

The Archaeology of Roman Southern Pannonia

The state of research and selected problems in the
Croatian part of the Roman province of Pannonia

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THE ROMAN ARMY

Ivan Radman-Livaja

1. Introduction

The history of the Roman army in Pannonia is certainly not a topic that has been neglected in the literature, either in older publications or those more recent. In addition to studies devoted to certain military camps or Roman military units and archaeological finds that may be connected to the presence of the Roman army in the respective areas, there are also several more comprehensive reviews dealing with this topic in more detail. One may, therefore, rightly ask what this work could offer to the well-informed reader.¹ The fact is, however, that the existing literature places far more emphasis on the Roman military in Pannonia north of the Drava River (today's Hungary). This is understandable considering the degree to which that area has been archaeologically researched, but it is also due to the unquestionably greater interest of Hungarian archaeologists for this topic than was the case in Croatia. This is why I feel it would be useful to present a brief synthesis of the Roman military units that were present in the Pannonian region south of the Drava for over 4 centuries, as it is precisely this segment of Roman military history that is under-represented in the literature (fig. 1; for the distribution of ethnic communities in southern Pannonia see in this volume: Dizdar, fig. 1; Dzino and Domić Kunić, fig. 1; Radman-Livaja, Anthroponymy, fig. 1).

2. Before the conquest

Unlike the coastal area, the northern part of today's territory of Croatia came into the sphere of interest of the Romans rather late. The Pannonian area could never be as attractive to Roman traders as, for example, Noricum with its rich mineral deposits. Consequently, only exceptionally did the Roman Republic pay any attention to the peoples inhabiting what is today central and northern Croatia, namely, only when they would cause disturbance. No real threat existed before the 2nd century BC, but after the establishment of Aquileia the north-western part of Italy became an attractive target for the looting raids of the Taurisci and the Iapodes. If to this we add the problems created by the inhabitants of the Julian Alps on the roads to Noricum, it becomes clear that the Roman Republic had to start showing some force and organise occasional military campaigns, or rather, punitive expeditions targeted at the Pannonian area.² After the conquest of Histria in 177 BC, the Iapodes, it seems,

became the principal target of Roman military operations. It thus happened that in 171 BC, acting independently and without approval from the Senate, the consul Gaius Cassius Longinus ravaged the land of the Carni in the Julian Alps and the Iapodian areas.³ A few decades later, the Romans reached Pannonia for the first time, presumably in 159 BC or 156 BC, when Segestica seems to have been attacked.⁴ This assumption is based mostly on a statement by Polybius regarding the war between Rome and Pannonia and Appian's mention of a failed campaign against the Pannonians under the leadership of one Cornelius, as well as on Appian's statement that the Romans had attacked Segestica on two occasions before Octavian.⁵ Because of Polybius, this definitely cannot be dated after 146 BC, but also not before 167 BC, as in that case the event would most probably have been mentioned by Livy. After comparing the data on the Roman consuls of the time with the *gentilicium* (*nomen*) Cornelius, Zippel concluded that the only ones that could have been the leaders of a campaign against the Pannonians were Gnaeus Cornelius Dolabella and Lucius Cornelius Lentulus Lupus, consuls in 159 BC and 156 BC respectively. If this campaign was merely a part of larger military operations against the Scordisci in the north and the Delmatae in the south, the year 156 would be the more probable date, but it remains questionable whether the political influence of the Scordisci or the Delmatae reached so far as to warrant a Roman intervention in the Sava valley.⁶ The Iapodians came under attack again in 129 BC, when consul Gaius Sempronius Tuditanus led a campaign against them.⁷ Some authors believe that in this campaign the Romans could have penetrated further north and reached Segestica, provided that Appian's previously mentioned two Roman attacks against Segestica before Octavian can be considered to include Tuditanus' campaign.⁸ Personally, I do not find this hypothesis convincing, because the sources do not contain any information on this, and there is also no mention of the reasons that may have prompted Tuditanus to extend his combat actions to the north on this occasion. Bearing in mind the fragmentary nature of the historical sources, the possibility that Tuditanus actually did attack Segestica cannot be completely excluded – after all, we do not know anything about the relations and possible alliances

³ Liv. 43.5; Mócsy 1974: 32; Wilkes 1992, 200; Dzino 2010, 58-59.

⁴ Zippel 1877, 135; Mócsy 1962, 527-528; Mócsy 1974, 12, 22, 32; Šašel 1974, 731; Hoti 1992, 135; Radman-Livaja 2004a, 15-16; Domić Kunić 2006, 85-88; Dzino 2010, 73; Radman-Livaja 2010a, 179.

⁵ Polyb. frg. 122 (ed. Hultsch); App. 14 and 22.

⁶ Šašel Kos 2005, 302-303.

⁷ App. 10; Liv. Per. 59; Wilkes 1969, 32-33; Zaninović 1986, 60; Hoti 1992, 135; Wilkes 1992, 200; Radman-Livaja 2004a, 16; Domić Kunić 2006, 89; Dzino 2010, 69-71.

⁸ App. 22; Klemenc 1963, 55; Zaninović 1986, 60.

¹ Cf. Wagner 1938; Kraft 1951; Radnóti and Barkóczi 1951; Fitz 1962; Dušanić 1968; Pinterović 1968; Fitz 1980; Holder 1980; Visy 1988; Spaul 1994; Spaul 2000; Lőrincz 2001; Visy 2003a; Visy 2003b.

² Wilkes 1969, 32-33; Mócsy 1974, 31-32.

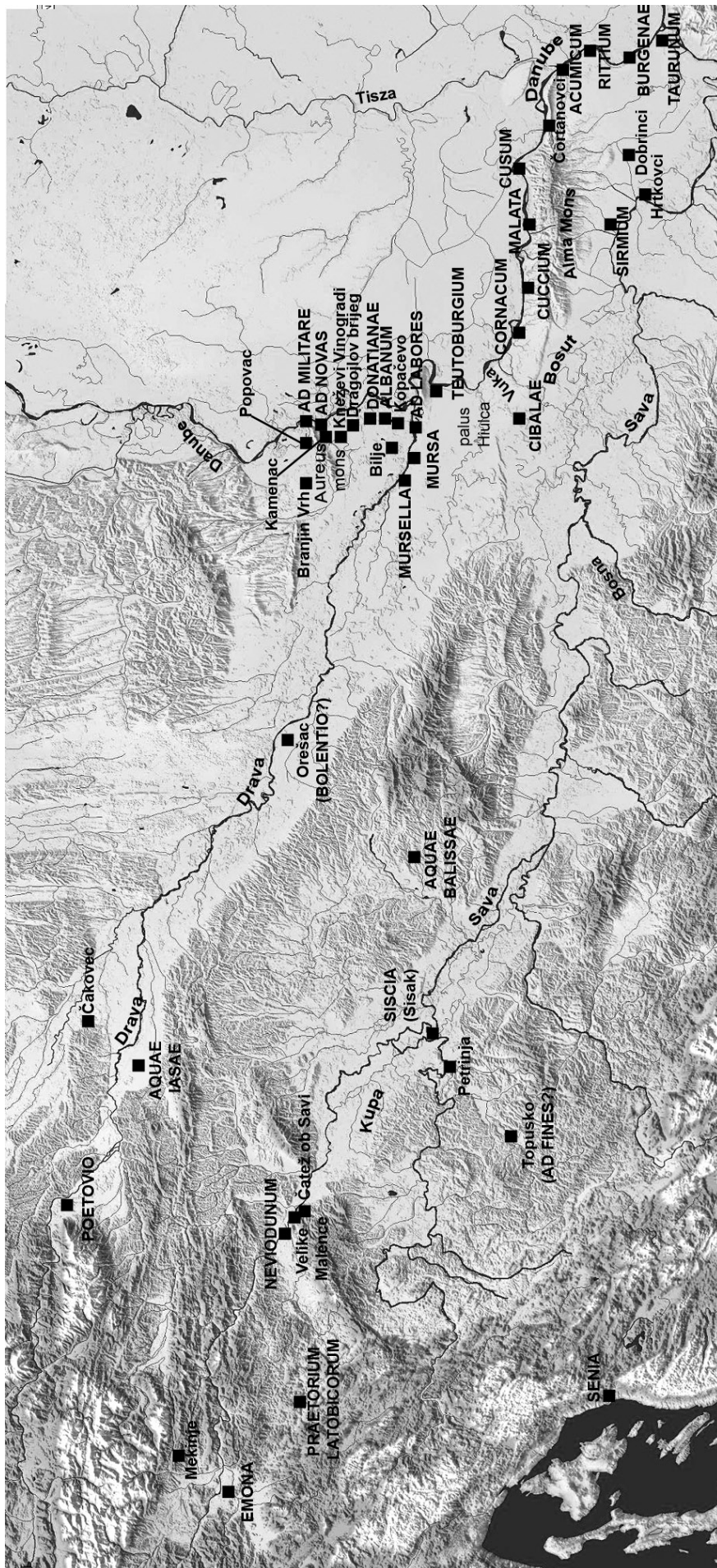


Fig. 1. Map of the military geography of southern Pannonia (after Google Maps, modified by T. Leleković).

between Segestica and the Iapodians – but this remains a hypothesis.

It is, however, likely that 10 years later, in 119, the Romans did in fact conduct military operations at Segestica during the Dalmatian War. The literature often states that both consuls, Lucius Aurelius Cotta and Lucius Caecilius Metellus, led the army that attacked Segestica, but this is a highly dubious assumption. Although there is no doubt that consul Lucius Aurelius Cotta was in command of the army, it is very unlikely that the campaign was deemed to be so important as to warrant the presence of both consuls. The other commander could have been Lucius Metellus Diadematus, as *propraetor* or legate. He was a cousin of the other consul, Lucius Caecilius Metellus, who very probably at the same time commanded the operations against the Delmatae.⁹ Although Morgan's assumption is convincing, it is not impossible that this was some other Metellus, Diadematus' younger brother, for instance, Caius Metellus Caprarius, as suggested by D. Dzino. Appian left us only very scant information about this operation, but this was no doubt one of the two attacks that, according to Appian, preceded Octavian's siege of Segestica.¹⁰ The assumption about a Roman attack against Segestica in 83 BC during the war against the Scordisci is not based on concrete arguments.¹¹ The Romans may well have defeated the Scordisci some time between 88 and 81 BC, but because the campaign progressed from the direction of Macedonia toward Moesia it is difficult to believe that the Pannonian area could have been the site of military operations and Klemenc's theory is, therefore, highly difficult to prove.¹² If we accept the possibility of a Roman military campaign in Liburnia in 84 BC or the assumption on military operations against the Iapodians perhaps around 78-76 BC, this still does not mean that the Romans advanced further into the hinterland, that is, all the way to Segestica.¹³ Roman military operations in the area of today's central and northern Croatia before Octavian's campaign are generally very poorly documented and the available data is subject to various interpretations, creating many dilemmas. Still, it is quite certain that in this period the Roman army did not attempt to proceed deeper into Pannonian territory and it seems that it never got anywhere beyond Segestica. The documented Roman military campaigns in this area might not have been frequent, but were nevertheless significant. It seems that the consular army was engaged already for the first possible campaign, the one in 159 or 156 BC. This, at least theoretically, means at least 2 Roman legions and 2 *alae sociorum*. The same happened again in 119. On both occasions then, the Roman army reached Pannonia under the command of one of the consuls and theoretically cannot have counted less than some 19,000 men in this period,

possibly even more, depending on whether the Romans used also mercenary troops (for instance, archers, slingers or cavalry) and possible local allies in addition to the legions.¹⁴ In using so many troops, the Romans undoubtedly wanted to demonstrate the power of the Roman Republic, and with obvious success, as between 119 and Octavian's campaign there were probably no significant Roman military interventions so deeply in the hinterland of western Illyricum.

3. Octavian's campaign and the Augustan period

After long decades of peace, a military operation ensued that, unlike previous ones, was not merely a punitive expedition limited in area and duration, but was in fact the first step toward the final conquest of the area. As in previous campaigns, the goal was to take Segestica, but this was not to be the end of the operation. In 35 BC, the young Octavian set off with substantial military forces to conquer the hinterland of Illyricum. Although the written sources are not in complete agreement as to the reasons for his plan, there is no real doubt that Octavian embarked on this campaign as part of the preparations for the pending conflict with Mark Antony, for strategic as well as propaganda reasons. Julius Caesar's adopted son had to prove that he was worthy of his adoptive father, but also that he can measure up to Mark Antony, who by then had more than successfully proven and reaffirmed his military prowess. Therefore, a victory over the tribes of western Illyricum had the potential to strengthen Octavian's political power but also his popularity in Rome and Italy as a whole. From the strategic point of view, the control of Pannonia, that is, the Sava River basin, would mean that Octavian could block the best land communication Mark Antony had between the East and Italy, and this would significantly raise Octavian's odds for victory in case civil war broke out.¹⁵ After the successful conquest of the Iapodes, when his warrior reputation was additionally boosted by his wounding at Metulum (evil tongues would add that it was a rather convenient wounding), he advanced on Segestica, demanding from its citizens not only to give hostages but also to accommodate a Roman garrison within the town walls. Although faced with Roman force, the town at first hesitated, but those in favour of putting up resistance eventually prevailed. The fact that it took Octavian 30 days to conquer the town despite all the forces at his disposal indicates that the town was well fortified and the resistance bitter.

The exact number of legions that took part in the campaign against Illyricum under Octavian's command remains

⁹ Wilkes 1969, 33; Morgan 1971, 271-301; Mócsy 1974, 13, 22; Zaninović 1986, 59-60; Hoti 1992, 135; Radman-Livaja 2004a, 16; Šašel Kos 2005, 307-311; Domić Kunić 2006, 89-90; Dzino 2010, 72-73; Radman-Livaja 2010a, 180.

¹⁰ App. 10, 22.

¹¹ Klemenc, 1963, 55.

¹² App. 5; Mócsy 1974, 15; Hoti 1992, 135; Domić Kunić 2006, 90-91.

¹³ Wilkes 1969, 34-35; Dzino 2010, 73-74.

¹⁴ Keppie 1984, 10-11, 19-20; Erdkamp 2007, 47-74; Hoyos 2007, 68-71.

¹⁵ App. 16-21; Dio 49.35; Veith 1914, 17-49; Swoboda 1932, 3-29; Josifović 1956, 138-144; Wilkes 1969, 50-51; Mócsy 1974, 21-23; Barkóczy 1980, 87-88; Šašel Kos 1986, 134-139; Nagy 1991, 61-62; Hoti 1992, 136; Šašel Kos 1997a, 187-190; Šašel Kos 1999, 255-263; Radman-Livaja 2001, 132-135; Radman-Livaja 2004a, 16-17; Šašel Kos 2005, 393-437; Domić Kunić 2006, 91-93; Eck 2007, 35; Dzino 2010, 101-109; Radman-Livaja 2010a, 182.

unknown.¹⁶ Nevertheless, the written sources furnish data on the overall strength of Octavian's forces before the campaign; it seems that after he took over the defeated Pompeian forces and Lepidus' men, he had at his disposal a total of around 200,000 legionaries, or 43 to 45 (depending on the sources and their interpretation) more or less fully manned legions, and around 25,000 cavalymen and 40,000 light infantry, most probably auxiliaries of non-Italic origin.¹⁷ He undoubtedly had an impressive military force at his disposal, although he certainly set off against Illyricum with only a part of his troops.¹⁸ In addition, when advancing toward the hinterland, he would have left a part of the troops behind to secure the conquered areas and supply routes even before he reached Segestica. Therefore, it is quite certain that during the siege Octavian did not have at his disposal all the units he had left Italy with. Nevertheless, if we bear in mind that after conquering the town, he left a garrison of 25 cohorts there, which is equal to the strength of two and a half legions, it can be assumed that the army he commanded during the siege was much greater. In light of this, the assumption that Octavian could have around 5 legions at his disposal, as well as the accompanying auxiliary troops and river ship crews, is quite convincing.¹⁹

By leaving a strong garrison in the town under the command of Fufius Geminus, Octavian made it clear that the Romans intended to stay in Pannonia, but the conquest of Illyricum and the reinforcement of Roman power took many years. After more than a decade of some quiet, in 16 BC Pannonian and Norican raiders broke into Histria, and the following years were marked by frequent conflicts with the indigenous Pannonian population. There is mention, for example, of the Pannonian uprising in 14 BC, and the gravity of the situation in Pannonia is illustrated by the fact that in 13 BC Augustus decided to send Agrippa to the area. Following his sudden death, Tiberius took over command and the battles in the war that was to be called *Bellum Pannonicum* continued with varying intensity until 9 or 8 BC.²⁰ Despite inconclusive data from the sources, there is no doubt that

permanent Roman military garrisons were set up in southern Pannonia, but we can only hypothesize about the identity of the Roman legions that stayed there during the rule of Augustus.²¹ Although the Romans certainly used auxiliary units at the time, these probably had not yet acquired the character of permanent units and the lasting identity they would acquire during the rule of Augustus' successors; there is, generally, very little accurate knowledge about them in this period.²² It is almost impossible to identify with certainty the auxiliary units that took part in the conquest and occupation of southern Pannonia during the rule of Augustus.²³ We should also not forget that the period in question is relatively long – over 4 decades, and during this time the security situation undoubtedly changed and the garrison strength varied accordingly. Thus the concentration of Roman troops may have been quite weak at certain times, if there was no serious unrest. At other times again, quite a substantial portion of the available Roman troops must have been in the area, for instance during the Pannonian War (*bellum Pannonicum*) from 13 or 12 to 9 or 8 BC, and, of course, during Bato's uprising (*bellum Batonianum*) from AD 6 to 9. It is not irrelevant to note that at the moment (somewhere between 32 and 27 BC) it became a province, Illyricum was established as a Senate province with only one legion (of an unknown garrison).²⁴ It is true that, in principle, the province would not be assigned to the Senate if stronger military forces had been concentrated there, but the possibility that for an extended period of time Illyricum had only one legion as a permanent garrison force and, of course, an unknown number of auxiliary units is rather doubtful.²⁵ This may have been possible for a shorter period immediately after the establishment of the province, but the military forces should have been significantly strengthened

¹⁶ We cannot know for certain which legions could have taken part in the campaign, but the literature mentions *legio XV Apollinaris* (cf. Ritterling 1925, 1747-1748; Šašel 1985, 549; Šašel-Kos 1995, 229; Wheeler 2000, 267). Although there is no confirmation that they took part in the campaign in 35 BC, because of their demonstrated loyalty and reliability in the conflicts before and after his campaign in Illyricum, Octavian may have also taken along the VII, VIII, IX and XI legions (cf. Ritterling 1925, 1664, 1690; Keppie 1984, 133, 207-209; Reddé 2000, 119-120; Strobel 2000, 526).

¹⁷ App. *B. C.* 5.127; Oros. *Hist.* 6.18; Vell. 2.80; Nagy 1991, 59.

¹⁸ G. Veith (1914, 108-109), with agreement from E. Swoboda (1932, 17), judges the strength of Octavian's army during the Illyricum campaign to have been app. 40-50.000 men, or 8 to 12 legions, which seems convincing.

¹⁹ App. 22-24; Dio 49.36; Veith 1914, 49-58; Swoboda 1932, 29; Mócsy 1962, 538-539; Wilkes 1969, 52-53; Mócsy 1974, 22; Šašel 1974, 732; Barkóczy 1980, 90; Šašel-Kos 1986, 139-142; Zaninović 1986, 62-63; Nenadić 1987, 73; Nagy 1991, 62-64; Hoti 1992, 137-138; Wilkes 1992, 206; Gruen 1996, 173; Wilkes 1996, 549-550; Šašel-Kos 1997a, 190-196; Radman-Livaja 2004a, 17; Šašel-Kos 2005, 437-442; Domić Kunić 2006, 92-100; Radman-Livaja 2007a, 161-162; Dzino 2010, 109-111; Radman-Livaja 2010a, 182-183.

²⁰ Flor. *Epit.* 2.24; Vell. 2.96; Mócsy 1962, 539-541; Mócsy 1974, 34; Barkóczy 1980, 90-91; Šašel-Kos 1986, 152-161; Nagy 1991, 64-84; Hoti 1992, 138-140; Gruen 1996, 174-175; Šašel-Kos 1997b, 31-33; Domić Kunić 2006, 100-118; Šašel-Kos 2009, 181-182; Colombo 2010, 171-193; Dzino 2010, 112-136.

²¹ Ritterling 1925, 1215-1238; Syme 1933, 20-23, 25-28.

²² Cheesman 1914, 12-20; Wagner 1938, 223-224; Holder 1980, 140-141; Saddington 1982, 27-82.

²³ Alföldy 1962, 286. Based on an interpretation of the inscription on the tombstone of the veteran Tiberius Julius Rufus of Scabantia, it is assumed in the older literature that his unit, *ala I Scubulorum*, may have been present in Pannonia already during the rule of Augustus, that is, that it may have taken part in Tiberius' campaigns in 12-10 BC (cf. *ILS* 9137; *AE* 1909, 198; Cichorius 1894, 1259; Schober 1923, 89-90, Cat. 191; Wagner 1938, 64-67; Kraft 1951, 158; Mócsy 1962, 620). Nevertheless, it seems that the presence of this ala in Pannonia can be traced with certainty only since the time of Claudius, after its transfer from Moesia (Beneš 1978, 12; Spaul 1994, 192-194; Lőrincz 2001, 23, 59; Lőrincz 2005, 53-55). This ala may have indeed been levied during Augustus, but there is no proof that it took part in the Pannonian wars and the crushing of the Pannonian rebellion, although this hypothesis is, generally speaking, not unconvincing. G. Alföldy assumed that during the late Augustan period, more precisely at the time of Bato's revolt, the following alae and cohorts may have been present in Illyricum, among the 10 alae and 70 cohorts not stated in Velleius' text: *ala I Parthorum*, *ala Pannoniorum*, *cohors III Alpinorum*, *cohors I Bracaraugustanorum*, *cohors I Campana*, *cohors II Cyrrhestarum*, *cohors XI Gallorum*, *cohors I Lucensium*, *cohors Montanorum*, *cohors VIII voluntariorum* (and probably a good part of the other *cohortes voluntariorum*, if not all of them); cf. Wagner 1938, 218-219; Alföldy 1969, 287; Knight 1991, 189-190.

²⁴ Nagy 1991, 67; Gruen 1996, 174; Gayet 2006, 70; Dzino 2010, 119.

²⁵ E. Ritterling therefore posited that in 27 BC the southern part of Illyricum was organised as a Senate province while the northern part, as a military frontier with significant forces (legions), was directly under Augustus, that is, his governor, who was supposed to be *legatus pro praetore* of consular rank (cf. Ritterling 1925, 1218-1219; Nagy 1991, 67-68, 79). It should be mentioned that there is no evidence indicating such an organisation in this period or the existence of these legates. (cf. Dzino 2010, 122-123).

at the latest in 16 BC, when there must have been more than one legion in Illyricum. After all, in 11 BC (or already in 13 BC?), Illyricum ceased being a Senate province and became an imperial province and this change was undoubtedly connected to the military situation.²⁶ It is not unlikely that the military presence in Illyricum was reduced to a minimum around 27 BC if at the moment of the establishment of the province Octavian did not consider Illyricum to be a military and security problem. The newly established province, however, could not have remained without a significant legionary garrison for long, that is, not more than roughly ten years. There is no consensus in the literature regarding the exact number or locations of the legions that stayed in Illyricum in the last century BC, that is, until Bato's rebellion broke out in AD 6, but there is no doubt that in this period several legions must have stayed there. Although it is difficult to say with any certainty how long and exactly where a certain legion may have stayed in Illyricum between 35 BC and AD 6, it is very probable that in this period at least 6 and perhaps even 7 legions spent a certain amount of time in the province (*VIII Augusta, IX Hispana, XI, XIII Gemina, XIV Gemina, XV Apollinaris, and XX*).²⁷ Although the VII legion is sometimes mentioned in this context, especially in the older literature, the possibility of their arrival to Illyricum before Bato's uprising can be rejected on safe grounds.²⁸ Despite serious doubts, it cannot be excluded that the VIII legion could have spent some time in Illyricum in the mentioned period, as there is no doubt that it took part in crushing Bato's uprising and it definitely stayed in Pannonia after AD 9. Nevertheless, there is no reliable evidence that it had been transferred to Illyricum before these events, although there are those who assume that it may have stayed in Liburnia, perhaps in Burnum.²⁹ The *IX legio Hispana*, seems to have been deployed from the Iberian peninsula to Illyricum between 19 BC and 15 BC, or by 13 BC at the latest, but we can only conjecture about its garrison before Bato's uprising. Nevertheless, the literature does mention Tilurium where it may have been stationed (depending on the interpretation of the inscription *CIL III 13977*) until the rebellion was quashed in AD 9.³⁰ Although it is quite

probable that it stayed in Illyricum in this period, because of the uncertain reading of the mentioned inscription, the possibility cannot be excluded that the IX legion was stationed elsewhere in Illyricum, including the northern (Pannonian) part of the province or in Aquileia, which could have served as the base for possible interventions in Illyricum. The XI legion is assumed to have been stationed in the Balkans already after the battle of Actium, that is, immediately after Octavian reorganised the military, but there are no concrete data on its garrison in this period.³¹ Ritterling assumed that prior to Bato's uprising, it could have, at some unidentified moment, been stationed in Pannonia (*Poetovio?*) or that it operated in that area.³² Farnum assumes that between 27 and 16 BC it could have been in Tilurium, from where it was redeployed to Moesia (where it could have been already between 30 and 27 BC – *Naissus?*) and was stationed there until the end of Bato's uprising (*Viminacium?*). As Farnum gives no arguments in favour of his assumptions, his opinion remains unreliable.³³ After Actium, *XIII Gemina* was most probably among the troops in Transpadania and Illyricum. The literature mentions Burnum and Emona as the possible garrisons, but there are no concrete arguments to support this; Emona can in any case probably be excluded as a possibility.³⁴ Based on the available data, in the period following Actium *XIV Gemina*, as well as the XIII legion, is placed in Illyricum or northern Italy. It may have stayed in Aquileia at a certain point in time, and Farnum also mentions *Poetovio* as a possibility. It probably left Illyricum (or northern Italy) by 13 BC at the latest, when it joined the legions on the Rhine and took part in Drusus' campaigns. It may have then returned to Illyricum, but it seems more probable that it did so only after AD 6, as one of the legions originally intended for the campaign against Maroboduus with which Tiberius had to crush Bato's uprising.³⁵ As mentioned earlier, *XV legio Apollinaris* is believed to have arrived to Illyricum already during Octavian's campaign and it seems to have operated there throughout the rule of Augustus, perhaps from its base in Aquileia or maybe from a camp in Illyricum itself (although it is sometimes mentioned as such, Emona is probably not a sound guess).³⁶ According to Velleius Paterculus, *XX Valeria Victrix* could also have been a part of the military in Illyricum before Bato's uprising, but the question remains as to when it arrived there. Before arriving to Illyricum, it seems to have stayed in Hispania, taking part in the Cantabrian Wars (*Bellum Cantabricum*), and it could have been redeployed after 19 BC, in which case it could have participated in the Alpine campaign in 16-15 BC and/or Tiberius' Pannonian war in 13-9 BC. It was probably

²⁶ Mócsy 1962, 540-542; Mócsy 1974, 34; Nagy 1991, 68-79; Dzino 2010, 122-136.

²⁷ Syme 1933, 23, 25-26, 29-31; Keppie 1984, 208-211; Dzino 2010, 123-124. It should be mentioned that a temporary stay in this area, that is, participation in the military operations in this period, did not necessarily have to mean that a legion was more permanently stationed in Illyricum. The permanent garrisons of some legions were more probably located in northern Italy, from where they could intervene, if needed, in Illyricum. Possible garrisons are Aquileia (Ritterling 1925, 1645-1646, 1665, 1748; Mann 1983, 31-32; Wheeler 2000, 270), and perhaps also Emona (Saria 1938, 245-255; Mann 1983, 32; Visy 1988, 17), which, it seems, was never a part of Illyricum in administrative terms (cf. Šašel Kos 2002, 373-382; Šašel Kos 2003, 11-19). There are, however, well-founded opinions that seriously question the existence of a legion camp in Emona: Šašel 1968, 561-566; Mócsy 1974, 43; Šašel-Kos 1995, 227-244; Vičić 2003, 22-24.

²⁸ Ritterling 1925, 1615-1617; Betz 1938, 8; Wilkes 1969, 94-95; Mitchell 1976, 301-303; Strobel 2000, 526-528; Sanader and Tončinić 2010, 45-46.

²⁹ Tac. *Ann.* 1.23, 30; Ritterling 1925, 1645-1647; Betz 1938, 5, 50-52; Wilkes 1969, 92-95; Oldenstein-Pferdehirt 1984, 397; Bojanovski 1990, 704; Reddé 2000, 120-121.

³⁰ Ritterling 1925, 1664-1665; Syme 1933, 23; Betz 1938, 52; Wilkes 1969, 92; Keppie 2000, 26; Farnum 2005, 21, 65.

³¹ Betz 1938, 20.

³² Ritterling 1925, 1691.

³³ Farnum 2005, 22, 64, 72-73.

³⁴ Ritterling 1925, 1711-1712; Syme 1933, 29; Wilkes 1969, 92-93; Farnum 2005, 22, 64-65; for Emona cf. note 27.

³⁵ Ritterling 1925, 1728; Wilkes 1969, 92-93; Franke 2000, 191-192; Farnum 2005, 23, 64-65.

³⁶ Ritterling 1925, 1747-1748; Šašel-Kos 1995, 236-237; Wheeler 2000, 261-268, 270-272; Farnum 2005, 23, 64-65; for Emona cf. note 27.

stationed in Burnum, or perhaps in Aquileia, that is its surroundings.³⁷

Although there is at least some degree of agreement in the literature regarding the identification of the legions in Illyricum, despite the unresolved chronological issues, the question of their camps in the period before Bato's uprising remains open. It seems that for the time being Emona can be excluded from this story, but there are other possible legion garrisons, such as Burnum, Tilurium, Poetovio, Siscia and Sirmium, but also Aquileia, where the troops that operated as needed in Illyricum seem to have been stationed. Mostly the camps in Burnum (VIII, XIII, XX legion), Tilurium (IX, XI legion) and Poetovio (XI, XIV legion) are in the literature mentioned as the seats of certain legions in Illyricum before Bato's uprising, and it seems that in the same period some of the mentioned legions could have stayed in Aquileia or its vicinity (IX, XIII, XIV, XV, XX). While in the case of Aquileia, existing epigraphic material offers certain arguments in favour of this hypothesis, the assumptions on the existence of legion camps in this period at the other locations mentioned (with the exception of the somewhat dubious inscription *CIL* III 13977 in the case of Tilurium and some veteran inscriptions from the late Augustan period in the case of XX legion) are admittedly based solely on more or less convincing conjectures. I am inclined to believe that the legion camps in Burnum, Tilurium and Poetovio could have existed before Bato's rebellion broke out, but it is surprising that Siscia and Sirmium are less frequently mentioned in the literature in this context. Classical sources rightly stress the exceptional strategic significance of these two towns at the time when Bato's rebellion broke out, so it is difficult to believe that the Romans did not use them as military bases even before AD 6. Sirmium may not have had a Roman garrison before the Pannonian War (*Bellum Pannonicum*), but it would be sound to assume that it witnessed Roman military presence from that moment until the end of Augustus' rule.³⁸ As for Siscia, I am deeply convinced that in this period it was not left without a garrison for a single moment, although the garrison's strength certainly varied.³⁹ Although there is no concrete evidence to support this, the available data suggests that XV⁴⁰ and XX⁴¹ legion may have

spent some time in Siscia before Bato's uprising. Burnum⁴² and Tilurium⁴³ could have become camps already in the second decade BC, if not even sooner.⁴⁴ The legion camp in Poetovio was presumably set up around 15 BC or a few years earlier.⁴⁵

Considering the utter lack of reliable indications for the existence of legion camps in Illyricum during the rule of Augustus, that is, before AD 6, the issue of their location is better left in the realm of cautious conjecture. There is no doubt that they existed, but it is probably wrong to think of them as permanent military bases as was the case later on. It would perhaps be more correct to assume that during the first few decades of the occupation of Illyricum, the legions constantly circulated between certain locations and that no legion remained at any location permanently. At the time, Aquileia could have been a military base that was the starting point for military operations in the western Balkans, and certain legions and/or vexillations were deployed as the need arose within Illyricum, but also between Aquileia and Illyricum. The most important strategic locations undoubtedly very quickly acquired the character of more permanent Roman military strongholds, but their crews may have been subject to relatively frequent rotations of manpower and units, as seems to have been the common practice in the time of Augustus, when legions often changed garrisons.⁴⁶ It can soundly be assumed that in Pannonia these strategic locations were Siscia, Sirmium and Poetovio, and in Dalmatia Burnum and Tilurium, but all of these places cannot at the same time be claimed as legion camps. It is extremely difficult to establish when any of them could have become the seat of a legion, although it is quite possible that at least roughly between 13 BC (and even earlier in the case of Siscia) and AD 6 legionary garrisons could have stayed at any of the mentioned places. It is equally impossible to identify with certainty the crews of certain garrisons in this period, but we can probably bring the selection down to the mentioned 6 or 7 legions. In addition to the above-mentioned main strongholds of the military concentration, there were probably also smaller outposts with crews made up of auxiliaries and/or detached legionaries, and possibly also local allies, some of who perished when Bato's rebellion broke out.⁴⁷ If the question of the locations of legions in Illyricum during the rule of Augustus is complex and burdened with doubts and

³⁷ Vell. 2.112; Dio 55.30 (does not expressly mention it); Ritterling 1925, 1769-1771; Betz 1938, 20, 56-58; Wilkes 1969, 93; Farnum 2005, 24, 65; Malone 2006, 28-31; Cambi *et al.* 2007, 13-16; Dzino 2010, 148; Miletic 2010, 120.

³⁸ Mócsy 1959, 77; Klemenc 1961, 23; Klemenc 1963, 67; Mócsy 1971, 44-45; Mócsy 1974, 43. J. W. Eadie disagrees with this assumption (1977, 210). He doubts that any regular Roman units could have been stationed in Sirmium before AD 6. M. Mirković allows the possibility of Roman military presence in Sirmium at this time, but believes these were not permanent legion bases in the Pannonian area but only auxiliary units and legion vexillations. Cf. Saxer 1967, 5-6; Mirković 1971, 12; Mirković 1990, 639, note 42.

³⁹ Mócsy 1974, 23, 43; Šašel 1974, 732-734; Radman-Livaja 2007a, 161-168; Radman-Livaja 2010a, 183-186.

⁴⁰ As it is not associated with Burnum, Tilurium and Poetovio, it cannot be excluded that it operated between Aquileia and Siscia.

⁴¹ If Velleius Paterculus and Cassius Dio have been interpreted correctly (cf. Vell. 2.112; Dio 55.30), XX legion under the command of Valerius Messalla was sent by Tiberius as an advance contingent of his forces to Siscia as soon as he found out that a rebellion had broken out. We can

only guess at his reasons, but it is not illogical to assume that XX legion was sent first because it had previously been stationed in Siscia and could get there fastest because it was familiar with the terrain. It is, of course, not excluded that Tiberius had other reasons and that XX legion was chosen, for instance, because of its combat efficiency and experience, or for another reason of a purely military and tactical nature.

⁴² Betz 1938, 57; Zaninović 1968, 121-122; Cambi *et al.* 2007, 13-16; Sanader 2008, 85-86; Miletic 2010, 120.

⁴³ Zaninović 1984, 68-69; Sanader 2008, 87-88; Sanader and Tončinić 2010, 45-46.

⁴⁴ The theory put forward by D. Periša (2008, 511-512) about 33 BC as the first possible date for Tilurium is not unconvincing, although the question remains as to whether the Romans remained permanently after the siege.

⁴⁵ Saria 1951, 1170; Mócsy 1959, 28; Horvat *et al.* 2003, 156.

⁴⁶ Syme 1933, 22.

⁴⁷ Vell. 2.110.

insecurities, our knowledge about auxiliary units in this period is even more problematic.⁴⁸

It seems that after Tiberius's victory in the Pannonian War (*bellum Pannonicum*) peace reigned in this area, at least on the surface, and the strong military presence no doubt helped keep it. The Romans obviously considered that in AD 6, after some 15 years free of any significant problems with the local population, the situation was stable enough for them to use the troops from the Illyricum garrisons for the war against the Marcomannic king Maroboduus, as well as to recruit the local population in significant numbers for this campaign. This turned out to be an entirely wrong assumption, because it seems that the mass uprising was brought on by the collection of a tribute and the recruitment of young men for auxiliary troops to be used in the war against the Marcomanni. Although the trigger that set off the rebellion is quite clear, discontent had been smouldering for years and only culminated in the great war from AD 6 to 9, known as Bato's uprising.⁴⁹ By all accounts, the main instigators of the uprising were the Daesidiates, headed by their ruler Bato, who found allies in the rulers of the Breuci, Bato and Pinnes. Although these rebellions did not realistically pose a serious threat to Italy itself, Augustus took them very seriously and mobilised significant human and material resources to quell the uprising. The gravity of the situation is confirmed by written sources, especially Suetonius and one of the participants in the war, Velleius Paterculus, the latter claiming that the rebels, whose number he judges to be several hundreds of thousands, were preparing to attack Italy. Although this number is certainly exaggerated, this must have been a widespread opinion among the Romans at the time.⁵⁰

The news on the uprising in Illyricum reached Tiberius's headquarters in Carnuntum just before the beginning of the war against the Marcomanni in AD 6. The timing of the uprising was perfect because the greater part of the Roman troops stationed in Illyricum was temporarily deployed in the north under the command of Tiberius, so that they could participate in the mentioned campaign. The Daesidiates were joined by the Breuci, probably the strongest tribe in southern Pannonia, led by another Bato. Many smaller tribes also joined the rebels and they embarked on an all round massacre of the Roman citizens in the area. Velleius expressly mentions traders and military units who had the bad luck to be caught isolated in the midst of what had suddenly become an enemy territory. The rebels did not stop at killing all the Romans they could lay their hands on, but immediately moved on to larger settlements and even neighbouring provinces. Velleius makes only a passing mention of the looting raids toward Macedonia and the preparations for the attack against Italy, but Cassius Dio explicitly mentions the attacks against Salona and

Sirmium. It seems, therefore, that the rebels' plans were far more ambitious and far-reaching than merely killing and expelling the Romans from their tribal areas. Considering the circumstances, the Roman reaction was quick and quite effective. The Romans who happened to be in the settlements taken by the rebels could not, of course, be helped, and their fate certainly contributed to the panic that spread all the way to Italy. However, the larger settlements could still be saved and it was above all necessary to keep the rebels within the areas they already controlled and prevent them from advancing to other provinces, and especially Italy. Two key strategic points for controlling Pannonia were Siscia in the west and Sirmium in the east. As both sides were aware of this, the first year of the war was marked by the manoeuvring of forces between these two towns. The sources do not reveal whether Siscia was directly threatened when the uprising broke out, but it seems that as soon as he became aware of the situation, Tiberius urgently dispatched a legion to reinforce the town's defence. This was probably XX legion led by Valerius Messala, governor of Illyricum. A little later, Tiberius personally arrived to Siscia with the remainder of his large army. He set up camp there and the town remained under the firm hold of the Romans.⁵¹ At the very beginning of the uprising, the rebels simultaneously marched on both Sirmium and Salona, but both operations failed. Sirmium was attacked by the Breuci, but the town was saved by Roman troops led by the governor of Moesia, Caecina Severus. Dio's description does not make it quite clear whether Caecina Severus broke the siege of Sirmium or whether he actually stopped the Breuci from approaching Sirmium, because the author explicitly states that Caecina Severus defeated the Breuci at the Drava River, which is quite a distance from Sirmium. It is possible that Caecina Severus broke the siege of the town and then drove the attackers to the Drava, where the Breuci decided to confront them in the battlefield, and were eventually defeated. Salona was besieged by the Daesidiates, but the town was well defended so the majority of the rebel army, headed by its wounded leader Bato, withdrew to the hinterland, although looters continued to raid the coastal area all the way to Apollonia. According to the written sources, the rebels soon embarked on another offensive, despite their defeat. After abandoning the siege of Salona, the Daesidiates tried to intercept the troops of Valerius Messala, but the Romans, although outnumbered, managed to defeat them. These were probably the troops that Tiberius had sent as reinforcements to Siscia, but it is not clear whether they were attacked on their way to Siscia or only after they had set up camp there and then embarked on an attack against the rebels. This defeat did not discourage the Daesidiates, as they headed east to meet

⁴⁸ Cf. note 21; Alföldy 1962, 286-287; Wilkes 1969, 139-144, 470-474; Lőrincz 2001, 57; Dzino 2010, 124.

⁴⁹ Mócsy 1962, 541-544; Wilkes 1969, 65-69; Mócsy 1974, 34-37; Dzino 2010, 138-145.

⁵⁰ Vell. 2.110; Suet. *Tib.* 16; Crook 1996, 106-107; Gruen 1996, 176; Seager 2005, 33; Eck 2007, 133.

⁵¹ In addition to the XX legion, we can assume that Tiberius also took IX, XIII, XIV and XV legions along to Siscia. These legions were supposed to participate in the campaign against Maroboduus and most of them were probably stationed in Illyricum also in the years leading up to Bato's rebellion, except for XIV legion which seems to have been transferred from the Rhine frontier because of Tiberius' campaign against the Marcomanni. Ritterling on the other hand thought that before the uprising, VIII, IX, XI, XV and XX legion were part of the Illyricum army; cf. Ritterling 1925, 1235; Wilkes 1969, 92-93; Franke 2000, 192; Keppie 2000, 26; Wheeler 2000, 271; Farnum 2005, 5.

up with the Breuci and, having joined forces once again, set off for Sirmium. They set up camp on *Alma Mons* (Fruška gora in Syrmia), where they began preparations for the attack against Sirmium. Caecina Severus, probably a very capable commander, sent the allied Thracian cavalry against them, led by king Rhoemetaces, in order to prevent them from attacking Sirmium. The Thracians succeeded and they drove off the rebels thus concluding the last big military operation in AD 6. At the year's end the Romans were in possession of the two most important towns: Siscia, defended by Tiberius' troops with reinforcements from Italy, and Sirmium, controlled by the army of Caecina Severus, as well as in control of the coastal towns. The rebels obviously controlled the entire territory in between, but the Romans definitely had the strategic advantage and they seemed to have believed that in the spring they would be able to crush the rebellion, owing to the numerous forces they had gathered. They started an offensive in AD 7, probably as soon as the weather conditions permitted. Three Moesian legions under Caecina Severus, two legions redeployed from Asia Minor led by Marcus Plautius Silvanus,⁵² and the Thracian cavalry led by king Rhoemetaces, set off for Siscia from Sirmium, no doubt to secure the Sava River, the main communication route across Illyricum. The Romans, whose numbers gave them great confidence, probably were not too cautious and fell into an ambush in the marshy area known as *Hiulca Palus* (but also as *Volcae Paludes*), somewhere in today's south-eastern Slavonia. Despite their heavy losses they managed to break through and make it to Siscia, where the largest Roman military force since the time of the Civil Wars had just gathered.⁵³ As such a large concentration of troops probably created logistical problems, some of the troops were sent again to Moesia where their presence was, after all, needed because of the Dacian and Sarmatian looting raids. Although the Romans were not defeated, the result of the battles at the Volcan Marshes could hardly be described as a victory. This probably convinced Tiberius that the war could not be won easily on the battlefield and that a different strategy

should be devised. It seems he decided on a „scorched earth” strategy, meaning the systematic destruction of crops and settlements with the aim of ultimately starving the population and crushing their will to fight. It seems that Augustus was not too happy with such an apparently passive strategy for crushing the rebellion, but Tiberius' plan proved to be quite adequate because it bore fruit the following year: on August 3 in AD 8, the starving Breuci led by their ruler Bato laid down their arms by the River *Bathinus* (present-day Bosna). Many of the Breuci loathed the idea of capitulation, and, understandably, their main allies the Daesidiates were also dismayed, so Bato of the Daesidiates launched an offensive towards Pannonia where he managed to overthrow and kill Bato of the Breuci. Nevertheless, this last rebellion of the exhausted Breuci was easily crushed that same year by Plautius Silvanus. In a counter-attack with troops from Sirmium he forced Bato of the Daesidiates to withdraw, thus finally crushing all resistance north of the Sava. Pannonia was thus pacified and the last resistance was put up by the rebels in Dalmatia where they were finally defeated the following year when Tiberius ended the war with a victory over Bato's surrounded forces in Andetrium.⁵⁴

4. The 1st century AD: permanent garrisons, legionary camps and recruitment of natives

It was only after this last revolt was crushed with great difficulty that the real Romanisation of Pannonia actually began. It was in this period, in AD 8 or 10 or perhaps a year or two later (and even a decade or two later, according to some assumptions) that Pannonia became a separate province. This was the result of dividing Illyricum into two parts, whose names were at first *Illyricum Superius*, the future province of Dalmatia, and *Illyricum Inferius*, or Pannonia.⁵⁵ Gradually transferring its forces from the hinterland of the province to the border on the Danube, the Roman army would transform from an occupation force into a defence force and thus a guarantee of the peaceful development of Romanized Pannonia. This process took quite a long time and can be divided into several phases. Even after crushing Bato's revolt, the Romans did not immediately embark on building a series of fortifications and military stations on the border with the Barbarian world, so that during the reign of Augustus' immediate successors the Romans continued the practice of securing the borders of Pannonia by forging alliances with the neighbouring Barbarian peoples. This guaranteed peace and helped spare military resources, and the military remained mostly

⁵² Wilkes assumed that VII, VIII Augusta and XI legion could have been under the command of Caecina Severus at that time, while *IV Scythica* and *V Macedonica* came from the East, but not all authors agree with this opinion. There are even doubts as to whether Caecina Severus took all three Moesian legions along on this campaign, and only two legions in Caecina's and Plautius's joint forces are assumed to have actually been Moesian. *IV Scythica* was probably one of Caecina's legions, because it seems to have been permanently stationed in Moesia during the rule of Augustus. *V Macedonica* and the VII legion were most probably transferred from Galatia under the command of Plautius Silvanus, but the question of the VIII and XI legion remains open. As for the VIII legion, depending on the author in question, it is assumed that it may have been stationed in Illyricum, Moesia, in the East, in northern Africa or Egypt, while the XI legion was most probably stationed in the Balkans at the time in question, but it is impossible to say exactly where. Plautius's third legion (if the assumption on three Eastern legions is correct in the first place) could perhaps be the VIII legion, but it could also have been one of the 3 Moesian legions, together with the IV and XI. The question also remains open as to the legion that Caecina Severus could have perhaps left behind in Moesia; cf. Ritterling 1925, 1234-1236, 1645, 1691; Wilkes 1969, 93; Oldenstein-Pferdehirt 1984, 397; Redd 2000, 120-121; Speidel 2000, 327-328; Strobel 2000, 520, 525, 527; Farnum 2005, 4-5, 18-19, 20-22, 95.

⁵³ We can assume that these were Tiberius' IX, XIII, XIV, XV and XX, as well as *IV Scythica*, *V Macedonica*, VII, VIII and XI that arrived from Moesia.

⁵⁴ Dio 55.28-34; Vell. 2.110-116; Suet. *Aug.* 16, 25, *Tib.* 16, 20. For a more comprehensive review of the Pannonian-Dalmatian rebellion cf. Hirschfeld 1890, 351-362; Rau 1925, 313-346; Ritterling 1925, 1232-1236; Köstermann 1953, 345-378; Pavan 1955, 380; Pašalić 1956, 245-300; Mócsy 1962, 544-548; Wilkes 1969, 69-77; Mirković 1971, 12-13; Mócsy 1971, 43; Mócsy 1974, 37-39; Šašel 1974, 733-734; Barkóczy 1980, 88-89; Šašel-Kos 1986, 178-191; Zaninović 1986, 63; Gruen 1996, 176-178; Wilkes 1996, 553; Dizdar and Radman-Livaja 2004, 44-45; Sordi 2004, 221-228; Dzino 2005, 138-157; Seager 2005, 33-35; Šašel Kos 2009, 182-187; Dzino 2010, 137-155; Radman-Livaja and Dizdar 2010, 47-56.

⁵⁵ Klemenc 1961, 6; Mócsy 1962, 583; Mócsy 1974, 39; Barkóczy 1980, 89; Fitz 2003, 48-49; Dzino 2010, 159-162.

concentrated in the hinterland, away from the border.⁵⁶ There is no doubt, however, that already during the rule of Augustus smaller garrisons were stationed close to the Danube frontier as a sort of advance-guards, who would be helped in case of need by the troops stationed deeper in the hinterland. We can assume that in addition to the smaller legion detachments, these forward troops stationed close to the Danube border consisted mostly of auxiliary troops that probably arrived there from other parts of the Empire, such as Gaul or Hispania, but indigenous troops could have also been among them. Although this assumption is quite convincing, these units were probably not recruited directly by the Romans, but by the loyal local elites who placed their people in the service of Rome. At that time, such auxiliary troops responded to Roman requests as allies, subjects or mercenaries, mostly under their own commanders (the most important leaders of the revolt in AD 6, including Bato of the Daesidiates himself, could have previously been commanders of such units under Roman command).⁵⁷ Although it is more than likely that auxiliary troops were subsequently trained together with the Romans, in order to be able to function tactically and operationally as part of the Roman army, they definitely cannot be compared to the regular auxiliary units, such as those recruited since the 1st century AD that were fully incorporated into the Roman military system. Such local troops left no epigraphic traces and receive only passing mention in the sources, and we can only conjecture about their organisational structure and number.⁵⁸ Nevertheless, their existence can definitely be considered as the first attempt by the Roman authorities to use Pannonian human resources for military purposes.⁵⁹ These attempts, however, had very questionable results: while the Scordisci, for instance, if we are to judge by Cassius Dio, were evidently reliable allies and actively helped Tiberius, Bato's uprising was definitely largely caused by the unwillingness of the Pannonians to join the auxiliary troops that were supposed to participate in the war against Maroboduus. The fact that they operated at least partially under their own commanders and that they probably did not have to serve as long as the auxiliaries later on would, does not mean that they were very enthusiastic when mobilised by the Romans, especially if it was for a war that did not promise much in terms of booty and material gain. The question remains open, after all, as to how and under what conditions the peregrine communities filled the required quota of soldiers for manning such troops, as we may assume that there were not always enough volunteers. The bad experiences with Arminius in Germania and Bato in Illyricum undoubtedly led the Romans, probably already

during the rule of Tiberius and in any case not much later than that, to change their approach in forming auxiliary troops and place them more firmly within their institutional military structures.

It seems that the large-scale recruitment of the Pannonian indigenous population into regular Roman auxiliary units in Pannonia and the raising of Pannonian auxiliary units ensued only several decades after Augustus. The only exception here would be *ala Pannoniorum*, a unit that is thought to have existed already at the beginning of Tiberius' rule, when it seems to have been transferred to Pannonia. It was probably raised already in Augustus' time, when it could have been stationed in southern Illyricum, that is, Dalmatia. We can assume that it was made up of members of Pannonian tribes, recruited probably before Bato's uprising, who remained loyal to the Romans in the war. It is quite possible that this *ala* was not formed from the ranks of loyal Pannonians after AD 9, but rather participated as part of the Roman army in crushing the rebellion. It seems likely, however, that already then, that is, toward the end of Augustus' rule and during the rule of Tiberius, it was manned with a number of Hispanians (and the odd German), which would indicate the real possibility that at the time there were simply not enough reliable Pannonian volunteers.⁶⁰ In any case, there is no concrete evidence that mass recruitment ensued immediately after the quelling of the Pannonian-Dalmatian revolt.⁶¹ This is only understandable: the local male population suffered both in the battles and by being taken as slaves. The Romans were also not likely to start arming and training the local population that was hostile to say the least, directly after a great revolt was quelled in blood. Sending the surviving able-bodied men into slavery goes much further toward aiding a successful pacification.⁶² Judging by the available data, it seems that at least one generation had to pass before more substantial recruitment took place.⁶³ Of course, the lack of epigraphic and other written sources does not constitute irrefutable proof that there was in fact no recruitment already at the end of Augustus' or at the beginning of Tiberius' rule, but I am more inclined to rely on what little evidence there is than to engage in conjecture. And the epigraphic finds tell us that the earliest documented

⁵⁶ Klemenc 1961, 7-8; Mócsy 1971, 41; Mócsy 1974, 39-41; Barkóczy 1980, 91-92.

⁵⁷ Dio 55.29; Vell. 2.110; Wilkes 1969, 69; Saddington 1982, 160.

⁵⁸ Dio 54.31; Vell. 2.110,5.

⁵⁹ Mócsy (1974, 39) considered that prior to AD 6 the Romans did not even attempt to recruit Pannonians, which does not really correspond to the picture presented by Velleius Paterculus and Cassius Dio. They probably approached recruitment selectively, supposedly seeking people from tribes more inclined to them, such as the Scordisci, or only volunteers, regardless of their tribal origins. Nevertheless, it is possible that there was no mass recruitment before AD 6, when mobilisation was conducted, probably unselective mass mobilisation, which was in contrast to the practice of previous decades and this may have triggered a wave of discontent.

⁶⁰ Cichorius 1894, 1255; Wagner 1938, 56-57; Kraft 1951, 25; Alföldy 1962, 262-263; Spaul 1994, 169; Spaul 1995, 63-73; Lőrincz 2001, 22.

⁶¹ For an opposing view, cf. Mócsy 1959, 117, 120-121; Mócsy 1962, 645; Bogaers 1969, 29; Mócsy 1974, 39; Periša 2008, 514.

⁶² Already in the previous war (*bellum Pannonicum*), after gaining victory, Tiberius ordered that the surviving young men of the defeated tribes be sold into slavery, so we can assume that after AD 9 he did not see fit to do otherwise, cf. Mócsy 1971, 44; Mócsy 1974, 34; Colombo 2010, 183.

⁶³ In her synthesis of the auxiliaries of Illyrian and Pannonian origin, A. Domić Kunić (1988, 86-92) lists all the known relevant inscriptions. However, with the exception of the diplomas, the dating of all the pre-Flavian inscriptions, mostly taken from the first publications, remains quite broad – she mostly speaks of the early Imperial period, the beginning of the Principate, the time of Claudius or Nero, the time until Vespasian, until Domitian etc, which is not a sound foundation for a hypothesis on mass recruitment after the quelling of Bato's rebellion. Saddington (1982, 160) also points out that the forming of Dalmatian and Pannonian auxiliary units cannot be definitely associated with specific historical events, beginning with the wars during Augustus up until AD 69.

auxiliaries of Pannonian and Dalmatian origin could have been recruited towards the very end of Tiberius' rule. For instance, Dases Dasmeni was recruited around AD 28-29, or perhaps a year or two earlier if we allow the possibility that he served for more than the regular 25 years, but even so this could not have been long before AD 25.⁶⁴ By all accounts, the Cornacatus Dases joined the Roman army some 20 years after the revolt was quelled, or maybe (a very strong maybe) somewhat earlier, but in any case this could not have been immediately after the end of the war, which Dases himself could have possibly experienced only as a small boy. Interestingly, he did not serve in a unit made up of his compatriots, but joined a unit set up on the Iberian peninsula and transferred to Pannonia evidently during the rule of Tiberius at the latest, if not even earlier (that is, in AD 28-29 at the latest, as this diploma is also the earliest mention of the II cohort of Hispanians).⁶⁵ The same is true of the Varcianus Iantumarus Andedunis, who joined the same unit some 5 to 6 years later,⁶⁶ as did Dasius Carmai, who joined his II ala of Hispanians and Aravaci around AD 36.⁶⁷ Dases, Iantumarus and Dasius were not recruited into any of the Pannonian, Breuci or Varciani units, probably because there was no massive recruitment of Pannonians and no raising of auxiliary units from that part of the Empire at the time they started serving voluntarily in the Roman military. In deciding for a military career, these young men understandably chose to serve in a unit that was stationed in Pannonia, that is, close to home, and which had obviously already had to fill its ranks by recruiting locals, as Hispanians were no longer easy to come by in sufficient numbers. Based on the available epigraphic material, it seems that the first Breuci, Pannonian and Varciani cohorts and Pannonian alae (with the exception of the mentioned *ala Pannoniorum*) were not raised before the very end of Caligula's and the beginning of Claudius' rule. Numerous authors believe that the cohorts of the Breuci and other Pannonian cohorts were raised immediately after the crushing of the rebellion in AD 9, in order to remove from Pannonia as many young and able-bodied men as possible.⁶⁸ As has been already mentioned, I cannot agree with this argument because there are no epigraphic and/or written sources to corroborate the assumption on such early raising of these Pannonian auxiliary units. If we compare the dates that diplomas were issued to the members of the Breuci cohorts, as well as the roughly dated epigraphic monuments mentioning these units, the earliest possible date for the raising of any Breuci cohort would be the one based on the diploma from Negoslavci.⁶⁹ It was issued on 17 June 65, to Liccaius, son of Liccaius (definitely a Pannonian in terms of onomastics and probably a member of the Breuci tribe), a soldier of the VII cohort of the Breuci, stationed at the

time in Upper Germania; presumably Liccaius joined the army sometime around 39-40, if not a year or two earlier. This would mean that the VII cohort of the Breuci existed from this moment at the latest, if we assume that Liccaius was among the first recruits of the newly organised cohort, which I personally consider quite likely.⁷⁰ All the other known diplomas of members of the Breuci cohorts were issued at a later date so they do not provide us with any data on the possible Augustan or early Tiberian date of the foundation of certain Breuci cohorts.⁷¹ It is indicative that the VII cohort of the Breuci existed at least from 39 or 40, which would mean that the cohorts numbered from I to VI were founded before it or at the same time. If we assume that the Breuci cohorts were raised in one wave, it is possible that they were formed for the purpose of the (unsuccessful) military operations of Caligula in Germania in 39, as well as for his frustrated invasion of Britain, because new legions as well as many new auxiliary units were also raised on that occasion.⁷² The earliest epigraphic sources for the cavalry cohort of the Latobici and Varciani (*cohors Latobicorum et Varcianorum equitata*) prove that this unit undoubtedly existed at the beginning of Nero's rule, so it seems likely that it was formed already during Claudius, if not sooner.⁷³ The earliest proof of the existence of the second cavalry cohort of the Varciani (*cohors II Varcianorum equitata*) refers to Vespasian's rule, but its activities prior to AD 69 remain obscure.⁷⁴ The cohorts of the Pannonians (*cohors I Augusta Pannoniorum*, *cohors I Ulpia Pannoniorum*, *cohors I Pannoniorum equitata veterana*, *cohors I Pannoniorum*, *cohors I Pannoniorum equitata*, *cohors I Pannoniorum et Delmatarum equitata civium Romanorum*, *cohors II Pannoniorum* and *cohors II nova Pannoniorum*) also left no epigraphic traces that would unquestionably indicate their existence prior to Nero's rule, and some were definitely not formed before the 2nd century.⁷⁵ There is also no clear evidence of an early formation of the alae recruited in Pannonia, with the probable exception of the *ala Pannoniorum*.⁷⁶ *Ala I Pannoniorum Sabiniana* was perhaps founded during Tiberius, if we accept the rather dubious assumption that it received its name from the commander *Nymphidius Sabinus*;⁷⁷ inscriptions of a more definite dating, as well as diplomas, originate from the 2nd century.⁷⁸ *Ala II Pannoniorum veterana* existed definitely during Nero's rule; it was very probably founded even before his rule, but just how much earlier remains unknown.⁷⁹ *Ala Pannoniorum*

⁶⁴ Brunšmid 1897, 1-6; *CIL* XVI 2; Saddington 1982, 64; Domić Kunić 1988, 90, cat. 20; Lőrincz 2001, 153, Cat. I; Ilkić 2010, 267.

⁶⁵ Wagner 1938, 152-153; Spaul 2000, 124-125; Lőrincz 2001, 36.

⁶⁶ *CIL* XVI 4; Domić Kunić 1988, 89, cat. 18; Lőrincz 2001, 153, Cat. 2.

⁶⁷ *RMD* 202; Dušanić 1998, 51-62; Koledin 2000, 231-239.

⁶⁸ Mócsy 1959, 75, 120-121; Mócsy 1962, 645; Alföldy 1968, 48; Bogaers 1969, 36-46; Dušanić 1978, 467.

⁶⁹ *RMD* 79; Dušanić 1978, 461-475; Dorn 1984, 165-174; Domić Kunić 1988, 90, cat. 19.

⁷⁰ Dušanić on the other hand believes that Liccaius belonged to the second generation of the unit's recruits and that he was transferred from his homeland to Germania, as part of the reinforcements for that unit, which may have been the standard practice during the Julio-Claudian dynasty, cf. Kraft 1951, 35; Alföldy 1968, 99-100; Dušanić 1978, 467.

⁷¹ Kraft 1951, 23; Spaul 2000, 317, 320-325.

⁷² Dio 49.21-22; Ritterling 1925, 1244-1249; Holder 1980, 113; Knight 1991, 189; Wiedemann 1996, 226-228; Alston 1998, 54-55.

⁷³ *CIL* XVI, 158; Spaul 2000, 328.

⁷⁴ Spaul 2000, 329.

⁷⁵ Spaul 2000, 330-338.

⁷⁶ Cichorius 1894, 1255; Wagner 1938, 56-57; Kraft 1951, 25; Alföldy 1962, 262-263; Spaul 1994, 167-172; Spaul 1995, 63-73; Lőrincz 2001, 22.

⁷⁷ *CIL* III 4269; the ala is not mentioned by name in this inscription.

⁷⁸ Spaul 1994, 189-190.

⁷⁹ Spaul 1994, 173-175; Ardevan 2007, 139-140.

Tampiana Victrix was founded perhaps already during Augustus, but as there is no confirmation for its existence before the Flavian period, perhaps the likelier assumption is that it was founded by the Pannonian legate *Tampius Flavianus* during the civil war in 69.⁸⁰ *Ala I nova Illyricorum* seems to have been formed in the 2nd century from the cavalry vexillations sent to Dacia from Illyricum, that is, probably from Dalmatia and Pannonia.⁸¹ Like the inhabitants of the province of Dalmatia, the Pannonians also served in the navy, probably in considerable numbers, but here also the epigraphic sources do not supply indisputable evidence of the recruitment of seamen from Illyricum prior to the rule of Claudius.⁸² This, of course, does not mean that they could not have served in the navy already during the rule of Augustus or Tiberius, but it does not speak in favour of the thesis that the indigenous inhabitants of Dalmatia were recruited in large numbers already after the crushing of Bato's uprising. It is not insignificant to note that, judging by the epigraphic material, we also cannot claim with certainty that the Delmatian cohorts were raised before the rule of Claudius, or in any case not much sooner than that; Caligula's recruitment of troops around 39 seems the earliest possible date of their formation.⁸³

It seems that the second wave of auxiliary recruitment in Pannonia could have ensued during the rule of Claudius, around AD 50, and this is how it is put forward by Tacitus in his *Annals*.⁸⁴ This, of course, does not mean that some units could not have been raised much sooner, but here we enter the realm of pure conjecture with no solid arguments. Caution demands that we do not reject the possibility that some auxiliary troops in Pannonia were raised already during Augustus, which is actually quite probable at least for one ala, or during Tiberius. However, despite the common opinion that the Pannonian auxiliary units were levied soon after the crushing of Bato's uprising, the lack of concrete evidence makes me more inclined to believe that their formation, at least in more substantial numbers, did not occur before Caligula's rule. In any case, there can be no word of a more massive recruitment of Pannonians before the formation of real Pannonian auxiliary units. With regard to the period before Caligula or Claudius, we can only speak about individuals joining the Roman army. This, of course, does not mean that there were only small numbers of such individuals, but it is only the levying of auxiliary units from the area that can be seen to indicate a more substantial interest of the Roman army and state for the recruitment of the local population. In any case, the epigraphic material at this time does not suggest that the recruitment of the local population came into full swing already during Tiberius, but only gives us evidence that towards the end of Tiberius' rule some Pannonians

definitely started serving in the Roman army. We must, of course, keep in mind that no diplomas were issued before the time of Claudius, that is before AD 52, so that they cannot serve as the only or key argument in an attempt to date the formation of certain auxiliary troops, at least not for the period before 26 or 27. Still, in the lack of other equally precise sources for dating, these diplomas provide very important information about the possible chronological frame for the existence of individual cohorts or alae.

The final crushing of Bato's uprising meant that there was no further need for a large concentration of troops in Illyricum, so that a great part of the Roman military forces was transferred to other provinces, especially the Rhine *limes*, where the situation had deteriorated significantly due to Varus' defeat and the loss of three legions. It seems that after AD 9 three legions remained in Pannonia: *VIII Augusta*, *IX Hispana* and *XV Apollinaris*.⁸⁵ Although there is no disagreement in the scholarly literature regarding their identification, the question of the garrison remains open.⁸⁶ According to Tacitus, at the moment of the military uprising in AD 14, all three legions shared a large summer camp, maybe near Poetovio or Siscia, but it is quite certain that they were otherwise not stationed together, at least not during the summer months.

The fewest dilemmas exist regarding the permanent camp (*hiberna*) of VIII legion, whose garrison in this period is placed with a great deal of certainty in Poetovio, as confirmed also by epigraphic evidence.⁸⁷ At the latest in AD 14 or 15, *XV Apollinaris* was stationed in the north, perhaps in Vindobona (in the older literature it was considered to have already been in Carnuntum at the time, but it seems that it arrived there during Claudius, around 39 or 40, or maybe as late as 49), but its location prior to AD 14 remains unknown.⁸⁸ It was previously believed that it could have been in Emona, but the opinion that prevails today is that Emona was not a legion camp.⁸⁹ Consequently, Siscia is suggested as the possible garrison. Siscia is most often connected to *IX Hispana*, which is believed to have been stationed in this town from the time of Tiberius until its departure for Britain in 43, that is, at the latest between 42 and 45, when Siscia no longer had a legion camp.⁹⁰ We also cannot exclude the possibility that Sirmium may have been

⁸⁰ Spaul 1994, 215-216.

⁸¹ Spaul 1994, 150-151.

⁸² Alföldy 1965, 174-175; Domić Kunić 1996a, 52-65; Miškov 1998, 92-98; Spaul 2002, 68, 73.

⁸³ Kraft 1951, 22-24; Saddington 1982, 160; Knight 1991, 189, 191-192; Spaul 2000, 299-300, 302-314; for an opposing view cf. Alföldy 1965, 174.

⁸⁴ Tac. *Ann.* 12.29; Mócsy 1959, 243-244, Cat. 158/ 2, 6-8; Mócsy 1971, 43, 45; Mócsy 1974, 51-52.

⁸⁵ Tac. *Ann.* 1.16-30; Ritterling 1925, 1363; Mócsy 1959, 18, 25, 28, 77; Klemenc 1961, 7; Mócsy 1962, 612-613; Klemenc 1963, 57; Mócsy 1974, 42-43; Fitz 1980, 131; Šašel Kos 1995, 236-237; Wilkes 1996, 569-571; Ferjančić 2002, 29; Lolić 2003, 133-134; Farnum 2005, 60; Dzino 2010, 167-168.

⁸⁶ The literature mentions Poetovio, Siscia, Sirmium, Savaria, Emona, and Carnuntum; for an overview of hypotheses cf. Wheeler 2000, 271.

⁸⁷ Ritterling 1925, 1645-1646; Reddé 2000, 121; *CIL* III 10878 = *AIJ* 371, *CIL* III 10879 = *AIJ* 381, *CIL* III 4060 = 10869 = *AIJ* 260, *AIJ* 262.

⁸⁸ Wheeler 2000, 271-274; Mosser 2003, 14, 16; Gugl 2003, 55-57; Harl 2003, 53.

⁸⁹ Šašel Kos 1995, 227-244; Ferjančić 2002, 36-38.

⁹⁰ It cannot be entirely excluded that the *IX Hispana* could have stayed also in Sirmium after Bato's rebellion, cf. Mócsy 1971, 46, the *IX* legion was temporarily (from 20 to 34 AD) transferred to Northern Africa, when it returned to Pannonia, probably to Siscia: Ritterling 1925, 1647, 1665-1666; Mócsy 1959, 25; Mócsy 1962, 613; Klemenc 1961, 8, 10; Mócsy 1974, 43; Šašel 1974, 734-735; Fitz 1980, 131; Hoti 1992, 142; Keppie 2000, 26; Radman-Livaja 2010a, 190.

a legion camp after the crushing of the revolt and during the rule of Tiberius, at least for a short time, perhaps as the garrison of IX or XV legion.⁹¹

Roughly at the same time, between 43 and 45, *VIII Augusta* left Poetovio, where it was replaced by *XIII Gemina*.⁹² Some time after that, in 62 or 63, *XV Apollinaris* headed east and was replaced in Carnuntum by *X Gemina*.⁹³ When the legion left Siscia, Poetovio remained the only legion camp in southern Pannonia, but the legion garrison (*XIII Gemina*) also left this town at the end of the 1st or the beginning of the 2nd century, some time between 97 and 106.⁹⁴ It is possible that in the late Flavian period Poetovio was perhaps not the only legion camp south of the Drava River, because, probably for a short period during Domitian's rule, a legion camp could have existed in Mursella near Mursa (today's Petrijevci). It is assumed that *XXI legio Rapax* was stationed there roughly from 89 or 90 to 92 or 93, when this legion was destroyed by the Sarmatians (Suet. *Dom.* 6). After this defeat, *XIV Gemina* may have taken its place for a short time, until it finally left the camp at the end of the 1st century. As there are no reliable archaeological traces, we cannot completely exclude the hypothesis that in this short period of time the legion garrison was stationed in Mursa. On the other hand, XXI legion might have never stayed in this place, or even in Pannonia.⁹⁵ Mursella and Mursa are not the only hypothetical legion camps in southern Pannonia at the end of the 1st century. It is not entirely impossible that Sirmium had a legion garrison in this short period.⁹⁶ The literature mentions the possibility that *legio II Adiutrix* could have stayed there.⁹⁷ It is also not impossible that *legio I Adiutrix* was stationed in Sirmium between 86 and 89.⁹⁸ As there is no definite evidence of the legions' stay in Sirmium itself,⁹⁹ it cannot be excluded that it may have

⁹¹ Mócsy 1971, 45-46; Mócsy 1974, 43; Šašel Kos 1995, 237.

⁹² Ritterling 1925, 1647-1649, 1713; Klemenc 1961, 7; Mócsy 1962, 613; Mócsy 1974, 48; Fitz 1980, 131; Reddé 2000, 121; Wolff 2000, 203-204; S. Ferjančić (2002, 29-30) believes that this did not happen before 57; cf. also Sanader 2003b, 465; Sanader 2008, 97.

⁹³ Mócsy 1962, 613; Fitz 131; Wheeler 2000, 274-278.

⁹⁴ An earlier date, that is the period before the year 101, seems more probable: Ritterling 1925, 1714-1716; Syme 1928, 49-50; Alföldy 1959, 126, 137, 140-141; Mócsy 1962, 614; Mócsy 1974, 88, 92; Ferjančić 2002, 30-31; Horvat *et al.* 2003, 156.

⁹⁵ There is also Klemenc's assumption on the presence of *X Gemina* in Mursa, perhaps during Galba or Trajan, before the Dacian campaign: Ritterling 1925, 1277-1279, 1736, 1788-1789; Klemenc 1928, 271-275; Syme 1928, 42-45, 49-51; Alföldy 1959, 124-126, 137-138, 140-141; Klemenc 1961, 9, 18-19; Mócsy 1962, 613-614; Klemenc 1963, 58, 60-62; Fitz 1980, 131; Lőrincz 1982, 285-286; Bérard 2000, 56-60; Sanader 2003b, 466; Perinić Muratović 2004, 98-99; Sanader 2008, 97, 99-101.

⁹⁶ It should be mentioned that in that same period, that is, from 86 to 106 at the latest, Sirmium, like the entire stretch of the territory along the frontier from the Drava estuary to the Sava estuary, was perhaps administratively attached to Upper Moesia, but this hypothesis has not been unanimously accepted: Alföldy 1959, 115; Dušanić 1967, 69; Mirković 1971, 28; Mócsy 1974, 92.

⁹⁷ Klemenc 1961, 23; Klemenc 1963, 67-68; Dušanić 1968, 87-90; Mirković 1971, 27-28; Eadie 1977, 210-212; Dušanić 1988, 85-86. Although Mommsen (*CIL* III, p. 420) assumed that it may have stayed in Acuminum, based on a probably mistaken Ptolemy's statement, it seems perhaps more probable that for a shorter period during Domitian it stayed in Singidunum, if not in Sirmium. For an overview of these issues and the literature cf. Alföldy 1959, 119-121.

⁹⁸ Alföldy 1959, 121-123, 127-128; Klemenc 1961, 23; Klemenc 1963, 67; Mirković 1971, 28-30; Eadie 1977, 210-212.

⁹⁹ Mirković 1971, 30.



Fig. 2. Funerary stone of M. Mucius Hegetor, surgeon of the cohorts XXXII voluntariorum (*CIL* III 10854, Photo Archive, AMZ).

been stationed in the vicinity. Archaeological investigations in Dobrinči in eastern Syrmia revealed traces of a large Roman camp, built probably in the 1st century, and it is quite possible that it served to accommodate a legion, perhaps *legio II Adiutrix*, during Domitian's rule.¹⁰⁰ Although after the IX legion left it, Siscia never again had the status of a permanent legion garrison, certain legion vexillations also could have stayed in the town occasionally in times

¹⁰⁰ Dušanić 1968, 89; Mirković 1971, 28; Petrović 1995, 222, 224.

of crisis; for example, a vexillation of legion *XIV Gemina* is thought to have stayed in Siscia during Domitian's wars on the Danube.¹⁰¹

While starting from the middle of the 1st century permanent legion garrisons were transferred from southern Pannonia, that is the area between the Sava and the Drava Rivers, the auxiliary units remained in the area, both in the hinterland and on the Danubian frontier. Although we know more about their deployment in the Pannonian region during the later Julio-Claudian period than during Augustus, many dilemmas and uncertainties still exist. As for southern Pannonia, it seems highly probable that in this period auxiliary units were stationed in Poetovio, Neviodunum, Siscia, Mursa and Sirmium, and we can assume that they stayed also at some other locations in the area between the Sava and the Drava, if not during Tiberius, then probably during Claudius at the latest. Because of the legion's presence, auxiliary units could be expected in Poetovio and Siscia,¹⁰² but the epigraphic evidence is inconclusive. Siscia probably kept a garrison even after the legionaries had left, and it is assumed that in addition to the beneficiaries and seamen of the river fleet, an auxiliary garrison also remained at least for some time. It is possible that *cohors XXXII voluntariorum civium Romanorum* was stationed in the town throughout the best part of the 1st century. Presumably, it was in Siscia already during the stay of IX legion, and it seems that it remained in the town up until Vespasian's time, when it was transferred to Germania Superior.¹⁰³ This assumption is based on two funerary inscriptions (fig. 2). One stele comes from Siscia itself, and it belonged to Mucius Hegetor, the physician of the XXXII cohort,¹⁰⁴ and the other, erected for a veteran of the same unit, Nunnidius Successus, was found in Orešac.¹⁰⁵ The latter find cannot contribute significantly to the discussion on the garrison of XXXII cohort during its stay in Pannonia, because, notwithstanding the accepted dating, a veteran's funerary monument cannot be considered as reliable evidence that his former unit had been present in the vicinity of his last residence, all the more so in this case, as this vicinity is somewhat of a relative term considering that some 100 km lie between Orešac and Siscia. Nevertheless, if we discard the possibility that the physician Mucius Hegetor stayed in Siscia on a special assignment, separated from his home unit, his stele can be considered as quite reliable evidence that *cohors XXXII voluntariorum civium Romanorum* could have been stationed in Siscia at least in the mid 1st century, if not for longer. A further argument for its stay in Pannonia in the Claudian period is a votive inscription of the knight Gaius Antonius Rufus, who seems to have done each of his three turns of military service in Pannonia (*cohors*

XXXII voluntariorum, legio XIII, ala I Scubulorum).¹⁰⁶ However, the hypothesis on the stay of this cohort in Siscia is not generally accepted: some consider that this unit was not founded before the rule of Commodus and the early dating of the two mentioned monuments is thus called into question.¹⁰⁷

Although some auxiliary units were very probably stationed in Poetovio during the 1st century in addition to the legion crew, it is only in the Flavian period that the presence of the first Alpine infantry cohort (*cohors I Alpinorum peditata*) can be assumed with any degree of certainty. By all accounts, this unit also stayed in Lower Pannonia at the beginning of the 2nd century, probably in Lusonium, so it may be assumed that since the end of the 1st century there were no auxiliary units in Poetovio.¹⁰⁸ An exception to this is a brief period during the Marcomannic wars when the *cohors II Aurelia Dacorum milliaria equitata pia fidelis* seems to have stayed in the town.¹⁰⁹ A few early archaeological traces of the auxiliaries' presence were found in Mursa, namely of the second ala of Hispanians and Aravaci (*ala II Hispanorum Arvacorum*) and the second Alpine cavalry cohort (*cohors II Alpinorum equitata*). The stele of the cavalryman Niger Sve<l>trius is dated to the first half of the 1st century, but it seems that this ala was soon transferred from Mursa to Teutoburgium, as demonstrated by the tombstone of a decurion Tiberius Claudius Valerius, as well as a few fragmentary inscriptions and the countermarks *al(ae) (II) Ar(vacorum)* on coins, dated approximately from the late Tiberian to the early Claudian period.¹¹⁰ The stele of a cavalryman Velagenus from the second Alpine cohort is dated to the Claudian period, that is, to the mid 1st century, so it can be assumed that this cohort replaced the second ala of Hispanians and Aravaci in Mursa, if it had not been in Mursa even earlier, during the stay of this ala.¹¹¹ Roman military presence can generally be assumed in Neviodunum, Mursa and Sirmium, as well as Acuminum and Burgenae, on the basis of early forms of *terra sigillata* finds.¹¹² The same is more or less true of the sites at which Augustan bronze money with the countermark AVG was found, but although such finds probably indicate the presence or at least the passage of soldiers, they cannot serve as a final proof that Roman military units

¹⁰¹ Dušanić 1983, 20-21; Hoti 1992, 143.

¹⁰² This could perhaps have been 3 alae and 6 cohorts: Vell. 2.117,1; Alföldy 1968, 137; Tóth and Vékony 1970, 155; Lőrincz 2001, 57.

¹⁰³ Cichorius 1900, 356; Wagner 1938, 201; Kraft 1951, 199; Mócsy 1962, 624; Mócsy 1974, 81; Holder 1980, 156; Lőrincz 2001, 44.

¹⁰⁴ It is dated to the mid 1st century; *CIL* III 10854; Zaninović 1981, 205; Lőrincz 2001, 297, Cat. 479.

¹⁰⁵ It is dated to the Flavian period; *CIL* III 4006; Kraft 1951, 199, Nr. 3140; Lőrincz 2001, 297, Cat. 480.

¹⁰⁶ The inscription was dated to Nero's time; *CIL* III 386 = *ILS* 2718; Lőrincz 2001, 208, Cat. 166.

¹⁰⁷ Spaul 2000, 47-48.

¹⁰⁸ Cichorius 1900, 238; Wagner 1938, 83-84; Radnóti and Barkóczy 1951, 200; Visy 1986, 491-492, 494-495; Spaul 2000, 262; Lőrincz 2001, 28, 70, 105.

¹⁰⁹ Lőrincz 2001, 34.

¹¹⁰ *CIL* III 3286 and 10262 (Mursa), *CIL* III 3271 (Teutoburgium), *CIL* III 14039 (Pécs, allegedly comes from Dalj), *CIL* III 3273 = 10258 (Teutoburgium); Brunšmid 1909, 170-171, no. 368; Cichorius 1894, 1230; Wagner 1938, 47-48; Kraft 1951, 151; Mócsy 1962, 619; Pinterović 1968, 68-69; Tóth and Vékony 1970, 156; Eadie 1977, 214; Beneš 1978, 10; Holder 1980, 156; Saddington 1982, 67, 95; Kos 1984, 49-54; Visy 1986, 492-495; Lőrincz 2001, 21, 198-199, Cat. 133, 135, 136.

¹¹¹ *ILJug* 3104; Cichorius 1900, 239; Wagner 1938, 84-85; Radnóti and Barkóczy 1951, 201; Mócsy 1962, 621; Lőrincz 2001, 27, 59, 229, Cat. 234.

¹¹² Gabler 1979, 199-215; Lőrincz 2001, 57; Fitz 2003, 50; Gabler 2006, 87-88, 91-92, 95.

stayed there over an extended period of time.¹¹³ There is a hypothesis, backed by very convincing arguments, that there was an auxiliary garrison in Andautonia during the rule of the Julio-Claudian dynasty, or at least during the first decades of the 1st century, but this has not been proved by archaeological evidence.¹¹⁴ Although the lack of finds meant that until recently Cuccium was not mentioned in the literature in the context of early camps on the Danube *limes*, the find of a soldier's (or veteran's) grave from the 2nd quarter of the 1st century, as well as some other early Roman graves, indicate that there is a real possibility of Roman military presence at this location during the Julio-Claudian House, if not during the late Tiberian, then certainly during the Claudian period.¹¹⁵ It can be convincingly presumed that *cohors II Hispanorum equitata* stayed in Pannonia during the 1st century, at least since the rule of Tiberius, if not before, all until the end of the century, when it was transferred to Upper Moesia, but its whereabouts during this period remain unknown.¹¹⁶ Although there is no concrete evidence, the possibility that it was stationed in southern Pannonia cannot be excluded.

5. The development of the *limes*

This necessarily brief overview shows quite evidently how difficult it is to make far-reaching conclusions about the beginnings of the development of the Roman military system on the Pannonia's Danube frontier south of the Drava. Unfortunately, due to the lack of more comprehensive systematic investigations and the scarcity of epigraphic material, it is no easier to trace its development after the Julio-Claudian period. While some sites can boast of at least some published material, others receive only summary mention in survey reports or archaeological rescue excavations reports. Therefore, any attempt at a synthesized chronological presentation of the development and establishment of this part of the *limes* from the Julio-Claudian period to the time of Hadrian's rule, and even later, is made substantially more difficult by the lack of sufficient reliable data. Still, some kind of global picture, even an incomplete one, can be gained from the individual sites, which can, with more or less certainty, be considered to have belonged to the Roman military fortification network on this part of the Danube *limes*. As an introduction to this subject, it should be stressed that although some fortifications undoubtedly existed already in the Claudian period, if not even sooner, it is quite probable that this stretch of the *limes* began acquiring its shape during the Flavian period, probably during the rule of Domitian, when the more substantial transfer of troops to the Danubian frontier began. It acquired, if not its final shape, then definitely a more lasting one in the Principate, during the

rule of Trajan and Hadrian.¹¹⁷ It was in fact during Trajan's rule, between 103 and 107 (probably in 106) that Pannonia was divided into two provinces, *Pannonia Superior* with the seat in Carnuntum, and *Pannonia Inferior* with the seat in Aquincum. This division was undoubtedly the result of the reorganisation of the Roman defence potential on the Danubian frontier, with Upper Pannonia confronting the Quadi and Lower Pannonia the Sarmatians.¹¹⁸

Epigraphic finds play a key role in the efforts to identify the military units that were stationed in certain camps on the Pannonian section of the Danubian *limes* at a certain point in time. Written sources are sometimes also helpful, but, with the exception of the *Notitia Dignitatum*, still do not provide substantial information. Unfortunately, at least in the case of that part of the *limes* discussed here, the epigraphic finds are scarce and contain relatively little information. Luckily, military diplomas from Lower Pannonia help in locating the camps of certain units at certain points in time. Two Hungarian archaeologists, A. Radnóti and L. Barkóczy, noticed a long time ago that the sequence of listing the units changed on the Pannonian diplomas around the middle of the 2nd century, that is, during the rule of Antoninus Pius. Until then, the units were listed by ordinal numbers within their groups (*alae* are mentioned first, followed by cohorts and then fleets). Although in the new scheme *alae* are listed before cohorts, the units' ordinal numbers are no longer necessarily connected to the sequence of the units on the diploma. Still, the repeated listing of the same or similar sequence on several Lower Pannonian diplomas issued at different points in time indicated that certain logic was respected in the process. The conclusion was that the sequence of the units' names corresponds to the geographic location of their fortifications, from the north southwards. Further analysis showed this „topographic“ or „cryptotopographic“¹¹⁹ sequence to be quite probable. Despite certain incongruities and exceptions,¹²⁰ and despite the fact that not all the units are mentioned on each diploma, this sequence is a very useful indication, although not reliable proof, in determining the garrisons of certain troops in Pannonia, beginning roughly at the time of Hadrian's rule all until the time of Marcus Aurelius.¹²¹

A few certain, probable or possible Roman fortifications situated between Altinum and Mursa were located north of the Drava and thus are not covered by the geographic frame of this paper. Nevertheless, they still deserve to be mentioned here, given that they belong to the Croatian part

¹¹³ Nauportus, Emona, Celeia, Poetovio, Siscia, Mursa, Teutoburgium, Cuccium, Acumincum, Burgenae, Taurunum, etc., cf. Kos 1984, 48.

¹¹⁴ Fitz 2003, 50.

¹¹⁵ Dizdar *et al.* 2003, 57-77; Tomičić *et al.* 2007, 14-15; Tomičić *et al.* 2008, 15-16; Dizdar 2010, 244-245.

¹¹⁶ Cichorius 1900, 299-300; Wagner 1938, 152-154; Kraft 1951, 178; Beneš 1978, 39-40; Saddington 1982, 64, 95; Visy 1986, 491-495; Spaul 2000, 124-125; Lőrincz 2001, 36, 57.

¹¹⁷ Mócsy 1974, 48-52, 80-103; Eadie 1977, 212-220; Barkóczy 1980, 93-95; Soproni 1980, 220-221; Petrović 1986, 91-93; Visy 1988, 26-27; Wilkes 2000, 580-581; Gabler 2003, 37-39; Visy 2003b, 109-110; Sanader 2010, 222.

¹¹⁸ Mócsy 1962, 586-587; Mócsy 1974, 92-94; Barkóczy 1980, 93-94; Wilkes 2000, 581.

¹¹⁹ A crypto-topographic sequence would be a sequence in which the units with the same ordinal number are ordered according to topography and not alphabetically, although the list itself is numerical, cf. Visy 1986, 484-485.

¹²⁰ Cf. Roxan 1986, 775-777; Visy 1986, 483-490, 498-517; Lőrincz 2001, 84-85.

¹²¹ Radnóti and Barkóczy 1951, 191-226; Fitz 1959, 438-442; Dušanić 1968, 94; Roxan 1986, 768-777; Visy 1986, 483-517; Lőrincz 2001, 79-80, 84-85, 87-89; MacDonald and Pangerl 2003, 266.

of the Baranja. The northernmost place, close to today's Croatian-Hungarian border, is Batina (Batina Skela) or more precisely the site Gradac above Batina Skela. In Roman times it was called Ad Militare, and the existence of a fortification was confirmed also by some smaller-scale excavations at the beginning of the 1970-ies.¹²² The camp is believed to have been built during Domitian's rule, around 85 or 86, but there are no reliable indications as to which unit may have been stationed there at the time. The first unit to have been stationed there beyond doubt is *cohors II Augusta Thracum equitata*, roughly from the beginning of Hadrian's rule until the beginning or the end of the Marcomannic wars.¹²³ *Cohors II Asturum et Callaecorum equitata* probably arrived there after the Marcomannic wars and stayed at least until the middle of the 3rd century, although it has sometimes been claimed that it was stationed in Ad Militare already during the first half of the 2nd century. This is probably not correct, but it cannot be entirely excluded that this cohort garrisoned the camp in the late Flavian period, as it was definitely present in Pannonia at the time.¹²⁴ Thanks to the *Notitia Dignitatum* we know that in the 4th century *equites Flavianenses* stayed at Ad Militare but it is impossible to identify a more precise chronological frame.¹²⁵ Ad Novas, today's Zmajevac, is located further to the south. Although there are assumptions that the camp was built in the 2nd century, investigations have so far discovered mostly traces of Late Antiquity, and there are also no epigraphic evidence which would indicate a military presence with any certainty earlier than the 4th century,¹²⁶ when a detachment of the *equites Dalmatae* and the *auxilia Novensia* stayed there.¹²⁷ Bansko brdo (Baranjska planina)

¹²² Klemenc 1961, 17; Klemenc 1963, 59; Pinterović 1968, 59-60, 62, 73-74; Bulat 1969, 40-41; Visy 1988, 126; Minichreiter 1987, 88-90; Minichreiter 1989b, 182; Sanader 2003a, 137; Sanader 2008, 104; Sanader 2010, 225-227.

¹²³ Cichorius 1900, 338; Wagner 1938, 192-193; Radnóti and Barkóczi 1951, 201, 214-215; Nagy 1956, 68; Fitz 1962, 66; Mócsy 1962, 624; Spaul 2000, 367; Lőrincz 2001, 43, 89-90, 104.

¹²⁴ Cichorius 1900, 248; Wagner 1938, 91; Kraft 1951, 168; Radnóti and Barkóczi 1951, 201, 213; Nagy 1956, 68, Anm. 182; Fitz 1962, 64-65; Mócsy 1962, 621; Dušanić 1988, 87; Spaul 2000, 81; Lőrincz 2001, 29, 98, 100, 104.

¹²⁵ *Not. Dign. Occ.* XXXIII.45.

¹²⁶ *Not. Dign. Occ.* XXXII.9, 28, 40; Klemenc 1961, 17; Radnóti and Barkóczi 1951, 214-215; Fitz 1962, 66-67; Pinterović 1968, 58-61, 71, 73; Bulat 1969, 41; Minichreiter 1987, 90; Visy 1988, 126; Sanader 2003a, 138; Sanader 2008, 104-105; Filipović 2010, 10-27; Sanader 2010, 227-228. Although they are sometimes mentioned, there is no proof that *cohors I Montanorum*, *cohors III Alpinorum* and *cohors VII Breucorum* stayed there. *Cohors I Montanorum* was probably stationed in Cornacum from the time of Trajan until the Marcomannic wars, when it was transferred to Ad Latus (cf. Lőrincz 2001, 39), *cohors III Alpinorum* went from Dalmatia to Upper Pannonia in the 3rd century, more precisely to Quadrata (cf. Lőrincz 2001, 28), and *cohors VII Breucorum* arrived to Lugio in Pannonia from Moesia at the beginning of the rule of Antoninus Pius. However, because the bricks produced by *cohors VII Breucorum* can be found throughout Lower Pannonia, the sites where they were found are often wrongly recorded in publications as the cohort's camps. (cf. Dušanić 1988, 87; Lőrincz 2001, 31).

¹²⁷ The text mentions *auxilia Novensia, Arsaciana sive Novas*, but Arsaciana is probably a corruption of Antiana. Does this mean that this unit was deployed in both places? As Antiana is thought to have been in nearby Popovac, or, less likely, in Branjin vrh (Pinterović 1968, 58-59; Pinterović 1969, 57-58; Minichreiter 1989b, 182-183), it cannot be excluded that the same unit had troops in both locations. Or is this a pseudocomitatenses unit that appears in the list of units under the command of *Magister Peditum Praesentalis*, under the name of Antianenses?, cf. *Not. Dign. Occ.* V.112, 262.



Fig. 3. Votive plaque of *cohors I Alpinorum* (after Radman-Livaja 2004b, Photo Archive, AMZ).

or more precisely the village of Kamenac on Baranjska greda near Kneževi Vinogradi is the place where some authors place Aureus Mons, a location believed to have possibly been a military fortification or a station of a part of the *legio VI Herculia* in the 4th century. Despite the remains of Roman architecture and a 4th century cemetery, there is no reliable archaeological evidence for this assumption.¹²⁸ Dragojlov brijeg near the Jasenovac wasteland south of Kneževi Vinogradi is also believed to be a Roman site and a possible military fortification. Quite a while ago, a stone fragment with an inscription was discovered there, probably part of the base of a sculpture or an altar, which M. Bulat interpreted as follows: *Mar[ti et] | Victo[ri]ae | pro sal[ute] | Aug[usti] | n[ostri]*.¹²⁹ The Roman character of the site was confirmed during small-scale excavations in the 1980s. In addition to graves from Late Antiquity, traces of Roman architecture were also discovered, namely the foundations of walls of several rooms with a partially preserved floors and stone sewage. A brick with the stamp *c(ohortis) I Ulp(iae) Pan(noniorum)* was found in one of the foundations.¹³⁰ The site is most probably located on the

¹²⁸ *Not. Dign. Occ.* XXXII.45; Pinterović 1968, 58-61, 75; Bulat 1969, 44; Dušanić 1968, 91; Pinterović 1969, 58 (giving also other, more or less convincing locations); Bulat 1977, 79; Minichreiter 1989bis, 182; Sanader 2003a, 138; Sanader 2008, 105; Sanader 2010, 228 (in the first two publications, M. Sanader gives the toponym Banovo brdo, probably a variant of the name Bansko brdo).

¹²⁹ Bulat 1960, 14-15; Pinterović 1960, 35; Pinterović 1968, 69; Bulat 1969, 41.

¹³⁰ Minichreiter 1987, 91, 120; Minichreiter 1989a, 102-103; Minichreiter 1989b, 182; Minichreiter 1990, 147-148. It should be mentioned that bricks with this cohort's stamp have been found at several locations in Lower Pannonia, and *cohors I Ulpia Pannoniorum* is thought to have been tasked with producing bricks for a certain period of time, probably during the Severan period. For the greater part of the 2nd century it was stationed in Solva (Esztergom), where it most probably stayed also during the 3rd century. This camp was originally located in Upper Pannonia, but after the frontier between Upper and Lower Pannonia was changed in 214, it ended up in the territory of Lower Pannonia: Lőrincz 2001, 40-41, 100, 116-117, Cat. 408.

route of a Roman road, which diverted westward on this section due to the alluvial areas near the Danube. This road connected Ad Novas (Zmajevac) with Mursa and with Ad Labores (Nemetin), as there was probably a junction near Kopačevo, with one road leading further toward the river crossing at Nemetin and the main road veering westward toward Bilje, and from there south towards Osijek.¹³¹ All these finds and the position on the route of a Roman road along the *limes* were the reasons to assume the existence of a Roman military station on this location.¹³² This hypothesis could have been finally confirmed by a recent chance discovery in the Baranja, but the circumstances of the find remain dubious (fig. 3). In 2002, the AMZ came into possession of a votive plaque dedicated to the battle insignia of the *cohors I Alpinorum peditata Antoniniana* by the unit's commander Allius Exsuperatus.¹³³ Because of the attribute *Antoniniana* it can be dated to the Severan period, probably to the rule of Caracalla or Elagabalus, and it is an unambiguous trace of the stay of this unit in this part of the *limes*.¹³⁴ Votive plaques dedicated to battle insignia are mostly found within military fortifications, where they originally stood, so it can reasonably be assumed that this plaque also stood in a shrine within the *principia*.¹³⁵ If this hypothesis is corroborated by future research, the inscription on the above-mentioned bronze plaque would shed completely new light on the issue of the location of the garrison of *cohors I Alpinorum peditata* during the Severan dynasty and would indicate the existence of at least one more Roman camp in the Baranja. There is no doubt that members of this unit were present in Mursa in connection to the visit of the imperial family at the beginning of the 3rd century,¹³⁶ but the question of the location of their permanent garrison at this time remains unresolved. Dragojlov brijeg lies at a mere 20 km as the crow flies from Mursa, and Branjin Vrh and Popovac are not much further away either. The inscription on the plaque in question indicates that at the time of the Severan dynasty *cohors I Alpinorum peditata* could have been stationed in this area. It should be emphasised that, despite the contradictory statements as regards the location of the finds, Dragojlov brijeg seems the likelier choice for a military fortification

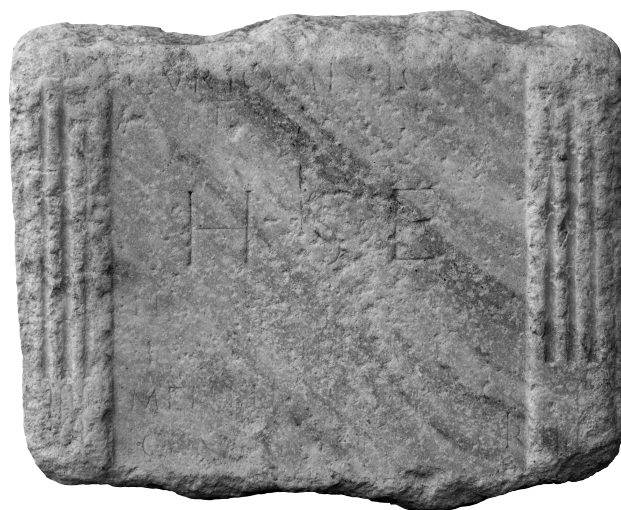


Fig. 4. Funerary stone of a *decurio alae II Aravacorum* (CIL III 10258 = 3273, Photo Archive, AMZ)

than the area around Branjin Vrh, but only more thorough research of both locations can resolve this issue. The lack of research makes it impossible to say for how long this camp functioned, but at present we can conclude that, whether on Dragojlov brijeg (I personally find this the likelier variant) or in the vicinity of Branjin Vrh, a fortification existed where *cohors I Alpinorum peditata* stayed, at least for a brief period. The Roman name of this location also remains a great mystery. Our knowledge about the names and position of Roman settlements and fortifications in the area is based primarily on the written sources such as *Tabula Peutingeriana*, *Itinerarium Antonini*, the Ravenna Cosmography and the *Notitia Dignitatum*. The last to have dealt seriously with the issue was D. Pinterović, and although her assumptions on the location of Roman sites in the Baranja are for the most part acceptable, she was also not able to identify with any certainty the location of some settlements and fortifications.¹³⁷ Despite numerous hypotheses, the question of the location of the settlements Aureus Mons (*Itin. Ant., Not. Dign.*), Albanum (*Not. Dign.*), Antiana (*Itin. Ant., Tab. Peut., Anon. Raven., Not. Dign.?*) and Donatianae (*Tab. Peut., Anon. Raven.*) has still not been finally resolved. Interestingly, there has been no special mention of Dragojlov brijeg in the literature in connection to hypotheses about these issues. Bearing in mind the results of the research conducted in the 1980s and the existence of at least one epigraphic monument, or two if the above-mentioned plaque originates from this area, Dragojlov brijeg should not be left out of the discussions on the location of these Roman toponyms.

Albanum, perhaps today's Lug, is also a late Roman fortification where *equites Dalmatae* were stationed, and a certain number of archaeological finds confirms the Roman character of the site.¹³⁸ Lug is also presumed to have been

¹³¹ Pinterović 1961, 44-45; Pinterović 1968, 56-61, Pinterović 1969, 56-59; Sanader 2003a, 135-136.

¹³² Bulat 1969, 41; Pinterović 1961, 44; Pinterović 1968, 69; Pinterović 1969, 56, 61, 63; Minichreiter 1987, 91, 120.

¹³³ Unfortunately, the original finder has passed away in the meantime and before arriving to the Museum the plaque changed the hands of at least three owners. It is therefore very unlikely that the exact circumstances of the find will ever be disclosed. Although all its former owners agree that it comes from the Baranja, there are two different stories about the site where it was found. According to one version, it was found near Dragojlov brijeg, south of Kneževi Vinogradi, while according to the other it was found in a field not far from Branjin Vrh, that is, Popovac, cf. Radman-Livaja 2004b, 113-131; for *cohors I Alpinorum peditata* and *cohors I Alpinorum equitata* cf. Cichorius 1900, 237-239; Wagner 1938, 80-84; Radnóti and Barkóczy 1951, 199-200, 210-213; Nagy 1956, 63-65; Fitz 1962, 61-63, 65-66; Mócsy 1962, 620-621; Spaul 2000, 257, 259-263; Lőrincz 2001, 27-28; Gayet 2006, 68-69.

¹³⁴ Lőrincz 1985, 186-187; Lőrincz 2001, 146-147.

¹³⁵ Domaszewski 1895, 14, 19-20, 27; Radman-Livaja 2004b, 117-118, 127-128.

¹³⁶ CIL III 10269; Brunšmid 1900: 25; Pinterović 1960: 29-30; Pinterović 1968: 66; Lőrincz 2001: 233, Cat. 250; Radman-Livaja 2004b, 120, 129-130.

¹³⁷ Cf. cited bibliography in Pinterović 1968, 58-61; Pinterović 1969, 56-59.

¹³⁸ *Not. Dign. Occ.* XXXII.9, 29; Klemenc 1961, 17 (due to a printing error, it says Sug!); Pinterović 1968, 59-61; Bulat 1969, 41; Pinterović 1969, 59; Minichreiter 1987, 93; Sanader 2003a, 139; Sanader 2008, 105.

Table 1. Limes garrisons in southern Pannonia, 1st-4th centuries AD.

Fort	1 st century AD	2 nd century AD	3 rd century AD	4 th century AD
<i>Ad Militare</i> (Batina)	Fort built during Domitian's reign (85-86 AD) ? first garrison unknown	<i>cohors II Augusta Thracum</i> (118-180 AD ?) <i>cohors II Asturum et Callaecorum equitata</i> (180-250 AD ?)	<i>cohors II Asturum et Callaecorum equitata</i> (180-250 AD ?)	<i>equites Flavianenses</i>
<i>Ad Novas</i> (Zmajevac)	-	?	?	<i>equites Dalmatae auxilia Novensia</i>
<i>Aureus Mons</i> (Kamenac?)	-	-	-	<i>legio VI Herculia</i>
Dragojlov Brijeg	-	?	<i>Cohors I Alpinorum peditata</i> (Severan period)	?
<i>Albanum</i> (Lug?)	-	-	-	<i>equites Dalmatae</i>
<i>Mursa</i> (Osijek)	<i>ala II Hispanorum Arvacorum</i> (Augustan period ? – early Claudian period) <i>cohors II Alpinorum equitata</i> (Claudian period – 118 AD) <i>legio XXI Rapax</i> ? (89/90-92/93 AD ?) <i>legio XIV Gemina</i> ? (93/94-99 AD ?)	<i>cohors II Alpinorum equitata</i> (Claudian period – 118 AD)	?	<i>legio VI Herculia classis Histrica</i>
<i>Mursella</i> (Petrijevci?)	<i>legio XXI Rapax</i> ? (89/90-92/93 AD ?) <i>legio XIV Gemina</i> ? (93/94-99 AD ?)	-	-	-
<i>Teutoburgium</i> (Dalj)	<i>ala II Hispanorum Arvacorum</i> (Claudian period – late 1 st century ?)	<i>ala I Praetoria civium Romanorum</i> (early 2 nd century – 200 AD)	<i>ala I civium Romanorum</i> 200 AD –late 3 rd century ?)	<i>equites promoti cuneus equitum Dalmatarum legio VI Herculia</i>
<i>Cornacum</i> (Sotin)	Fort built in the Flavian period at the latest; <i>ala I civium Romanorum</i> (70-101 AD ?)	<i>cohors I Montanorum</i> (106-180 AD ?) <i>cohors II Aurelia Dacorum milliaria equitata pia fidelis</i> (180 – 3 rd century AD ?)	<i>cohors II Aurelia Dacorum milliaria equitata pia fidelis</i> (180 – 3 rd century AD ?) <i>cohors I Lusitanorum</i> ? (early 3 rd century ?)	<i>equites Dalmatae cuneus equitum scutariorum equites promoti</i>
<i>Cuccium</i> (Ilok)	?	<i>cohors I Lusitanorum</i> ? (180-early 3 rd century ?)	<i>cohors I Lusitanorum</i> ? (180-early 3 rd century ?)	<i>cuneus equitum promotorum equites sagittarii</i>
<i>Malata/Bononia</i> (Banoštor)	Fort built during Domitian's reign, first garrison uncertain; <i>cohors I Campanorum</i> ? (late 1 st century ?)	<i>ala I Flavia Augusta Brittanica milliaria civium Romanorum bis torquata ob virtutem</i> (97/105-250 AD ?)	<i>ala I Flavia Augusta Brittanica milliaria civium Romanorum bis torquata ob virtutem</i> (97/105-250 AD ?)	<i>praefectus equites Dalmatae</i>
<i>Cusum</i> (Petrovaradin)	?	?	<i>ala Pannoniorum</i> ?	<i>equites Dalmatae</i>
<i>Acumincum</i> (Stari Slankamen)	Fort built in the Flavian period ? <i>cohors I Cantabrorum</i> ? (early Flavian period ?) <i>cohors I Britannica milliaria civium Romanorum equitata</i> ? (late 1 st century ?)	<i>cohors I Campanorum voluntariorum civium Romanorum</i> (113/114-200 AD ?)	?	<i>cuneus equitum Constantium equites sagittarii</i>
<i>Rittium</i> (Surduk)	<i>cohors I Britannica milliaria civium Romanorum equitata</i> (70-89 AD ?)	<i>vexillationes equitum ex Syria</i> (106-113/114 AD) <i>ala I civium Romanorum</i> ? (113/114-118/119 AD ?) <i>ala I Augusta Ituraeorum sagittaria</i> (118/119-200 AD or later ?)	<i>ala I Augusta Ituraeorum sagittaria</i> ?	<i>equites Dalmatae</i>

Fort	1 st century AD	2 nd century AD	3 rd century AD	4 th century AD
Burgenae (Novi Banovci)	Fort built in the Claudian period; <i>cohors II Asturum et Callaecorum</i> ? (Flavian period ?)	<i>cohors V Gallorum</i> ? (106-118/119 AD ?) <i>ala I civium Romanorum</i> (118/119-138 AD) <i>cohors I Thracum civium Romanorum pia fidelis</i> (138-250 AD)	<i>cohors I Thracum civium Romanorum pia fidelis</i> (138-250 AD)	<i>legio V Iovia equites Dalmatae cuneus equitum Constantianorum</i>
Taurunum (Zemun)	-	<i>Classis Flavia Pannonica</i> ?	<i>Classis Flavia Pannonica cohors III Alpinorum equitata</i> ? (2 nd half of the 3 rd century ?)	<i>equites promoti auxilia ascarii</i>
Sirmium (Sremska Mitrovica)	<i>legio II Adiutrix</i> ? (late Domitian period ?) <i>legio I Adiutrix</i> ? (86-89 AD ?)	?	?	<i>praefectus militum Calcarensium ala Sirmensis praefectus classis primae Flaviae Augustae</i>

the location of Donatiana.¹³⁹ This Roman settlement was perhaps located in Vardarac and some believe that this was a late Roman fortification; although surveys have confirmed the existence of Roman remains, there is no concrete evidence of the existence of any sort of military facility.¹⁴⁰

It has already been mentioned that Mursa had a garrison very early, possibly already in the Augustan period and very probably during Tiberius. *Ala II Hispanorum Arvacorum*, the first auxiliary unit whose presence in the town can be stated with great certainty, was transferred to Teutoburgium already during Claudius, and *cohors II Alpinorum equitata* was left in the town (see above). It seems that this cohort remained in Mursa until 118, when the town seems to have been left without a permanent garrison for an extended period of time.¹⁴¹ It seems, however, that troops did occasionally stay in Mursa,¹⁴² and in the 4th century, in addition to a detachment of *legio VI Herculia*, a river fleet base, that is *classis Histrica*, seems to have been stationed in the town.¹⁴³ Mostly owing to epigraphic finds, we have a more or less clear general idea of the units that stayed in Teutoburgium from the 1st century onwards.¹⁴⁴ As already stated, *ala II Hispanorum Arvacorum* arrived to

Teutoburgium from Mursa during the rule of Claudius at the latest (fig. 4). It was perhaps the first unit to be stationed there and it seems to have remained in Teutoburgium until the end of the 1st century, when it was probably replaced by *ala I Praetoria civium Romanorum*, which remained there throughout the greater part of the 2nd century. It was followed by *ala I civium Romanorum*, which was stationed in Teutoburgium during the first half of the 3rd century, if not even longer. Thanks to the *Notitia Dignitatum*, we know that in the 4th century *equites promoti* as well as *cuneus equitum Dalmatarum* stayed there, as did detachments of the legion *VI Herculia*.¹⁴⁵ Archaeological evidence suggests that it was mostly cavalry units that were stationed in Teutoburgium.¹⁴⁶ In today's Sotin, a continuity of settlement dating back to the Neolithic can be traced archaeologically, and there is no doubt that Roman *Cornacum* was built somewhere around the settlement that developed already during the Iron Age.¹⁴⁷ Available data is not sufficient for establishing the date of the putting up of the fort, but there is not much doubt that a military garrison (presumably the *ala I civium Romanorum*) stayed there in the Flavian period at the latest.¹⁴⁸ This *ala* was a part of Trajan's army during the

¹³⁹ Minichreiter 1987, 93; Minichreiter 1989b, 182; Minichreiter 1990, 146-147. D. Pinterović (1969, 57) mentions various hypotheses on the location of the settlement Donatiana, concluding, however, that none of them is certain.

¹⁴⁰ Pinterović 1968, 58, 60-61; Bulat 1969, 41; Minichreiter 1989b, 183; Sanader 2003a, 139; Sanader 2008, 105.

¹⁴¹ Cichorius 1900, 239; Wagner 1938, 84-85; Mirković 1971, 32; Visy 1986, 491, 494, 497, 507; Lőrincz 2001, 27, 51, 59, 63, 65, 68, 72, 75, 80, 83, 104; Perinić Muratović 2004, 97-99.

¹⁴² For example, at the turn of the 2nd and 3rd centuries, cf. *CIL* III 10269; Brunšmid 1900, 25; Wagner 1938, 84; Pinterović 1960, 29-30; Pinterović 1968, 66; Lőrincz 2001, 233, Cat. 250; Radman-Livaja 2004b, 120.

¹⁴³ *Not. Dign. Occ.* XXXII.53; Visy 1988, 126-127.

¹⁴⁴ Cichorius 1894, 1230, 1237, 1258; Fluss 1934, 1171; Wagner 1938, 26-27, 47, 63; Kraft 1951, 144, 151; Radnóti and Barkóczy 1951, 198, 208-209; Nagy 1956, 59, 61-62; Klemenc 1961, 19-20; Fitz 1962, 67-69; Klemenc 1963, 62-63; Dušanić 1968, 99; Pinterović 1968, 67-69, 76-77; Tóth and Vékony 1970, 156-157; Mócsy 1974, 88; Eadie 1977, 214-216; Visy 1988: 127; Spaul 1994, 34-36, 85-86; 187-188; Lőrincz 2001, 18, 21, 23, 61, 63, 65, 68, 82, 89-90, 95, 98; Radman-Livaja 2004c, 62-71; Lőrincz 2005, 62-63; Radman-Livaja 2005, 941; Sanader 2010, 230.

¹⁴⁵ *Not. Dign. Occ.* XXXII.23, 30, 47; Dušanić 1968, 91.

¹⁴⁶ For the finds cf. Radman-Livaja 2005, 941-944. One monument, an altar dedicated to Hercules (*CIL* III 10255), today in the GMVU, is often claimed to have been found in Dalj, but in fact the precise location of its discovery is not certain. The altar, dated to the late 2nd or early 3rd century is sometimes stated as proof of the presence of one cohort in Teutoburgium. The altar was erected by T. Flavius Magianus, prefect of *cohors I Hispanorum equitata*, and then tribune of a *cohors milliaria equitata*, identified, depending on the interpretation, as *II Aurelia Dacorum* or as *II Aurelia Dardanorum*. Although the altar was undoubtedly erected by the commander of *cohors II Aurelia Dacorum*, there is no evidence that this cohort ever stayed in Teutoburgium. More probably, following the Marcomannic wars it was stationed, even if for a brief period, in nearby Cornacum (see below).

¹⁴⁷ Ilkić 2003, 1-16; Sanader 2003a, 141-142; Dizdar et al. 2009, 122-124; Sanader 2010, 228, 230.

¹⁴⁸ Cichorius 1894, 1237; Wagner 1938, 26-27; Kraft 1951, 144; Pinterović 1968, 67-68; Gabler 1971, 90, Abb. 3; Gabler 1979, 212, Abb. 4; Spaul 1994, 85-86; Lőrincz 2001, 18. An opposing view was put forward by Fitz (1962, 69) and Eadie (1977, 216-217); both authors doubt that a camp may have existed or that a military garrison may have been present before the 2nd half or the end of the 2nd century.



Fig. 5. Funerary stone of *M. Ulpius Super, decurio alae praetoriae civium Romanorum* (CIL III 10257 = 3272, Photo Archive, AMZ).

Dacian Wars, but there is no knowing which unit replaced it in Cornacum. If we are to judge by the so-called topographic or crypto-topographic sequence of the units listed on Lower Pannonian military diplomas, it seems that after the division of the province into Upper and Lower Pannonia, *cohors I Montanorum* probably took over the garrison in Cornacum around 106; it could have remained there at least until the end of the Marcomannic and Sarmatian wars, or roughly until 180.¹⁴⁹ With the end of the war, the garrison crew seems to have changed, as *cohors I Montanorum* went to Ad Latus and a unit formed during the rule of Marcus Aurelius and previously stationed in Poetovio, probably arrived to Cornacum: *cohors II Aurelia Dacorum milliaria equitata pia fidelis*.¹⁵⁰ Brick finds in Sotin bearing the inscription *C II*

AUR D ANT, and especially the discovery of two lead seals with the abbreviation *COH II AUR D* are solid evidence of this unit's presence, even if for a shorter period.¹⁵¹ The recent finds of two Lower Pannonian diplomas issued on 11 August 192 also confirm its stay in the province at the end of the 2nd century.¹⁵² However, there is no knowing how long *cohors II Aurelia Dacorum milliaria equitata pia fidelis* (which during the Severan House, probably during the rule of Caracalla or perhaps Elagabalus, carried the epithet *Antoniniana*) remained in Cornacum. Based on a recent find from Ilok and an old but until now unknown epigraphic monument from Sotin, a hypothesis has cautiously been put forward on the possible, if even brief, stay of *cohors I Lusitanorum* in Cornacum, perhaps toward the end of the 2nd or during the 3rd century.¹⁵³ According to the *Notitia Dignitatum*, in the 4th century the garrison was made up of *equites Dalmatae, cuneus equitum scutariorum* and *equites promoti*.¹⁵⁴

Until recently, *Cuccium* was mostly left out of the discussions on early military fortifications on the Danube *limes*, but the already mentioned recent research (see above) sheds completely new light on this site. Although the presence of some sort of military crew in this place during the Claudian period at the latest cannot be excluded, there are doubts about Roman military presence in *Cuccium* between the mid 1st and the 4th centuries, when, according to the *Notitia Dignitatum*, *cuneus equitum promotorum* and *equites sagittarii* were unquestionably stationed there.¹⁵⁵ There are occasional mentions of some sort of camp built there at the end of the 1st or the beginning of the 2nd century.¹⁵⁶ There is, however, no concrete evidence to back up this claim, although this is unquestionably a vantage point on the Danube River bank and an exceptionally favourable tactical position enabling control of the entire surrounding area. The lack of more comprehensive research makes it difficult to put forward a hypothesis on the existence of a military outpost in *Cuccium* during the 2nd and 3rd centuries. A settlement no doubt existed at that time, but this does not necessarily mean that a military crew was present. The Lower Pannonian military diplomas do not go toward confirming this hypothesis either: a military camp with a permanent auxiliary garrison in *Cuccium* does not quite fit the picture of the deployment of troops in this part of the *limes* as gleaned from 2nd century diplomas issued before the Marcomannic wars. This position may have had a military purpose in the early Principate until the Flavian period at the latest, when an auxiliary camp may have indeed been located there. However, the available archaeological data and the epigraphic and written sources so far have not indicated a realistic possibility that a

¹⁴⁹ Cichorius 1900, 316-317; Wagner 1938, 170-171; Kraft 1951, 181; Radnóti and Barkóczy 1951, 200-201, 214-215; Nagy 1956, 67-68; Alföldy 1962, 270; Fitz 1962, 66-67, 69; Mócsy 1962, 623; Eadie 1977, 216-217; Beneš 1978, 46-47; Šašel 1986, 782-786; Visy 1988, 127; Lőrincz 2001, 39; Ilkić 2005, 29-30; Gayet 2006, 70-71.

¹⁵⁰ Cichorius 1900, 279; Cheesman 1914, 154; Wagner 1938, 129-130; Radnóti and Barkóczy 1951, 215; Mócsy 1962, 622; Pinterović 1968, 69-70; Lőrincz 2001, 34; Ilkić 2005, 24-26; Lőrincz 2005, 63; Ilkić 2006, 64-66. In the older as well as in the more recent literature (Brunšmid 1901, 143-145; Wagner 1938, 131; Klemenc 1961, 20; Fitz 1962, 69, 95; Klemenc 1963, 63; Eadie 1977, 217; Spaul 1994, 109, 348, 350-351; Sanader 2003a, 142; Sanader 2008, 109) there are opinions that this was *cohors II Aurelia Dardanorum milliaria equitata* (the unit's full name and its ordinal number sometimes vary, especially in older authors, depending on the reading of the stamps on the bricks found in Sotin), but this is a highly questionable hypothesis. This cohort, probably formed during the Marcomannic wars, left relatively substantial epigraphic evidence in Upper Moesia, more precisely in Ravna (Timacum Minus), cf. Wagner 1938, 131-132; Wilkes 1969, 118; Beneš 1978, 30-31; Spaul 1994, 350-351. The only monument attributed to it in Lower Pannonia (sometimes Dalj is wrongly stated as its find spot, instead of Sotin, from where it was transferred to the Castle Eltz in Vukovar, cf. Ilkić 2006, 65) would be an altar dedicated to Hercules (CIL III 10255), but in all probability this is the result of a mistaken reading: it does not say *coh(ortis) Aur(eliae) D(ardanorum) Ant(oininianae) p(iae) f(idelidis)* but *coh(ortis) Aur(eliae) Dac(orum) p(iae) f(idelidis)*. Therefore, the hypothesis that the second cohort of Dardanians may have stayed in Lower Pannonia at the end of the 2nd century is not valid.

¹⁵¹ Ilkić 2005, 24-26; Ilkić 2006, 64-66.

¹⁵² RMD 446; RMD 447; Pferdehirt 2002, 247-260; MacDonald and Pangerl 2003, 259-271; ordinal number III on the diploma RMD 446 is almost certainly a mistake by the publisher of the diploma.

¹⁵³ Ilkić 2005, 30; Rendić-Miočević 2009, 92-98.

¹⁵⁴ Not. Dign. Occ. XXXII.3, 12, 22, 31; Visy 1988, 127.

¹⁵⁵ Not. Dign. Occ. XXXII.6, 13, 15, 32; Brunšmid 1901, 145-147; Klemenc 1961, 20; Visy 1988, 128.

¹⁵⁶ Sanader 2003a, 142; Sanader 2008, 109; Rendić-Miočević 2009, 100; Sanader 2010, 230-231.

permanent military garrison existed there after the 1st century and up to Late Antiquity, when the defence system on the Danubian *limes* was radically transformed and when the strategic position of Cuccium once again aroused the interest of the Roman army. Still, the recently discovered tombstone of a former centurion and veteran of *cohors I Lusitanorum* Marcus Aurelius Serenus, dated to the end of the 2nd and the beginning of the 3rd century, could perhaps indicate the existence of a garrison following the Marcomannic wars, that is the presence of this cohort in Cuccium,¹⁵⁷ if the possibility of its stay in Cornacum is rejected (see above).

The level of research on the Danubian forts and the Lower Pannonian *limes* in the territory of the present-day Republic of Serbia, that is, of Vojvodina, is far better than in the Croatian part of the *limes*; still, many questions remain open and many doubts remain as to the identification of the garrisons of individual camps. Unlike in the Croatian part of the *limes*, comprehensive investigations were conducted and they led not only to the discovery of auxiliary camps but also of the remains of minor military structures on the *limes*, that is, of watchtowers, observation posts and fortifications from Late Antiquity that did not leave any unambiguous traces in the written sources, as well as of the remains of Roman roads and minor civilian settlements.¹⁵⁸ The increased number of fortifications in Late Antiquity is particularly evident on the stretch from Cuccium to Taurunum, which is undoubtedly related to the exceptional importance of 4th century Sirmium, whose defence naturally could not be left to chance.¹⁵⁹ Banoštor had been the site of the Roman camp of Malata, which in Late Antiquity came to be known as Bononia. Even though the exact position of the fort itself has not been identified, traces of the settlement and the cemetery have been found.¹⁶⁰ In all likelihood, the camp was active from the Flavian period at the latest, more precisely from the rule of Domitian, though its first crew is unknown. It is possible that *cohors I Campanorum* stayed there for a short while, but there is no reliable proof of this. This unit probably arrived in Pannonia from Dalmatia, but not before the end of the 1st century, and it is believed to have been stationed in Aquincum from late Trajan's reign, meaning that its possible stay in Malata must have been relatively brief, i.e. definitely not exceeding fifteen years or so.¹⁶¹ It appears that *ala I Flavia Augusta Brittanica milliaria civium Romanorum bis torquata ob virtutem* was stationed there from the beginning of the 2nd century.

¹⁵⁷ Lőrincz 2005, 63-64; Rendić-Miočević 2009, 80-101, cf. 101, note 23; for *cohors I Lusitanorum*, cf. Cichorius 1900, 312; Wagner 1938, 162; Kraft 1951, 180; Radnót and Barkóczi 1951, 199, 214; Fitz 1962, 65; Mócsy 1962, 623; Visy 1986, 491, 494-496, 507, 509-510, 512-514, 516; Spaul 2000, 61-62; Lőrincz 2001, 37-38.

¹⁵⁸ For instance, Bač (smaller fort), Čortanovci (fort from Late Antiquity), Rakovac (sentry tower), Dumbovo (sentry tower), Susek (sentry tower), Dobrinč (large fort) etc., cf. Dimitrijević 1969, 82-117; Mócsy 1969, 71-75; Visy 1988, 129; Petrović 1995, 221-225; Vasić 2003, 143-146; Dautova Ruševljan and Vujović 2006, 60, 63.

¹⁵⁹ Klemenc 1961, 20-23; Visy 1988, 128-130; Dautova Ruševljan and Vujović 2006, 58-60.

¹⁶⁰ Brunšmid 1895, 183; Brunšmid 1901, 148; Klemenc 1961, 20-21; Visy 1988, 128; Vasić 2003, 144.

¹⁶¹ Eadie 1977, 217; Spaul 2000, 22-23; Lőrincz 2001, 33; Dautova Ruševljan and Vujović 2006, 64-65.

Although from that moment it took part in military campaigns outside Lower Pannonia on several occasions, it seems that it was permanently stationed in Malata, at least until the mid 3rd century.¹⁶² In Late Antiquity this place was the seat of the *praefectus equites Dalmatae*, the fort was at the same time a river port, and in addition to this, the counter-fort *Onagrinum* (present-day Begeč)¹⁶³ was built on the opposite bank of the Danube. Rescue archaeological excavations at Petrovaradin, the probable site of Roman Cusum, yielded possible remains of a Roman fort, apparently unrelated to the fort from Late Antiquity.¹⁶⁴ For now it is difficult to be very specific when discussing the possible military camp and its crew earlier than the 3rd century, when the *ala Pannoniorum* was possibly stationed there.¹⁶⁵ In the 4th century the garrison consisted of *equites Dalmatae*.¹⁶⁶ Čortanovci yielded the remains of a fort from Late Antiquity, presumed to have been called Ad Herculem or Castra Herculis.¹⁶⁷ In Stari Slankamen (Acumincum), a Roman military camp was discovered in archaeological excavations on the bank of the Danube opposite the mouth of the Tisza River, at the position of Gradina (the excavations also revealed a fortified settlement from the La Tène period).¹⁶⁸ *Cohors I Cantabrorum* could have been garrisoned there in the early Flavian era.¹⁶⁹ There is also a hypothesis about the possible stay of *cohors I Britannica milliaria civium Romanorum equitata* towards the end of the 1st century,¹⁷⁰ but the theory about the arrival of *cohors I Campanorum voluntariorum civium Romanorum* towards the end of Trajan's reign, around AD 113 or 114, seems much more likely. This unit remained in Acumincum at least until the mid 2nd century, perhaps even until the beginning of the 3rd century.¹⁷¹ Nothing is known about the garrison in the 3rd century, but in the 4th century *cuneus equitum Constantium* and *equites sagitarii* were stationed there.¹⁷² Archaeological research proved the existence of a Roman military camp in Surduk, as well. This was undoubtedly the fort of Rittium, also situated on the bank

¹⁶² Cichorius 1894, 1235; Wagner 1938, 20-24; Holder 1980, 17; Saddington 1982, 157-159; Visy 1986, 510-516; Spaul 1994, 68-71; Lőrincz 2001, 16; Vasić 2003, 144.

¹⁶³ *Not. Dign. Occ.* XXXII.14, 33, 41, 44; Klemenc 1961, 20-21; Dušanić 1968, 90-92; Visy 1988, 128; Dimitrijević 1996, 151-152; Vasić 2003, 143-144; Dautova Ruševljan and Vujović 2006, 64-66.

¹⁶⁴ Vasić 2003, 145; Dautova Ruševljan and Vujović 2006, 63-64.

¹⁶⁵ Dušanić 1968, 101-102; Spaul 1994, 167-172; Lőrincz 2001, 22, 98, 100.

¹⁶⁶ *Not. Dign. Occ.* XXXII.15, 34; Dušanić 1968, 103.

¹⁶⁷ *Not. Dign. Occ.* XXXII.20, 39, 42; Vasić 2003, 146; Dautova Ruševljan and Vujović 2006, 63.

¹⁶⁸ Fröhlich 1892, 34-44; Brunšmid 1895, 181-182; Gorenc 1956, 150-154; Klemenc 1961, 21; Piletić 1986, 137-138; Visy 1988, 129; Dimitrijević 1996, 148-150, 153-154; Vasić 2003, 147; Dautova Ruševljan and Vujović 2006, 63.

¹⁶⁹ Wagner 1938, 117-118; Klemenc 1961, 21; Spaul 2000, 99-100; cf. Dušanić 1988, 87 (points to the inaccurate reading of the stamp on the brick).

¹⁷⁰ Even though the position of its camp has not been identified, it seems plausible that during the Flavian era it stayed in the southern part of the Pannonian *limes*, cf. Dušanić 1968, 95-96; Eadie 1977, 215.

¹⁷¹ Wagner 1938, 104-105, 114-116; Dušanić 1968, 97-99, 101; Mirković 1971, 32; Dušanić 1988, 87; Visy 1988, 129-130; Spaul 2000, 22-23, 193-194; Lőrincz 2001, 31-33; Vasić 2003, 147; 105; Dautova Ruševljan and Vujović 2006, 63.

¹⁷² *Not. Dign. Occ.* XXXII.7, 16, 26, 36; Dušanić 1968, 103-106.

of the Danube.¹⁷³ Even though the finds of stamped bricks of *cohors VII Breucorum* and *cohors II Asturum et Callaecorum* were often considered in the older literature as proof that these cohorts were stationed in Rittium, these hypotheses should in all probability be abandoned, particularly in the case of the seventh cohort of the Breuci.¹⁷⁴ The already mentioned *cohors I Britannica milliaria civium Romanorum equitata* appears to be the most likely candidate for the first crew, at least during the first two decades of the Flavian era.¹⁷⁵ Nevertheless, there are no certain indications about the camp's crew before the time of Trajan, when for a short time, approximately between AD 106 and 113/114, a cavalry vexillation from Syria (*vexillationes equitum ex Syria*) was stationed there.¹⁷⁶ At that time, upon its return from Dacia, it was possibly replaced by an old Pannonian unit, *ala I civium Romanorum*, which stayed in Rittium only briefly, apparently until 118 or 119, when it moved to Burgenae.¹⁷⁷ Only then, apparently following a series of units that stayed only briefly at that place, did a unit arrive that would remain stationed there at least until the beginning of the 3rd century, if not a while longer: *ala I Augusta Ituraeorum sagittaria*.¹⁷⁸ Rittium kept its garrison in the 4th century, when *equites Dalmatae* were stationed there.¹⁷⁹ There is a rather extensive bibliography on the site of Burgenae, both regarding the archaeological finds and the site itself, as well as the Roman units that stayed there.¹⁸⁰ Despite many doubts, the basic course of historical events is known for the most part: the dominant view is that the fort was built during the Flavians at the latest, although the recently published finds of the remains of *lorica segmentata* from the AMZ indicate the realistic possibility that the camp was used at least from the Claudian era.¹⁸¹ It is not certain which units may have been stationed there in the 1st century, but *cohors II Asturum et Callaecorum* may have been one of them.¹⁸² The assumption that *cohors V Gallorum* resided there at the beginning of the 2nd century, under Trajan, is

equally uncertain.¹⁸³ The stay of *ala I civium Romanorum* in Burgenae between 118 or 119 until 138 is somewhat more probable.¹⁸⁴ In any case, there is a unanimous view in the literature that *cohors I Thracum civium Romanorum pia fidelis* was stationed in Burgenae after 138, remaining there for a long time, probably until the second half of the 3rd century, when it was transferred to Bassianae, more precisely to Caput Bassianense.¹⁸⁵ The *Notitia Dignitatum* supplies information about the garrison of Burgenae in the 4th century: according to this source, a detachment of *legio VI Iovia* and two cavalry units, *equites Dalmatae* and *cuneus equitum Constantianorum* were stationed there.¹⁸⁶ Taurunum was situated in the area of present-day Zemun, near the confluence of the Sava and the Danube. Archaeological excavations have confirmed beyond doubt the remains of a Roman fort and cemetery. It seems that prior to Late Antiquity, that is, at least until the mid 3rd century, land forces had not been permanently present there, except for the occasional detachments. On the other hand, a river fleet base, in fact the headquarters of *Classis Flavia Pannonica*, which will be discussed later in the text, was probably present there at least from the first half of the 2nd century. There is a theory, based on the finds of bricks, that *cohors III Alpinorum equitata* was stationed there in the second half of the 3rd century or the first half of the 4th century, although this hypothesis remains inconclusive. In any case, the *Notitia* mentions two units stationed in Taurunum in the 4th century, *equites promoti* and *auxilia ascarii*, but interestingly, this place is no longer mentioned as a river naval base.¹⁸⁷ The possible military presence in Sirmium during the 1st century and the beginning of the 2nd century has already been discussed (see above), but it appears that troops occasionally stayed in the town in the later periods, i. e. in the second half of the 2nd century and in the 3rd century. Even though in Late Antiquity the town was surrounded by a network of military forts on the *limes* and in its hinterland, the *Notitia* notes that Sirmium itself also had a garrison (*militum Calcarensium* and *ala Sirmensis*), a naval base (*praefectus classis primae Flaviae Augustae*), as well as military equipment manufacturers (*Sirmiensis scutorum, scordisorum et armorum*).¹⁸⁸

Roman military presence in southern Pannonia was not

¹⁷³ Fröhlich 1892, 40; Brunšmid 1895, 180-181; Brunšmid 1901, 155-156; Dimitrijević 1961, 95; Klemenc 1961, 21-22; Klemenc 1963, 65-66; Visy 1988, 130; Dimitrijević 1996, 148; Vasić 2003, 149; Dautova Ruševljan and Vujović 2006, 62.

¹⁷⁴ Tóth and Vékony 1970, 156-157; Mirković 1971, 31-32; Lőrincz 2001, 29, 31.

¹⁷⁵ Dušanić 1968, 95-96; Spaul 2000, 193-194; Lőrincz 2001, 31-32.

¹⁷⁶ Dušanić 1968, 101; Lőrincz 2001, 45, 105.

¹⁷⁷ Spaul 1994, 85-86; Lőrincz 2001, 18, 88-89; Radman-Livaja 2004c, 67-68.

¹⁷⁸ Cichorius 1894, 1250; Wagner 1938, 52-54; Dušanić 1968, 99-101; Mirković 1971, 31; Eadie 1977, 218; Spaul 1994, 154-155; Lőrincz 2001, 21-22; Radman-Livaja 2004c, 69-71.

¹⁷⁹ *Not. Dign. Occ.* XXXII.17, 36; Klemenc 1961, 22; Klemenc 1963, 66; Dušanić 1968, 103-106; Visy 1988, 130; Vasić 2003, 149; Dautova Ruševljan and Vujović 2006, 62.

¹⁸⁰ Ljubić 1879, 99-100; Ljubić 1889, 62-63; Brunšmid 1895, 172-180; Fröhlich 1892, 40-44; Patsch 1899a, 1062; Brunšmid 1901, 156-168; Radnóti and Barkóczi 1951, 215-216; Dimitrijević 1961, 93-94; Klemenc 1961, 22; Piletić and Rašić 1961, 87; Klemenc 1963, 66; Piletić 1972, 7-14; Eadie 1977, 218; Piletić 1986, 138-140; Piletić 1989, 82-85; Dimitrijević 1996, 147-148; Lőrincz 2001, 61, 63, 66, 69, 72, 75, 80, 82; Vasić 2003, 149-150; Dautova Ruševljan and Vujović 2006, 61-62; Radman-Livaja 2008, 295-303; Radman-Livaja 2009, 1499-1506; Radman-Livaja 2010b, 189-192.

¹⁸¹ Radman-Livaja 2010b, 190-192.

¹⁸² Spaul 2000, 81; Lőrincz 2001, 29, 63. It has also been suggested that *cohors VII Breucorum* may have been stationed there at the end of the 1st century.

¹⁸³ Dušanić 1968, 101; Eadie 1977, 217; Spaul 2000, 168-169; Lőrincz 2001, 34-35, 80, 82; Gayet 2006, 88.

¹⁸⁴ Spaul 1994, 85-86; Lőrincz 2001, 18, 88-89; Radman-Livaja 2004c, 67-68.

¹⁸⁵ *Not. Dign. Occ.* XXXII.59; Radnóti and Barkóczi 1951, 215-216; Dimitrijević 1961, 94; Klemenc 1961, 22; Dušanić 1968, 89, 96-97, 101, 103; Eadie 1977, 218; Dušanić 1988, 87; Visy 1988, 130; Spaul 2000, 361-362; Lőrincz 2001, 42, 90, 99-101. There is also an assumption that after Marcus Aurelius it may have been replaced by *cohors III Alpinorum*, but this seems less probable, cf. Wagner 1938, 85-86; 189-190; Dimitrijević 1956-1957, 299-300; Klemenc 1963, 66; Dautova Ruševljan and Vujović 2006, 62.

¹⁸⁶ *Not. Dign. Occ.* XXXII.5=24, 18=37, 46; Dimitrijević 1961, 94; Klemenc 1961, 22; Dušanić 1968, 90-92, 103-106; Visy 1988, 130.

¹⁸⁷ Dušanić 1968, 103-106; Dušanić 1988, 86-87; Dimitrijević 1996, 144-147, 154-155; Spaul 2000, 266-268; Lőrincz 2001, 28; Vasić 2003, 150; Dautova Ruševljan and Vujović 2006, 61.

¹⁸⁸ *Not. Dign. Occ.* IX.18; XXXII.49, 50, 54; Mirković 1971, 30, 32, 44; Dautova Ruševljan and Vujović 2006, 67-68; for *fabricae* cf. James 1988, 257-294.

limited only to legionary and auxiliary camps – there was also a network of beneficiary stations, as well as ports, that is, river fleet bases. In many places in southern Pannonia, especially during peaceful times, such as the most part of the 2nd century, an average citizen was not likely to see any other soldiers apart from beneficiaries during his lifetime. Epigraphic traces of their presence were registered in Poetovio,¹⁸⁹ Čakovec,¹⁹⁰ Mekinje,¹⁹¹ Varaždinske Toplice (Aquae Iasae),¹⁹² Mihaljegov Jarak,¹⁹³ Trebnje (Praetorium Latobicorum),¹⁹⁴ Drnovo (Neviodunum),¹⁹⁵ Čatež ob Savi,¹⁹⁶ Krška Vas,¹⁹⁷ Velike Malence,¹⁹⁸ Mursa,¹⁹⁹ Dalj (Teutoburgium),²⁰⁰ Siscia,²⁰¹ Daruvar (Aquae Balissae),²⁰² Topusko (Ad Fines),²⁰³ Petrinja,²⁰⁴ Sotin (Cornacum),²⁰⁵ Hrtkovci²⁰⁶ and Sirmium,²⁰⁷ and their stations were also probably situated in or close to most of these places.²⁰⁸ Roman armed forces in southern Pannonia did not consist only of land troops: the navy, deployed in several major or minor bases, commanded considerable forces in that area. It cannot be excluded that Siscia had been a major naval river stronghold already during the Augustan period, but its importance as a naval base was significantly diminished when the focus of operations moved to the Danube. The town perhaps remained the seat of a river navy unit, *Classis Pannonica* (or *Classis Flavia Pannonica* after Vespasian's victory and accession to power) even long after the Flavian period, possibly even until the 4th century, when it was mentioned in the *Notitia Dignitatum*, although no reliable proof exists that the naval base in Siscia was operational throughout four centuries. Even though the headquarters of the *Classis Flavia Pannonica* was in Lower Pannonia, its boats continued to patrol the Sava and Drava in Upper Pannonia. It is possible that the headquarters was located in Sirmium until the time of Hadrian, when it was transferred to Taurunum. This town is at the same time the only place that has been confirmed as a naval base during the Principate. Though it is also possible that the river fleet had a port in Burgenae, this hypothesis is somewhat disputable due to the small distance separating Burgenae and Taurunum. More information about the river fleet and its ports stem from the 4th century. The *Notitia*, for instance, mentions naval bases in Sirmium (*Classis prima*

Flavia Augusta), a geographically unspecified place called Graium (*Classis secunda Flavia*, perhaps in the vicinity of Brčko), Mursa (*Classis Histrica*), Servitium (*Classis prima Pannonica*) and Siscia (*Classis Aegensium, sive secunda Pannonica*). Although their existence in Late Antiquity is beyond dispute, it remains open to what extent the 4th century distribution of naval bases corresponds to those from the preceding centuries, as well as whether the data from the *Notitia* can be used at all for making assumptions about naval ports in the first three centuries AD, the more so as Taurunum is nowhere mentioned as a naval base in the 4th century.²⁰⁹

It should be pointed out that our knowledge about Roman military forces in southern Pannonia during the late Roman period relies mostly, if not exclusively, on the *Notitia Dignitatum*. As an official document listing officials and their staffs,²¹⁰ both civilian and military, as well as names of military units and their garrisons, the *Notitia* is undeniably a first rate historical source, but its data should be interpreted very cautiously. It is a compilation of chronologically disparate data, although the original text possibly comprised the whole area of the Empire, to be later divided into the western and eastern sections. Interestingly, although the text seems to have originated in the eastern part of the empire, the copy preserved nowadays is a western one, since the eastern portion of the text seemingly ceased being updated after 395 AD (or 401 at the latest).

While the original text quite certainly originated in the late 4th century, i.e. between 386 and 394 or 395 AD (the latter date being more plausible), its subsequent layers and later entries might have been added down to a period ranging from 401 to 408 AD, and quite possibly even few decades later. It would seem that this updating was done in a rather haphazard way, with many omissions, presumably because the preserved version derives from a copy likely used by the *officium* of the *magister peditum praesentalis* whose clerks only amended sections of interest for their *officium*. As a matter of fact, not only is the text not representative of the whole military forces of the Empire at one time but it is not even a complete record of all the garrisons and military units during that period. However, it is still the best source for the late Roman army and it is a reasonably reliable overview of the Roman military in the late 4th century, more so for the eastern part of the Empire, at least as far as the “paper strength” of the army is concerned.²¹¹ As far as southern Pannonia is concerned, while we may presume that the *Notitia* describes more or less accurately the distribution of military forces in the region and the garrison

¹⁸⁹ CBI 298-300.

¹⁹⁰ CBI 274.

¹⁹¹ CBI 283.

¹⁹² CBI 357.

¹⁹³ CBI 284-285.

¹⁹⁴ CBI 338-355.

¹⁹⁵ CBI 278-279.

¹⁹⁶ CBI 275.

¹⁹⁷ CBI 281-282.

¹⁹⁸ CBI 358-361.

¹⁹⁹ CBI 413-416.

²⁰⁰ CBI 392.

²⁰¹ CBI 302-313; Zaninović 1981, 205.

²⁰² CBI 277.

²⁰³ CBI 336-337.

²⁰⁴ CBI 287.

²⁰⁵ CBI 423; Brunšmid 1907, 111-112, KS 232; Mirković, 1971, 84-85, cat. 90.

²⁰⁶ CBI 407.

²⁰⁷ CBI 424; Mirković 1994a, 345-404; Mirković 1994b, 193-198; Nelis-Clément 2000, 141-148.

²⁰⁸ CBI, Karte 5, pp. 752-753; Bojanovski 1988, 360-361; Ott 1995, 215-216, Karte 5; Nelis-Clément 2000, 163-164, 183-186.

²⁰⁹ *Not. Dign. Occ.* XXXII.50-56; Klemenc 1961, 9; Mócsy 1962, 625; Dušanić 1968, 107-108; Šašel 1974, 734; Reddé 1986, 298-302; Dušanić 1988, 87-88; Hoti 1992, 143; Zaninović 1993, 56; Domić Kunić 1996b, 87-91; Dimitrijević 1996, 143-157.

²¹⁰ Unless it was not a real administrative document but rather an antiquarian text written with an ideological and symbolic purpose, cf. Brennan 1997, 147-178; Kulikowski 2000, 358-359

²¹¹ Cf. Bury 1920, 131-154; Jones 1964, vol. III, Appendix II, 347-391; Varady 1969, 262-263; Mann 1976, 1-8; Mann 1991, 215-219; Southern and Dixon 1996, 1; Zuckermann 1998, 137-147; Richardot 2005, 79-80; Kulikowski 2000, 358-377; Le Bohec 2006, 11-12

network of the late 4th century, one can only wonder to what extent is the information supplied relevant for the earlier period. The situation must have changed a lot since the tetrarchy period, and considering the turmoil caused by the civil wars, first between Constantine and Licinius, and later on between Constantius II and Magnentius, and finally between Theodosius and Magnus Maximus, it would be wise not to apply indiscriminately the data presented in the *Notitia* to the earlier part of the 4th century in Pannonia.

6. The 2nd-4th centuries AD: campaigns and the military circumstances

It is clear from all of the above how many ambiguities and unknowns still remain regarding the Roman army in southern Pannonia, but also how poorly investigated this section of the *limes* is, particularly its Croatian part. Nevertheless, we do have a broad picture of the deployment of Roman troops in this territory over a period of several centuries. During this period these troops participated in a number of military operations, from the defence of the borders from Barbarian incursions, through wars of conquest to civil wars. The troops stationed in Pannonia did not fight exclusively in that territory, but were regularly sent to more or less remote battlefields, depending on the strategic and military requirements of the Roman Empire, that is, of its rulers, as well as the usurpers of the imperial throne.²¹² As a detailed description of those historic events would go beyond the limits of this paper, I will conclude with only a summary review of the military operations in southern Pannonia from the 2nd to the end of the 4th century. Even though a large part of the Pannonian troops had a chance to participate in Trajan's campaigns against the Dacians, Pannonia itself was not jeopardized by that war, although it is quite likely that certain major Pannonian towns may have played a role as logistics bases in the hinterland, for instance Siscia or perhaps Sirmium.²¹³

During most of the 2nd century, life in southern Pannonia proceeded peacefully until the beginning of the Marcomannic wars, which seriously threatened the stability and prosperity of both Upper and Lower Pannonia, literally wreaking havoc on certain parts of these provinces. Though most of the fighting took place in the northern part of Upper Pannonia, in 170 the Barbarians, having crossed Pannonia, undertook a looting raid all the way to Aquileia. As the Sarmatians simultaneously started their attack, Lower Pannonia, Upper Moesia and Dacia were not spared destruction either. The fighting took place with minor interruptions and changing war fortunes until the death of Marcus Aurelius in 180, when the situation briefly stabilized.²¹⁴

Occasional battles with the Sarmatians (in 185 and 186) and with the Marcomanni and the Quadi (in 188 and 189)²¹⁵ continued during the reign of Commodus, but after his assassination in 193 the Roman Empire, after a long time, was once again threatened from inside. After Pertinax, too, was murdered, the main contenders for the throne immediately started a showdown. The weakest among them, Didius Julianus, who bribed the Praetorian Guard to secure the imperial title for himself, could count only on the garrison of the town of Rome. The remaining contenders had far superior military forces at their disposal, and were themselves experienced soldiers. Pescennius Niger had the eastern provinces on his side, while Septimius Severus was supported by the Danubian provinces, as well as a good part of the senators in Rome. Clodius Albinus, who later entered the struggle for power, could count with the forces from the western part of the Empire. Septimius Severus turned to be the most able and decisive among them. He first eliminated Didius Julianus, then in 196 he defeated Pescennius Niger in Asia Minor, and eventually also Clodius Albinus, thus finally consolidating his authority.²¹⁶ After the relative calm of the Severan period, disturbed by occasional clashes with the Barbarians on the Danubian *limes* and by campaigns outside Pannonia,²¹⁷ a period of crises ensued in which Pannonia again suffered considerably. Through most of the 3rd century Pannonia was exposed to Barbarian incursions as well as to civil wars that transformed the province into the scene of large-scale military operations on several occasions.²¹⁸ As soon as the great Barbarian incursion was repelled, civil war broke out between the usurper Ingenuus, the governor of Lower Pannonia, and the Emperor Gallienus. Ingenuus was defeated in the battle of Mursa in 261, but the fighting continued for a short while, because the troops in Upper Pannonia and Moesia proclaimed their candidate Regalianus as Emperor. He, too, was eventually defeated and eliminated.²¹⁹ In spite of intra-Roman conflicts, it seems that from Gallienus' time on the pressure on Pannonia eased somewhat, considering that until Diocletian there is little mention of stronger Barbarian attacks on that part of the Empire, with the exception of the successfully repelled Gothic incursion during Claudius II and Aurelian's victory over the allied Vandals, Suebi and Sarmatians.²²⁰ From the mid 3rd century it becomes increasingly more difficult to follow the deployment of the Pannonian troops through the written and epigraphic sources. The situation was similar in most of the Empire, affected by the turmoil in which the army played the principal role. During that time Siscia again gained military significance, after Gallienus established a

²¹² Cf. Fitz 1962, 89-92, 96-98, 105-106, 111-112; Saxer 1967; Lőrincz 2001, 73-74, 81, 101.

²¹³ Rostovtzeff 1957, 236; Mirković 1971, 30, 32; Hoti 1992, 143-144; Radman-Livaja 2004a, 19; Radman-Livaja 2010a, 194.

²¹⁴ Fitz 1962, 32-36; Mócsy 1962, 555-562; Mócsy 1974, 183-194; Barkóczy 1980, 96-99; Birley 2000, 165-186; Wilkes 2000, 583-585; Lőrincz 2001, 92-95.

²¹⁵ Fitz 1962, 83-89.

²¹⁶ Birley 1988, 81-128; Southern 2001, 24-37; Campbell 2005, 1-6.

²¹⁷ Fitz 1962, 83-112; Mócsy 1962, 563; Barkóczy 1980, 101-103; Šašel Kos 1986, 398-402; Hoti 1992, 146-147.

²¹⁸ Starting with Maximinus' Sarmatian war in 236, a series of incursions and looting campaigns ensued, that of the Carpi between 242 and 247 standing out in terms of damage and human casualties, though the Sarmatian incursion of 260 was the most devastating one: Mócsy 1962, 565-566; Mócsy 1974, 202-206; Barkóczy 1980, 103-105; Šašel Kos 1986, 406-413.

²¹⁹ Mócsy 1962, 568-569; Mócsy 1974, 206-208; Barkóczy 1980, 105; Drinkwater 2005, 43.

²²⁰ Mócsy 1974, 210-211; Barkóczy 1980, 105-106.

mint in the town, probably between 259 and 262.²²¹ This certainly imposed the need for stationing troops in Siscia, if they had not already been present in the town. Taking into consideration that the *Notitia* mentions *cohortes III Alpinorum* as part of the town garrison,²²² there is no doubt that Siscia had a permanent crew in the 4th century, and the army was presumably stationed in the town permanently from the time the mint was founded, in order to safeguard this strategically exceptionally important institution.

After several decades of turmoil and war, the last in the series of military emperors firmly took hold of power and entered history as *C. Aurelius Valerius Diocletianus*. His reforms brought peace and stability to Pannonia for a certain period. In the new administrative division Pannonia was divided into four provinces. The territory of Upper Pannonia north of the river Drava became the province *Pannonia Prima*, while the southern territory became *Pannonia Savia*. The southern part of Lower Pannonia was named *Pannonia Secunda*, and the northern part *Valeria*. The *limes* was reconstructed and reinforced, and the Barbarian incursions were successfully repelled.²²³ Nevertheless, Pannonia was not spared war clashes in the 4th century. The first devastations of war were not brought by the Barbarians, but by the Romans themselves, once again confronted in a new civil war: Constantine, with the troops from Gaul, clashed with Licinius, commanding the troops from Pannonia and Moesia.²²⁴ It was long thought that the decisive battle between Constantine and Licinius took place near Cibalae on 8 October 314,²²⁵ but some scholars, after re-examining both the written and numismatic sources, believe that Constantine's campaign to Pannonia should be placed in the year 316, and consequently the battle of Cibalae must have taken place on 8 October 316.²²⁶ That same year Constantine took control of Siscia, while the defeated Licinius had to flee further east. He allied himself with the Goths and resumed war with Constantine, but was eventually defeated in 325. Having secured absolute power, Constantine again strengthened the defensive capabilities of the Empire, securing several decades of relative peace for Pannonia.²²⁷ Conditions again deteriorated towards the mid-century, when Pannonia became involved in the civil

war between Constantius II and the usurper Magnentius.²²⁸ Constantius II positioned his troops near Cibalae,²²⁹ waiting for an opportunity to attack Magnentius, but the latter had no intention to attack the well fortified imperial troops, directing his strategy instead at provoking Constantius to leave Cibalae and confronting him in a more convenient place. Magnentius' troops were laying waste to Pannonia, occupying Siscia²³⁰ and unsuccessfully laying siege to Sirmium,²³¹ but Constantius was not leaving his well fortified camp. When autumn came, Magnentius started thinking about where his troops could spend the winter. Disheartened by the failed attempt to seize Sirmium, he eventually decided to capture Mursa. As the town was well fortified, Magnentius – perhaps less due to the lack of siege machines than the lack of time before the arrival of winter – could only hope to seize it by surprise before the defence was organized. In all likelihood, the surprise attack failed, the defenders were well prepared, and the attack on Mursa turned into a siege. Well aware of Magnentius' disadvantageous position, Constantius at last decided to move and headed for Mursa with an army allegedly as strong as 80,000 men. The forces commanded by Magnentius were half that number at best, and to top that, occupied a tactically extremely disadvantageous position between Constantius' troops and an enemy town. Magnentius' position was further aggravated by the fact that one of his officers, Silvanus, defected to Constantius immediately before the arrival of the imperial troops. In such a hopeless situation Magnentius was left with no choice but to accept battle on 28 September 351. Zosimus supplies a description of a bloody and long battle that ended with Constantius' victory and Magnentius' flight. The battle of Mursa was recorded as one of the most brutal battles of antiquity, with a huge number of casualties, allegedly 30,000 dead on Constantius' side and 24,000 on Magnentius'.²³² Such horrible losses no doubt contributed significantly to the diminution of the Empire's defensive potential. Soon after that, from 356 to 358, major Barbarian incursions took place, when the Sarmatians in alliance with the Quadi devastated Pannonia and Moesia.²³³ New incursions ensued in 365 and 374.²³⁴ A couple of years later Pannonia suffered the big incursion of the Goths and Alani, and possibly also the Huns, commanded by Alatheus and Saphrax.²³⁵ It should be mentioned that the written sources for that period are very disordered and deficient, but it is nevertheless certain that the Barbarians took advantage of

²²¹ Mócsy 1962, 566, 693; Šašel 1974, 720; Barkóczy 1980, 105; Póczy 1980, 268.

²²² *Not. Dign. Occ.* XXXII.57; Šašel 1974, 734; Zaninović 1993, 54; Gayet 2006, 70.

²²³ Mócsy 1962, 570-571, 588; Mócsy 1974, 273-274; Barkóczy 1980, 109-110.

²²⁴ Zos. 2.18; Aur. Vict. 41; Eutr. Brev. 10.5; Oros. Hist. 7-28; Anon. Vales. 15, 16; Patsch 1899b, 2535; Brunšmid 1902, 126-127; Mócsy 1962, 571; Mócsy 1974, 277; Barkóczy 1980, 111; Iskra-Janošić 2001, 146; Cameron 2005, 93-96; Radman-Livaja 2007b, 114-115.

²²⁵ *Fasti Hydatiani, Volusiano II et Anniano consulibus*; Brunšmid 1902, 126-127; Seeck 1919, 163; Baynes 1939, 691-692; Korda 1961, 62; Mócsy 1962, 571; Jones 1964, 82; Mócsy 1974, 277; Barkóczy 1980, 111; Kienast 1996, 294, 299 (adducing the year 316 as a possible date of the battle).

²²⁶ Vogt 1960, 172-173; Bruun 1961, 10-22; Bruun 1966, 66, 76; Barnes 1973, 36-38; Barnes 1981, 62-68; Mirković 1997, 150-156. There is also a compromise opinion that the first civil war between Constantine and Licinius took place in two phases, in 314 and in 316, and that it was interrupted by a ceasefire and temporary conciliation in 315. According to this view, the battle of Cibalae still took place in 314, cf. Andreotti 1958-1959, 1002-1014.

²²⁷ Mócsy 1962, 571-572; Mócsy 1974, 277; Barkóczy 1980, 110-112.

²²⁸ Zos. 2.46-50; Aur. Vict. 42; Oros. Hist. 7.29; Eutr. Brev. 10.9-12; Brunšmid 1902, 127-129; Seeck 1919, 198; Mócsy 1962, 575; Šašel 1971, 205-216; Mócsy 1974, 286; Hoti 1992, 150-151; Hunt 1998, 20-21; Iskra-Janošić 2001, 146-147; Radman-Livaja 2007b, 115.

²²⁹ It seems that the stay of a large number of soldiers in Cibalae in 351 left traces, because among the coins from Late Antiquity discovered in Vinkovci the largest number are those of Constantius II, cf. Dimitrijević 1979, 183-185; Iskra-Janošić 2001, 147.

²³⁰ Zos. 2.49; Šašel 1974, 711, 737.

²³¹ Mirković 1971, 38.

²³² Zon. 13.8; Zos. 2.49-53; Eutr. Brev. 10.12; Aur. Vict. 43; Oros. Hist. 7.29; Brunšmid 1902, 128-129; Fluss 1933, 673; Jones 1964, 113; Richardot 2005, 68.

²³³ Barkóczy 1980, 112-113.

²³⁴ Mócsy 1962, 576; Barkóczy 1980, 115-116.

²³⁵ Zos. 4.34; Iord. *Get.* 140; Mócsy 1962, 578; Várady 1969, 19-33; Radman-Livaja 2007b, 116-117.

the disastrous Roman defeat at Hadrianopolis to pillage the poorly defended province. The attack perhaps took place only in 380, or we might be dealing with two successive incursions, one immediately following the battle of Hadrianopolis, and another one in 380. The Barbarians may have been temporarily defeated, but it seems that eventually they were allowed to settle in Pannonia, where, dissatisfied with the conditions, they took to pillaging.²³⁶ It seems that this incursion devastated the settlements,²³⁷ and one of the indicators of the general circumstances in Pannonia after 379 is the waning currency circulation.²³⁸ These years undoubtedly mark the beginning of the collapse of towns in Pannonia. In time it was becoming increasingly more difficult to maintain normal urban life. It was not even necessary to conquer towns. In fact, there are but few examples of fortified Roman towns that the Germans and Huns, unaccustomed to siege warfare, managed to conquer without a prolonged siege and starving of the crew and the town population. It seems that their only successful attempts were sudden attacks on poorly defended towns and those without a garrison. Even when the sources do mention the Barbarian devastation of towns, they primarily refer to the suburbs outside the town walls.²³⁹ Nevertheless, the general insecurity that took hold in Pannonia from that time, the interruption of trade currents and the collapse of agriculture and the economy in general undoubtedly influenced the dispersal of the domicile population and the gradual desertion of the towns that were incessantly targeted by the pillaging Barbarian groups, as well as by the mutually confronted Roman forces.²⁴⁰ The civil war between Maximus and Theodosius, in which both sides hired Barbarians, finally brought an end to Roman Pannonia: armies pillaged Savia and Secunda, and in 388 Siscia was the scene of a big battle in which Theodosius succeeded in defeating Maximus' troops.²⁴¹ At the beginning of the 5th c. Pannonia was devastated, the Roman authority over the territory was mostly only nominal and the Roman military presence insignificant, not to say non-existent.²⁴² After more than four centuries, the Roman army ceased to play an indispensable role in the life of Pannonia and its history in this area came to an end.

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²³⁶ Seeck 1919, 250-260; Mócsy 1962, 577-578; Jones 1964, 156-157; Várady 1969, 33-41; Mócsy 1974, 339-342; Barkóczi 1980, 117; Wolfram 1988, 131-134; Heather 1991, 147-156.

²³⁷ For instance, Mursa, cf. Fluss 1933, 674.

²³⁸ Alföldi 1924, 16-20.

²³⁹ Elton 1996, 168-171, 173-174; Richardot 2005, 220-223, 267-268.

²⁴⁰ Mócsy 1974, 342-350; Barkóczi 1980, 117-118.

²⁴¹ Mócsy 1962, 578; Várady 1969, 58-61; Mócsy 1974, 342-343; Šašel 1974, 737-738; Barkóczi 1980, 117-118; Hoti 1992, 152-153; Curran 1998, 104-107.

²⁴² Mócsy 1962, 580-582; Mócsy 1974, 346-351; Barkóczi 1980, 118-120.

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