

Translation of RE *legio* (Ritterling) – Legio III Italica Sp. (= col./column) 1532-1539.  
(by Florian Himmler M.A.)

Abbreviations used for the translation are:

S. (Seite/Spalte) = p. (page) or col. (column)

tab. (tabula) = pl. (plate)

vgl. (vergleiche) = cp. (compare)

[...] = original text or personal additions and comments

Col. 1532

XXXVII.

*leg. III Italica* is a creation of the emperor Marcus Aurelius (Dio LV 24,4 ΕΞ ΤΗΣ ΤΡΙΤΗΣ ΛΕΓΙΩΝΟΣ ΚΑΙ ΤΗΣ ΕΒΔΟΜΗΣ ΕΞΕΛΕΞΑΝΤΟ ΤΗΝ ΤΡΙΤΗΝ ΛΕΓΙΩΝΑΝ ΚΑΙ ΤΗΝ ΕΒΔΟΜΗΝ ΕΞΕΛΕΞΑΝΤΟ ΤΗΝ ΕΒΔΟΜΗΝ ΛΕΓΙΩΝΑΝ ...). The time of her formation is unknown, but can be found out with a certain reliability. According to the surnames given to the pair of legions - *pia* and *concors* - before the death of L. Verus; more likely, however, already several years earlier, around 165/66 AD (see above col. 1300f.).

That conscripts from Italian origin formed the majority of the legion is already expressed by her main name *Italica*, which she carried together with the surname *concors* in the first decades of her existence. According to the coins of Gallienus (Cohen V p.389f. nr. 489-498), her heraldic animal is the stork, since the stork was seen as a symbol of Concordia, the surname of the legion (v. Domaszewski Arch. epigr. Mitt. XV 1892, 191. 49).

Like her sister-legion, she was intended to help fighting back invasions of the Danubian Germans into the Roman provinces and into Italy. The location of her first main base [Standlager] is unknown.

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In her first years, the Praetorian C. Vettius Sabinianus Iulius Hospes must have been her legate (Année épigr. 1920 nr. 45 *leg(ato) leg(ionis) III Itali(c)ae concordis...*). Since she was led by a legionary legate without praetorian power [prätorische Gewalt], it is likely that she belonged to a larger army group led by a consular. Since a special task force [besonderes Kommando] at *praetenturam Italiae et Alpium* had been formed under Q. Antistius Adventus (Dessau nr. 8977), the legion is likely to have been included into this task force and may have fought on its left wing in the middle of the alpine region. This does not exclude a possible deployment of a vexillation to Dalmatia, where, together with a vexillation of her sister-legion, this vexillation took part in building the fortifications of Salonae in 170 AD: *vexillationes leg(ionum) II Piae et III Concordiae ped(es) (ducentos of the circular wall [Mauerring]) sub cura P. Aeli Amyntioni (centurionis) frumentari leg(ionis) II Traian(ae)* (CIL III 1980 p. 1030 line 8570). The reorganization of the border defenses in Raetia and Noricum can have been started only after the successes of Pertinax, under whom the legion presumably fought, not earlier than in 171 AD. That the legion already set up camp at Regensburg is doubtful. More likely, she had her main bases [Standlager] at different places at first, like the II Italica in Noricum, probably at Eining (cp. Barthel, Bericht der römisch-germanischen Kommission VI 1913, p. 162 [Reports of the Roman-Germanic Society] and the results of P. Reinecke's excavations since then). This is also supported by tile stamps which, up to now, have been found only at Eining; *LEG III ITAL CON* and *LEG III IT CON* CIL III 11989 a-c (=Vollmer 496 pl. 68,3), which, because of the second surname *con(cors)*, can come only from the earliest time of the legion (cp. the inscription of the legionary legate Vettius Sabinianus, Année épigr. 1920 nr. 45). At any rate, the erection of the main base [Standlager] Castra Regina took place only towards the end of the reign of Marcus Aurelius;

the building inscription [Bauinschrift], of which a large fragment has survived (CIL III 11965), can be dated to 179 AD and was made under Commodus (cp. Mommsen adnot.).

[Note of the translator: the inscription can be dated to 179 AD according to the titles of Marcus Aurelius. That it also shows the titles of Commodus as it had been years later (at the end of his reign in 192 AD ?) is the effect of Commodus's rehabilitation under Septimius Severus, when the passage which had been cut out in 193 AD was restored.]

Whether the lost part of the inscription gave ample information about the activities of the legion, as Vollmer Inscr. Bavariae nr. 362 suspects (a completion to *p[er leg(ionem) III Italicam et coh. II Aquitan* is certainly wrong in the latter part, probably *Italicam concordem*) cannot be proved. In any case, the camp was erected for no other unit than the III Italica, which, naturally, must have built her home by herself. From then on, the place was named *legio* after its garrison force, as milestones from the age of Septimius Severus (195 and 201 AD) show: on the one hand, they count the distance from the capital of the province of Raetia, Augsburg (*ab Aug(usta)*), and, on the other hand, from the headquarter of the legion A LG = a L(e)gione CIL III 5997, 5996, as is also likely for the partially mutilated columns 5995, 5998 and 5999, cp. Vollmer nr. 487-491 pl. 67).

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About the remains of the camp and its civil settlement cp. Graf Walderdorff Regensburg<sup>4</sup> 1896. Franziss Bayern zur Römerzeit 1905, 254ff. H. Ortner Das römische Regensburg 1909. Steinmetz Führer durch die Sammlung zu St. Ulrich in Regensburg<sup>3</sup> 1910, 5ff.; cp. also W. Barthel Bericht der römisch-germanischen Kommission IV 1913, 162-164.

Regensburg was the garrison of the legion until the end of Roman rule; the Notitia dignitatum still mentions the *,praefectus legionis tertiae Italicae partis superioris (?) Castra Regina nunc Vallato'* (Not. occ. XXXV 17). Evidence for her habitation comes from various inscriptions on stone, even if their number is relatively limited, as well as tile stamps. Among the former group are only few public and consecrational inscriptions; the majority are gravestones. To the former ones [note by the translator: text equally convoluted in the original !] belongs the fragment CIL III 14370<sup>12</sup> from the end of the 3<sup>rd</sup> century, which, after the provincial legate [Statthalter], names the legionary legate *...Secundinus praef(ectus) leg(ionis)*. A small fragment probably belongs to a list of discharged soldiers (Mommsen CIL III 11967, probably correctly identified by Vollmer nr. 375 as a dedication to Mars and Victory; cp. also III 5944). An altar was set up by an optio, doubtless from III Italica (Vollmer 420, cp. v. Domaszewski Westdeutsche Zeitschrift für Geschichte und Kunst / Korrespondenzblatt 1907, p.4), who had been born at Comum, and obviously joined the legion as a conscript when she was formed. The altar was set up in the last years of Marcus or under Commodus. Furthermore, there are dedications of individual soldiers or veterans of the legion from 211 AD (CIL III 14370<sup>9</sup>) and 240 AD (CIL III 5992 = Vollmer 358); CIL III 5945 is undated.

Epitaphs for members of the legion or their families are CIL III 5936 (not for a *praef(ectus) le[g(ionis)]*), as Vollmer assumed, but for a *b[eneficiarius praef(ecti)* or a *f(ilius) praef(ecti)*), 5947, 5959, 6531 = 11962, 6532, 6571 = 11964, 11959, 11960, 11966, 11968-11970, 15210<sup>1</sup>. The numerous tile stamps have been taken together according to their inscriptions in CIL III 6000. 11986-11989 and in Vollmer nr. 496 tab. 68.

Outside her main base, the legion has left traces especially at Augsburg, where the legion's legate resided due to his assignment as legate of the province; cp. e.g. the dedication at Augsburg CIL III 5793 by *Appius Cl. Lateranus Xvir sacr(is) fac(iundis) cos. design(atus) leg(atus) Aug(usti) p(ro) pr(aetore) leg(ionis) III Ital(icae)*.

The following persons obviously served in the legate's *officium*: the centurions CIL III 5817 and 5820, and the *principales* III 5815 *ex bf. cos.*, 5812 *exactus cos.*, 5814 *librarius cos.*, probably also 5823. The *aquilifer* CIL III 5816 set up a tombstone for his brother, who obviously lived in the trading town [Augsburg] because of his occupation (*negotiator*

*vestiarius*). The legionary *veter(anus) ex signifero* of CIL III 5818 seems to have spent the last years of his life at the provincial capital.

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A *vexillatio* of the legion erected the small fort [Kastell] of Böhming am Pfahlgraben in 181 AD (ORL B nr. 73a, according to the building inscription CIL III 14370<sup>2</sup>) under the supervision of one of her centurions ...*vex(illarii) leg(ionis) III Ital(icae) vallum fece(runt) c(uram) a(gente) Iul(io) Iulino (centurione) leg(ionis) III Ital(icae)*; he was assisted by another centurion of the legion, who served as *praepositus* of the coh. I Breucorum (ORL B nr. 73b), the unit of the nearby fort of Pfünz: *item portas cum turrib(us) (quattor) perfec(tas) ab Ael(io) Forte (centurione) leg(ionis) III Ital(icae) praep(osito) coh(ortis) I Br(eucorum)*. Böhming obviously belonged to their section of the *limes*. A similar position can be assumed for the centurion L. Flavius Vetulenus CIL III 5937 in Untersaal near Eining, who was *praepositus* of the local unit, the coh. III Brittanorum, and for the centurion M. Ulpus Secundus at Lauingen (CIL III 5876 – possibly displaced from the nearby Faimingen). The only other known official of the legate seems to be a *b(ene)ff(iciarius) co(n)s(ularis)* at the important junction Brigantium (CIL III 5768).

With the exception of tile stamps, no more inscriptions of the legion have been found in other places of the province: it is unknown, where the tombstone of an *optio* of the legion CIL III 5976 was found, but Regensburg is most likely. The tombstone of a *corn(icularius) trib(uni)* CIL III 5974 = 11977, found at Pfaffenmünster, seems to have also come from Regensburg. The *fru(mentarius) leg(ionis) III Italic(ae)* who dedicated a bronze tablet (CIL V 6869) to the god Poeninus on the pass of the street which was most used by the officials of the transalpine armies is unlikely to have been on a mission directly to or from the garrison province of his legion, since he would otherwise have preferred the Brenner road. In order to keep up a permanent link between Raetia and Italy for regular supplies, an office *annon(ae) leg(ionis) III Italic(ae)* (CIL V 5056) was installed at Trient. It was supervised by a respectable local with the rank of a knight (cp. Mommsen CIL V p. 531, probably late 2d or early 3<sup>rd</sup> century). Later, this task fell to a *praefectus legionis tertiae Italicae transvectioni specierum deputatae*, who had his seat at *Foetibus* (Füssen am Lech) and *Teriolis* (Zirl near Innsbruck)(cp. Not. dign. Occ. XXXV 21 and 22).

It can be taken for granted that the legion always fought in the first line during Marcus Aurelius's Germanic wars, for which she had been formed. The *dona militaria* given to C. Annius Flavianus by Marcus or, more likely, Commodus for *bello Germanico (secundo)* (CIL VIII 17900), seem to have been earned by him during his assignment as *trib(unus) leg. III Italic(ae)*, since the other units he commanded as a prefect all had their garrisons in the Orient. A centurion of the III Ital. took part in an *expeditio Burica* (CIL III 5937 *Fl(avius) Vetulenus (centurio) leg(ionis) III Ital(icae) reversus ab expedit(ione) Burica*),

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but it is unknown whether this expedition was an episode during the long Germanic wars from 166 to 180 AD, or whether it took place at a later date. In any case, these Buri were among the enemies of the empire in the age of Marcus (Hist. Aug. Marc. Anton. 22, 12) and were also mentioned during the wars (Dio LXXI 18); only later did they seem to have placed themselves under Roman protection (Dio LXXII 2,4), after Commodus, probably only after his father's death, had made peace with them (Dio LXXII 3,1, cp. Pernerstein Zeitschrift für Deutsches Altertum LX 1922, 72).

During Septimius Severus's bid for the throne, the legion supported him immediately, as can be seen by the coins struck in her name in 193 AD (Cohen IV<sup>2</sup> 31 nr. 262. 263). In the ensuing civil wars, which lasted until 197 AD, she must have fought on the side of Severus. Naturally, the entire legion must have played a leading role during the war against the Alamanni which Caracalla personally led in 213 AD (see section A o. S. 1317 ff.). During Caracalla's Parthian

campaign in 215 AD, a vexillation must have followed him into the East: because of the legion's surname (*III Italicae Antoniniana*), the soldier on the epitaph CIL III 14207<sup>6</sup> can have come to Perinth, where he died, only on the way to the campaign in 215 AD, or on the way back, under Elagabal, in 218 or 219 AD. During the following 3<sup>rd</sup> century, the legion must have sent a mobile force to all major imperial campaigns, especially to the wars against the Persians and Goths. It is only by coincidence that only from the late 3<sup>rd</sup> century a definite piece of evidence has survived: among the legions forming Aurelian's army in his war against Zenobia in 273 AD, not only the  $\subseteq \overline{\text{III}} \text{ III} \text{ III}$  are mentioned, but also the  $\Phi \nabla \overline{\text{III}} \text{ III} \text{ III}$ ,  $P \Sigma \delta \text{ III} \text{ III}$  (Zosim. I 52,3). The legion seem to have played a certain role in the civil wars shortly after the middle of the century: Licinius Valerianus, *in Raetia et Norico agens*, was raised by his troops, of whom the III Italica must have been a considerable part, probably even the core (Eutrop. IX 7. Aur. Vict. Caes. 32, 1 : *at milites, qui contracti undique apud Raetias ob instans bellum morabantur, Licinio Valeriano imperium deferunt*). And in a similar way, Gallienus's general of the cavalry, Aureolus, started his coup *cum per Raetias legionibus praesset* (Aur. Vict. Caes. 33, 17). More or less in these centuries, the Val(erius) Cl(audius) Quintus from an inscription at Virunum CIL III 4855 led a mobile force of the III Italica into an external or internal war: *p(rimo) p(ilo) leg. II Ital(icae) duci leg. III Ital(icae), duci et praep(osito) leg. III Aug(ustae)*. He cannot have commanded the entire legion in her garrison, since in this case, the title of *dux* would not have fit. Furthermore, the mobile force of a legion taken for a campaign, the *vexillatio*, was also called legion during that age and was treated like a legion of her own. His command was probably linked to the imperial proclamation [to the proofreader: I mean a coup, not some kind of announcement] of Valerian. Col. 1537

Under Gallienus, the III Ital. appears on coins with the honorific surname *VI* and *VII pia* (Cohen V<sup>2</sup> p. 389 nr. 487-495 and p. 390 nr. 496-498. Roth Wiener Numismatische Zeitschrift V 74f. pl. IV 8 and 9). Otherwise, however, the legion did not have the surname *pia fidelis*, so it is very unlikely that the leg. III p(ia) f(idelis) mentioned in an inscription at Aquileia (CIL V 808), probably from the time of Philippus, can be identified with the III Italica (as v. Domaszewski Bonner Jahrbücher CXVII 187, 7, thinks). The location at Fünfkirchen in Pannonia of the epitaph of the soldier of the III Italica Au(relius) – as the M is probably to be read – Ursus (CIL III 3309), who was buried together with several members of his family, does not necessarily lead to a possible subdivision of the legion stationed in Pannonia. When the border defenses of Raetia were reorganized, the legion stayed in her permanent camp [Regensburg], which was probably totally rebuilt at this time in order to make it fit for the new situation (see Barthel Bericht der römisch-germanischen Kommission VI 164) [note by the translator (in 2003 AD): the erection of a smaller fortlet in the northeastern corner of the legionary fortress – similar to the new fortlet at Eining – has been postulated ever and ever again, but there has never been any evidence to support this theory !]. Whether a second legion [the III Herculia] was stationed in Raetia remains doubtful (see above col. 1353, 66f.). In the Notitia dignitatum, the legion is mentioned as the only one under the command of the dux Raetiae (occ. XXXV), but split up into no less than five subdivisions, which were stationed at *Castra Regina, nunc Vallato* (Manching ?), *Submuntorio* (= Burghöfe near Druisheim ?), *a Vimania* (near Isny ?) *Cassiliacum* (near Memmingen) *usque, Cambiduno* (Camboduno = Kempten), *Foetibus* (Füssen) and *Teriolis* (Zirl near Innsbruck). In addition to this old basic legion [Stammlegion] in Raetia, the Notitia also mentions a *III Italica (sive Tertiani)* among the *comitatenses* (Not. occ. V 237), which, according to Not. occ. VII 53, was placed under the *comes Illyrici*; in both cases, she is listed together with the Tertia Herculia (see above nr. XXXV col. 1532)[note by the translator: this, and the fact that all the other Danubian provinces in the Not. dign. had two legions, is the main evidence for the 'second legion in Raetia since Diocletian'-theory, see a few lines above].

*Legati Aug. leg. III Ital.:*

C. Vettius C. fil. Volt. Sabinianus Iulius Hospes was promoted to *leg. leg. III Itali(c)ae concordis* after having been *iuridicus per tractus Etruriae Aemiliae Liguriae*. According to the other stages of his career, this happened around the middle of the 160s, probably 166 AD (Année épigr. 1920 nr. 45). Therefore, he was one of the first, or the first legate of the legion.

*Legati Aug. leg. III Italicae pro pretore = legati Aug. pro praetore prov. Raetiae:*

M. Helvius Clemens Dextrianus in 179/180 AD, according to the building inscription of the legionary fortress at Regensburg, CIL III 11965.

Q. Spicius Cerialis, in 181 AD (building inscription of the fort at Böhming, III 14370<sup>2</sup> in 183/184, III 11933 Pfünz) and XIII 5255; probably immediate successor of Clemens Dextrianus in 180 or 181 AD.

Appius Cl(audius) Lateranus, likely before the end of the 2d century AD, III 5793.

Olus Terentius Pudens Utidianus, under Septimius Severus, III 993.

C. Octavius Appius Suetrius Sabinus, in 213/214 AD, Prosopographia Imperii Romani III 426 nr. 19.

.....Dio]nysius, under Elagabal 219-221 AD, CIL III 5874 = Vollmer nr. 217 pl. 29 and ORL B nr. 66c Faimingen 49 nr. 2.

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[Caerellius...], in the list of his provincial assignments in the inscription CIL XIII 6806 must be an error, since Raet(ia) was placed between the consular provinces of Moesia superior and Germania superior. That he took over the administration of Raetia after that of Thracia is likewise unlikely, so an error by the chiseler becomes probable and Raetia has to be dropped from the list altogether. The latter is beyond doubt in the inscription of

P. Petronius Polianus in the age of Gordian. His inscription CIL III 1017, which he set up during his assignment as commander of the leg. XIII gemina Gordiana at Apulum, was read as *leg(atus) Aug(usti) [pr. p]r. Raet(iae) i[te]m Belgicae*. Not only is the sequence of governorships impossible, he can also have been promoted from his post as legionary commander to only one governorship, but not two at the same time. Therefore, the inscription should be read as *leg(atus) Aug(usti) [pro p]raet(ore) [prov(inciae)] Belgicae*.

Unknown are the names of two legionary commanders from the 3<sup>rd</sup> century on the inscription fragments CIL VIII 7064 (probably from the family of Porcius Optatus in the age of Septimius Severus) and Dessau 8834b [ Σ ] - | ← X ⊗<sup>TM</sup> | } Φ ∇ / | ↓ / j. Whether

P. Licinius Valerianus in 253 AD has to be seen as regular governor of Raetia or as the commander of an army which had been gathered for combating the usurper [Gegenkaiser] Aemilianus, with Raetia serving as gathering place and operational base, cannot be seen from Eutrop. IX 7 and Aur. Vict. Caes. 32, 1. The same goes for Aureolus in the age of Gallienus.

*Tribuni militum:*

M. Annaeus Saturninus Clodianus Aelianus v(ir) c(larissimus) (lati cl.), CIL VI 1337.

C. Annius Flavianus, under Marcus and Commodus, VIII 17900.

C. Iulius Ingenuus, c(larissimus) i(uvenis), V 5032.

L. Marius L.f. Quir. Maximus Perpetuus Aurelianus, under Marcus and Commodus (lati cl.), VI 1450.

Gn. Pompeius Pompeianus, VI 3529.

*Praefecti:*

.....Secundinus, III 14370<sup>12</sup>.

.....bf. prae[fecti ca]str(orum), III 5953.

*Centuriones:*

Aelius Fortis, in 181 AD, III 14370<sup>2</sup>.

Aurelius Valerianus, III 15210<sup>1</sup>.

Q. Eniboudius Montanus, *ordinatus ex eq(uite) rom(ano)* under Marcus, V 7865. 7866.

Flavius Vetulenus, probably under Marcus, III 5937.

....., Ingenuus, III 5818.

Iulius Iulinus, in 181 AD, III 14370<sup>2</sup>.

C. Managnius Iustus, III 5817.

C. Nonius Manlianus, VIII 2953.

L. Numerius L.f. Felix, II 4162.

Taurinius Montanus, *ex (centurione) vet(eranus)* III 5820.

M. Ulpus Gaius, under Caracolla or Elagabal III 1178.

M. Ulpus Secundus, III 5876.

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Nomenclature [Benennungen] of the legion.

In most cases leg. III Italica. Very rarely, and only within the province, without any surname leg. III, CIL III 5949; *LEG TER* in a tile stamp (Vollmer 496) and *L III* painted. In the beginning of her existence, the legion had the regular surname *concors*, either alone as in CIL III 1980 from 170 AD (leg. III Concordia – obviously an error for *concors*), or leg. III Itali(c)a *concors*, Année épigr. 1920 nr. 45. CIL III 11989 a-c = Vollmer 496 pl. 68 (on tile stamps) (CIL III 11965 = Vollmer 362, see above p. 1533, 54 supplemented).

With names of emperors:

leg. III Italica Antoniniana, CIL III 1178. 14207<sup>6</sup>.

leg. III Italica Gordiana, III 5760, completed by Vollmer 74 B to *p(ia) f(idelis)*.

leg. III Italica with erased name of emperor, III 5823 = Vollmer pl. 20; When the name of the emperor was erased, the name of the legion was erroneously likewise scraped out, but it was restored later (Mommsen adnot.). A *damnatio memoriae* of the legion cannot be concluded from this error.

leg. III Italica VI P. VI F. and leg. III Italica VII P. VII F. on coins of Gallienus, Cohen p. 389/90 nr. 487-498.

The leg. III pia fidelis in CIL V 808 cannot be identified with the III Italica, see below nr. XXXIX col. 1540.

Translation of Ritterling legio – XXVII leg. II Italica – col. 1468-1475  
(by Florian Himmler - 2003)

Abbreviations used for the translation:

p. (page) or col. (column)

pl. (plate)

cp. (compare)

### Col. 1468

XXVII. *leg. II Italica*. Raised by Marcus Aurelius (Dio LIV 24) around 165 AD from men conscripted from Italy (see above col. 1300f.). At first, the legion carried only the official surname Pia (still in 170 AD, CIL III 1980); however, shortly after her formation, the surname Italica was added, which later became the main name. According to the coins of Gallienus (Cohen V<sup>2</sup> 388 nr. 472-476), the legion's emblem was the she-wolf nursing the twins Romulus and Remus [that the stork of III Italica (Cohen V<sup>2</sup> 388 nr. 477) and Capricorn of I adiutrix or IIXX primigenia (Cohen V<sup>2</sup> 388 nr. 471) were also attributed to the legion, has been caused by misreading tile stamps of II Italica]. The image is likely to represent the zodiac sign of twins, which belongs to the month ruled by Apollo (May 29<sup>th</sup> to June 18<sup>th</sup>). The reason why this sign was given to the legion is hard to see, since it cannot be linked to the nativity of one of the Divi fratres (Marcus April 26<sup>th</sup>, Verus December 15<sup>th</sup>). The *dies natalis* of the legionary eagle is also very unlikely in this case (see below for the leg. VI ferrata). In any case, the wolf cannot be the main emblem, even if he appears among the five emblems of the old pre-marian legions.

We do not know where the legion was garrisoned during her first years. However, like her sister-legion III Concordia, she was undoubtedly used from the very beginning in a way which served best the intentions of her maker: to keep at bay the powerful incursions of the Danubian people, and especially to protect Italy, until the western troops, which were kept busy in the East, were again available for the protection of the borders along Rhine and Danube.

### Col.1469.

In this period of a quickly changing defensive situation, the legion is unlikely to have kept a permanent base in one of the provinces; she will rather have fought here and there among the mobilized border defense forces under the command of individual legates. The assumption of II Italica having been stationed in her first years in lower Pannonia, where a tile stamp of her has been found (CIL III 10662 – Neue Heidelberger Jahrbücher V 114 note 6), has no firm basis. The explanation that 'this province had a fighting force of two legions during the Marcomannic Wars, since the governor was of consular rank' is without evidence. All known legates of Pann. inf. of this time were only of praetorian rank. Rather, the legion seems to have been also under the command of Q. Antistius Adventus in his position as *leg. Aug. pr. pr. at praetenturam Italiae et Alpium*, which he held around 168 AD. In 170 AD, a vexillation of II Italica, together with one of III Italica, was occupied with erecting the wall of Salonae (CIL III 1980). When the situation changed to the better around 172 AD, the legion probably operated in the Alpine region, primarily in the eastern part, possibly under the command of Claudius Pompeianus and Helvius Pertinax (Hist. Aug. Pert. 2, 4-6).

It is still impossible to say when and where she first set up a permanent camp. (on the earliest time of the legion before her being garrisoned at Lauriacum cp. Kenner, *Der Römische Limes in Österreich VIII* 1907 p. 211ff.). It is not totally impossible that a recently discovered large structure which, according to tile stamps, was built by II Italica (cp. the report from Logers in *Österreichische Jahreshfte XIX/XX* 1919 Beiblatt p. 107-134) at Lotschitz near the important junction of Celeia, dates back to this period of warfare before 175 AD. This camp, which has almost the same dimensions as the camp at Albing (see below), covered the access from Pannonia to Emona, the gate to Italy, as well as to Aquileia, the main base of the defense forces between Italy and Illyricum. The position of this camp resembles more or less the military situation as it can be assumed for this phase of the Marcomannic Wars in the early 170<sup>ies</sup>. The entire structure was obviously erected simultaneously and was occupied for only a short period of time. The many tile stamps and their fragments - 204 on the whole - are very uniform, and a large number of them shows not only the name of the legion, but also the names of the soldiers involved in the production (Mitteilungen der kaiserlich-königlichen Zentral-Kommission 1899, 215. CIL III 14369<sup>2</sup> = 5757, 2. 3a 4. 11850. 11851 a. b. c. col. 2328<sup>50</sup>. *Österreichische Jahreshfte XIX/XX* Beiblatt p. 124-134). This happened only here.

No later than in this phase of the wars, when the legion did still fight as a part of larger army groups, can Q. Herennius Silivius Maximus have served as *legat(us) leg. II Italicae et alae Antoninianae* (CIL IX 2213).

### Col. 1470.

The legion must have taken up a permanent position in the province of Noricum after the Germanic-Sarmatic triumph of the emperor in 176 AD, when order had been restored to the provinces along the middle-Danube. (Van de Weerd Mus. *Belge VII* 1903, 101-103, tries to prove (with CIL IX 2593) the presence of II Italica in Noricum from 174 AD on, at the latest.) The provincial governor also became the legionary legate. The legionary camp at Albing seems to have been built for and by the legion at this time or shortly later. (It was discovered by

the Österreichische Limesforschung in 1904 and 1905; cp. Der Römische Limes in Österreich VIII 1907, 157-172 pl. III). A small number of tile stamps, totally different from those at Lotschitz, give evidence for a link between the camp and II Italica, as well as for her building activity there (loc. cit. p. 172 pl. 84). However, even this camp was occupied by the legion for only a short period of time; probably, because it had been placed on an island in the Danube and was too much exposed to floods and a rising groundwater table. Perhaps still under Commodus, a new camp, Lauriacum, was erected on better suited ground only 5 km away near the estuary of the river Enns. (Excavations there were done also by the Österreichische Limesforschung from 1904 on: Der Römische Limes in Österreich VII 5-46. VIII 119-156. IX 1908 87-116. X 1909, 79-114. XI 1910, 1-33). The altar from this camp's banner sanctuary [note by the translator: could not find the English word for 'Fahnenheiligtum'], which was dedicated by the *primipilus* to the legion's *genius* on the 18<sup>th</sup> of September 191 AD, shows also the interior structures of the camp to have been complete at this date. Therefore, the building process must have been initiated at least several years earlier. The legion stayed in this camp from the end of the second century to the end of Roman rule in Noricum ripense, cp. Itin. Anton. p. 249, 1, where the III in *Lauriaco mp. XX leg. III* has been an error for *II I(talica)*; Not. dign. occ. XXXIV 39. The large building inscription, which originally dates from the year 205 AD, and of which there must have been several examples within the premises of the camp, cannot mean the erection of the camp itself. Perhaps, it can be attributed to a reconstruction and adornment [orig. text: Wiederherstellung und Ausschmückung] of one of the interior buildings, probably the courtyard of the *principia*. (The fragments of the inscription were published and supplemented by Bormann in Der Römische Limes in Österreich XI 129-136). The building activity of the legion, which is certainly to be taken for granted, was explicitly noted in the last line, added between 211 and 217 AD (Bormann 135). The high level of building activity within the camp is illustrated by the large amount of tiles with the stamp of the legion, which were probably manufactured not too far away from the camp itself (cp. CIL III 5757, 1a. c. e. k. l. n. g. r. t. u. 11849 f. g. h., as well as III p. 963 nr. 11. p. 964 nr. 17 and 18; found during the systematic excavations: Der Römische Limes in Österreich VII 1906, 31f, pl. 45, 1-8. XI 1910, 49ff. pl. 23, 1-12, together with a graffito IIII *NONAS AUGUST[AS] ISAURICUS*).

#### **Col. 1471.**

That a part of the tile stamps were not from II Italica, but from III Italica, has been stated several times; but although Groller (Der Römische Limes XI 1910, 57-60 and pl. 32) argued in favor of this assumption, it has to be definitely canceled out. Precisely the tile stamps used by Groller for his line of argument can undoubtedly be identified as coming from II Italica, even if their characters look crude and savaged.

Otherwise, epigraphic pieces of information from this place, where II Italica stayed for centuries, are very scarce: despite a small fragment which cannot be identified any closer and which names a *primipil(us)* of the legion (CIL III 5682 = 11 824), only a few tombstones of active soldiers or veterans have been discovered (CIL III 5671 = 11814. 5673 = 11816. 11822 (= 5681 + 5686 + 5687) and 11823 (5681a + 5685)).

Members of the legion appear not only at the headquarter, but also at different places of the province where they held official positions. At Virunum, the center of provincial administration, the following officials served for the governor: a *beneficiarius cos.* (CIL III 4820 for the year 238 AD); a *strator cos.* (CIL III 4836 = 11507); a (*centurio*) *frumentarius* (CIL III 4861) and a *frum(entarius)* (CIL III 4830), who, however, seems to have also been born at Virunum. Other officials appear at known junctions, like Atrans (III 11676); Celeia *beneficiarii cos.* in 192 AD (CIL III 5178), 211 AD (III 5187), 215 (III 5185), 217 (III 5189), unknown year (III 5180); Bedaium in 226 AD (III 5575) and 229 AD (III 5580); Unterthörl in 215 AD (III 11482); St. Leonhard in 209 AD (CIL III 14361), and finally, at the Danube border at Passau, in 230 AD (CIL III 5690).

The tombstones of legionaries who had fallen in combat were mostly, according to the inscriptions, placed at their home towns: at Virunum III 4835 (*bello desider.*) 4836a. 4837. 4841. 4856. 4857 (*bello desider.*). 4862(?). 11553; furthermore 5218 (*o(bito) in exp. Da(cisca)*). 5412. 5448. 5567. 5614. (11782). 5663 = 11806. 5688. 11700 (*bello desider.*). The same seems to be case with the tombstones of the veterans in CIL III 4853. 5106. 5449. 5624. A dedication of two legionaries in the time of Severus Alexander was placed at Virunum (III 4791 add. p. 1046), both were probably in the governor's staff; an altar for Noreia and the province Britannia near Celeia by a (*centurio*?) of the legion (CIL III 5300).

The stamped tiles of the legion at Celeia (CIL III 11849a. b. c), Breg (III 5757p), Oberbirnbaum (III 5757 f), Heilenstein (III 11849 d) are surely to be placed to the findings at Lotschitz (see above). Whether isolated deposits at a few other places, e.g. Mautern (CIL III 11849e), allows for any clues about military constructions at the individual locations, is hard to say. On tiles of the 4<sup>th</sup> century see below.

The permanent stationing of the legion on Norian soil necessarily led to a changing of the procuratorian province of Noricum to a senatorian one, which was governed by a legate of the emperor in the rank of a praetorian (cp. Hist. aug. Marc. 22, 9: *provinces... <ex procuratoriis> praetorias pro belli necessitate fecit*).

#### **Col. 1472.**

This governor was also the legionary legate. (see below)

After the great wars along the Danube had come to a temporary end, it is unlikely that the legion took part in any large-scale warfare during the reign of Commodus. However, in the civil wars after the demise of Commodus, the



legion seems to have played a not unimportant role. In the 3<sup>rd</sup> century, the legion carried the honorific title *p. f.* They appear in the following inscriptions (in chronological order): in 200 AD (CIL XI 1322), 209 AD (CIL III 14361), 211 AD (CIL III 5187), 215 (CIL III 5185 p. f. Antoniniana), under Severus Alexander (p. f. Severiana CIL 5449. 5575. 5690. 3270), in 238 AD (CIL III 4820), without a date (CIL III 4837. 4856. 4857. 5300. 5671. 11553, and on tile stamps from Lauriacum (Der Römische Limes in Österreich VIII 1907 p. 453 pl. 73, 1. 2). The legion had the surname *pia* since her formation (CIL III 1980 in 170 AD), and in September of 191 AD she is still called only *II Italica p(ia)* (CIL III 15208). Since she is called only II Italica in 192 AD (CIL III 5178), the legion must have earned herself the honorific title *pia fidelis* after this year and before 200 AD. The only opportunity to do so can have been the civil wars from 193-197 AD. In contrast to an older view (cp. De leg. X gemina 61), the denarius which was minted with her name (Cohen IV<sup>2</sup> 31 nr. 261) shows II Italica among the legions at Danube and Rhine which recognized Severus as emperor immediately after his proclamation at Carnuntum in April 193 AD. However, this cannot have been the reason for the two honorific titles, since they were not given to the other legions, although they also supported Severus. II Italica must have had an opportunity to show herself as *pia fidelis* by declaring herself for Severus and keeping up this support despite opposition within the province against this emperor. The legion might even have resisted the provincial governor. Indeed, the inscription of Ti. Claudius Candidus (CIL II 4114) explicitly states combat against *rebelles hostes publici*, i.e. enemies of Severus in Noricum: *duci terra marique adversus rebelles h(ostes) p(ublicos)* (in Spain) *item Asiae, item Noricae*. These campaigns can have taken place only in 193 or 196/97 AD. The order of Candidus's positions in the inscription seems at first to hint at the final year, or even a little later (also Hasebrook 102), but at a closer look [note of the translator: meaning of original text obscure], he cannot have fulfilled these tasks at the same time: chasing the *hostes publici* in Spain, Asia and Noricum on the one side, and on the other side leading the troops of Illyricum into war against Niger in Asia minor, and then against the Parthians, finally against Clodius Albinus. This would have led to a chronological collision. Determined resistance in Noricum in 196 AD is hardly likely, since the rule of Severus was firmly set in Italy and all surrounding areas and armies at this time.

#### **Col. 1473.**

The situation in the spring of 193 AD was different: Severus was only a claimant to the throne, and in nearby Italy, the ruling emperor was Iulianus, who had been raised to the purple by the guard. The close connections between the Norian cities and Italy, and especially with the pre-Severan praetorium, are known and can have played an important role when the province had to choose sides. It is therefore quite likely that after the proclamation of Severus, large parts of the province declared themselves against him, whereupon Claudius Candidus, a supporter of Severus, had to force them to give up their resistance; II Italica, which had stayed faithful to her emperor, was rewarded with the surnames *pia fidelis* (similar to VII gem. in Spain).

At a considerably later date, obviously in 205 AD, Severus ordered the construction of a larger building within the legion's camp (Der Römische Limes in Österreich XI 1910, 129-136).

Outside of the garrison province of Noricum, the following soldiers of II Italica seem to have been on normal assignments: the *frumentarii* in Rome (CIL VI 3340. IG XIX 958. Dessau 9080) and the (*centurio*) *frumentarius* in Luna (CIL XI 1322). Conspicuous is an inscription with a *bf. cos.* of II Italica from Teutoburgium in lower Pannonia (CIL III 3270, from 226 AD), since in provinces with a legion, these officials were chosen exclusively from the local legions, here I or II adiutrix. Anyhow, it is apparently not justified to postulate a detachment of II Italica in Pannonia inferior at that date, even if the tile stamps found at Batta (CIL III 10662 a-d) may point into this direction (v. Domaszewski Neue Heidelberger Jahrbücher V 114 note 6). However, they possibly came to this place much later via the waterway (cp. leg. I Noricum see above 1435). Only a comparison of the tile stamps found at Batta with the material produced in Noricum could answer this question.

II Italica definitely took part in the Dacian war of emperor Maximinus, as did the II adiutrix from lower Pannonia (CIL III 4857. 5218 = 11691). It took also part in a war against the Goths at an unknown date, probably in the second half of the 3<sup>rd</sup> century (III 11700); It is unknown, in which war the soldier of tombstone III 4835 was a *desideratus*. The presence of the soldier Lici(nius) Maximinus at Poetovio (III 15184<sup>6</sup>) can certainly be attributed to a campaign in the late 3<sup>rd</sup> century. Aurelius Guto, who was buried by a comrade at Pola (CIL V 46), may have died there during a military enterprise/campaign [orig. text: 'bei Gelegenheit einer kriegerischen Unternehmung']. The tombstones CIL V 8277 from Aquileia and V 375 from Cittanuova in Istria, however, do not point at something similar. A *primipilus* of II Italica possibly commanded the Raetian sister-legion III Italica somewhere between 238 and 253 AD, and also served as *praepositus* of III Augusta (CIL III 4855), after this legion had been shifted [to a different location] as an act of punishment.

#### **Col. 1474.**

II Italica's obedience to the legitimate emperor Gallienus, at least until about 261 AD, is shown by coins struck with her emblem and her surname V *pia* V *fidelis*, VI *pia* VI *fidelis*, and VII *pia* VII *fidelis* (cp. Kolb Wiener Numismatische Zeitschrift V 1873, 71 pl. IV 5).

After Septimius Severus reorganized the praetorian cohorts [translator's note: deserves 'em right !!! ☺ - to the proofreader – please delete this !] and replenished them with soldiers from the legions, members of II Italica were

also taken up into the guard; an example for such a translatio is the inscription CIL VI 2672: *Aur(elio) Saturnino eq(uiti) coh. VIII pr(aetoriae)... militavit in leg(ione) secunda Italica tesserarius ann(is) VI*. In the chaos of the late 3<sup>rd</sup> century, probably no sooner than in the great wars against the Germans under Maximian and Constantius, a mobilized force of II Italica was transferred to the lower Rhine, where it became an independent unit and formed the garrison of the Cologne bridgehead Deutz (Divitia), from which place it took over its surname. In the time after Constantine's reorganization of the armies of Gaul and the Rhine area, this legion was one of the best units. When this army moved over the Alps in 312 AD, in order to make Constantine emperor instead of Maxentius, the legio II Divitensium was taking part in the campaign. Witnesses for her losses in the bloody battles are several tombstones found at several places near the Via Flaminia, along which Constantine advanced towards Rome (CIL XI 4787 (Spoletium) *Florio Baudioni viro ducenario protectori ex ordinario leg. II Ital. Divite(nsiu)m*) placed by *Val(erius) Vario optio leg. II Divit(ensium)*; to the same period belongs CIL XI 4085 (Oriculum) *Val(eri) Saturnini mil(itis) leg. II Ital(icae)...*

After Constantine's army had entered Rome victoriously, *Val(erius) Genialis milix legionis secunde Divitensium Italice singnifer* died there in the age of 50 and after 26 years of service (CIL VI 3637). This unit, which was later just called the *Divitenses*, had, together with her similarly created sister-legion, the Tongremani, an especially high position in Constantine's elite field-army, the *legiones palatinae* (Not. dign. occ. V 4 = 147. VII 5). However, this is not the place to describe her changeful history in the course of the 4<sup>th</sup> century.

Her mother-legion, II Italica, stayed in her old garrison province of Noricum, but in the context of the large-scale changes of the entire armed forces since the late 3<sup>rd</sup> century, the legion was placed among the lowest group of units, the *legiones ripenses* (border-legions [Grenzlegionen]). In the early 5<sup>th</sup> century, II Italica was still in this position according to the Notitia dignitatum (Not. occ. XXXIV 37-39) and under the command of the *dux Pannoniae primae* and *Norici ripensis*. Her main headquarter was still at Lauriacum, but sub-units were stationed at Lentia (Linz) and, equipped with Liburnae for surveillance of the riverine traffic, at Ioviacum (Schlägen).

#### **Col. 1475.**

It was therefore the task of II Italica to cover the western part of Noricum's long border along the Danube, from the Inn estuary to below the Enns estuary, while the eastern part was controlled by I Noricum, which had been newly formed under Diocletian (see above under leg. I Noricum, col. 1434f.).

From this late period in the 4<sup>th</sup> century comes a large group of tiles, which, according to the imprinted stamps, were manufactured in brickyards of II Italica. As far as this can be seen, they were all produced within a short period of time, which, however, cannot be dated more precisely with the existing material, yet. [note by the translator: new clues hint at the age of Valentinian I]. The lively production of these tiles by II Italica was ordered by *Ursicinus v(ir) p(erfectissimus)*, who, according to the system of duchies in the 4<sup>th</sup> century, was simultaneously dux of Noricum ripense and Pannonia prima (Not. dign. occ. XXXIV), so his command included all garrisons from the Inn estuary to a point below Raab [= Győr in Hungary]. The text of these stamps differs only little and has in the majority of cases two lines. The first line mentions the orders of the dux, the second one the production by II Italica with the place-name of her brickyard: *temp(erante) Ursic(ino) v(iro) p(erfectissimo) du(ce) / leg(ionis) II Ital(icae) Alar?* (cp. CIL III 11853 and p. 2328, 50, cp. 5757, ln. *LEG II ITAL AL*).

Corresponding to the extended command of this dux, these tiles were found not only on Norian soil, but also within upper Pannonia (Vindobona, Carnuntum and in the surrounding area – CIL III 4656. 11350. 11375 p. 2328<sup>42</sup>). Here, the text differs a little (*LEG II ITALPET ... temp(erante) Urs(icino) duc(e)*), so the legion's brickyards stood at a different place: ...*Pet...*

The most exhaustive compilation and discussion of this group of tile stamps has been done by Kubitschek (Jahrbuch für Altertumskunde V 251b-253). When under the command of the same dux, leg. X gem. at Vindobona also ran a brickyard, e.g. Der Römische Limes in Österreich II pl. VIII 23; see below under leg. X gem.

### *Legati legionis*

In the period after her formation, the legion was certainly under the command of legionary legates; however, only one of these legates is known (he most likely served under Marcus, see above col. 1469, l. 66ff.):

Q. Herennius Silvius Maximus *c(larissimus) v(ir) legat. Leg. II Italicae et alae Antoniniana* CIL IX 2213.

After the legion had been permanently garrisoned in Noricum, and the administration of this province was handed over to a man of praetorian rank, the governor was also the legionary legate. This position was held by the following persons:

C. Memmius C.f. Quir. Fidus Iulius Albius, in 191 AD, CIL III 15208. VIII 12442, cp.

Prosopographia Imperii Romani II p. 363 nr. 340.

P. Cosinius [Felix?], CIL III 15208<sup>1</sup>, probably under Severus.

[Ti. Claudius Candidus, CIL II 4114, see above]

M. Iuuentius Surus Proculus, in 201-205 AD,

**Col. 1476.**

CIL III 5712. 5715. 5723 = 11837, 5746, Der

Römische Limes in Österreich X 105/6.

Pollienius Sebennus in 206 AD, Dio LXXVI 9,2, cp. CIL III 5537.

.....Sabinus, successor of Sebennus, Dio LXXVI 9,2. CIL III 5727.

M. Munatius Sulla Cerialis, shortly before 215 AD, CIL III 11743. Prosopographia Imperii

Romani II p. 392 nr.533 [?????].

C. Macrinus Decianus, around 260 AD, CIL VIII 2615.

### *Praefecti*

P. Vibius P.f. Marianus, CIL VI 1636

### *Tribuni militum*

Macius Severinus, CIL XII 1356.

(Petronius Priscus [laticl.], CIL III 5637 = 11898), who, however, may have come from a

local family (cp. CIL III 11693 = 5259) and may have served as *laticlavus* in an entirely different legion.

.....Pollio, *v.e. trib. leg. II Italicae praef. coh. O Thracum Sy[riacae]*, unpublished inscription from Ephesus [note by A. Stein].

Sex. Ticiasenus Sex. F. Clu(stumina) Allianus, CIL XI 4371.

.....Cn. f. .... V ..... [*trib.] mil. leg. II I[talicae?]*, *Revue épigraphique du midi de la France* 1893 (Avril-Juin) p. 238 nr. 964.

### *Primi ordines and centuriones:*

M. Gavius Firmus Vellin(a) Firmo Picen(o) p.p. in 191 AD, CIL III 15208.

Val(erius) Cl. Quintus p.p., CIL III 4855.

Unknown, *primi pil.*, CIL III 5682 = 11824; *optio [p(rimi p(ili)) ?]*, Dessau 9080.

Florius Baudio, *protector ordinarius*, early 4th century, CIL XI 4787.

Fl(avius) Mucianus, (*centurio frumentarius*), in 200 AD, CIL XI 1322.

Q. Carinius [Ama]bilis (*centurio frumentarius*), Dessau 9080.

[C. Masculi?]nius [Mas?]culus (*centurio frumentarius*), CIL III 4861; cp. III 4787.

[M. Petronius Fortunatus, CIL VIII 217, did not belong to II Italica but I Italica, cp. Suppl. p. 2353]

L. Sep[t(imius) T]ertinus [*centurio?*], CIL III 5300.

..... Saturninus, *promotus ad [centurionatum] leg. II Italicae*, CIL VIII 10719 = S. 17626.

### Regional background of servicemen

Italia: Tereventum (CIL IX 2593, cp. Van de Weerd Musée Belge VII 1903, 101f.). Cp. CIL V 375. 4367. 8277.

Noricum: CIL III 8730.