3 on the same page to 8.10337, 10338, in which Parthicus Maximus is found, and dates them a. 198. CIL 3 Suppl. (a. 1902), index, p. 2430: a. 198 seq. - - - - Parthicus Maximus.

(1) The titles Parthicus Maximus, trib. pot. VI, imp. XI, cos. II, appear together in the following inscriptions: 3.205, 3745, 6723, 6725, 12178, 12186 = 6928, 12197, 12203, 12204, 14184<sup>84</sup>, 14428, 10.7274.

(2) The titles Parthicus Maximus, trib. pot. VI, imp. XII, cos. II, occur together in 3.14201.

(3) The titles Parthicus Maximus, trib. pot. VI, imp. XI, cos. III, occur together in 3.6911.

(4) Orelli, *Inscr. Lat.*, 352 - - - - L. Sept. Severo - - - - Parthico Maximo - - - - et imp. Caes. M. Aur. Antonino, t. pote. I, cos. I, - - - -.

CIL 10.7276 Imp. Caesari M. Aurelio Antonino Aug., trib. pot., procos., - - - - L. Septimi Severi - - - - Parthici Maximi filio, - - - -.

The inscriptions in (1), (2), and (3), above are shown to belong to a. 198 by trib. pot. VI, found in each. 3.14428 is also dated 198 by the names of the consuls for that year. In CIL, 3.14184<sup>84</sup> is dated a. 196, evidently by an oversight or misprint since on the same evidence it gives a. 198 with several of the others.

Of the inscriptions of Caracalla in (4) above, the text of the first is perhaps not reliable, but its date and its use of Parthicus Maximus as a title of Septimius agree with 10.7276, whose text is not in doubt. Both belong to a. 198, as shown by t. pote. I and trib. pot.

These inscriptions all agree in showing that the title Parthicus Maximus was used of Septimius as early as 198. I have found no inscriptions showing an earlier use.

3.5745 and 5980 give the title Parthicus Maximus to Caracalla, but they were evidently set up in 213 and 215 respectively, and not in the year 195, which accompanies the name of Septimius in each. The honorary titles of Septimius were not used by Caracalla until after his father's death in 211.

#### IMP. XI AND IMP. XII.

Cagnat, l. c., gives 199 as the earliest date of the use of the titles Imp. XI and Imp. XII by Septimius. His footnote 3, p. 195, however, refers to CIL. 8.10337 f., of a. 198, as showing imp. XII among his titles. Since imp. XI must have preceded imp. XII, as early a date as 198 must be given for both. The evidence of the inscriptions quoted above agrees with this. I have not found an earlier use of these titles than a. 198.

#### COS. III, AND CIL 3.6904 AND 6911.

3.6911, group (3) above, of a. 198, gives cos III. Mommsen in editing this inscription seems to have had no doubt of its correctness, and on the basis of this inscription he used cos. III in restoring 3.6904. The thirteen inscriptions of groups (1) and (2) above agree in indicating that Septimius was properly styled cos. II in a. 198. The references given in Klein, *Fasti Consulares*, p. 89, op-



posite the year 202, show conclusively that Septimius was consul III in that year. Cos. III in 3.6911 is therefore an error, probably of the stone-cutter, for cos. II, and cos. II should have been used in restoring 3.6904.<sup>144</sup>

<sup>144</sup> From the above it appears that 3.4642 Imp. Caes. L. Sep. 8 . . . . Pius [P]ertinax Au[g] . . . . Arab. Adiab. Part. Max. . . . . pont. max., trib. pot. . . . ., imp. XI, cos II, p. . . . . should be dated 198/201 instead of 198 as given in CIL.

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