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PROCURATORES PANNONIAE, PANNONIAN PROCURATORS

Péter KOVÁCS

Pázmány Péter Catholic University, Hungary
kovacs.peter@btk.ppke.hu

Abstract: In his paper the author studies the equestrian administration of province Pannonia with a special regard to the procurators based on the new finds and researches following 1993 when the *Fasti of Roman Pannoniae* were edited by J. Fitz. The authors enumerate the new epigraphic finds that slightly modify Fitz's hypotheses. He also studies the question of the new Pannonian equestrians who have been emerged in the last 30 years. It is extremely important that very few Pannonians entered the militia equestris, even fewer could become procurators. All of them were born in the southwestern part of the province.

Keywords: *Classics, Latin epigraphy, Fasti of Roman Pannonia, Roman procurators, Administration of the Roman Empire, Pannonian equestrians.*

The *Fasti of Roman Pannoniae* were edited by J. Fitz 30 thirty years ago in his monumental, 4-volume-long work 'Die Verwaltung Pannoniens in der Römerzeit' I–IV.¹ Despite the fact, Fitz's several conclusions and observations are disputed, most of the results of his work will remain important and indispensable. In my paper, I intend to deal with the new epigraphic documents and theories concerning the procurators of Pannonia. In the second part of my work, I study the problem of the procurators who were born in the province. In the appendix I must also deal with a recent erroneous conclusion that a new *trecenarius* would have been identified in the epigraphic material of Brigetio. In my paper, I will follow the order of Fitz's work concerning the types of the procuratorial offices in Pannonia.

Pannonia belonged to the Danubian provinces of the Roman Empire that was founded by Emperor Augustus and existed until the arrival of the Huns in the first half of 5th century A. D. (Fig. 1).² Originally, Pannonia together with its southern neighbour, Dalmatia were called province Illyricum that were divided under Tiberius' reign to Illyricum superius (Dalmatia) and inferius (Pannonia). The river Danube formed its natural border in the North and in the East. The name Pannonia is attested first only under Nero's reign (SEG 57, 1408).³ Pannonia was again divided around 106 A. D. into Pannonia inferior (with one legion in Aquincum/Budapest) under a praetorian legatus Augusti and superior (with three legions in Brigetio/Komárom-Szőny, Carnuntum/Petronell, Vindobona/Vienna) under a consular governor. Around 213, the territory of Brigetio with its legion was attached to Pannonia inferior and consular legates governed this province as well.

¹ FITZ 1993, 225–233, 388–413, 685–751, 1086–1099.

² MÓCSY 1974; KOVÁCS 2014; KOVÁCS 2016; KOVÁCS 2019.

³ KOVÁCS 2007, 99–107.

PROCURATORIAL OFFICES IN PANNONIA

No epigraphic material concerning the fiscal procurators of province Illyricum or Illyricum inferius and superius is attested and the earliest data can be dated to Domitian's reign.⁴ The earliest known one was C. Velius Rufus who was procurator *ducenarius provinciae Pannoniae et Dalmatiae* (IGLS VI 2796=ILS 2920=AÉp 1903, 368). The joint procuratorship at the end of the first century still reflects the status of Great Illyricum under Augustus. After the division of Pannonia in 106 *centenarii procuratores* were responsible for managing the financial affairs for Pannonia superior with a centre in Poetovio and inferior (with a centre in Aquincum based on the numerous altars set up by *beneficiarii procuratoris* here: TitAq 99–105), *ducenarii* in Dalmatia. The situation did not change after 214 either, but in the third century only three procurators are known. Another problem is that several times they were simply mentioned as *procuratores* Aug. or Augg. with the omission of the province. On the other hand, the AIJ 274 and 346=CIGP 58 altars from Poetovio with the abbreviation PROC PR PS (=proc(urator) p(rovinciae) P(annoniae) s(uperioris)) and with the Greek expression [ἐ]πιτροπος Σεβ(αστοῦ) belong most probably to the fiscal procurators (despite Fitz' argumentation⁵). As far as I know in the last thirty years, only one Pannonian procurator has been emerged among the new epigraphic material⁶:

AE 2018, 884 102–116 Astigi Between 102 and 116 A.D.

[P(ublius) Postumius A(uli) f(ilius) / Pap(iria) Acilianus / praef(ectus) cohort(is) II Hisp(anorum) mi]liar(iae) / [equit(atae) prim(us) pil(us) le]g(ionis) XII Fulm(inatae)] / proc(urator) provin(ciae) [Achaiae] / procura[tor] / Imp(eratoris) N[ervae] Caesar(is) Aug(usti)] / [provinciae ---] / proc(urator) p[ro]vin[c(iae) ---] / Imp(eratoris) Ne[r]vae Caesar(is) Aug(usti)] / Pannon[iae et] Dalmatiae] / [proc(urator) pr]ov[inc(iae) Syriae] / [Imp(eratoris) Caesar(is) divi] Nerva[e f(ili)] / [Nervae Traiani Aug(usti)] Germa[nici] / Dacici provinc(iae) Belgi[cae] / [fecit].

Cf. CIL II², 7 285, RIB 810, 832, 847, 850, IGRR III 928, AÉp 1939, 178.

The unknown procurator can most probably be identified with the Hispanian P. Postumius Acilianus (PIR² P 883) who under Nerva's reign was the procurator *ducenarius* of the not-yet-divided Pannonia and Dalmatia.⁷

Based on these data, the system of the fiscal procurators of Pannoniae can be summarized as follows:

Title Fiscus	Grade	Reference
First century Tiberius (division of Illyricum)–106	?	not attested
Procurator Illyrici superioris et inferioris	ducenarius	C. Velius Rufus: ILS 9200
Procurator Pannoniae et Dalmatiae		

⁴ PFLAUM 1960, 114–117, Nr. 50, 151–156, Nr. 65, 316–319, Nr. 132, 362, Nr. 153, 416–419, Nr. 170, 438–440, Nr. 175, 672–677, Nr. 249, 744, Nr. 285, 747–750, Nr. 287, 948–953, Nr. 357, 1062–1065; PFLAUM 1982, 38, 66, 123; MÓCSY 1962, 593–594; DOBÓ 1968, 170–176; FITZ 1993, 225–233; 388–391, 685–693, 697–699, 1086.

⁵ FITZ 1993, 1090–1091, Nr. 720–721.

⁶ ORDÓÑEZ AGULLA/GARCÍA-DILS DE LA VEGA 2019, 587–617.

⁷ PFLAUM 1960, 145–147, Nr. 62.

106–214 (division of Pannonia)	centenarius centenarius	9 (PPS: CIL III 3960, 4035).
Procurator Pannoniae superioris		4 (CIL XI 378 proc. ... prov. Pann. Inf.)
Procurator Pannoniae inferioris		
after 214 (Brigetio attached to Pannonia inferior)		AÉp 1978, 647, 1948, 51, AIJ 274, 346

CENSUS

The procurator *sexagenarius ad census accipiendos* in Pannonia has not been attested yet⁸, but the *tabularium* of Pannonia superior known from Poetovio where several inscriptions mention the staff as the (*vernae adiutores tabularii p(rovinciae) P(annoniae) s(uperioris)*) (CIL III 4020, 4023, 4062, 4063, AÉp 1934, 227 and the CIL III 3964 from Siscia) and *custos tabularii* (CIL III 4032).⁹

Title	Grade	Reference
Procurator ad census accipiendos	sexagenarius	not attested (only tabularium)

PUBLICUM PORTORIUM ILLYRICI

One of the most important and disputed area of the equestrian administration of Pannonia is the problem of the *Publicum Portorium Illyrici* because of its rich epigraphic material that has supported the rising of several contradicting hypothesis.¹⁰ It is clear that the customs district existed already under Nero's reign (CIL VI 1921) and it consisted of Regio X (Venetia), Noricum, 2 Pannoniae, Dalmatia, 2 Moesiae and the three Daciae.¹¹ It was also clear that until Marcus Aurelius' reign (mainly equestrian) *conductores*, lease-holders directed the customs area, later *procuratores ducenarii* are attested¹² with the exception of Ti. Claudius Xenophon (PIR² C 1054) who as *centenarius* was *procurator Illyrici per Moesiam inferiorem et Dacias tres* (CIL III 6575=7127, cp. also CIL III 8042, AÉp 1988, 977).¹³ The *ripa Thracica* was later added in the middle of the second century and customs zone was officially called *Publicum portorium Illyrici utriusque et ripae Thraci(c)ae* (IScM V, 10, CIL III 751=7434=12345a=ILBulg 441, 753=7429=ILBulg 20, 14427¹, AÉp 2017, 1223, ILBulg 246 (but cp. ILBulg 289, IScM I, 67–68 only with the mention of the *ripa Thracica*). I would add to this tripartite division of the portorium's territory the abbreviations TP and TRP mentioned in the post of the *conductores* (CIL III 1568=AÉp 2010, 1385, 4015, 15184²⁴, IDR I, 55 (TRP), AÉp 1986, 571), generally expanded as *c(onductor)*

⁸ MÓCSY 1962, 594; DOBÓ 1968, 188; FITZ 1993, 392.

⁹ DOBÓ 1968, 194; VISOČNIK 2019.

¹⁰ NESSELHAUF 1939; DOBÓ 1940; DE LAET 1949, 175–245; VITTINGHOFF 1953, 356–368; MÓCSY 1962, 595; DOBÓ 1968, 180–186; ØRSTED 1985; FITZ 1993, 392–401, 693–694, 699–700, 704–710; BRUNT 1990, 418–420, 425–428; GUDEA 1996; MIHAILESCU-BÎRLIBA 2010; ZACCARIA 2010; PISO 2013A, 293–353; ZIMMERMANN 2015; SCHLEICHER 2015; SARNOWSKI 2017; RADULOVA 2019.

¹¹ As Appian added Raetia as well, but the epigraphic evidence does not support his remark, it has been supposed that Raetia was part of the portorium in the middle of the 2nd century for a short period: Vittinghoff 1953, 358. On the other hand, based on Strabo's remark, one must consider that Raetia earlier should have belonged to the Illyrican customs zone.

¹² FITZ 1993, 397–398.

¹³ FITZ 1993, 735–736 Nr. 419.

p(ublici) p(ortorii) (tertia) p(artis), but I suggest the expansion *tr(ium) p(artium)* instead, i. e. of Illyricum utrumque and the ripa Thracica.¹⁴ Ti. Claudius Xenophon's procuratorship shows also the earlier territorial division as his area was Moesia inferior and the 3 Daciae (CIL III 6575=7127). Here, I cannot deal with all problems of the portorium, I shall focus on the birth and the date when the procurators were sent instead of the conductores.

Appian in his *Illyrica* was not aware of the date and origin of Illyricum, but he correctly identified the area with that of the *Publicum portorium Illyrici* (VI.15–16):

15 ὅθεν μὲν ἀρξάμενοι τῆσδε τῆς δόξης, οὐκ ἔσχον εὐρεῖν, χρώμενοι δ' αὐτῇ καὶ νῦν, ὅπου καὶ τὸ τέλος τῶνδε τῶν ἐθνῶν, ἀπὸ ἀνίσχοντος Ἰστρου μέχρι τῆς Ποντικῆς θαλάσσης, ὕφ' ἐν ἐκμισθοῦσι καὶ Ἰλλυρικὸν τέλος προσαγορεύουσιν

16 Ῥωμαῖοι δὲ καὶ τούσδε καὶ Παίονας ἐπ' αὐτοῖς καὶ Ῥαιτοὺς καὶ Νωρικοὺς καὶ Μυσοὺς τοὺς ἐν Εὐρώτῃ, καὶ ὅσα ἄλλα ὄμορα τούτοις ἐν δεξιᾷ τοῦ Ἰστρου καταπλέοντι ᾤκηται, διαιροῦσι μὲν ὁμοίως τοῖς Ἑλλησιν ἀπὸ Ἑλλήνων, καὶ καλοῦσι τοῖς ἰδίοις ἐκάστους ὀνόμασι, κοινῇ δὲ πάντας Ἰλλυρίδα ἡγοῦνται.

Later, in his *Illyrica*, Appian again mentioned the term in the same sense (XXIX.84):

λοιποὶ δ' εἰσὶ τῆς ὑπὸ Ῥωμαίων νομιζομένης Ἰλλυρίδος εἶναι πρὸ μὲν Παίωνων Ῥαιτοὶ καὶ Νωρικοί, μετὰ Παίονας δὲ Μυσοὶ ἕως ἐπὶ τὸν Εὐξείνιον Πόντον.

Concerning the birth of portorium a remark given by Strabo (V.1.6) is far more important regarding the land of the Boii: χώρα οὐσα τῆς Ἰλλυρίδος, implying that the land of the Boii had already been part of Illyricum. Unfortunately, this Illyricum cannot be identified with province Illyricum (cf. Mon. Anc. 30.2, Suet. Tib. 16.2), because Strabo's description of this region (VII.5.1) clearly shows that his Illyricum can be identified with the same one that was given by Appian (Illyr. VI.15). In Book VII, Strabo describes the regions of Illyris proceeding from west to east, beginning with the land of the Raetians, the Vindelici and the Norici (that were already described) (VII.5.1; cf. VII.1.5):

λέγωμεν δὴ τὰ Ἰλλυρικὰ πρῶτα συνάπτοντα τῷ τε Ἰστρῷ καὶ ταῖς Ἀλπεσιν, αἱ κεῖνται μεταξύ τῆς Ἰταλίας καὶ τῆς Γερμανίας, ἀρξάμεναι ἀπὸ τῆς λίμνης τῆς κατὰ τοὺς Ὀινιδολικοὺς καὶ Ῥαιτοὺς καὶ Ἐλουηττίους.

This passage suggests that the Roman administrative term Illyricum had been in use already by the beginning of Tiberius' reign (before Strabo's death in 23 AD). Appian was probably correct in linking it to the birth of the *Publicum portorium Illyrici* (before Claudius' reign).

I must deal separately with an altar from Mikebuda in the Sarmatian Barbaricum, i. e. the Great Hungarian Plain that was found in secondary use as building material for the medieval church of the local village in connection with the re-edition in the series *Tituli Aquincenses VI*. The altar must have been carried away from Aquincum.

Mikebuda CIL III 10605=TRH 212=TitAq 2357

[--- *Genio p(ublici) p(ortorii) I(llyrici)?*

[*C(ai) Antoni Ru]fi (?) p[rocura-*

[tor]is Augg(ustorum) cond(uctoris) ve[ct(igalis)?

¹⁴ See also NESSELHAUF 1939, 336.

[*an]no p(ublici) p(ortorii) I(llyrici) XII Kal(endis) Mai[is] [--- et --- co(n)s(ulibus)].*

Following I. Piso's plausible restoration¹⁵, the altar is the key evidence for the date of the change of system, because the equestrian Rufus was a conductor of the portorium first (and praefectus vehiculorum: CIL III 13283), but later he became the first procurator too. There is no chronological or other evidence to suppose that the conductor and the procurator would have been two different persons as Fitz suggested.¹⁶ The fact that the procurator used his own slaves (not imperial ones) also proves that Rufus was the man of the change. In our point of view, the most important inscription is the altar from Mikebuda as the person mentioned here was at the same time an imperial procurator and the conductor of the portorium. All suggestions according to that Antoninus would have been conductor under the reign of Antoninus Pius are based on the false interpretation of the CIL III 1568=IDR III/1, 60=AÉp 2010, 1385 inscription from Dacia (Ad Mediam) which in contrast to the earlier reading, mentions only T. Iulius Saturninus.¹⁷ Based on Pompeius Longus' (who was probably the second procurator) altar from Porolissum that must be dated between 175 and 177 (AÉp 1988, 978=1993, 1326=2005, 1289), the change must be dated before 175. As Rufus was the procurator of Augg(ustorum duorum), the interval 169 and 175 must be excluded as well and the most plausible date is between 161 and 169 under Marcus Aurelius' and Lucius Verus' reign. On the basis of the pronoun *idem*, the portorium must have been mentioned in the lost upper part (dedication) of the inscription together with the name of Rufus' slave. The mention of the years (XII) of the leasing clearly shows that Rufus was an active conductor and procurator at the same time. Unfortunately, the consular date is missing, therefore we cannot date exactly the altar and the change, but it can most probably be connected to the outbreak of the Marcomannic wars in 166 when Barbarian incursions made the collection of taxes impossible, esp. in 169–170.¹⁸

Another interesting observation must be added: Rufus' simultaneous offices prove that the leasing of taxes did not cease to exist in Illyricum following Marcus Aurelius' reign, but the entire portorium was supervised by the imperial procurators as lessors. The same possibility was recently suggested by F. Schleicher.¹⁹ Concerning the unusual high customs, the 12,5% *octavae* were mentioned in the bronze stamp from Savaria (AÉp 1968, 423)²⁰ and in the inscriptions from Brigetio (RIU 389 *Primitiv(us) Iuli Proc(u)li cond(uctoris) VIII ser(vus) vil(icus) XX(vicesimae) who was actor octavar(um)* (RIU 575)), Schleicher most probably correctly supposed that they can be dated to the third century (Severan period: cp. the late Roman *octava*). C. Titius Antonius Peculiaris on the basis of his building inscriptions from Aquincum was

¹⁵ PISO 2013; PISO 2013A, 306–308.

¹⁶ FITZ 1993, 718–719, Nr. 385, 734–735, Nr. 417.

¹⁷ MIHAILESCU-BÎRLIBA 2010, 145–152.

¹⁸ ØRSTED 1985, 305, 308, 316–320 correctly suggested the same reason, but the exact year must remain unsolved. If the year was 169 the beginning of Rufus' *conductio* can be dated to 157–158.

¹⁹ SCHLEICHER 2014.

²⁰ BUÓCZ 1969; SCHLEICHER 2014, 65–68. In contrast the earlier reading, the name must be in the genitive: *C(ai) Tit(ii) / Ant(onii) Peculiaris cond(uctoris) vect(igalium) oc(tavarum) Pann(oniae) II / ann(o) XIII*.

equestrian and decurio of the colony of Aquincum (and Singidunum) and conductor after 194 (CIL III 10495=TitAq 7, 6452=10496=TitAq 2370).²¹

C. Antonius Rufus' posts:

Conductor:

CIL V 820=InscrAq 341 Aquileia: C(ai) A(toni) R(ufi) c(onductoris) p(ublici) p(ortorii) vil(icus)

CIL III 14354²⁹ Poetovio: Antoni Rufi p(ublici) p(ortorii) vil(ici) vic(arius)

Antoni Rufi p(ublici) p(ortorii) vil(ici) vic(arius)

CIL III 14354³⁰ Poetovio: Antoni Rufi p(ublici) p(ortorii) vil(ici) vic(arius)

CIL III 5122 Atrans: Antoni Rufi s(ervus)

AÉp 2001, 1576 Valcanale: C(ai) Antoni Rufi ser(vus) p(ublici) p(ortorii) vilicus

CIL III 13283 Senia: C(ai) Antoni Rufi praef(ecti) veh(iculorum) et cond(uctoris) p(ublici) p(ortorii) ser(vus) vilic(us)

Procurator:

CIL III 5117 Atrans: C(ai) Antoni Rufi proc(uratoris) Aug(usti) ser(vus) vil(icus)

CIL III 14354³³ Poetovio: C(ai) Antoni Rufi proc(uratoris) Aug(usti) p(ublici) p(ortorii) (contra)scr(iptor)

CIL III 14354³⁴ Poetovio: C(ai) Antoni Rufi proc(uratoris) Aug(usti) p(ublici) p(ortorii) (contra)scr(iptor).

In the last 30 years, since Fitz's work, a new procurator's name has been emerged among the inscriptions found in the area of the customs station in Porolissum.²² [--- He]racleon restored a sanctuary here in the Severan period.

[--- He]racleon Porolissum AÉp 2016, 1319

[Num(ini) Augu]sto e[t / Genio p(ublici) p(ortorii)] Illyric[i / templum] vetustate / [dilapsu]m a solo / [restit]uit procu[r(ans?) / --- He]racleon / [proc(urator) Aug(usti)] n(o)stri cum s[uis].

Finally, I must mention the problem of the *vectigal*. P. Ørsted based his work on the Roman imperial economy and the examination of the *publicum portorium Illyrici* that the *vectigal* was not used as synonym of the *portorium* and it should have been identified with the 12,5% land tax called *octava* collected by different imperial procurators.²³ His thesis does not agree with the facts.²⁴ First of all, the *vectigal* is a generic term for any kind of revenue including the *portorium*²⁵, but it is far more important that the words *portorium* and *vectigal* were several times mentioned together in the same inscription, therefore earlier several scholars correctly concluded that the *vectigal* was a synonym of the *portorium*²⁶ and from the third century the word *vectigal* was used rather instead of the *publicum portorium*.

On the other hand, the word *vectigal* was used together with the *portorium* too, therefore it cannot be excluded that the official name of the customs zone was *publicum portorium vectigalis Illyrici* (Illyricum in this case was an adjective):

Conductor publici portorii vectigalis Illyrici: CIL V 1864

²¹ FITZ 1993, 729–730, Nr. 409 unnecessarily distinguished a conductor Peculiaris and a decurion Peculiaris as father and son.

²² PISO/OPREANU/DEAC 2016.

²³ ØRSTED 1985.

²⁴ BRUNT 1990, 425–426; SCHLEICHER 2014.

²⁵ NEESEN 1980, 25–29.

²⁶ DE LAET 1949, 18–19; VITTINGHOFF 1953, 348.

Procurator publici portorii vectigalis Illyrici: AÉp 1993, 1326=2005, 1289

Genius p(ublici) p(ortorii) vectigalis Illyr(ici): AÉp 2005, 1289.

The *vectigal* was clearly used as a synonym:

Conductor *vectigalis Illyrici utriusque et ripae Thraciae*: AÉp 2017, 1223

Procurator Aug. conductor *vectigalis eiusdem* [sc. Illyrici]: TitAq 2357

Procurator: *Vectigal Illyrici*: CIL III 7434 (but *numini Aug. n. et p. p.*).

It must be added that the word *vectigal* was sometimes used in the case of IIII *publicorum Africae* and the *Quadragesima Galliarum* as well:

Renatus vectig(alis) IIII p(ublicorum) A(fricae) agens Thamugadi: AÉp 2000, 1773

Statio splend[idissimi] vectigal(is) XL(quadragesimae) G[all(iarum) Lugd(unensis)] Conv(enarum): CIL XIII 255=AÉp 2009, 854.

THE EPIGRAPHIC MENTIONS OF THE VECTIGAL ILLYRICI

CIL VI 1921 (first mention under Claudius: [*vectigal*] *Illyrici*), CIL III 751=7435=12345b, 4063, 7479=12454, 8163, AIJ 278, ILJ 1151, IMS VI, 212, CIL II, 14, 1002, AÉp 1985, 714, CIL V 2826, 8650, InscrAq 265, AÉp 1923, 45=1994, 675

Splendidissimum bectigal (!) Illyrici: CIL III 1647=8140

Procurator --- vectigalis Illyrici: ILJ 1022, 1151

... *vectigalis Illyrici*: CIL III 752=7435, 4063, 5691, 7479, 8163, 13396, V 8650, AÉp 1985, 714, 1994, 675, AIJ 278, ILJ 1151, IMS VI, 212, InscrAq 265 (*vilicus, contrascriptor, tabularius, circitor*)

Based on these data, the system of the *publicum portorium Illyrici* can be summarized as follows:

First mention under Tiberius: App. Ill. VI.15–16, XXIX.84, Strab. V.1.6, VII.5.1.

First epigraphic mention in the middle of the first century: CIL VI 1921.

Office	Procurator	Reference
earlier conductores		
Around 169 Procurator publici portorii Illyrici	centenarius, later ducenarius	AÉp 1956, 230
Temporary (?) division under Commodus: Procurator Illyrici per Raetiam et Noricum et Dalmatiam et utramque Pannoniam et Moe- siam superiorem?		not yet attested
Procurator Illyrici per Moesiam inferiorem et Dacias tres		CIL III 6575=712
as v. e. procurator ducenarius Illyrici		AÉp 1956, 230
Procurator publici portorii		CIL III 5120, 7435, 14354 ^{33–34}
as Procurator Aug. (with Genius PPI):		AÉp 1988, 977, 2016, 1319

Office	Procurator	Reference
as Procurator Augusti conductoris vectigalis eiusdem		AÉp 2013, 1257
as Procurator vectigalis Illyrici		CIL II, 14, 1002, V 2826
as Procurator Augg. nn. --- vec[tig(alis)] Illyric[i]		ILJ 1022
as Procurator Aug. (with the mention of <i>splendidissum vectigal Illyrici</i>)		CIL III 1647=8140

THE NAMES OF THE PUBLICUM PORTORIUM ILLYRICI

Publicum portorium Illyrici:

conductor: CIL III 4094, IDR III/5, 702, AÉp 1996, 1341, 2014, 1113, AIJ 348, AquaeIasae 80

procurator: AÉp 1988, 977, 2016, 1359, TitAq 2357

Publicum portorium:

Conductor: CIL III 751=7434=12345a, 12363

Procurator: CIL III 7435

Publicum portorium (vectigalis) Illyrici (utriusque) et ripae Thraci(c)ae:

conductor: IScM V, 10, CIL III 751=7434=12345a=ILBulg 441, 753=7429=ILBulg 20, 14427¹, AÉp 2017, 1223, ILBulg 246 (but cp. ILBulg 289, IScM I, 67–68 only with the mention of the ripa Thracica)

Portorium Illyricum:

IMS II, 69 (conductor)

XX HEREDITATIUM UTRARUMQUE PANNONIARUM

The procurator XX hereditatium of Pannonia has not been attested yet, but based on the altars of a vilicus and a tabularius from Poetovio (CIL III 4065: *Proculus Aug[g(ustorum)] nn(ostrorum) vern(a) vi[l(icus?)] XX(vicesimae) hered(itatium) utrarumq(ue) Pann(oniarum)* and AIJ 311: *Aug(usti) ser(vus) h(ereditatum) tab(ularius)*), Poetovio was again the centre of the 5% inheritance tax of both Pannoniae.²⁷

Primitivus in Brigetio could have been the vilicus of this tax as well: RIU 389 *Primitiv(us) Iuli Proc(u)li cond(uctoris) VIII ser(vus) vil(icus) XX(vicesimae) who was actor octavar(um)* (RIU 575), but based on the InscrAqu 3253 altar from Aquileia, that was set up by a *cond(uctor) VII[I] et XX ripae flum(inis) Danu(vi)* this kind of *vicesima* must have belonged to the publicum portorium Illyrici.²⁸

Office	Procurator	Reference
Procurator XX hereditatium		not attested, but see CIL III 4065, AIJ 311, RIU 389?, AÉp 2013, 1262

²⁷ MÓCSY 1962, 594; DOBÓ 1968, 189; FITZ 1993, 401.

²⁸ ØRSTED 1985, 259–260, 332–334. The expression *ripa fluminis Danuvii* is identical with the Greek τὸ τῆς κατὰ τὸν Ἰστρον ὄχθης τέλος (IScM I, 67–68) and concerns most probably to the *ripa Thracica*. The dedication to *Genius commercii et negotiantium* supports this explanation too.

VICESIMA LIBERTATIS

The 5 percent tax on the value of a slave had to be paid even in Pannonia and its office was led from the Severan period (Septimius Severus’ reign?) by a procurator sexagenarius (earlier conductores collected)²⁹, even if it was omitted in Fitz’s work. Unfortunately, no epigraphic evidence has been found yet that would mention a procurator libertatis responsible for Pannonia. An important new find, a bronze stamp from Aquincum must be added to the epigraphic evidence of the tax.³⁰ Its retrograde inscription can be interpreted as follows³¹:

AÉp 2013, 1262 (Aquincum):

P(ublici) XX(vicesimae) lib(ertatis) (per) Raet(iam) Nor(icum) Dalm(atiam) Pan(n)oni(as) II / Concord(iam) Aq(uileiam) Histr(iam) Lib(urniam) an(no) III.

An interesting group of provinces and Italian cities was mentioned in the stamp:

Italian cities: Concordia, Aquileia

territorial units: Histria (Italy), Liburnia (Liburnian cities with ius Italicum in Dalmatia)

Provinces: Pannoniae, Dalmatia, Noricum.

It seems that the placenames cover the Italian cities of the district of the tax on freed slaves in the Republican period. Later, the district expanded with territorial units as Liburnia and Histria, more later with the Danubian provinces. Based on the mention of the years (of the leaseholding), the stamp must have belonged to a conductor in the Antonine period.

A new funerary inscription from Salona must be studied as well that was erected by C. Valerius Telesphorus who was *procurator [---] XX(vicesimae)*.

Cambi 2010, Nr. 168, DEMICHELII 2017, 187–192 Nr. 13.

[V]aleriae Clipearin(a)e / [d]omo Mediolani quae / [vi]xit ann(os) XXX C(aius) Valerius / [Te]lesphorus proc(urator) XX(vicesimae) / [her(editatum) or lib(ertatis)] libertae coniugi / carissimae fecit / -----

If Telesphorus led the inheritance tax in Dalmatia, his case clearly shows that similar procuratorial offices must have been existed in the Pannonian provinces too. On the other hand, the missing part can also be completed as *proc(urator) XX(vicesimae) / [lib(ertatis)]*. Based on the bronze stamp from Aquincum, Dalmatia and the Pannoniae belonged to the same district, therefore Telesphorus could have been a not-yet-attested *procurator libertatis* too.

Office	Procurator	Reference
Procurator vicesimae libertatis	sexagenarius	not attested

PATRIMONIUM

As far as we know no *procurator patrimonii* of Pannonia has been attested yet, if this office existed at all.³² On the other hand, two freedslaves are mentioned as *procuratores Pannoniae superioris* who might have been responsible for the

²⁹ HIRSCHFELD 1905, 106–109; PFLAUM 1960, 1027, 1034, 1104. See also BRADLEY1984, 175–182.

³⁰ HAVAS 2013.

³¹ The word *publicum* must be in the genitive instead of the nominative as it was suggested earlier.

³² MÓCSY 1962, 594; FITZ 1993, 401–402.

imperial domains in Upper Pannonia as M. Ulpius Aug. lib. Probus as *proc. provinc. Pannoniae Sup. et Africae reg. Thevest.* (CIL XIV 174) and Tyrrhenus lib. as *proc. reg. Thevestinae item Pannoniae superioris* (CIL VI 790), both in the Antonine period.³³

Office	Procurator	Reference
Procurator patrimonii		not attested, but see Procurator Pannoniae Superioris: libertus: CIL VI 790, XIV 176

RATIO PRIVATA

Similar lack of epigraphic data can be observed in the case of the *ratio privata*³⁴, but its existence can be supposed with a centre in Poetovio based as the altar CIL III 4059 was erected by an Aug. n. dispensator rationis PP (i.e. *p(atrimonii) p(rivatae) or p(rivatae) P(annoniae)*). In the latter case both Pannoniae would have belonged to the same procurator. The CIL III 3269 inscription from Marsonia was set up by Marcus *Sperat[i] disp(ensatoris) vi[c(arius)]* who might have served in the same office as well.

Office	Procurator	Reference
Procurator rationis privatae	sexagenarius	not attested Existence of the office: CIL III 4049, 3269

ARGENTARIAE

Despite the fact that several types of mining coins (quadrantes) of Trajan (other types are attested under Hadrian's and Antoninus Pius' reign as well) are known with the legends METAL VLPIANI PANN, METAL PANNONICIS, METALLI PANNONICI, i.e. metallum Ulpianum Pannonicum, metalla Pannonica (RIC II, 241, 294 Nr, 706–707, 474, III, 313) and they have been found mainly in mining areas as the Kosmaj region³⁵, the existence of the Pannonian mining districts was earlier denied.³⁶ On the other hand, the epigraphic data clearly show the contrary of this theory and even the system of these mining districts can be established.³⁷

As far as we know, in the second century there was a separated office for the Pannonian silver mines led first by procuratores sexagenarii (ILS 9019, AÉp 1915, 46), but later centenarii are also attested (AÉp 1956, 123, 1958, 156). Conductio of the argentariae has not been attested yet, perhaps it did not exist at all. The silver mining districts of Pannonia and Dalmatia were unified under Marcus Aurelius' reign (but the earliest yearly dated: 191: TitAq 2309)³⁸, and it did not change until the tetrarchy. The procurator centenarius was officially called *procurator metallorum Pannoniorum et Dalmatarum* (*Pannonicorum et Dalmaticorum*) or

argentariarum (ἐπίτροπος τοῦ Σεβαστοῦ ἀργυρορῶκων Παννονικῶν). The centre of mining district must be placed in Domavia near the border of Pannonia and Dalmatia where several inscriptions of the procurators (honorary and building tituli erected by them) are attested (CIL III 8361=12721 and CIL III 8359–8360, 8363, 12725, 12732, 12734, 12736–12739).

1. The latest dated dated inscription that mentions the unified system can be dated to 274 (CIL III 12736), but based on a new find from Mysia (AÉp 2008, 1341³⁹), L. Domitius Eros is the latest attested procurator under the tetrarchy as his honorary inscription was erected by M. Aurelius Rusticus (that time procurator ducenarius of Dalmatia) who erected the above-mentioned inscription to Diocletian in 289–290 as *procurator patrimonii Asiae* as well.⁴⁰ The palaeography of the inscription from Domavia confirms this late date as well (cp. the characteristic letter L).

CIL III 8361= 12721

L(ucio) Domitio / {I} Eroti vi/ro ex eques/tribus tur/mis egregio / procuratori / metallorum / [P]annon(iorum) / [et] Delmat(orum) mi/[r]ae integritatis / [e]t bonit[a]tis / M(arcus) Aur(elius) Ru[s]ticus/ v(ir) e(gregius) ducen(arius) amico / praestan[tissimo].

2. Another interesting new find came to light from the late Roman counter fortification at Bölcske (now in the river Danube), where dozens of Roman altars were found in secondary use (TitAq 2265–2321). Similarly to the other Roman stone monuments, the altar AÉp 2003, 1426=TitAq 2309 was most probably carried away from Aquincum or Campona/Nagyttény as building material.⁴¹ The altar was erected by a beneficiarius consularis who served earlier in the staff of the procurator argentarium in the *stationes* near the auxiliary forts at Acimincum (Slankamen near Sirmium) and Campona (Nagyttény near Aquincum) in Pannonia inferior: *stationes habui argentariarum Pannonicarum et Dalmaticarum procuratoris Aciminci Camponae*.

AÉp 2003, 1426=TitAq 2309 Bölcske, 191 A.D.

-----/T(itus) Karinius Iuliacen[sis domo] / Arelate ex provin[cia] Nar[bon]ensi / b(ene)f(iciarius) co(n)s(ularis) leg(ionis) II Adi(utricis) p(iae) f(idelis) sta[ti]ones / habui arg(entariarum) Pan(nonicarum) e[st] Dal(maticarum) pro[c]u[r]ato(ris) / Aciminci Camp[ona] a[ra]m / [fec]i translata [stat(ione)] X K(alendas) Iunias / [Pe]done et Br[a]dua co(n)s(ulibus).

3. Something new can be added to the cursus C. Iulius Silvanus Melanio (PIR² I 581, CIL III 12732)⁴² based on his inscriptions from Hispania (CIL II 3136, AÉp 1968, 229–231, CIL II², 13, 226a, cp. also CIL XIII 1729, RIB 1273) who according to his Greek altar (AÉp 1968, 231) dedicated to Θεαῖς Νεμέσεσιν Ζυρρναῖαις σεβασμιωτάταις was born in Smyrna.⁴³ His honorary inscription was erected by province

³³ FITZ 1993, 732, Nr. 414, 735, Nr. 418.

³⁴ FITZ 1993, 402–403.

³⁵ DUŠANIĆ 1977, 477–487; WOJTEK 2004, 35–68.

³⁶ MÓCSY 1962, 594, 674.

³⁷ MÓCSY 1962, 594; DOBÓ 1968, 177–179. DUŠANIĆ 1977, 490–509, 521–529; DUŠANIĆ 1989; DUŠANIĆ 2004; FITZ 1993, 403–406, 696–696, 700–702, 1086; ŠKEGRO 1999, 70–90; HIRT 2010, 56–67, 71–74, 139–140; ŠAČIĆ BEČA 2022.

³⁸ FITZ 1993, 405.

³⁹ ŞAHIN/EDA/TÜRKTÜZÜN 2008: *Bona Fortuna // Fortissimo ac Piissi[mo] / [I]mp(eratori) Caes(ari) Gaio Valerio / Diocletiano P(io) F(elici) Invict(o) / Aug(usto) pontifici maximo / tribuniciae potestatis VII / p(atr) p(atr)iae procons(uli) restitutori orbis / M(arcus) Aurel(ius) Rusticus v(ir) p(er)fectissimus procurator / [p]atrimonii(i) prov(inciae) Asiae d(e) votus n(umini) m(aiestatique) / eorum (!) // ἀγαθῆ τύχη.*

⁴⁰ Earlier it was dated to the first half of the 3rd century: FITZ 1993, 1095, Nr. 729.

⁴¹ ALFÖLDY 2003.

⁴² FITZ 1993, 741–742, Nr. 426.

⁴³ ABASCAL/ALFÖLDY 1998, 157–168; DOMERGUE 2014; SÁNCHEZ

Dalmatia to its patron and all of his offices were enumerated in his fragmentary and lost statue base (CIL III 12732). Based on the find-spot he must have been earlier procurator argentariarum under Septimius Severus' reign and the Pannon-Dalmatian silver mines belonged to the ferrariae and argentariae of 23 provinces mentioned in the text.

CIL III 12732 Domavia

C(aio) lul(io) Silvano / Melanioni eq(uo) / pub(lico) flam[i] ni Po/monali [in] u(rbe) R(oma) (?) om/nibus equestri/bus militiis func/[t]o proc(uratori) Aug(usti) [fe]rr(ariarum) et / arg(entariarum) (?) per provin/[cias] XXIII proc(uratori) Aug(usti) / [rationis] [priva/tae per p]rovinc(ias) / [--- p] roc(uratori) C[--- / proc(uratori) pro]vi[nciae ---/ ---]ic[--- / ---] ic[--- / --- in] muni/[cipio Do]maviano / [---]ni [---]++[---]++[---] / [---] patrono / [optimo?] pro[v]inc(ia) / [Dalm]a[tia].

Based on these data, the system of the argentariae can be summarized as follows:

Office	Procurator	Reference
Procurator argentariarum Pannonicarum	sexagenarius	ILS 9019, AÉp 1915, 46
Procurator argentariarum Pannonicarum	centenarius	AÉp 1958, 156
Procurator metallorum Pannonicorum et Dalmaticorum Procurator argentariarum Pannoniarum et Dalmatiarum Procurator argentariarum Procurator metallorum Pannoniorum et Delmatiarum (tetrarchy):	centenarius	AÉp 1956, 123 CIL III 6575=7127 CIL III 8363, 12736 CIL III 8361=12721

FERRARIAE

According to the most plausible expansion of the abbreviation suggested by G. Alföldy CON NPD (=con(ductoris) fer(rariarum) N(oricarum) P(annonicarum) D(almaticarum)) of the inscription CIL III 4809, the iron mines of Noricum, Dalmatia and Pannonia were sometimes jointly managed by lease-holders⁴⁴, but in the second century conductores are attested for ferrariae Pannonicae until 201 A.D. (ILJ 779 and AÉp 2006, 1094) as an altar was erected in Ljubija pro salute conductoris who was called C. Iulius Agathopus.⁴⁵ His name was mentioned in another altar from Mursa in Pannonia superior as c(onductor) f(errariarum) Panno(niar(um) itemq(ue) provinciar(um) / transmarinar(um) (AÉp 2006, 1094).⁴⁶ On the other hand, the first procurator was attested from Ljubija in the year 209 (ILJ 157) (see below) and the altar mentions most probably vilicus called Callimorphus who erected the above mentioned altar in 201. More problematical is the office of Flavius Verus Metrobalanus who was procurator Aug. n. praepos(itus) splendissim(i) vect(igalis) ferr(arii) (CIL III 3953). According to Fitz's identification, he would have been the fiscal procurator of Pannonia superior

LAFUENTE PEREZ 2021.

⁴⁴ ALFÖLDY 1970.

⁴⁵ DUŠANIĆ 1977, 488–490, 516–521; DUŠANIĆ 1989; DUŠANIĆ 2004, 129; FITZ 1993, 406–408, 696, 702, 710, 1086; ŠKEGRO 1999, 100–119; HIRT 2010, 136–139.

⁴⁶ FITZ 1993, 740–741, Nr. 425.

with a temporary special mission as praepositus for the organization of the ferrariae under Commodus or Septimius Severus or rather in charge of the vectigal levied on iron mines.⁴⁷ Another important piece of information is that the altar was erected by Asclepiades who was ark(arius) stat(ionis) Sisc(ianae) that implies a part of the mining district can be localized near Siscia about 90 km north of Ljubija. The centre of the mining district must have been in Ljubija where several procurators (mentioned always procurator Aug. or Augg.) are attested who were mentioned in altars erected to Terra Mater on the 21th of April (ILJ 157–159, ILJ 779–781, CIL III 13240). The altars were set up by vilici officinae ferrariae. Based on this observation, Ljubija and its region belonged most probably to Pannonia.⁴⁸ The latest procurator was mentioned in 248 (CIL III 13240), but if the reading of the altar CIL III 13239 is correct⁴⁹, it is attested between 253 and 260 too. In the last three decades, no new epigraphic data has been found concerning the Pannonian iron mines.

Based on these data, the system of the ferrariae can be summarized as follows:

- Before 201–209:
 - Conductores
- After 209:
 - Procurator ferrariarum
 - Procurator Augg. nn. (Dalmatia or Pannonia?): ILJ 157
 - Procurator Aug. n. praepos(itus) splendissim(i) vect(igalis) ferr(arii): CIL III 3953
 - Last mention of the procurator in 248 AD: CIL III 13240
 - Last mention of the ferrariae between 253 and 260 (?): CIL III 13239

CURSUS PUBLICUS

During the early Principate procuratores sexagenarii of the cursus are attested, but no territorial subdivision can be observed.⁵⁰ At least two cases can be mentioned from Illyricum when praefecti were probably at the same time conductores of the customs of Illyricum in the Antonine period (CIL III 13283, ILJ 920, TitAq 2368).⁵¹ The system changed under Septimius Severus when both Pannoniae, Moesia superior and Noricum belonged to the same territorial unit under the lead of a procurator sexagenarius (unfortunately, attested only once: CIL III 6075).⁵² In the last three decades, unfortunately, no new epigraphic data concerning to the Pannonian cursus has been found.

Office	Procurator	Reference
Before Septimius Severus Praefectus vehiculorum	sexagenarius	
From Septimius Severus Praefectus vehiculorum	sexagenarius	

⁴⁷ PFLAUM 1960, 1064; FITZ 1993, 738–749, Nr. 422; HIRT 2010, 138, 236.

⁴⁸ DUŠANIĆ 1977, 488–490; FITZ 1993, 407–408.

⁴⁹ Cp. FITZ 1993, 1097, Nr. 736.

⁵⁰ H.-G. Pflaum, Essai sur le cursus publicus sous le Haut-Empire romain, Paris 1940, W. Eck, Die staatliche Organisation Italiens in der hohen Kaiserzeit, München 1979, 102, A. Kolb, Transport und Nachrichtentransfer im Römischen Reich Berlin 2000, 152–173, esp. 155–156.

⁵¹ DOBÓ 1968, 189; FITZ 1993, 408–412, 696, 703–704.

⁵² FITZ 1993, 744, Nr. 430; ECK 1999, 231.

Office	Procurator	Reference
Praefectus vehiculorum et conductor publici portorii Illyrici		CIL III 13283, ILJ 920, TitAq 2368
Praefectus vehiculationis Pannoniae utriusque et Moesiae superioris et Norici		CIL III 6075

I must deal separately with an altar from Szeged in the Sarmatian Barbaricum, i. e. the Great Hungarian Plain in connection with its re-edition in the series *Tituli Aquincenses VI*.

The altar came to light in 1882 in the medieval castle of Szeged (usually identified with the antique Parthiscum)⁵³, but the find-spot is secondary, therefore it must be excluded that the imperial *vehiculatio* would have been functioned in Sarmatian territory based on this stone monument. Even the supposed Roman road between Pannonia and Dacia across Sarmatia must be questioned as the traces of this road have not been found yet. Only Pannonian Roman stone monuments were found in the Sarmatian Barbaricum in secondary use (TitAq 2339–2378), no surely Dacian one can be added.⁵⁴ Some of these Roman carved stones were re-used far away from the Danube for the building of medieval castles as it can be supposed in the case of the carvings from Szeged or Subotica/Szabadka (CIL III 3297=TitAq 2377: first it was described by Marsigli inserted to the wall of the castle (*in muro arcis*), only in the 18th century built into the wall of the Franciscan cloister).

The fragmentary altar was earlier restored as follows:

Szeged TRHR 238=TitAq 2368

[cond(uctoris) p(ublici) p(ortorii)]

[et praef(ecti)]

[ve]hicul[o]-

rum

Mercato[r]

vili[c(us)]

[v(otum) s(olvit) l(ibens) m(erito)].

This restoration is based on the above-mentioned observation that at least two *conductores portorii* were *praefecti vehiculationis* in the Antonine period, perhaps at the same time as C. Antonius Rufus and T. Iulius Saturninus. Furthermore, it was suggested by Fitz that the unknown prefect might have been identified with Saturninus.⁵⁵ It must be added this restoration has been generally accepted as I did recently in the TitAq., but there is a serious objection of the identification:

Both conductores' offices were enumerated in reverse order as follows:

C. Antonius Rufus: CIL III 13283 *praef(ectus) veh(iculorum) et cond(uctoris) p(ublici) p(ortorii)*

T. Iulius Saturninus:

AÉp 1940, 101: *praef(ectus) vehiculor(um) et conduct(or) p(ublici) p(ortorii)*

AÉp 1934, 107: *praef(ectus) vehicul(or)um ... p(ublici) p(ortorii) cond(uctor) / [I]llyr(ici) utriusq(ue) et ripae Thracicae*

In all three inscriptions, the office of the praefectus vehiculorum was consequently mentioned before the *conductio*.

In the fragmentary votive text from Szeged it is impossible, therefore the restoration must remain dubious and I would restore the inscription as follows:

[--- praef(ecti)]

[ve]hicul[o]-

rum

Mercato[r]

vili[c(us)]

[v(otum) s(olvit) l(ibens) m(erito)].

FAMILIA GLADIATORIA

The procuratores familiae gladiatoriae belonged to the sexagenarii and several provinces belonged to them.⁵⁶ The familia gladiatoria of Transpadana was organized under Marcus Aurelius' reign (CIL V 8659, AÉp 1890, 151, InscrAq 487), The two Pannoniae, Dalmatia and Liguria were added later (under Commodus). Only one procurator was earlier attested between 221 and 240 (ILS 9014 from Puteoli).⁵⁷ In the 2000s, a new procurator's equestrian statue base dated to the middle of the 3rd century was found in Corduba (most probably in the praetorium) who became later the procurator of the vicesima hereditatum of Baetica and Lusitania (AÉp 2003, 931). He was the procurator of the familia gladiatoria of the same provinces as mentioned above.⁵⁸

Procurator familiae gladiatoriae per ... sexagenarius

Proc(urator) famil(iae) glad(iatoriae) per Aem(iliam) Transpad(anam) du[as Pa]nn(onias) Delmatiam: ILS 9014

[Pro]c(urator) ad familiam gladiatoriam per Italiam Aemiliam Transpadum Liguriam Pannonias Dalmatias: AÉp 2003, 931

Corduba AÉp 2003, 931

Q(uinto) Antonio Granio Erasino v(iro) e(gregio) / (centurioni) frumentario canalic(u)lario / [pro]c(uratori) ad familiam gladiatoriam / per Italiam Aemiliam Transpadum / Liguriam Pannonias Dalmatias (!) / proc(uratori) XX(vicesi)mae heredit(atium) provinciar(um) / duarum Baeticae et Lusitaniae / Valerianus Augg(ustorum) lib(ertus) tabularius / magistro innocentissimo / ob merit(a) posuit.

THE PANNONIAN PROCURATORS

Jenő Fitz collected all equestrians from Pannonia too.⁵⁹ Around 2000, he identified 63 equestrians with Pannonian origin, most of them belonged to the municipal aristocracy of the province, some of them entered the militia equestris too, but only 3 of them became procurators. All were born in the towns of Pannonia superior and lived in the second century (and the Severan period):

1. T. Eppius Latinus (PIR² E 78)

CIL III 3928=AIJ 246=ILSI I, 26 Neviodunum

T(ito) Eppio T(iti) f(ilio) / Quir(ina) Latino / Ilviro iur(e) dic(undo) / munic(ipii) Latob(icorum) / proc(uratori) Im[p(eratoris) Caes]aris / Traian[i Aug(usti) pat]r[is] / [patriae] / ad c[ensus] ac c[ipiend]os / [provi]n[ciae --- proc(uratori)] / [familiar(um) gladiatoriaru]m / [provi]n[c(iarum)] [Hispaniaru]

⁵⁶ HIRSCHFELD 1905, 292.

⁵⁷ DOBÓ 1968, 189; FITZ 1993, 412–413, Nr. 430.

⁵⁸ VILLANUEVA 2003.

⁵⁹ FITZ 2000.

⁵³ LAKATOS 1964–1965, 66; MÓCSY 1974, 100.

⁵⁴ KOVÁCS 2024.

⁵⁵ FITZ 1993.

m / [ite]m pr[o]c(uratori) IIII p(ublicorum) Afr(icae) / p(ublice) d(ecreto) d(ecurionum).

Based on his honorary inscription (CIL III 3928=AIJ 246), his hometown was Neviodonum where he was duumvir, but under Hadrian's reign, he became first *procurator sexagenarius ad census accipiendos*, later probably *procurator familiarum gladiatoriarum* of Hispania and *procurator centenarius IIII publicorum Africae*.

2. C. Iulius Super (PIR² I 593)

CIL III 4423 p. 1770 Carnuntum

Nymphis Aug(ustis) / sacrum / pro sal(ute) C(ai) Iul(i) / Superi proc(uratoris) / Augg(ustorum) / prov(inciae) Siciliae / Iul(ia) Aristian(a) / liberta.

Based on the altar of his libertus, Super's hometown was most probably Carnuntum (CIL III 4423 p. 1770). C. Iulius Super was procurator centenarius of Sicily (*proc. I Augg. prov. Siciliae*) after 193 A.D.

3. M. Valerius Maximianus (PIR² V 135)

AEp 1956, 124=1959, 183=1962, 390=1976, 359 183 Numidia Diana Veteranorum

M(arco) Valerio Maximiano M(arci) Valeri Maximiani quinq(uennalis) s(acredotalis) / f(ilio) pont(ifici) col(oniae) Poetovionens(ium) equo p(ublico) praef(ecto) coh(ortis) I Thrac(um) trib(un) coh(ortis) I (H)am(iorum) / civium R(omanorum) praep(osito) orae gentium Ponti Polemoniani don(is) don(ato) bel(lo) P(h)art(hico) adlecto ab Imp(eratore) M(arco) Antonino Aug(usto) et misso in procinctu / Germanic(ae) expeditio(nis) ad deducend(a) per Danuvium quae in annonam Panno(niae) / utriusq(ue) exercit(uum) denavigarent praepos(ito) vexillation(um) clas(sium) praetor(iarum) / Misensis item Ravennatis item clas(sis) Brit(t)an(n)ic(ae) item equit(um) Afror(um) et Mauror(um) / elector(um) ad curam explorationis Pannoniae praef(ecto) al(ae) I Aravacor(um) in procinctu Germanico ab Imp(eratore) Antonino Aug(usto) coram laudato et equo et phaleris / et armis donato quod manu sua ducem Naristarum Valaonem / intermisisset et in eade(m) ala quartae militiae honor(em) adeptus praef(ecto) al(ae) / contar(iorum) don(is) don(ato) bello Ger(manico) Sar(matico) praep(osito) equitib(us) gent(ium) Marcomannor(um) Narist(arum) / Quador(um) ad vindictam Orientalis motus pergentium honor(e) centenariae dignitatis aucto salario adeptus procuratoriam Moesiae inferioris / eodem in tempore praeposito vexillationibus et a<d> detrahen/dam Briseorum latronum manum in confinio Macedon(iae) et Thrac(iae) / ab Imp(eratore) misso proc(uratori) Moesiae super(ioris) proc(uratori) prov(inciae) Daciae Porolis/sensis a Sacratissimis Imp(eratoribus) in amplissimum ordinem inter prae/torios allecto et mox leg(ato) leg(ionis) I Adiut(ricis) item leg(ato) leg(ionis) II Adiut(ricis) praep(osito) vexil(lationum) / Leugaricione hiemantium item leg(ato) leg(ionis) / V Mac(edonicae) item leg(ato) leg(ionis) I Italic(ae) item leg(ato) leg(ionis) / XIII Gem(inae) item leg(ato) Aug(usti) pr(o) pr(aetore) [[[leg(ionis) III Aug(ustae)]]] don(is) don(ato) a nobilissimo / [[[principe M(arco) Aurelio Commodo Aug(usto)]]] expeditione secunda Ger(manica) / splendidissimi ordo Dian(ensium) Veteran(orum)] aere conlato.

The well-known M. Valerius Maximianus belonged to the equestrian family of the Valerii from Poetovio⁶⁰ who was the sacerdos of his hometown as well (cp. CIL VIII

4600). Maximianus entered first the militia equestris under Antoninus Pius, participated in Licinius Verus' Parthian war, later because of his merits at the battle field during Marcus Aurelius' first Marcomannic war and he became procurator centenarius of Moesia inferior with a special mission around 176, later Moesia superior and as ducenarius of Dacia Porolissensis. His salary was more than of a centenarius (*aucto salario*) (it is supposed that it was of a ducenarius). During the second Marcomannic war he was admitted to the senatorial order with praetorian rank in 178–179 and became the first Pannonian senator as the legate of the legio I and II adiutrix, later he commanded legions in Dacia and Moesia inferior (legio V Macedonica, Italica and XIII gemina). More later, he became the praetorian legate of Numidia and consul suffectus in 185.⁶¹

Since 2000 (the year of Fitz's paper), his list has been slightly modified and extended.

1. C. Titius Antonius Peculiaris Aquincum

Fitz erroneously excluded Peculiaris from his list (Fitz 2000, 125 Nr. 71) who was a conductor vectigalis (AEp 1968, 423) and he erected two building inscriptions in Aquincum (CIL III 10495=TitAq 7, 6452=10496=TitAq 2370). His equestrian rank was explicitly mentioned in the inscription from Bâtmonostor (originally Aquincum) as I could personally observe it during the re-edition of the inscription⁶²:

CIL III 10496=TRHR 205=TitAq 2370 C(aius) Tit(ius) Antonius | Peculiaris dec(urio) | col(oniae) Aq(uincensium), e[q(ua)] p(ublico), dec(urio) m(unicipii) S[in]g(idunensium), | Iivir, flam(en), sacerdos | Arae Aug(usti) n(ostris) p(rovinciae) P(annoniae) Infer(ioris) nymf(eum) | pec(unia) sua fecit et | aquam induxit.

2. Anonymus Aquincum

TitAq 11 ----- / [--- de]c(urio) col(oniae) Aq(uincensis) / [--- duumvir]ra(lis) eq(ua) p(ublico) et Aurelia / [---] Vibianus adiut(or) off(icii) / [co(n)s(ularis) --- R]usticus et Rusticianus / [---] i<m>pendi(i)s suis fecerunt / [---] ad extruendum nominibus / [---] nte his lavacr(is) utentur / [---] Ael(ius) Verinus Fl(avius) Opimianus / [--- Vi]ctor Ter(entius?) Vitalis / [---]erianus Sept(imius) Valerianus / [---]cus Sep(timius) Aurelius.

3. M. Arron[ius ---] Sirmium

AEp 2012, 1179 C(aius) Acell[ius] / Marron[ius --- praef(ectus) coh(ortis)] / I Cret(um) Iivir[? --- flamen] / dialis ob ho[norem ---] / duas port[ic]us --- f]ec(it) [---] / summam [hono]rar(iam) XX[---].

4. C(a)eni[us] [---]ianus Siscia

CIL III 3985=AEp 1999, 1245
Domu(i) (a)etern(a)e et perpe/[t]u(a)e securitati C(a)eni[us] / [---]ianus v(ir) e(gregius) v(ivus) fecit Fl(avio) Tibe[rino] (?) / v(iro) [e(gregio?)] qui v(ixit) an(nos) XXX / [---]ni(a)e Urs(a)e q(uae) v(ixit) an(nos) / [---]n(a)e q(uae) v(ixit) an(nos) IIII / [---] q(uae) v(ixit) an(nos) / -----.

5. Flavius Tibe[---] Siscia

Ibid.

6. M. Ulpius Dignus Cibalae

RMD IV, 275 ... cui prae(e)s(t) M(arcus) Ulpius Dignus Cibal(is) ...

As one can see no further Pannonian procurator has been

⁶⁰ ALFÖLDY 1964–1965, 137–144.

⁶¹ PFLAUM 1960, 476–494, Nr. 181 BIS = PFLAUM 1982, Nr. 182BIS.

⁶² KOVÁCS 2004.

attested, but there are some possibilities to extend their numbers:

7. L. Pompeius Longus

L. Pompeius Longus was attested as probably the second procurator of the publicum portorium of Illyricum during Marcus Aurelius's reign probably between 175 and 177 based on his altar dedicated to Jupiter in the *statio* of Porolissum (AÉp 2005, 1289).⁶³ In Savaria a Roman altar came to light⁶⁴ that was dedicated to gods of roads (*Diis Itinerariis*) most probably by the same person in the name of his family members too as a private votum, therefore his rank, profession was omitted.⁶⁵ It seems to be highly unlikely that in the same period in the same region two men would have lived with the same name who were also interested in the roads and journey.

AÉp 2000, 1191=TRHR 15 Savaria

Diis Itine[rariis] / utriusque [viae] / L(ucius) Pompeius Long[us] / suo Marciaequae / coniugis et Rustici fili(i) nomine / v(otum) s(olvit) l(ibens) m(erito).

If this hypothesis correct L. Pompeius Longus erected the altar probably in his hometown where his gentile name is not attested, but several Pompeii are known in Carnuntum who served in the legion of Carnuntum (CIL III 11138, AÉp 1929, 191, 1978, 634, 1992, 1404, Hild 148).⁶⁶ Savaria was founded as a veteran colony by Claudius for the soldiers of the legio XV Apollinaris (cp. the veterans' adjective *deductus* from Savaria (RIU 145, 149 and RIU 32, 56, 146) and a veteran's, P. Pompeius Colonus' speaking cognomen from Scarbantia (RIU 193). On the other hand, several Marcus/a are attested in the territory of the colony (as gentile name: RIU 22, 37, 93, 94, 214, Hild 387). There are several Rustici in the region of Emona and Noricum, but the cognomen is not attested in Savaria either.⁶⁷

8. T. Flavius Verecundus Savaria?

T. Flavius Verecundus was an imperial procurator Aug., most probably ferrariarum attested in Ljubija in the year 209 (ILJ 157). On the other hand, there is a centurion with same name from Carnuntum who was born in Savaria:

CIL III 4416 Carnuntum

D(eo) I(nvicto) M(ithrae) <S>(oli?) / T(itus) Flavius / Verecundus / Cl(audia) Savaria / (centurio) leg(ionis) XIII / g(eminae) M(artiae) v(icticis) / v(otum) s(olvit) l(ibens) l(aetus) m(erito).

Despite the fact that there were other Flavii Verundi, served mainly as simple legionaries (as CIL III 4576 (Vindobona), XIII 7713, 5883), it cannot be excluded that the person of the procurator and the centurion would have been identical and the centurion would have started later his equestrian cursus.⁶⁸ On the other hand, it must be mentioned the reading of his name on the altar is dubious, because it was earlier deciphered as C TT FLL VERECVNDVS and interpreted *TT(iti) Fll(avii) Verecundus proc(urator) / Augg(ustorum) nn(ostrorum) et Callimorphu(s) vil(icus)*

and his name has recently restored as *Titi(us) Verecundus proc(urator) / Augg(ustorum)*.⁶⁹ Using Ortolf Harl' excellent photos (Lupa Nr. 30012), one can clearly see that the letters GGG in the abbreviation AVGG/G were mistakenly carved and one of them should have been erased. Before the cognomen Verecundus, five vertical hastae can be seen between the lines of ordination, therefore the reading Titius cannot be correct. In the case of the plural, the vilicus should have been the libertus of the procurator with Roman citizenship, but in 201 the same Callimorphus erected an altar here as a (*servus*) vilicus of the conductor ferrariarum (ILJ 779). It should mean that during the change of the administrative system, the new imperial procurator freed the earlier servus vilicus, but Callimorphus kept his post. This solution is theoretically possible, but it is highly unlikely because as far as I know no similar case has been attested yet. Based on this observation, the identification of the Verecundi cannot be ruled out, but it must remain dubious.

APPENDIX – A NEW PROCURATOR DUCENARIUS FROM BRIGETIO?

Recently, the possibility of a new Pannonian procurator ducenarius from Brigetio has been emerged.⁷⁰ The gravestone with a verse inscription has already been edited in the supplement of the CIL III and the series Die römischen Inschriften Ungarns as well.

CIL III 11036=CLE 805=CLEPan 29=RIU 600 Brigetio

D(is) M(anibus) // Val(erius) Ursinus ducenarius q/ui vixit ann(os) XXV m(enses) III dies V Aure/[l(ia)] Firmilla filia quae vixit ann(os) / VIII m(enses) III dies V <e>t Fl(avius) Firmus mil(es) l(eg(ionis) I ad(iutricis) qui vixit <a>nn(os) XLV m(enses) V d(ies) VII Aurel(ia) Ursicina frat(r)i et filiae et coniugi suo ben(e) merentibus sepulcrum / faciendum [c]juravit vivit/efelices qui u<s> est fortu/na beata.

First of all, based on the paleography of the letters, the frequent letter mistakes, omission of the *ordinatio* (the last words are on the lower frame) and the simplified form of the usual Pannonian grave stela, the funerary epitaph must be dated to the end of the 3rd century or the beginning of the 4th century (cp. the Valerius and Flavius gentile names too).⁷¹ In the picture field one can see the deceased soldiers, the wife (and sister) and her daughter below. Based on this fact and the age of the ducenarius called Valerius Ursinus who died at the age of 25, he cannot be identified with an equestrian procurator. His rank cannot be interpreted as *dux ducenarius* or *protector ducenarius* either, because his relative served in the legio I adiutrix as a simple *miles* in Brigetio. Valerius Ursinus was probably an officer, a ducenarius of the same legion. The *ducenarii* were the first hastati centurions of the legions or higher-ranking junior officers of the Roman army and they commanded 200 men (Vegetius II.8 and Jerome Adv. Joh. Hier. 19), i. e. a numerus, but they served in the *scholae* of the late Roman army as well.⁷² A similar *miles ducenarius* with

⁶³ GUDEA 1996, 277–278 Nr. 1.

⁶⁴ BORHY–SOSZTARITS 1997; KOLB 2005.

⁶⁵ PISO 2013, 278; PISO 2013, 309–310, Nr. 124.

⁶⁶ MÓCSY 1959, 158.

⁶⁷ MÓCSY 1959, 188.

⁶⁸ FITZ 1993, 747–748 Nr. 433a=629, Hirt 2010, 37 n. 175. Omitted in FITZ 2000.

⁶⁹ S. Dušanić's reading must be excluded as well, because he suggested *Aug/g. nn. Verecundus*, and the procurator would have been a freedman (DUŠANIĆ 1977, 518 N. 202).

⁷⁰ BORHY 2019, 39–40.

⁷¹ BARKÓCZI 1973, 70–72.

⁷² GROSSE, 1920, 11, 118–119.

the same gentile name (Valerius) was mentioned in the RIU 237 gravestone from Mosonszentjános/Jánossomorja in Pannonia superior, today in West Hungary.⁷³ The only fact is clear that Valerius Ursinus was not a procurator *ducenarius* of the Roman Empire.

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⁷³ GABLER/PUSZTAI 1965, 113–126, on the ducenarii esp. 120–124.

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