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IN ACIE MILES PROBATUR... THE CONTRIBUTION OF THE SOLDIERS FROM DACIA TO THE DEFENCE OF ITALIA DURING THE “MILITARY ANARCHY” PERIOD

Abstract: In what follows, we have tried (at a certain moment), to clarify the contribution that soldiers from the province of *Dacia* (namely from the *legiones XIII Gemina* and *V Macedonica*), gave for defending *Italia* in the period of the “military anarchy” period.

Keywords: *the province of Dacia, “military anarchy” period, legio XIII Gemina, legio V Macedonica, defence, Italia.*

Dan MATEI

History Museum of Turda
danmatei_mail@yahoo.com

Bogdani et Veronicæ dedicatum

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In 1966, in a few introductory lines of an article titled “Severus Alexander și provincia Dacia” [“Severus Alexander and the province of Dacia”], C. Daicoviciu optimistically spoke of the advances registered in the enlightenment of the provincial history over the span of the four decades passed by then¹, namely approximately for how long the scholar had been active up to that point. It is not easy to appreciate the information progress in that specific historiographic sector during the period of the precisely four decades since his passing. We do not believe though to be mistaken if we qualify it as satisfactory. Especially, we believe that overall results related to the period of the “military anarchy” are satisfactory. However, to only a smaller extent this is the case of the issue discussed here.

The topic, usually framed to that general of the Dacian units’ displacement outside the province towards and also after mid 3rd century, thus counted among those disputed with other national historiographies, mainly Hungarian. On the withdrawal of certain units from *Dacia* under Gallienus the main expressed views were markedly inflamed. At one point, when referring to the time of Regalianus’s usurpation (into which *XIII Gemina* legion would have also been involved), A. Alföldi maintained that the army was present in *Dacia* (which he believed territorially broken), but also advanced the possibility that all soldiers from here might have been withdrawn to *Moesia* now².

¹ DAICOVICIU 1966, 153 = DAICOVICIU [1970], 386; see in the same vein *in extenso* MACREA/ CRIȘAN 1964, 319-330; see also MACREA 1965, 156-157, 159-160. Of course, for many aspects – given the times when the last two works had been written – superfluous, but we still want to specify that the reader will show caution or intuit what has been transmitted to it subliminally.

² ALFÖLDI 1929, 257.

For decades, with an natural apex during World War II, approaches (those of the Romanian historians included), were often biased and lacking any substance. We believe though that since one and a half decade our historiography was able to provide quite enough undistorted images for whatever reason.

Nevertheless, such samples may be also offered for the period before. In 1975, I. I. Russu discussed the fragment “*legionis XIII Geminae aciae* [sic!] *desideratus*” from an inscription³, metamorphosed by E. Ritterling into “*legionis XIII Geminae Daciae desideratus*” with a marked semantic change. Since both C. Daicoviciu and M. Macrea – themselves famous epigraphists – agreed without reservations with the version suggested by the German scholar, certain remarks by I. I. Russu, although somewhat unjust with regards to the two above⁴, appear no less significant on the part of a specialist who for his entire scientific career had been a “continuity” defender: “...from such a «rectified» epigraphic text, the two quoted Cluj-based Romanian scholars, hastily got out an argument for the permanence of the occupation troops, having impression to «earn time» in extending the Roman mastery of the Carpathian-Danubian Dacia in all its fullness ...obviously, with such «epigraphic arguments» («Daciae» instead of *aciae*) one does not prolong the imperial occupation, one does not support and consolidate the Roman continuity in Carpathian Dacia”⁵.

The half of century comprised between the beginning of the reign of Maximinus Thrax (year 235) and the accession to the imperial power of Diocletianus (years 284/285), is generally labeled in the modern historical writing as the period of “military anarchy”, the German historiography circulating the very expressive construct of *Soldatenkaiserzeit*⁶. From

³ CIL V 7366 = ILS 2406 = IDRE 138; REUTER 2005, 260, no. 10 from the catalogue; see also RUSSU 1975, 54-55: AVREL(*ius*) VETERA / NVS BENEFI(*ciarius*) LATI / CLAVI LEG(*ionis*) XIII GE / MIN(*ae*) ACIAE (sic!) DESI / DERATVS QVI VI / XIT ANNIS XXVI / MENSES VII DIES XV AVREL(*ius*) SECV / NDIANVS IMA / GINIFER LEG(*ionis*) S(*upra*) S(*criptae*) CON / SVBRINO BENE / MERENTI MEMO / RIAM POSVIT (Dertona-Tortona). A particular inscription, mentioning that the deceased soldier was *acie desideratus*, namely “missing from the line of battle [*acie*]”; for the records of the phrase and related to it: REUTER 2005, 258, and the positions mentioned in the catalogue.

⁴ As respective version had been adopted by the Hungarian scholars as well, precisely in the period of propagandist duel of the war; see two cases mentioned precisely in RUSSU 1975, 54, n. 12.

⁵ RUSSU 1975, 55 (in Romanian).

⁶ But for the improper character of the constructs “anarchie militaire”, “Zeit der Soldatenkaiser”, “Soldatenkaiser”, “soldier emperors”, “barracks emperors” and, in principle, for taking further the traditions regarding the emperor in this period also; ending that: “Die Zeit der «Soldatenkaiser» lässt sich nicht als eine «Zeit der Soldaten» beschreiben”: SPEIDEL 2015, esp. 46, 60-61 (the cited words at 61); see also POTTER 2004, 275, for the involvement of the “blood” aristocracy in leading the state also in this time; after the image drawn in ALFÖLDI 1939, 196 = ALFÖLDI 1967, 379-380, the Senate does not appear now to be – generally – inactive and fallen in resignation. – On the traditions incumbent to the emperor, his conduct in the state problems, and in relation with the rebuilding of the military bath from Krefeld-Gellep–Gelduba (*Germania Inferior*) by Postumus (restoring completed in 269), it was expressed in a opportune manner the idea according to which: “Auch ein Usurpator mußte sich, sobald er nicht nur eine kurze Zeitspanne herrschte, nach den Normen richten, die vom Kaiser forderten, der Wohltäter seiner Untertanen zu Sein”: ECK 2004, 149. – Besides, the label of “soldier-emperors” is improper in itself for a series of legitimate emperors of the period (Gordianus III, Phillipus Arabs, Philippus Jr., Traianus Decius, Trebonianus Gallus, Valerianus, Gallienus): STROBEL 1993, 295-296; see in this context also JOHNE 2006. – DRINKWATER 2005/2007, 60-61, considers as the

the arch of time in discussion⁷, the province of *Dacia* as official entity (abandoned between 271-275), saw the most part, faithfully registering at the metamorphoses of this period, until the time of Gallienus as sole emperor. At the present moment, we have very summary information on the province’ years in the second part of the reign of Gallienus – with that *amissio Daciae*, as well as on the years of the reigns of Claudius II and Aurelianus⁸. Although some of the severe manifestations of the “crisis”⁹ that marked the epoch of the “military anarchy” began to germinate still in the first half of the 3rd century and especially in its 30’s, they plenary took place only from the middle of the century¹⁰.

Maximinus Thrax’s 238 campaign against *Italia* lead by the emperor in front of his militaries (completed by the fail at *Aquileia*)¹¹, determined the presence of Q. (?) Iulius Licinianus, the governor of *Dacia*, beside him, very likely together with troops from the province. The troops returned after hostilities ceased¹².

Once with 238, in order to prevent Maximinus’s movement against Italy (and other of the sort), *Aquileia* (*regio X*) become a longer-term military base, there being recorded an *exercitus Aquileiensis*¹³.

final phase of the Severan epoch the period comprised between the reign of Maximinus Thrax and the usurpation of Decius. – Regarding the construct “Zeit der Soldatenkaiser”: HEIL 2006, to be consulted together with SPEIDEL 2015.

⁷ Presentations of it at the level of the Empire, partially or for the entire lapse of time: e.g. WATSON 1999, esp. 2-20, 23-48, 98-100, 104-111, 114-116; SOUTHERN 2001, esp. 1-7, 64-137, 246-257, 265-271; POTTER 2004, esp. 167-172, 229-280; POTTER 2006, 153-166; STROBEL 1993, 285-297; see also ALFÖLDY 1989, *passim*. – For the more recent literature on the period, see SOMMER 2015, 23-26. – On the Roman army in this time, information can be usefully extracted from STROBEL 2007; STROBEL 2009.

⁸ More recent looks on the period after 235 from the provincial history at HÜGEL 2003; BĂRBULESCU 2010³, 91-97; PROTASE 2010², 265-268; PETOLESCU 2010, 281-292; RUSCU 2003, 150-233; BĂRBULESCU 2005, 51-53; OPREANU 2007, 75-76, 103, 105-107, 88-89, 109-111; BENE 2013, 92-109, see also 220-225, 318-321 (mostly for the South-West area of the province); still of interest, ALFÖLDI 1929-1930; TÓTH 1990, 52-56; BÓNA 1990, 62-63; HOREDIT 1979, esp. 211-218 ≈ HOREDIT 1982, esp. 28-35; see also OPREANU 1998, 86-95. – For the army of the province of *Dacia* in the time of “military anarchy”: HÜGEL 2003, esp. 60-69, 72-73, 75-83, 90-91, 121, 131-148, 154, 161-163, 167, 169-170; DANA/NEMETI 2001; ZAHARIADÉ/PHELPS 1999; OPREAN[U] 2004, 14-17; OPREANU 1999-2000 (2000), 396-398, 400-402 = OPREANU 2001, 69-74; RUSCU 2003, 208-215; RUSCU 2000, 270-273; PISO 2000, 216-218, 224 = PISO 2005, 416-418, 426-427; NEMETI/NEMETI 2004-2005, 92-95; BENE 2010; BENE 2010-2011 (2012); MADGEARU 2008, 15-17; MADGEARU 2011², 21-24; RUSSU 1975, 54-56; HOROVITZ 1957; see also ISAC 2009; ISAC 2006-2007 [2008].

⁹ On it, e.g.: STROBEL 1993, esp. 299-348; BRAVO CASTAÑEDA 2012; LE BOHEC 2010, 165-171, 175. – For the usage of the term “crisis” in the historical writing: GERHARDT 2006; STROBEL 1993, 341-348; see also KETTENHOFEN 2007.

¹⁰ In this way and convincingly, DE BLOIS 2002a, esp. 210-217; DE BLOIS 2006, esp. 26; see also DE BLOIS 2007; DE BLOIS 2002b; DE BLOIS 2002c; DRINKWATER 2005/2007, 60-62.

¹¹ A beautiful description of his Italian punishing campaign in CALDERINI 1930, 52-61, see also 581-582; see also BRUSIN 1934, 73-76, no. 1.

¹² PISO 1982, 236-237 = PISO 2005, 105-106; PISO 1993, 203; PISO 1983a, 105. – For the governor, see more recently also PISO 2013, 42, no. 45.

¹³ SPEIDEL 1990, 68-69 = SPEIDEL 1992, 414-415; see also ALFÖLDI 1939, 213-214 ≈ ALFÖLDI 1967, 404; VON DOMASZEWSKY 1967², 187-188 with LVIII (B. Dobson). On a sarcophagus of a *vexillarius* in *legio IIII Flavia*, the deceased is doubly depicted with his *vexillum*, both *vexilla* with text *EX AQVIL*. Beside previous reading versions of the text, *ex aquil(ifero)* respectively *ex A(quileia)*, the quoted scholar suggested one of which also T. Mommsen had thought, yet dismissed by him: *ex(ercitus) Aquil(eiensis)*. Invoked parallels seem viable to us and hence the alternative *ex(ercitus)*

Signifer Valerius Valens from legion XIII Gemina is recorded by two inscriptions at *Aquileia*, of which one was dated to 244¹⁴. Beside him, in the intrinsically un-datable inscription, emerges Aurelius Zenon, *primus pilus* in the same legion¹⁵. To E. Ritterling, they were possibly at *Aquileia* at that time as they have returned from the eastern war of Gordianus III by sea. It was invoked an epigraph in which the praetorian fleets from *Misenum* and *Ravenna* are recorded as involved in the eastern campaign¹⁶ and considering that some of the expeditionary army soldiers likely returned from the East by vessels¹⁷. This would be additional evidence on an existing detachment of legion XIII involved in the Gordianic war in the East.

Nonetheless, if the soldiers of the Dacian legion were only transiting *Aquileia*, more difficult to understand is the restoration of a temple (or of a certain plate – *tabula*, a roof/covered area – *tectum* or of a pool – *trulla*)¹⁸ mentioned in the inscription presented in n. 14, in a location which they would soon depart from. On the other hand, we are dealing here with a matter within the scope of the spiritual. Even if only in transit here, if Mercury had pointed *that* temple (or something else) in *Aquileia* to be rebuilt, it would have been nothing more natural than the god's wish would be fulfilled precisely.

Other evidence likely to be linked to a possible disembarking in *Aquileia* while on the return from the Gordianic Eastern war is a cenotaph¹⁹, probably mentioning

Aquil(eiensis) to be metamorphosed into the certainly valid solution. – The inscription incised on the sarcophagus (CIL V 599 = ILS 2343 = lupa 18959 = EDCS-47400337 = SPEIDEL 1990, 68-69, fig. 1, 2 = SPEIDEL 1992, 414-415, fig. 1, 2), sounds after M. P. Speidel: *D(is) M(anibus) / M(arcus) AVR(elius) SOSSIVS / V(exillarius) L(egionis) IIII F(laviae) / V(ivus) F(ecit) S(ibi) ET / IVL(iae) VALENT / [INAE(?)] [- - -] (Aquileia)*. – For the inscriptions brought into discussion in our work see generally: IDRE I; PAVAN 1991, 188-190, 196-199 (with the indication of the first place of publishing); SARTORI 2000, 630, n. 26; 633-635 (tab.); MENELLA 2000; SANNAZARO 2002, 70; REALI 2000, 659, no. 7.

¹⁴ CIL V 8237 = IDRE 144 = *Inscriptiones Aquileiae* 297 (the text given by us combining the reading from the both last corpora): *MERCVRIO A[VG(usto) SAC(rum)] / VALERIVS VALENS SIG(nifer) [LEG(ionis) XIII GEM(inae)] / ET DOMITIVS ZOSIMOS ACT(or) [- - -] / IN RAT(ionibus) DOMITI TERENTIAN[II A DEO? vel VISV?] / MONITI RENOVAVERUNT T[EMPL(um) vel ABVLAM] vel ECTVM vel RVLLAM] / PEREGRINO ET AEMILII[ANO CO(n) S(ulibus)]*.

¹⁵ CIL V 808 = IDRE 143 = *Inscriptiones Aquileiae* 309 (the text given here after this last collection of inscriptions): *D(eo) I(nvicto) M(itthrae) / FL(avius) EXVPERAT(us) / AGENS IN LVST(ro)] / FL(avi) SABINI P(rimi)P(ili) / AEL(ius) SEVERV[S] / AGENS LVST(rum vel ro) / AVR(eli) FLAV(iani) PR(incipis) / SIGNIF(er) LEG(ionis) III P(ia) F(idelis) / [[PHILIPPIANAE]] ? / VALER(ius) VALENS / SIGNIF(er) LEG(ionis) XIII GEM(inae) / LVST(ro) AVR(eli) ZENON(nis) P(rimi)P(ili) / V(otum) S(olverunt) L(ibens) M(erito)* (from close to *Aquileia*). – Together with this inscription came to light also CIL V 811 = *Inscriptiones Aquileiae* 312: *- - - / S]EPTIM(ius) / MARCIAN(us) / OPT(io) LEG(ionis) II AD(iutricis) / P(iae) F(elicis) / [[- - -] / PRO SALVTE / SVA ET SVORVM / V(otum) S(olvit) L(ibens) M(erito)*. The aspects of the letters place it in the 3rd century: J. P. Brusin *ad Inscriptiones Aquileiae* 312. – See also CIL V 805.

¹⁶ AE 1910, 36 = ILS 9221. Namely, the majority of vessels in the service of the two fleets: STARR 1941, 38, 192-193. Otherwise, likely a portion of the road to the war theatre – between *Thracia* and *Syria* possibly – was travelled by Gordianus III on the maritime route: STARR 1941, 192.

¹⁷ RITTERLING 1925, 1337.

¹⁸ See also CALDERINI 1930, 221, 225, for whom this piety act together with the Mithraic dedication from the n. 15, might also suggest a continuous stationing of the soldiers there, not only the simple transit; on the temple: CALDERINI 1930, 154-155.

¹⁹ CIL V 1031; see also CALDERINI 1930, 207, n. 1: *GAVDENTIO*

a centurion of legion V *Macedonica*²⁰ deceased in *Syria*. However, in this case too we may still wonder why the deceased's brother set up the monument to his memory in a temporary stationing place.

As the return from the Eastern front occurred under Philippus and whether indeed in his reign soldiers from the *Apulum*-based legion are mentioned there together with their families (see *infra*), we believe possible that it was decided that legionaries from the army of *Dacia* returning from the East to further stay at *Aquileia*, within the garrison there. Subsequently, their families would have accompanied them in northern Italy. It is excluded that soldiers from the Dacian legions had been included in *exercitus Aquileiensis* as early as its establishment, since, on the contrary, units from *Dacia* accompanied Maximinus Thrax in his Italian campaign.

Compared to the attestations of those in legion XIII, the single record of the centurion (?) in V *Macedonica* – not at all certain – raises doubts regarding the effective presence at *Aquileia*, either temporary or continuous, of an entire vexillation of this unit. Most likely, part of the soldiers in this legion returned from East by land. Besides, if it will be proven with certainty that the soldiers in the *legio XIII* vexillation remained at *Aquileia*, we may only hope that future records would also indicate its strength (the complete vexillation or only part of it).

Other inscriptions too from *Aquileia* or the surroundings recording soldiers of the legion might be contemporary²¹, without this being yet mandatory for all. Some might very well date to a few years earlier, from the time of Maximinus Thrax's siege²². It is not excluded that one

PRISCIANO GLFCVMA / DEFVNCTVS IN SYRIA AVR / OOETG FRATRI PIENTISSIMO POSVIT (San Stefano, close to *Aquileia*).

²⁰ After the reading of the letter group proposed by T. Mommsen, *ad CIL V* 1031.

²¹ *CIL Suppl. Italica* 58, 1110 = ILS 2646 = *Inscriptiones Italiae* X, IV, 339 = *Inscriptiones Aquileiae* 2785 = IDRE 146: ANTONIO VA[LEN] / TINO PRINCI[PI] / LEG(ionis) XIII GEM(inae) INT[ER] / FECTO A LATRO[NI] / BVS IN ALPES IV[LIAS] / LOCO QVOD APPELLA / TVR SCELERATA / ANTONIVS VALEN / TINVS FILIVS PA[TRI] (Aidussina/Aidovščina–Ad Castra, located between *Tergeste* and *Aquileia*). – CIL V 897 = *Inscriptiones Aquileiae* 2786 (from where we have taken the text almost entirely): *D(is) M(anibus) / AVRELIO M[- - -] / MIL(iti) LEG(ionis) XIII G(EM(inae))] / [V]ALENTLNVS (sic!) C[O] / NSOBRINVS / POSVLT (sic!) (from close to *Aquileia*, “alla Colombara”, according to CIL). – CIL V 850 = *Inscriptiones Aquileiae* 378 (the text after the last collection of inscriptions): *AVR[EL(ius)] MARI[NI] / ANVS VET(eranus) / LEG(ionis) XIII G(EM(inae)) / V(otum) L(ibens) S(olvit) (Aquileia or close)*. – CIL V 951 = *Inscriptiones Aquileiae* 2790 (here, probably by error, appear *LEG(ionis) XIII*, and the epigraph is contained in the series of those regarding this troop): *VLPIA MARTIA QV[II] vel E] VIXIT / ANNOS XL ET AVREL(ius) APER / VIX(it) ANN(os) X ET AVREL(ius) ABEN / TIVS VIX(it) ANN(os) VIII AVREL(ius) / SILVANUS [MILES] L]EG(ionis) XIII G(EM(inae)) / CONIVGI ET FILIS CARISSI / MIS POSVIT (Aquileia)*. – All these four epigraphs were believed indicative of a present legion vexillation here, without yet being able to propose the time of such presence: CALDERINI 1930, 203. The high incidence of *Aurelii* in CIL V 951 and occurrence of the *numen* in CIL V 850, 897, date these inscriptions after the *constitutio Antoniniana*. While the nature of the writing in CIL V 897 and CIL V 850 places them still in the 3rd century: J. P. Brusin *ad Inscriptiones Aquileiae* 2786, 378. For the dating of CIL V 850, cf. TODISCO 1999, 125, no. 105 with n. 8 (erroneous quoting of the dating; cf. 133 with n. 62); 126, 133, 162. – See also CIL V 8284 = *Inscriptiones Aquileiae* 2783 (the text taken from the last mentioned publication): *[D(is)] M(anibus) / [- - -]ORIO / [SATV] RNINO / [MIL(iti) L]EG(ionis) XII[I] [GEM(inae)]- - - (Aquileia)*.*

²² Reserved in this respect, PISO 1982, 237 = PISO 2005, 106; see also BENEÀ 2001a, 201.

might date under Septimius Severus²³, during the operations against Didius Iulianus in which soldiers of the two Dacian legions have also participated²⁴. Nonetheless, in these two latter cases, the fact that at *Aquileia* were recorded only those in the *Apulum*-based legion is at least curious.

On the other hand, solely that *lustrum primipili*²⁵ mentioned in the inscription presented in n. 5 is no evidence of a present detachment of *legio XIII* at *Aquileia* under Philippus Arabs. Almost half a century ago, it was concluded – we believe decidedly – that the soldiers in the legion recorded in connection with respective *lustrum* were here to perform certain food supply activities for the troop, alike the case of soldiers in other legions. These even held permanent administrative seats in the important north-Italian trading centre, which appear in epigraphs as *stationes*²⁶. A. Mócsy's important explanation was assimilated in the Romanian historiography via D. Benea²⁷ and P. Hügél²⁸.

Past the scientific gain carried by the explanation itself, we believe that it may also be valued in the topic discussed here. Some of the soldiers in legion *XIII Gemina* recorded at *Aquileia* and the surroundings might have been part of the staff of the presumptive Aquilean *statio* of the Dacian legion, staff detached from *Apulum*. We do not know whether the detachment was continuous or limited to a certain period (a few years?). And if detachment was restricted to only a few years, the soldiers' families accompanied them to their posts in *Aquileia* regardless.

In this situation, the firm chronological indication provided by the two inscriptions dated under Phillipus Arabs should not be applied to the dating of all inscriptions that mention soldiers in legion *XIII*, recorded there during the province. Some could be earlier, other later, and the fact that the only datable epigraphs – two (but one dated in relation with the other) – belong to the reign of Phillipus, may be a simple hazard.

Then, the inscription referring to the *lustratio* might be connected to the presumptive supply *statio* of the Dacian legion (an absolutely natural action at that time in connection with such a *statio*), and not the *lustratio exercitus* at vexillation level. Thus, the remaining or displacement of a legion *XIII Gemina* vexillation at *Aquileia* under this emperor should not be necessarily accepted²⁹. It had been argued for a long time that this vexillation of the *Apulum*-based legion

²³ Namely *CIL Suppl. Italica* 58, 1110 (n. 21), since one Antonius Valentinus appears in epigraph *AÉ* 1940, 220, and named Marcus Antonius Valentinus in *AÉ* 1954, as *centurione principe praeposito vexillationum legionum IIII Scythicae et XVI Flaviae Firmae piae fidelis* at *Dura Europos*, during 209-211; see SAXER 1967, 95, no. 284-285; see also P. Sticotti *ad Inscriptiones Italiae* X, IV, 339.

²⁴ HÜGEL 2003, 80, n. 212.

²⁵ This means an administrative office in the supply field of the *primus pilus*, stretched on a five year interval: MÓCSY 1966, 325 = MÓCSY 1992, 119; see also SPEIDEL 2009, 492, n. 65, with literature to consult.

²⁶ MÓCSY 1966, 323 = MÓCSY 1992, 117.

²⁷ BENEA 1983, 164, 176.

²⁸ HÜGEL 2003, 79, n. 203.

²⁹ The topic in discussion here was touched by us within an oral lecture: „Prezența militarilor din legiunile Daciei la *Aquileia* în vremea «anarhiei militare». At: *Simpozion Arheovest. Interdisciplinaritate în arheologie și istorie. Ediția a III-a*: In memoriam Florin Medeleț (1943-2005) (Asociația ArheoVest Timișoara/Universitatea de Vest din Timișoara), Timișoara, 28 November 2015.

was present at *Aquileia* starting with under Phillipus, while on the stationing duration, it was maintained it might have stretched over a longer period of time or even indefinitely³⁰.

In the current state of research, the possibility that a legion *XIII* vexillation had been present at *Aquileia* during the “military anarchy” remains still valid. The period of its presence there might start in 238, immediately after the siege of Maximinus, or sometimes later, without knowing how it lasted.

It is also possible that other undated inscriptions from *Emona-Ljubljana*, which mention soldiers of the legion³¹, be in connection with the vexillation at *Aquileia*³². One comes still from North-East of *Italia*, from *Altinum (regio X)*³³. The epigraph of *Concordia*³⁴, from the North-East (*regio X*) as well, also often brought in discussion³⁵, dates in the 1st century, under Claudius³⁶. Another epigraph from *Concordia*, in which a *signifer* of *legio V Macedonica* is mentioned³⁷, cannot be precisely dated³⁸.

More than one decade ago it was claimed that the other inscriptions from northern *Italia* recording soldiers of the Dacian legions (*Dertona-Tortona, Ticinum-Pavia, Mediolanum, Novaria* etc.), would belong to a later period than those at *Aquileia* and nearby (dated overall under Philippus Arabs). Namely, the time span when Gallienus ruled alone. Thus, two chronologically different epigraphic clusters could be distinguished. Those from the north-east of the peninsula with *Aquileia* and the North-West, with the remaining localities. The military events occurring in the North-West along the 60's of the 3rd century and which required the presence of troops would be the reason of the existing inscriptions in the north-western localities³⁹.

In 260, Gallienus takes with him soldiers, from certain detachments of the two Dacian legions located on

³⁰ HÜGEL 2003, 162; DANA/NEMETI 2001, 247-248; PISO 2000, 216-217 = PISO 2005, 417; OPREANU 1999-2000 (2000), 401 = OPREANU 2001, 73. On this line already RUSSU 1975, 55-56; ALFÖLDI 1939, 214 ≈ ALFÖLDI 1967, 327.

³¹ *CIL* III 3844 = 13398 (+ p. 1734) = *ILS* 2434 = EDCS-26600536 (after which we have presented the text): *D(is) I(n)feris M(anibus) / AVRELIVS / IOVINVS / VETER(anus) LEG(ionis) / XIII GEM(inae) / MIL(es) TORQVATUS / ET DVPLARIVS / [E]M(O)ESI(I)S SVP(erioris) / AVREL(ia) VRS(A)E / CO(N) IVGI KARISSEM(A)E. – CIL* 14534¹⁰: *[D(is)] M(anibus) / [- - -]S MIL(es) LEG(ionis) XIII G(eminae) / [CEL?]ERINA AELIANO / [- - -]RII PARENTES / INFELICISSIM.*

³² RITTERLING 1925, 1722; see also PISO 2000, 216, n. 135 = PISO 2005, 417, n. 135; MOGA 1985, 129.

³³ *CIL* V 2158: *M(arco) FVRIO M(arci) F(ilius) / SATVRNINO / VETERANO / LEG(ionis) XIII ET / M(arco) FVRIO ST(?) F(?) VER / NAE PATRI / GRATIAE M(arci) F(ilia) SECV / NDAE VXORI / CERVONIAE M(arci) F(ilia) PRI / MAE MATRI / T(?) F(?) I(?) / M(arcus) FVRIVS M(arci) F(ilius) / SATVRNINVS.*

³⁴ *CIL* V 1882: *C(aius) BAEBIVS P(ubli) F(ilio) CLA(udia) / P(ublius) BAEBIVS P(ubli) F(ilio) CLA(udia) / P(?) BAEBIVS P(ubli) F(ilio) CLA(udia) / LEG(io) XIII GEMINAI EQVES / ARMILL[IS] [- - -] / PEDANIA L(uci) F(ilia) / SECVUNDA / MATER / [P(ublius)] BAEBIVS P(ubli) F(ilio) / PATER HONORIB / VSSVS [T]R(ibunis) MIL(itaris).*

³⁵ HOROVITZ 1957, 335-336 and n. 9; RUSSU 1974, 55-56 and n. 14; HÜGEL 2003, 78 and n. 195.

³⁶ DEVIJVER 1976, 174-175, B 6.

³⁷ *CIL* V 1881 (+ p. 1053).

³⁸ D. DANA (2014, 192), includes it among those that interest the problem followed by us also. – The acces to the just cited work, as to the work DANA 2015, was facilitate with a lot of amability by assistant professor dr. S. Nemeti, whom we thank also here.

³⁹ DANA/NEMETI 2001, 248.

Rhine border for the defence of the Gallic and Germanic provincial space, beside others from various legions, and heads towards *Italia* to counteract an Alemanni invasion⁴⁰. But if the usurpation of Ingenuus really took place in 259 (summer), how it was accredited, then (a part of?) the troops on the Rhine border didn't move directly to *Italia*, reaching the peninsula subsequently of their successfully using against the army of Ingenuus⁴¹. As the famous epigraph from Augsburg make testimony, the German rushing labeled in the ancient and modern historiography as „Alamannic“ – „generalisierenden (pseudo-ethnischen) Denomination“, had been concretely committed by the people of Iuthungi (Semnones)⁴². The operation would be completed with a relative success, the barbarians being defeated at the

⁴⁰ KÖNIG 1981, 154, with n. 30 (listing also other legions involved with personnel to this action); cf. DANA/NEMETI 2001, 248, n. 81, who quote the same page in the work of the German specialist yet do not retain the explanation according to which „...doch waren anscheinend genügend Truppenangehörige zurückgeblieben [an die Rheingrenze], um bei dieser Gelegenheit von Victorinus als Repräsentanten ihrer Legion geehrt zu werden“; in this respect, referencing to a page in the doctoral dissertation of D. Ruscu then still in manuscript (= RUSCU 2003, 211-212, who at his turn only partially follows ALFÖLDI 1967, 100 with n. 59), the two authors share his view according to which the soldiers in the two Dacian legions recorded at *Ticinum* and *Dertona* (and not only, we would add), would have been part of the *Mediolanum* army of Aureolus, which rallied the side of Postumus, on the *aurei* issued by Victorinus (Postumus's successor), being documented the two Dacian legions as well. – We considered *infra* that Aureolus's army from *Mediolanum* was formed only of *equites* (and none of the soldiers in the two Dacian legions is recorded epigraphically as horseman). While on the absorption of Aureolus's army into that of Postumus cannot be the case; on the contrary, it was incorporated in that of emperor Claudius II just after Aureolus subdued himself to him (for this see KÖNIG 1981, 129, n. 27, with quoting the ancient sources). – Assistant professor dr. S. Nemeti (whom we thank here also for a beneficial discussion), drew our attention especially on the four legions stationed in Orient which appear among those documented on Victorinus' coins (see DANA/NEMETI 2001, 248, n. 81; 256 – tab. 1; NEMETI/NEMETI 2004-2005, 94). According to a movement scheme invested with much credibility through the authority of A. Alföldi „Vexillationes of the Eastern legions come came to North Italy in consequence of the victory over Macrianus...and when Aureolus went over to Postumus in 268, they seem to have been detached by the latter to Gaul (possibly against Laelianus), as their names appear on the gold struck at Trèves by Victorinus“ (ALFÖLDI 1939, 214, see also 151 ≈ ALFÖLDI 1967, 404-405, see also 327 with n. 59). – B. OLDENSTEIN-PFERDEHIRT (1984, 429), assumed that Gallienus had displaced towards Europe detachments from legions stationed in the East of the Empire „...erst nach dem Abfall der Rhein- und Donaulegionen zur Bekämpfung des Postumus... und die dann hier im Laufe der Zeit zum Gegner überliefen“. According to K. STROBEL (1999, 22-23; 2009, 917-918), in 255/256 in the Rhine area were displaced detachments from legions stationed in the East and by the Danube, later siding with the separatist Empire. At his time, E. RITTERLING (1925, 1343-1344, whose view was known to A. Alföldi), had the opinion that detachments from Eastern and Danubian legions recorded on the golden coinage issued by Victorinus were displaced in the Gallic area against the separatist Empire by Gallienus – later passing to the usurper's side. Lastly, the propagandist goal of Victorinus's coinage for legions (without having to deal thus with a *de facto* incorporation within the „Gallic“ Empire of the detachments), was supported by P. H. WEBB (1933/1972, 382-384, see also 440), following one of the variants proposed by C. Oman (opinions likewise known to A. Alföldi); against, STROBEL 1999, 22-23 (to be consulted together with OLDENSTEIN-PFERDEHIRT 1984, 429, 431, for the particular evolution of legion *VIII Augusta*, invoked in K. Strobel's arguments). The *de facto* presence of the detachments in Victorinus's army (we refer here to all appearing on his coinage, not only those which belonged to the legions from the East), had been previously inferred by G. ELMER (1941, 64-65), who does not even mention the propagandist version. – For the possible presence of a legionary from *legio V Macedonica* (or from *legio XIII Gemina*?) in the army of the „Gallic“ Empire, see DANA 2015.

⁴¹ STROBEL 1999, 16, 23 (in the listing by the author of the legions from which the detachments withdrawn from the Rhine border came from and opposed to Ingenuus, those two from *Dacia* are missing).

⁴² STROBEL 1999, 16-21, 26, the quote at 21.

beginning of the year 260 (chronological level advanced with the label of probability), near *Mediolanum*⁴³. Did the soldiers in the two Dacian legions remained also after 260 in north-western *Italia* for its defensive, and their families to have followed them?

Another time level when the soldiers in the two Dacian legions might have reached north-western *Italia* is advanced by us only with much precaution. J. Drinkwater assumed that the security of the peninsula itself would have been increased by the emperor over the „to breathe“ span between 261-265 of his troubled reigns⁴⁴. Would he amass new troops in its North-West? Whether yes, including detachments from *V Macedonica* and *XIII Gemina* legions? If this prophylactic amassment of legionaries from the army of *Dacia* would be proven in the future, the presence of their families beside them would be much easier to explain than in the case of swift displacements, dictated by imperative operational necessities, in general short-term displacements.

But in the same year 257, other troops from *Dacia* departed for the Eastern area to take part to a new Persian campaign. It took place between the end of 257 or early 258 and July 260, with an unfortunate denouement for the Empire. At *Edessa*, many soldiers fell captive, together with Valerian himself. Among the prisoners also counted soldiers from *Dacia*⁴⁵.

Those not taken prisoners must have been included in the army body of Macrianus and Ballista⁴⁶, that further fought against the Persians. Since Macrianus's two sons – Macrianus Iunior respectively Quietus –, were elevated to the imperial purple⁴⁷ and the two Macriani headed for *Roma*, a certain number of soldiers from the province of *Dacia* whether surviving or which didn't fall to the hands of the Persians possibly moved within their army towards the European side of the Empire⁴⁸. The army of Macriani would be intercepted by Aureolus⁴⁹ and defeated, likely at *Serdica*, in late summer or autumn of 261⁵⁰. It was believed that from there, these soldiers might have taken the road of either the province or were incorporated in Aureolus's army⁵¹.

⁴³ STROBEL 1999, 16, 20.

⁴⁴ DRINKWATER 2005/2007, 46.

⁴⁵ DANA/NEMETI 2001, 241-242.

⁴⁶ Macrianus was in charge with the food supply and administered the finances of the campaign army while Ballista (or Kallistos?), was a commander, possibly the praetorian prefect of Valerian: KIENAST 1996³, 224-225, 227; JEHNE 1996, 193-194; in ALFÖLDI 1967, 180-181 (pages from a work originally published in 1938); ALFÖLDI 1939, 173 = ALFÖLDI 1967, 350, Ballista was believed as holding for usurpers Macrianus Iunior and Quietus the office of praetorian prefect – most likely – for the first time; praetorian prefect for the two emperor brothers also in DRINKWATER 2005/2007, 44.

⁴⁷ KIENAST 1996³, 225-226.

⁴⁸ Such possibility and circumstance of the return of certain Dacian troops from the Persian front in DANA/NEMETI 2001, 252.

⁴⁹ The commander of the mobile cavalry unit assembled little prior 260, had been born in *Dacia*; for this corps, Aureolus's actions and he himself, including source records, briefly and with many references, HARTMANN 2006, 82-84 with n. 6-8; 85 with n. 11; 86 with n. 12; 88, n. 17; 89 with n. 20; 90-92; 94, n. 34; 95 and n. 37; 97 and n. 41; 98-99; 101-102 and n. 50-51, 103, 107; 108-109 with n. 67, 70; 112, 114-117; still of interest ALFÖLDI 1967, 1-15 (work published initially in 1927, with *Ergänzungen* at 54-57) – *passim*, and *passim* within the entire volume.

⁵⁰ JEHNE 1996, 202-203 and tab.

⁵¹ On these two possibilities: DANA/NEMETI 2001, 248 with n. 78; 252; see also NEMETI/NEMETI 2004-2005, 94; JEHNE 1996, 202 and n. 110. – Most likely, Aureolus's army was not reduced only to the cavalry corps (cf. DANA/

Starting with 265 (when armed forces of the legitimate power – including Aureolus’s soldiers – would unsuccessfully assault those separatists in the Gallic area) and until 268, one army commanded by Aureolus would remain displaced in *Raetia*, with the goal of preventing Alamanni raids towards South. Respective army would be composed from a part of the mobile corps and legionary detachments – the latter likely⁵². If soldiers from *exercitus Daciae* returning from the East with the two Macriani or arrived by other circumstances were to be found within the rows of this army, their mention here is necessary, since the defence of *Raetia* against Alamanni incursions primarily aimed at blocking their access towards *Italia* (simultaneously with holding off an invasion on the part of the separatist forces of Postumus⁵³). In fact, the “Alamannii” (Iuthungi) would plunder *Raetia* (the “buffer” zone, in the year 268, summer) and descend to *Italia* after the departure of Aureolus’s army – revolted against Gallienus – from the “buffer” province, being yet intercepted successfully at Lake Garda by emperor Claudius II, in autumn⁵⁴.

The rebelled commander would set his base at *Mediolanum* (*regio XI*)⁵⁵. The possibility that legionaries from the army of the province of *Dacia* present in north-western *Italia* (with those deceased buried in the areas of *Ticinum*, *Novaria* and *Dertona*), to constitute the Dacian troops returning from the East beside the two sons of Macrianus included in Aureolus’s army⁵⁶, does not seem valid. As Aureolus’s army was likely composed only of cavalry⁵⁷. We believe this because the latter’s coinage issues for Postumus have the legends *FIDES/CONCORD(ia)/VIRTVS AEQVIT(um)* or *EQVIT(um)*, *PAX EQVITVM* (to which add pieces with legend *SALVS AVG*), while issues of Postumus with legend (and depiction) *CASTOR* (deity in close connection with the equestrians), were convincingly labelled as ones “in response” to Aureolus⁵⁸.

However, we believe there is another explanatory variant. Since the forces of the legitimate Empire of Gallienus would besiege at *Mediolanum* in the summer of 268 those of Aureolus (proclaimed emperor), and since it was obviously they were insufficient, additional troops would be brought in the conflict area from the Balkan area⁵⁹. It is not excluded

that amongst also counted detachments of the two Dacian legions, dispatched either from within the province or displaced (partly or fully) from the strategic site of *Poetovio*, where they had already been stationed for quite some time (since 260 or about the year 264⁶⁰).

The presence at *Mediolanum* in this period of soldiers from *Dacia* might be also reinforced by the inscription of a *immunes* of *legio XIII*⁶¹ and by the Christian epitaph of a former *protector*, “*germen Dacisqus*”⁶². And if we introduce in the discussion the epitaph of a former centurion of legion *V Macedonica*, dedicated by the spouse⁶³, everything becomes much clearer. The fact that both spouses are *Aurelii* suggest to a dating post 212⁶⁴.

Soldiers from *Dacia* might have been taken part at *Ticinum*-*Pavia* (*regio XI*), in a military concentration of 268 under the command of the future emperor Claudius, a funerary inscription belonging to a *optio spei* of legion *XIII* may suggest this⁶⁵. It is though uncertain whether such group was real, considered as such by E. Ritterling after Aurelius Victor’s *Liber de Caesaribus*, 33, 28⁶⁶: “*Nam,*

⁶⁰ For this year: FITZ 1976, 79, see also 10; followed by OPREANU 1999-2000, 400 = OPREANU 2001, 72; OPREAN[U] 2004, 14, 16.

⁶¹ MENNELLA 2000, 648, no. 6: *D(is) M(anibus) / AVRE[LI] A]MAN / TI M(ilitis) IM[MV]N[IS] / LEG(ionis) XII[I] GEMINA]E AT / IVTOR(is) (sic!) [- - -N(atione) M]OES(ia) ? / Q(ui) VIXIT [ANN(os) - - -] S[E] / CVND[INA UXOR ? ET A]V / [R]ELIUS [- - -] / [- - -]V[- - -] / [- - -]P[- - -] / [- - -]F]LATO / RUM ? - - - MEM]ORI[AM ? - - -]. – Although the numeral of the legion was not entirely conserved, it is almost certain that we are dealing in this case also with *XIII Gemina*, by virtue of the other attestations from *Dertona*.*

⁶² CIL V 6244 = CUSCITO 1993, 431-433, no. 11 (after which we have presented the text) = SANNAZARO 2002, 70, n. 25: on the front side of the *operculum*: *D(is) M(anibus) / BONAE MEMORIAE ET DOMI(ni) MARTINIAN(i) EX P*; on the front side of the *arca*: */ ROTECTORIBVS / ITERNAN SEQVRITA / TEM GERMEN DACISQVS IVSTVS PIENTISSIMVS BENE MERETVS IN SE / QVLVM ANVS MILITAVIT XLV / ET VIVET ANVS N LX ET SPERO ME / VIVERE ADVC ANVS N LXXXVIII / MESES SEX / D<i>es III ET INDE III ARCAE HIC SI CIS / REMOVERE VOLOERET AVT APERIRE / AVT VELET ALIVM QVRVPS DAVIT IN FESCV AVRI P(ondo) I*; on the right side of the *operculum*: *star LVCIFER sun ET SOL[E]*; on the left side of the *operculum*: *star ANTIFER ω XP* (X superimposed by P) half-moon A ET LVNA P[E]RIMA; on the left side of the *arca*: *VERTVTEM / ET G[E]LORIAM / FELICE MARTI / NIANO EREDE / S FACOL[E]TATVM / VIVOS[O] SIBI FECET HOC*. – By this indication of the soldier as being of “Dacian seed” we may understand either the ethnic origin or rather a geographic determinative: “of *Dacia*”; cf. DANA 2004, 438 with n. 29. For version *Daqus* instead of *Dacus*, see also an Aurelius Vitorinus, *equus singulares Augusti*, still *natione Daqus* (CIL III 3236 = ILS 2204 = IDRE 55) or a Dacian Dida, son to Damanais, likewise *equus, nationis Daqus*: DANA 2003, 172 with n. 35; 176; 182 with n. 79.

⁶³ REGGIORI 1941, 325, no. 4^a, illustrated at 323, right up = CALDERINI 1945, 118-119, no. 9 = DANA 2014, 191; see also RUSSU 1975, 64; SANNAZARO 2002, 70 with n. 31 (inaccurately reproduced): *[D(is)] M(anibus) / [AV] REL(io) LICINI / [A]NO (centurioni) LEG(ionis) V M(acedonicae) / [A] VREL(ia) MAMV / [T]SO CONIVGI / [CAR vel RAR]ISSIMO ET [- - -].* – At REALI 2000, 659, no. 7, the soldier is seen as from *Mediolanum*, which does not seem obligatory to us; cf. regarding this aspect DANA 2014, 191, n. 55.

⁶⁴ Cf. CALDERINI 1945 (1946), 119.

⁶⁵ RITTERLING 1925, 1722. – CIL V 6423 = IDRE 165: *D(is) M(anibus) / CAECILI VALE / (sic!) TINI OPT(ionis) SPEI / LEG(ionis) XIII [G(eminiae)] QVI / VIXIT ANNIS / XXIII MENSES / III DIES XVIII / CAECILIVS QVI VIXIT / ANNIS VI M(enses) II ATI(lia) / TERENTIN(a) Q(ui)nti] F(ilia)[- - -].*

⁶⁶ In RITTERLING 1925, 1722, by a mere error: 33, 25. – On the group, the scholar was followed by DANA/NEMETI 2001, 248; see also OPREANU 1999-2000 (2000), 407 with n. 77 = OPREANU 2001, 73 with n. 77; OPREAN[U] 2004, 17 with n. 69, that also invoke it. – For the information cf. the fragment in PSEUDO-AURELIUS VICTOR, *Epitome de Caesaribus*, XXXIV,2: “*Hic Claudius Gallieni morientis sententia imperator designatur, ad quem Ticini positum per Gallonium Basilium indumenta regia direxerat...*”; on which see HARTMANN 2006, 95-96 with n. 37.

NEMETI 2001, 248, n. 81; tab. I, to see together with SAXER 1967, 55; cf. ALFÖLDI 1967, 182-183, n. 49), since this corps would have not been able to successfully oppose a 30.000 strong army, even if number would have been exaggerated in a certain degree (on this number: ALFÖLDI 1967, 182 with n. 45; ALFÖLDI 1939, 185 with n. 5 = ALFÖLDI 1967, 365 with n. 66).

⁵² HARTMANN 2006, 83-84 with n. 7-8, 108 with n. 66; cf. though KÖNIG 1981, 126-127; see also RITTERLING 1925, 1344-1345.

⁵³ Cf. KÖNIG 1981, 127.

⁵⁴ HARTMANN 2006, 84, n. 8, with reference to the ancient source and modern literature; 85; cf. KÖNIG 1981, 127, on the respective cause-effect relation. – We wonder if indeed the entire army strenght had left with Aureolus; thus, for certain in ALFÖLDI 1939, 156 ≈ ALFÖLDI 1967, 332.

⁵⁵ HARTMANN 2006, 85-86; 88, n. 17.

⁵⁶ DANA/NEMETI 2001, 248 with n. 78, 81; 252; see also NEMETI/NEMETI 2004-2005, 94.

⁵⁷ Cf. ALFÖLDI 1967, 7, 10, see also 14; ALFÖLDI 1939, 189, 216-217 = ALFÖLDI 1967, 370, 408; but see on the topic also DIETZ 2012, 33-37; SIMON 1980, 437-443, 447 (from both quoted works one can take the idea that Aureolus’s army from *Mediolanum* was not reduced only to cavalry); STROBEL 1999, 25, 28.

⁵⁸ KÖNIG 1981, 95-96, 128-129, 131.

⁵⁹ HARTMANN 2006, 86, see also 105, 112.

cum profluio sanguinis uulnere tam graui mortem sibi adesse intelligeret, insignia imperii ad Claudium destinauerat, honore tribunatus Ticini retinentem praesidiariam manum". Most likely, we are dealing in this case with a forgery. The tribune command which Claudius would have exercised at *Ticinum* had been likely invented in order to "remove" him from the location of the successful plot against emperor Gallienus (*Mediolanum*)⁶⁷. Since Claudius was believed the ancestor of the Constantinian imperial house and, the so-called work *Enmannsche Kaisergeschichte* (lost), from which Aurelius Victor inspired to the matter, was in its favour, the forgery is easy to explain⁶⁸. Claudius was also at *Mediolanum* during the siege against Aureolus, being precisely his replacement at the command of the mobile cavalry corps⁶⁹ (but a distinct cavalry corps from that commanded by Aureolus who was presumably beside him in the besieged city?⁷⁰).

It is also possible that other inscriptions from north-western *Italia* recording legionaries from *XIII Gemina* and one from *V Macedonica* had been set up in the context of actions taken at *Mediolanum* or *Ticinum*⁷¹, although a military concentration at *Ticinum* under the command of the future emperor Claudius seems unlikely (see *supra*). These come from *Dertona*⁷², *Novaria (regio XI)*⁷³, *Clastidium (regio IX or rather VIII?74)*⁷⁵, *Hasta (regio IX)*⁷⁶.

As the "Alamanni" – Iuthungi attacked *Italia* in 271⁷⁷, soldiers from the two Dacian legions might have been stationed in its North-West since then. This would have been a measure required by this attack of the Germanic people

⁶⁷ HARTMANN 2006, 95-96 with n. 37, 39; 102, n. 51; there were though specialists who deemed real such tribune command at *Ticinum* (quoted at 95, n. 39); see also N. Zugravu, *ad AURELIUS VICTOR, Liber de Caesaribus*, 416, n. 651; *idem*, *ad PSEUDO-AURELIUS VICTOR, Epitome de Caesaribus*, 449, n. 517; see also 57-58 with n. 197.

⁶⁸ HARTMANN 2006, 93, 96 with n. 38; see also 101, 103; POTTER 2004, 264, 266.

⁶⁹ HARTMANN 2006, 101-102 with n. 51 (referencing to the sources); 118; see also N. Zugravu, *ad PSEUDO-AURELIUS VICTOR, Epitome de Caesaribus*, 449, n. 517.

⁷⁰ Cf. DRINKWATER 2005/2007, 47, for the possible splitting of the "mobile force" into several parts, by this mobile force of course understanding not only equestrians, but also pedestrians. – But we wonder, the "mobile cavalry corps" („*Schlachtenkavallerie*") could have also been divided? Either this, or there properly existed several mobile cavalry corps, cf. the excellent analysis by SIMON 1980, 441-448.

⁷¹ Already the connection seen in RITTERLING 1925, 1722, followed by DANA/NEMETI 2001, 248. We mention though again the fact that the German scholar temporarily placed the inscriptions at *Dertona* and *Ticinum* under Claudius II-Aurelianus.

⁷² CIL V 7367 = IDRE 139: AVRE(lia) EMERITA VIXIT ANNOS XXI / ET AVRE(lia) IANVARIA VIXIT ANNOS / IIII MENSES VI AVRE(lius) IANVARIUS / TESSERARIVS LEG(ionis) XIII CONIV / GI ET FILLAE BENEMERITIS AVRE(lius) / EMERITVS [NV]RAE ET NEPTI BENE / MERITIS. – CIL V 7368 = IDRE 140: D(is) M(anibus) / ET PERPETV(a)E / FELICITATI / AVR(eliae) VITELLIAE / AVR(elius) QVINTIA / NVS [M] E(n)SOR / LEG(ionis) V M(acedonicae) CONI / VGI CARISSIM(a)E / QV(a)E VIXIT ANN(os) / X[- -] / R[- -] .

⁷³ CIL V 6512 = IDRE 164: D(is) M(anibus) BVRI NOCINE / (centurionis) LEG(ionis) XIII G(eminae) QVI / VIXIT ANN(is) XXX / BVRIVS PATER F(ilio) K(arissimo) / ET SONIAE NVRI / PIENTISSIM(a)E M(emoriam) P(osuit).

⁷⁴ For *Clastidium* belonging to *regio VIII*: TODISCO 1999, 111, n. 1, with lit.

⁷⁵ CIL V 7350: METTELIAE / MAXIMAE / [- -] OSTVMV[- -] / L[EG(ionis)] XIII [GEMI] / NAE / VETERANOR[- -] .

⁷⁶ CIL V 7558: C(aius) ARRIVS P(ubli) F(ilius) / VETERAN(us) / LEG(ionis) XIII / GEMINAE / SIBI ET BAEIBIAE / AMPLIATAE / VXSORI (sic!) / T(?) F(?) I(?) .

⁷⁷ DRINKWATER 2005/2007, 51.

and that of the "Alamanni" in summer 268, whose repetition had to be compulsory stopped. Beyond the provided safety and the emperor's propagandist message, the construction of "the Aurelian Wall" in Rome⁷⁸ remains indicative of years of insecurity but also of the emperor's intent to implement opportune defensive measures. In fact, in 273, the "Alamanni" would attack again *Italia* and will target it also in the first part of Probus's rule⁷⁹.

It still remains to be explained why these soldiers were in north-western *Italia* together with their families. Counting the epigraphs' content and leaving aside that of *Novaria* (presented in the n. 73)⁸⁰, we observe that except one of *Mediolanum* (presented in the n. 62), and one of *Dertona* (presented in the n. 3)⁸¹, in all of the other soldiers appear beside their families⁸². The suggested explanation was that respective troops were stationed for a longer or an indefinite term⁸³ – explanation that appear as credible at this moment.

Displacing the soldiers from the Dacian legions to the peninsula ultimately aimed to defend *Roma* itself, the soldiers departed from *Dacia* serving together with those brought from other provinces by virtue of the idea that "*Roma communis nostra patria est*"⁸⁴ and because "*in acie miles probatur*"⁸⁵.

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⁷⁸ Cf. POTTER 2004, 270; DRINKWATER 2005/2007, 51; STROBEL 1993, 296.

⁷⁹ DRINKWATER 2005/2007, 52, 55.

⁸⁰ Burius Nocine, centurion of legion XIII, was of origin from precisely the *Novaria* area: RITTERLING 1925, 1722-1723.

⁸¹ The figure who set up the monument for the deceased was his brother-in-law but also comrade in the same legion.

⁸² Relevant considerations on the matter, referring to the epigraphs of *Dertona* and *Ticinum*: MENNELLA 2000, 648.

⁸³ PISO 2000, 216-217 = PISO 2005, 417; OPREANU 1999-2000 (2000), 401 = OPREANU 2001, 73; MENNELLA 2000, 648-649; DANA 2015, 192. From the analysis of the inscriptions from *Dertona* and *Ticinum* it was appreciated that the minimum duration of the soldiers' stationing there would have been of at least 7-8 years: MENNELLA 2000, 649.

⁸⁴ The words belong to jurist Herennius Modestinus, *Manualia*, 1 = *Digesta*, 50, 1, 33, laid out by early 3rd century (quoted in BENOIST 2006, 41 with n. 52).

⁸⁵ S. Cyprianus, *De mortalitate*, 12 (SULLIVAN 1933, 19 with n. 101).

with lines written in my personal manner, certainly not easy to translate. Few lines or word groups were published already in D. Matei, *Castrele dacice în timpul „anarhiei militare”*. I. Probleme de arhitectură internă, *Anuarul Școlii Doctorale „Istorie. Civilizație. Cultură”* 5, 2011, 29 and n. 2, 3; and in the German revised and amplified variant of this paper, *Die dakischen Lager während der Soldatenkaiserzeit*. I. Fragen der Innenarchitektur, *Studia Studia Universitatis Babeș-Bolyai, Historia* 57, 2012, 1, 53 and n. 2, 3. – For their long patience in waiting the submission of the present text, I cordially thank the editors C. Găzdac and V. Bârcă.

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