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XXXIII

Arheologie



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THE SOCIAL AND ECONOMICAL IMPACT OF LEGIONARY PRESENCE ON THE LIFE OF A PROVINCE. THE DISLOCATION OF THE ROMAN ARMY IN RAETIA

ISTVÁN GERGŐ FARKAS

Keywords: latin epigraphy, legionary dislocation, Roman Raetia, religion of the Roman Army, history of North Africa

Cuvinte cheie: epigrafie latină, legiune, Raetia, religie romană, Africa de Nord

Kulcsszavak: latin epigráfia, legio, Raetia, római vallás, Észak-Afrika

Despite the fact, that Raetia's creation, as well as its numerous reorganisation and expansions primarily served a military purpose, the soldiers garrisoning its forts have also had a significant effect on the non-military segments of the province's life. The primary sources for this impact are of epigraphical nature. The legion's soldiers and officers partook in and supervised numerous construction works in the province, as attested by milestones. Raetian funerary epitaphs attest, that legionary officers had extensive families during their service. Regarding the economical impact of the legion, the earnings of officers of middle and higher ranks cannot be disregarded. Dedicatory inscriptions attest the important role, that legionary officers held in the religious life of Raetia.

Introduction

The Roman province of Raetia was located North of the Alps and Italy, occupying the mountainous area of present-day Bavaria, Germany. The province of Raetia was annexed to the Roman Empire in a brief campaign led by *Ti. Claudius Nero*, who later became Emperor *Tiberius* and *D. Claudius Drusus*, his younger stepbrother.¹ The names of the subjugated tribes were listed on the *Tropaeum Alpium*, the triumphal monument commemorating Emperor *Augustus'* victory over the peoples of this region.² The primary significance of the newly organized province Raetia was of military nature. The Roman soldiers stationed on its territory supervised the northern side of the Alpine passes, which was vital for the protection of Italy itself. In the course of the 1st century AD, the area of the province was gradually expanded (*Fig. 1*). The earliest military installations, which evolved to become the province's first towns were located along rivers running North to South, e.g.: *Bregenz (Brigantium)* near the Bodensee, *Kempten (Cambodunum)* along the Iller, *Auerberg (Damasia)*, *Epfach (Abodiacum)* and *Augsburg (Augusta Vindelicorum)* along the Lech and *Gauting (Bratanium)* near the Isar.³ During Emperor *Claudius'* reign, the northern line

of the frontier reached the Danube. The Danube continued to serve as a single, homogenous frontier until the beginning of the 2nd century AD. In the years between AD 107/116, succeeding his Dacian campaigns in AD 101–102 and AD 105–106,⁴ Emperor *Trajan* expanded the frontier north of the Danube and created the Raetian *limes*.⁵ The western end of the Raetian *limes* joined the Germanian *limes* in the area of present-day *Schirenhof*.⁶ On its eastern extremity, it connected to the already operational Danubian *ripa* in the vicinity of *Hienheim*⁷ and *Eining*.⁸ Eastwards, the Danube remained a frontier river in *Noricum*, the two *Pannonias*, in *Moesia superior* and a large section of *Moesia inferior*.

During the *Marcomannic wars* and the numerous Germanic incursions of the 3rd century AD, military installations on the most exposed section of the Raetian *limes* were destroyed and reconstructed several times.⁹ Approaching the middle of the 3rd century AD, the Raetian frontier system was subjected to increasing pressure from

¹ Suet., *De vita Claudii*, 1. 2.

² Plin., *Nat. hist.* III. 24; CIL V 7817 [La Turbie – 7/6 BC].

³ TIR, Raetia; Bender 1997.

⁴ Rosenberger 1992, 92–94.

⁵ Sommer 2012, 151.

⁶ ORL B VI. (1897), Nr. 64; Planck 2005, 546–556; Schönberger 1985, 484, Nr. E 72.

⁷ Faßbinder 2008, 169–170; ORL A VII. (1932), Sect. 15; Faßbinder 2010, 102.

⁸ Gschwind 2004; Czysz et al. 1995, 434–436; Schönberger 1985, 457, Nr. C 73, 474, Nr. D 117.

⁹ Sommer 2012, 151, 170–173.

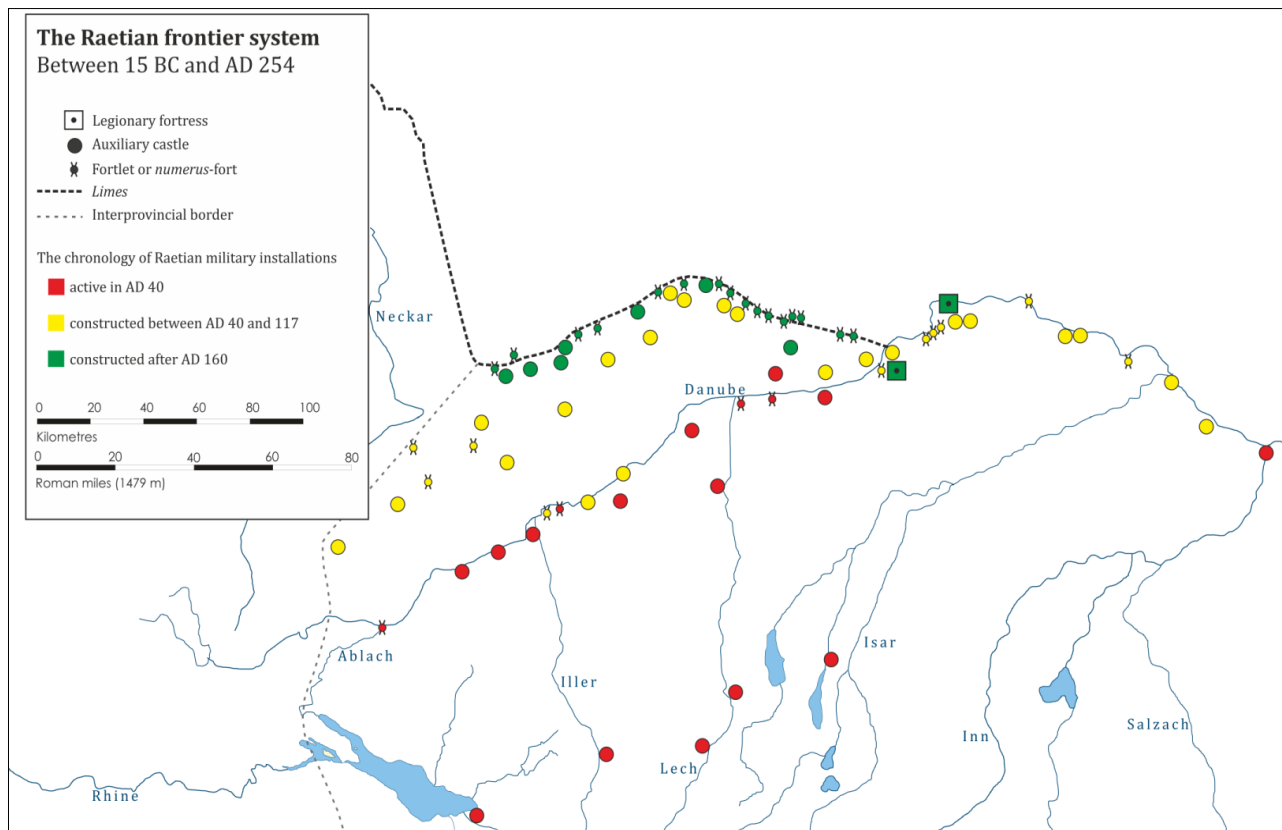


Fig. 1: Roman military fortifications operational in Raetia during the period 15 BC – AD 254

Germanic people. Raids became more frequent and more forceful, until the Spring of AD 254, when an incursion of previously unseen strenght shattered and collapsed the Raetian frontier system. The areas north of the Rhine, Danube and Iller, were permanently lost to the Empire.¹⁰ This article deals with the non-military aspects of legionary dislocation in Raetia from its occupation in 15 BC until the collapse of the Raetian *limes* in AD 254. Although the history of Raetia did not end with this devastation, as the remaining area remained under Roman control until the early 6th century AD, when Theoderic the Great incorporated its territory to his Empire, the events of AD 254 brought about a series of extensive military reforms, thus it makes sense to deal with the Roman Army in Raetia in the two completely different stages of its existence separately. This article aims to shed light on the non-military impacts of legionary presence on provincial life, in the era of the Principate.

The analysis of Antique literary and epigraphical sources unanimously attests, that two legions formed Raetia's garrison during the Principate. Two legionary fortresses are known from Raetia, both dateable to the period succeeding the Marcomannic wars (AD 166

– c. 180). One was a short-lived camp in the vicinity of present-day Eining-Unterfeld, built to house soldiers of the *legio III Italica* during their campaign against raiding Marcomannic tribes. The other was a permanent fortress, constructed in AD 179 on the territory of present-day Regensburg after truce was declared.¹¹ The construction of the legionary fortress at Regensburg was result of a planned military strategy aiming to reinforce an important crossing point over the Danube. Prior to the fortress' construction, two auxiliary forts (Regensburg-Kumpfmühl and Regensburg-Bismarckplatz) secured the region (similarly to Straubing I-III and Straubing-IV).

The outbreak of the Marcomannic wars and the subsequent destruction of the forts both at Kumpfmühl and Bismarckplatz indicated the need to further reinforce this area, which was achieved by the transfer of a legion to this area. This was the first time in Raetia's history, that a legion formed part of its permanent garrison. It is possible, that legionary soldiers were present on the territory of Raetia before the arrival of the *legio III Italica*, as attested by various *instrumenta* inscriptions, one of the most famous among these, the incised helmet found at Nersingen.¹² However

¹⁰ Reuter 2007, 357–569; Sommer 2012, 151.

¹¹ CIL III, 11965 [Regensburg – AD 179].

¹² Kuhnen 2001, 56.

these finds are to be seen as evidence left behind by an army on the march, or on campaign (as during the turmoils of civil wars), rather than signs of a permanent garrison. During their transfer and passage through Raetia, these legions built a series of marching camps, although their discovery due to their function and the characteristics of the Bavarian landscape is quite difficult, and has so far eluded research. The presence of *legio III Italica* had an effect on the entire Raetian frontier system. Several fortlets and *numerus*-forts were possibly manned by legionary soldiers, e.g. at Hienheim,¹³ Pfatter-Gmünd¹⁴ and Regensburg-Großprüfening.¹⁵ Legionary soldiers carried out, whilst officers supervised numerous construction works and refortifications along the Raetian *limes*.¹⁶ The following section of the article gives a brief account of Raetian legionary fortresses.

The Legionary fortress at Eining-Unterfeld

The fortress at Eining-*Unterfeld* is part of the Danubian *ripa*. It is located approximately 1.2 kilometres northeast from the auxiliary fort at Eining. The fortress covered an area of 10.6 hectares, with sides measuring 328 × 320 meters (Fig. 2). It was built and garrisoned by the *legio III Italica* during the Marcomannic wars, after which, the legionary fortress at Eining-*Unterfeld* was abandoned and the legion built its new, permanent fortress at Regensburg.¹⁷ Th. Fischer suggested, that the legionary fortress at Eining-*Unterfeld* was built precisely in AD 172.¹⁸ However no epigraphical, nor any other evidence attests this dating, thus, it is more apt to suggest, that the fortress was constructed in the years around AD 170. In the first years of the Marcomannic wars, between AD 166-170, the *legio III Italica* participated in the liberation of Northern Italy and Dalmatia, therefore the construction of the fortress at *Unterfeld* plausibly occurred only after AD 170.¹⁹

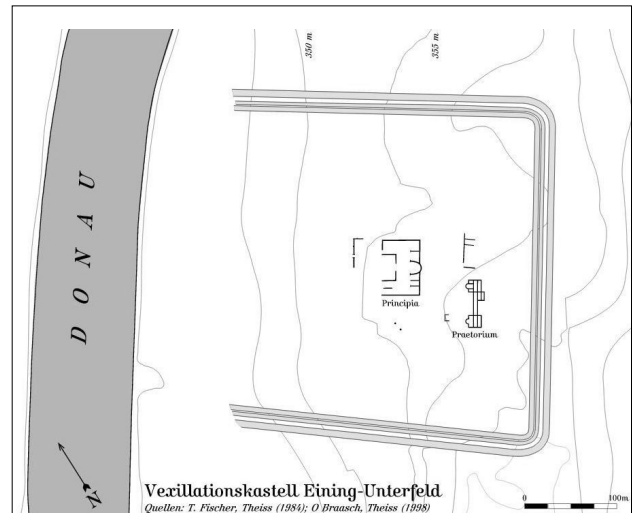


Fig. 2: Ground-plan of the Roman legionary fortress at Eining-Unterfeld (Spindler – Fischer 1984, fig. 27)

Bibliography: Christlein – Fischer 1979, 423–428; Czysz et al. 1995, 435–436; Schönberger 1983, 235–239; Schönberger 1985, 488, Nr. E 90.

The Legionary fortress at Regensburg

The legionary fortress at Regensburg is part of the lower Raetian *ripa*. It covers an area of 24.55 hectares with sides measuring 542 × 453 meters (Fig. 3). It was encircled by stone walls two meters wide and eight meters high, sections of which are visible even today.²⁰ The *canabae legionis*, the civil settlement developed together with the fortress. Given, that both the Medieval and the Modern settlement overlap the Roman remains, only small sections of the *canabae*'s territory have been excavated. So far, an oriental sanctuary and an administrative building are discovered, situated under present-day Arnulfsplatz and Bismarckplatz respectively.²¹ Soldiers of the *legio III Italica* constructed the fortress in AD 179, as attested by its building inscription.²² The earliest phase of the barracks was built of timber and were reconstructed in stone during the first half of the 3rd century AD.²³ In the years around AD 180, following the end of the Marcomannic wars, soldiers of the *legio III Italica* participated in a series of constructions and renovations on the Raetian *limes*, as attested by building inscriptions found at various sites, including Böhming and

¹³ Faßbinder 2008, 169–170; ORL A VII. (1932), Sect. 15; Faßbinder 2010, 102.

¹⁴ Faßbinder – Pietsch 2006, 73–76; Wood 2004, 235 ff.

¹⁵ Dietz – Fischer 1996, 155–161; Faßbinder et al. 2011, 92–95; Schönberger 1985, 489, Nr. E 92.

¹⁶ CIL III 14370,2 [Böhming – AD 181], AE 1983, 730 [Ellingen – AD 182]; Sommer 2012, 176.

¹⁷ Schönberger 1983, 235–239; Schönberger 1985, 488, Nr. E 90; Czysz et al. 1995, 435–436; Jütting 1995, 187, 190; Gonzalez 2003, 150; Fischer – Riedmeier 2008, 161–162.

¹⁸ Fischer – Riedmeier 2008, 161.

¹⁹ Kovács 2005, 153–172.

²⁰ Czysz et al. 1995, 503–505.

²¹ Czysz et al. 1995, 507.

²² CIL III 11965 [Regensburg – D 179]; Dietz – Fischer 1996, 84–87, 113; Reuter 2007, 113; Sommer 2012, 164, 167.

²³ Czysz et al. 1995, 506.

Ellingen.²⁴ During the numerous Germanic raids in the first half of the 3rd century AD, all Roman sites in the area of present-day Regensburg – the fortlet at Großprüfening, the *canabae legionis* and the legionary fortress – suffered destruction, as attested by a thick burnt layer, dateable to this period, but were rebuilt.

The legionary fortress was destroyed in the years around AD 280s.²⁵ Apart from occasional attacks however, this area was generally considered secured, as the *legio III Italica* repeatedly participated in campaigns far away in North Africa and the eastern provinces.²⁶ The *Notitia Dignitatum* attests, that the *legio III Italica* was still garrisoning the fortress at Regensburg in the end of the 5th century AD.²⁷ The Roman fortress and settlement can be identified as the ancient toponym *Castra Regina*.²⁸

Bibliography: Czysz et al. 1995, 503–508; Dietz – Fischer 1996, 84–136; Schmidts 2001, 95–140.

The legio III Augusta

The *legio III Augusta* was a long-time garrison of the North-African theatre.²⁹ Its involvement with Raetia traces back to the events of the Era of the Barracks Emperors.³⁰ In April AD 238, under command of Numidia's governor, *legatus Augusti Capelianus*,³¹ binding their loyalty to Emperor Maximinus Thrax, the *legio III Augusta* countered and suppressed the uprising of *M. Antonius Sempronianus*, governor of the neighbouring province Africa Proconsularis, who had been proclaimed Emperor under the name of Gordian I, together with his son, Gordian II.³² In the course of the same year, however, Maximinus Thrax was assassinated before the gates of Aquileia, senatorial emperors Pupienus and Balbinus were slain by the Praetorian guard and the grandson of Gordian I was proclaimed Emperor under the name of Gordian III. Relishing the undivided support of the Senate, he had both reason and means to punish the legion responsible for the death of

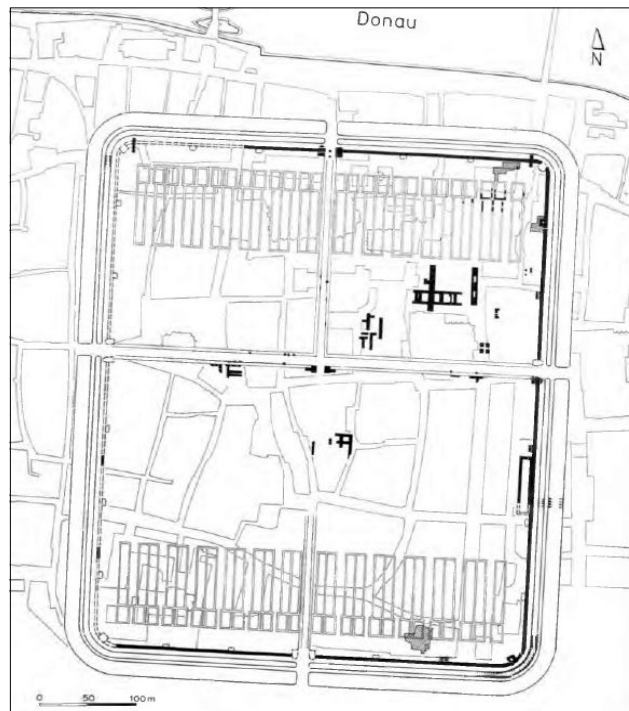


Fig. 3: Ground-plan of the legionary fortress at Regensburg (Czysz et al. 1995, 504, fig. 200)

his grandfather and his uncle, thus he disbanded the *legio III Augusta*.³³ Tilestamps displaying the name of the legion with the Imperial epithet '*Gordiana*' indicate, that the Emperor did not disband the unit immediately after his ascension.³⁴ Y. le Bohec argues, that there is no indication, that some parts of the legion remained active.³⁵ However, the imperial inscription of AD 253 suggests, that at least partially, the legion was active in Raetia in the years between AD 238 and 253.³⁶ Furthermore, the layout of the fortlet near Burgsalach In der Harlach is identical in every way to the *centenarii* of North Africa.³⁷ It is possible, that soldiers asking Imperial pardon, or those who remained loyal to the Gordian-dynasty were granted the possibility to serve on the distant and troubled frontier of the Raetian *limes*. These soldiers were prohibited from using the name of the disbanded and disgraced legion, thus the denomination '*legio III Augusta*' appears on but a handful of inscriptions north of the Mediterranean.

²⁴ CIL III 14370,2 [Böhming – AD 181], AE 1983, 730 [Ellingen – AD 182]; Sommer 2012, 176.

²⁵ Reuter 2007, 114, *fn.* 371–374.

²⁶ Reuter 2007, 113.

²⁷ Czysz et al. 1995, 507.

²⁸ Not. Dign. Occ. 35.

²⁹ le Bohec 2000, 373.

³⁰ le Bohec 2000, 377.

³¹ PIR, Nr. 404; A. Chausa Sáez suggested, that *Capelianus* was identical to *L. Ovinius Pudens Capella* (Chausa Sáez 1997, 20).

³² Herodian., *Historia* 7. 9. 3; sha, *Gordiani*, 15. 1; le Bohec 1989, esp. 451–453.

³³ le Bohec 1989, 453, *fn.* 17.

³⁴ CIL VIII, 10474,09 + 22631,17a [Lambaesis . AD 238]: ,[le]g(io) III Aug(usta) Gor(diana)'.

³⁵ le Bohec 1989, 453, *fn.* 18.

³⁶ CIL VIII, 2482 [Mlili – AD 253]: ,vexi]llat(io) mill[,[iaria leg(ionis) III Aug(ustae) re]stitu[tae e Raet(ia) Geme]ll(as) regressi'.

³⁷ Czysz et al. 1995, 432; Fleer 2004, 85: 'Typ. Burgsalach'.

Apart from garrisoning the *centenarium* In der Harlach, little is known of the task and role of legionary soldiers. Based on a similarity between the *centenarium*'s ground-plan of the *centenarium* and the layout of one of the towers at the auxiliary fort near Theilenhofen, M. Reuter suggested, that soldiers of the disbanded legion may have partaken in construction works along the Raetian *limes*.³⁸ In AD 253, former governor of Raetia *Publius Licinius Valerianus* was proclaimed Emperor, under the name of Valerian by the Roman Army in Raetia.³⁹ In gratitude for their support, Emperor Valerian restored the disbanded legion and returned it to its former fort at *Gemella*, in Numidia.⁴⁰

Bibliography: Gonzalez 2003, 114–131, esp. 124–129; le Bohec 1989, esp. 451–466; le Bohec 2000, 373–381; Chausa Sáez 1997.

The legio III Italica

In response to the large-scale invasions commonly known as the Marcomannic wars, in the years between AD 166 and 169, Emperor Marcus Aurelius – among other measures – recruited two new legions, the *legio II* and *legio III Italica* to fight off the invaders and afterwards, to secure the region north of the Alps.⁴¹ Several inscriptions note the recruitment of these Italian legions.⁴² In the years around AD 169/170, the *legio III Italica* was referred to as *legio III Concors*, as attested by a building inscription,⁴³ and several early tilestamps.⁴⁴ During the last decades of the second century AD, the name of the legion was vernacularised based on the origin of its first recruits, and was commonly referred to as *legio III Italica*. In his historic work Cassius Dio states, the change of the legion's name,⁴⁵ and the overwhelming majority of Raetian epigraphical sources refer to the legion as *legio III Italica*.⁴⁶ In the years between AD

166/167 and c. AD 170 the legion threw back the Marcomanni from North Italia and Dalmatia.⁴⁷ In the years between c. AD 170 and AD 179 the legion garrisoned the legionary fortress near Eining-Unterfeld. As attested by a building inscription, the legion constructed a fortress near present-day Regensburg, after the conclusion of the war in AD 179.⁴⁸ Following the Marcomannic wars, soldiers and officers of the legion took part in the reconstruction of the Raetian *limes* in the AD 180s. Their work is attested by two building inscriptions: one from Böhming,⁴⁹ set up in AD 181, and one from Ellingen, set up in AD 182.⁵⁰ Although currently only these two inscriptions are known, it is plausible, that legionary soldiers carried out construction works in several forts in the eastern section of the Raetian *limes*, such as Dambach-II, Alkofen,⁵¹ Dalkingen, Oberhochstatt, Raitenbuch, Regensburg-Großprüfening and Weißenburg-I.⁵²

The military reorganization of Diocletian left the legion at their former fort, although reduced it in size. The *legio III Herculia* was raised and transferred to the fort near Kellmünz a. d. Iller (*Mons Caelius*) to augment Raetia's defense, but was later transferred to the field Army of *diocesis Illyrici*.⁵³ Already during the course of the 4th century AD, legions of the Danubian frontier were no longer charged to a single fortress, but a series of smaller fortifications, developed for defence, scattered on the hills overlooking river valleys and guarding the natural passageways running in a North – South direction. These smaller forts were exclusively located South of the Danube, and were named *Submontorium*, *Cambidunum*, *Foetus*, *Terioli* and *Vallatum*. This act of reorganization suggests two different processes: that the Empire was becoming less and less able to protect its frontiers, but it refused giving up these territories wilfully just yet.

Bibliography: Gonzalez 2003, 149–151; RE 1924, 1925, 117.

³⁸ Reuter 2007, 99, fn. 209.

³⁹ Eutrop., *Breviarium* 9, 7; Orosius, *Historiae* 7. 22. 1; Victor, *de Caes* 32. 1.

⁴⁰ CIL VIII, 2482 [Mlilil – AD 253].

⁴¹ SHA, *Vita Marci Aurelii*, 21. 8.

⁴² AE 1956, 123 [Tazoult-Lambèse – AD 165/166]: *ad dilectum cum | Iulio Vero per | Italiam tironum | II leg(ionum) Italicae*; CIL VI, 1377 [Roma – AD 165/166]: *misso ad iuventutem per Italiam legendam*.

⁴³ CIL III, 1980 [Solin – AD 169/170]: *vexillationes leg(ionum) II Piaae et III Concordiae*.

⁴⁴ CIL III, 11989a-c; IBR 496a-b, f-j, m [Eining – AD 179/190]: *leg(io) III It(alica) Con(cors)*.

⁴⁵ Dio, *Historia* 55, 24. 4.

⁴⁶ A total of 68 inscriptions related to the *legio III Italica* have been found on the territory of the province Raetia.

⁴⁷ Gonzalez 2003, 150.

⁴⁸ CIL III, 11965 [Regensburg – AD 179]: *vallum cum portis | et turribus <l>eg(ioni) I[II Italicae Concordi] | [fecerunt]*.

⁴⁹ CIL III, 14370, 2 [Böhming – AD 181]: *vex(illarii) | leg(ionis) III Ital(icae) vallum fece(runt)*.

⁵⁰ AE 1983, 730 [Ellingen AD 182]: *kastel(li) Sablonet(i) mu | rum(!) cum portis lapidi(bus) substitu | tum(!)*.

⁵¹ CIL III, 6000g [Alkofen]: *leg(io) III Ital(ica)*.

⁵² CIL III, 6000i + 11987 [Westheim]: *leg(io) III I[t]ali(ca)*.

⁵³ Gonzalez 2003, 480.

Summary

Despite the fact, that Raetia's creation, as well as its numerous reorganisation and expansions primarily served a military purpose, the soldiers garrisoning its forts have also had a significant effect on the non-military segments of the province's life. The primary sources for this impact are of epigraphical nature (*Table 1*). The legion's soldiers and officers partook in and supervised numerous construction works in the province, as attested by milestones set up in the vicinity of Kösching,⁵⁴ Nassenfels,⁵⁵ Neuburg a.d. Donau⁵⁶ and Regensburg.⁵⁷ Legionary stamped tiles are known from Eining⁵⁸ and Kösching⁵⁹. Both Eining and Kösching are located close to the Danube, upstream of Regensburg and it is possible that these tiles were moved by means of fluvial transport. Several *militaria inscripta* displaying names of legions were discovered in the southern section of Raetia, in close vicinity of the Alpine passes, although the lack of epithets makes their connection to the *legio III Italica* uncertain. Such *militaria* were found at Tiefelcastel,⁶⁰ Riom-Parsonz,⁶¹ Bivio,⁶² and Ummendorf.⁶³

The analysis of the epitaphs set up by and for legionary soldiers attests, that most of them remained in Raetia after their discharge. Although similarly to other legions, the *legio III Italica* had its soldiers sent out on various occasions, as attested by the dedicatory inscription of legionary *frumentarius*, (*M.?*) *Aurelius Silvinus*.⁶⁴ If these soldiers spent a considerable amount of time at the same place outside Raetia, it is possible, that they settled there after their discharge. This however, applies only to soldiers. Officers above the rank of centurions often changed units several times during their service,

thus the possibility that they settled in Raetia is low.⁶⁵ A total of 32 inscriptions commemorate the memory of soldiers deceased during and after military service, although some inscriptions list several legionary soldiers, either as deceased, or as commemorated or the person, who set up the epitaph. Proportionately to their ratio, most of the funerary inscriptions belong to foot soldiers and cavalymen of the ranks (*milites, equites*). 14 (17) soldiers are recorded on epitaphs without a specific rank (*duplarii*, and *immunes*), including those who were not promoted before their discharge (*veterani*).⁶⁶ 14 (15) soldiers of low to middle ranks (*aquiliferi, beneficiarii, centuriones, custodes armorum, exacti, librari, medici, optiones, signiferi* and *tubiceni*) are commemorated on inscriptions (*Table 1*). Five high ranking officers (*praefecti, tribuni*) are displayed on funerary inscriptions. In three cases, the sons of soldiers followed in their fathers' footsteps and enrolled into the *legio III Italica*.⁶⁷ Further three inscriptions mention progeny of soldiers, although lack to display their affiliation to the Roman Army.⁶⁸ This however, does not necessarily imply, that these sons did not have a military career.

The analysis of epitaphs clearly attests, that legionary soldiers were either married or had concubines already during their service, not only after their discharge (*Table 2*).

The number of funerary inscriptions, which refer to soldiers married after their discharge, is significantly less than those, which refer to soldiers who had already established families during service (*Table 3*). However the larger ratio of *coniuges* to *uxores* seems to apply in both cases: 7:3 regarding active soldiers, and 2:1 to discharged soldiers. Raetian funerary epitaphs attest, that legionary officers had extensive families during

⁵⁴ CIL XVII, 4, 70 [Kösching – AD 200/201]: ‚*vias et pont(es) rest(ituerunt)*’.

⁵⁵ CIL XVII, 4, 67 [Nassenfels – AD 195/215]; CIL XVII, 4, 66 [Nassenfels – AD 201]: ‚*vias et pontes rest(ituerunt)*’.

⁵⁶ CIL XVII, 4, 65 [Bergheim – AD 201]: ‚*vias et pontes rest(ituerunt)*’.

⁵⁷ CIL XVII, 4, 55 [Burgweinting-Harting – AD 195/215].

⁵⁸ CIL III, 6000h + 11986 [Eining]: ‚*leg(ionis) III Ital(icae)*’.

⁵⁹ AE 1933, 117 [Kösching]: ‚*leg(io) III Ital(ica)*’.

⁶⁰ AE 2003, 1286a [Tiefelcastel]: ‚*leg(io) III*’.

⁶¹ AE 2007, 1067a [Riom-Parsonz]: ‚*leg(io) III*’.

⁶² AE 2007, 1068a [Bivio]: ‚*leg(io) III*’.

⁶³ IBR 4960 [Ummendorf]: ‚*leg(io) III*’.

⁶⁴ AE 1991, 266 [Rome – AD 222/235]: ‚*Genio sancto | <c=k>astr(orum) pere | gr(inorum)*’. This inscription attests, that *frumentarii* were often drawn to Rome, in order to procure the necessary supplies for their units. During their stay, they were given accommodation at the *castrum peregrinorum* on the *Collis Caelius* in Rome.

⁶⁵ CIL II, 4162 [Tarragona – AD 179/300]: ‚*L(ucio) Numerio | L(uci) f(ilio) Felici | (1) 7 (centurioni) leg(ionis) VII g(eminae) F(elicis) | (2) 7 (centurioni) leg(ionis) XX Vict(ricis) | (3) 7 (centurioni) leg(ionis) III Cyr(enaicae) | (4) 7 (centurioni) leg(ionis) XXII Pr(imigeniae) | (5) 7 (centurioni) leg(ionis) III Ital(icae)*’; CIL VI, 1450 [Rome – AD 223/250]: ‚*L(ucio) Mario L(uci) f(ilio) Quir(ina) | Maximo Perpetuo | Aureliano [...] trib(un)o laticl(auis) leg(ionis) | XXII Primig(eniae) item III Ital(icae)*’.

⁶⁶ The numbers in brackets include inscriptions with doubtful reading as well, while the numbers preceding indicate the quantity of unanimously interpretable inscriptions.

⁶⁷ CIL III, 5818 [Augsburg – AD 179/300]; CIL III, 5953 [Regensburg-S. Emmeram Kirche – AD 179/300]; CIL III, 6571+11964 [Regensburg-Kumpfmühler Straße – AD 179/300].

⁶⁸ CIL III, 5956+11959 [Regensburg-S. Clara Kloster – AD 179/300]; CIL III, 5958 [Regensburg-S. Peterstor – AD 179/300]; Wagner 1957, Nr. 35 [Augsburg – AD 179/300].

A	B	C	D	E
<i>aquilifer</i>	CIL III, 5816	1	–	–
<i>beneficiarius</i>	<i>tribuni</i> : Lupa 6540; <i>praefectus castrorum</i> : CIL III, 5953	2	CIL III, 5768	1
<i>centurio</i>	CIL XIV, 4467 Wagner 1957, Nr. 35	2	CIL III, 5876; CIL III, 5937; Lupa 6576	3
<i>cornicularius</i>	–	–	AE 2004, 1062	1
<i>custos armorum</i>	CIL III, 6571+11964	1	–	–
<i>duplarius</i>	AE 1992, 1307	1	–	–
<i>eques</i>	CIL III, 5947; CIL III, 5955	2	CIL III, 5942	1
<i>exactus consularis</i>	CIL III, 5812	1	–	–
<i>immunus</i>	CIL III, 11969	1	–	–
<i>legatus</i>	–	–	CIL III, 5793	1
<i>librarius</i>	CIL III, 5953; <i>consularis</i> .: CIL III, 5814	1 (2)	–	–
<i>medicus ordinarius</i>	CIL III, 6532	1	–	–
<i>miles</i>	CIL III, 5812; CIL III, 5814; CIL III, 5949; CIL III, 5950; CIL III, 11966; CIL III, 11970; AE 1962, 242; Wagner 1957, Nr. 120 (?); AE 1978, 582; CIL III, 14207, 6	9 (10)	Wagner 1957, Nr. 107	1
<i>optio</i>	CIL III, 5958	1	Lupa 6582; Lupa 6579; AE 1986, 532	3
<i>praefectus</i>	CIL V, 5036; CIL III, 5946	2	CIL III, 14370, 12	1
<i>signifer</i>	CIL III, 5818; CIL III, 5952; CIL III, 5956+11959	3	–	–
<i>tribunus</i>	Wagner 1957, Nr. 34; CIL III, 6571+11964; CIL III, 5974+11977	3	–	–
<i>tubicen</i>	CIL III, 5957+11960	1	–	–
unknown	CIL III, 5823; CIL III, 6531+11962	2	–	–
<i>veteranus</i>	CIL III, 5818; <i>honesta missio</i> : CIL III, 5956+11959; CIL III, 5957+11960	1 (3)	–	–

Table 1: The list of known soldiers of the *legio III Italica* and their ranks.*

A	B	C
<i>coniunx</i>	CIL III, 5952; CIL III, 5949; CIL III, 5958 (?); CIL III, 6531+11962; Lupa 6413; Wagner 1957, Nr. 120; Lupa 6447	7
<i>uxor</i>	CIL III, 11969; CIL III, 11970 (?); CIL III, 5974+11977	3
unknown	CIL III, 5947	1

Table 2: Classification of the marital status of active soldiers of the *legio III Italica*.**

A	B	C
<i>coniunx</i>	CIL III, 5957+11960; CIL III, 5955	2
<i>uxor</i>	CIL III, 5956+11959	1

Table 3: Classification of the marital status of discharged soldiers of the *legio III Italica*.

* The column headings in Table 1 are abbreviated as follows: A – Ranks; B – Epitaphs; C – Number of relevant epitaphs; D – Dedicatory inscriptions; E – Number of relevant dedicatory inscriptions.

** The column headings in Table 2 and 3 are abbreviated as follows: A – Denomination; B – Epigraphical references; C – Number of relevant epigraphical sources.

Type	Rank, office	Epigraphical reference	The epitaphs' cost of the setup in sestertii
military	<i>centurio legionis</i>	CIL III, 5817	16.000 HS
	<i>ex centurio, veteranus</i>	CIL III, 5820	4.000 HS
	<i>cornicularius tribunis</i>	CIL III, 5974+11977	4.000 HS
civilian	<i>advocatus fisci</i>	IBR 176	14.000 HS
unknown	without office	CIL III, 5841	3.000 HS*

Table 4: Funerary monuments from Raetia and the cost of their setup.

their service.⁶⁹ After their discharge, they kept slaves, whom they sometimes liberated.⁷⁰

Regarding the economical impact of the legion, the earnings of officers of middle and higher ranks cannot be disregarded (Table 4). In the years between AD 197 and 235, during a period less than half a century's time, the pay scale of legionary soldiers was gradually increased by 600%, from an initial stipendium of 400 *sestertii*, to 2.400 *sestertii*, thus raising the annual pay of soldiers from 1.200 *sestertii* to 7.200 *sestertii*.⁷¹

Dedicatory inscriptions attest the important role, that legionary officers held in the religious life of Raetia. The distribution of dedicatory inscriptions displays a different pattern than funerary epitaphs (Table 1). Votive altars and tablets were set almost exclusively by middle ranking officers of the legion, only a handful was dedicated by foot soldiers (*milites, equites*)⁷² and high-ranking officials (*legati, praefecti*).⁷³ So far no altar has been found in its *in situ* location, as most altars were either purposely deposited (as observed at Maryport) or reused as construction material.⁷⁴ However, archaeological evidence attest several sanctuaries near military installations, that housed such inscriptions⁷⁵ (e.g.: Mars and Victoria shrine near Eining-Weinberg⁷⁶ a Dolichenus-shrine near Pfünz,⁷⁷ and an oriental

shrine near Regensburg-Arnulfsplatz⁷⁸). The greater part of these votive inscriptions were set by active officers on their private matters and the quantity of official dedications of individuals or the entire legion is significantly less, than those of personal nature.

Votive inscriptions commemorated various deeds and donations of the legionary officers, which can be divided to an official and a private level. On official level, they completed their religious duty either as the bearer of a military rank or as the representative of the corps.⁷⁹ These duties included dedications made for the sake of the Emperor(s) or the Imperial family.⁸⁰ The greater quantity of dedicatory inscriptions however, provides insight into the private level of the various religious activities performed by legionary officers. Although the object of the vow is rarely defined, from these rare examples, it is possible to deduce, that these actions covered numerous aspects of everyday life from health and wellbeing of one,⁸¹ or the entire family,⁸² to one's safe return from battle,⁸³ or a crossing over Alpien passes.⁸⁴ The subject of the vow ranges from the

⁶⁹ CIL III, 5974: , - to a legionary cornicularius – et Val(eriae) Gemellinae (1) socr(ui) | eius iussu i<P=B>sus et (2) Cl(audio) | Macrino socro eius | et (3) Val(erio) Valeriano s<o=ue>ce | rioni (4) Val(eria) Macrinilla ux | or et (5) Amandinus et (6) [Am] | andina fili(i) et heredes ex [HS] | n(ummmum) IIII mil(ia) parentibus kariss(imis) v(ivis) [- - -]'

⁷⁰ CIL III, 5817: , Managnio Ni | ciate liberto | ex H(S) n(ummmis) XVI(milibus)'.
⁷¹ Speidel 1992, 88, t. 1, fn. 5–10.

⁷² CIL III, 5942 [Saal a. d. Donau – AD 25.7.240]; Wagner 1957, Nr. 107 [Regensburg – AD 179/300].

⁷³ CIL III, 5793 [Augsburg – AD 185/192]; CIL III, 14370, 12 [Regensburg-Praetorium – AD 218/221].

⁷⁴ Hill 1997.

⁷⁵ CIL III, 5793 [Augsburg – AD AD 185/192]: , Mercurio | cuius sedes a tergo | sunf.

⁷⁶ Reuter 2007, 109.

⁷⁷ Czysz et al. 1995, 501.

⁷⁸ Czysz et al. 1995, 507.

⁷⁹ AE 1986, 532 [Regensburg – AD 180/192]: ,Genio centuriae [...] com | manip(ular)ibus d(onum) d(edit)'.
⁸⁰ CIL III, 5768 [Bregenz – AD 238/244]: ,In h(onorem) d(omus) d(ivinae) [...] aram posuit'; CSIR Deutschland I. 1, Nr. 452 [Regensburg-Ziegetsdorf – AD 200/300]; AE 2004, 1062 [Regensburg-Niedermünster – AD 218/221].

⁸¹ CIL III, 5876 [Lauingen-Pfarrkirche – AD 169/300]: ,cum signo | argenteo' refers to the placement of small silver replica of the healed bodypart, in the sanctuary of Apollo Grannus.
⁸² AE 1985, 693 [Osterburken – AD 174]: ,Titius Taci | tus mil(es) leg(ionis) | III Ital(icae) b(ene)ff(iciarius) co(n) s(ularis) | pro se et | suis'; AE 1996, 1154 [Osterburken – AD 180/190]: ,[- - - m]il(es) | [leg(ionis)] III Ital(icae) | [b(ene)ff(iciarius)] co(n)s(ularis) | [pro se] et suis'.
⁸³ CIL III, 5937 [Saal a.d. Donau – AD 182]: ,rever | sus ab exped | it(ione) Burica' refers to the campaign of Emperor Commodus led against the tribes Lugi-Buri in AD 182, cf.: Dio, Historia 72–73; Ptolemaeus, Geograph. II. 10.

⁸⁴ CIL V, 7866 [St. Bernard's pass – AD 179/300]: ,Iovi * CIL III, 5841: 'n(ummmis) III (milibus)', the last two characters of the inscription are poorly preserved. The EDH database interprets these letters as 'n(ummmis) I(?) F(?) L(?)' (HD 058315).

setup of an altar⁸⁵ or tablet to the expansion,⁸⁶ or reconstruction of sanctuaries.⁸⁷

Although legionary soldiers are almost unattested on epigraphical material, it is plausible, that they made and fulfilled their vows similarly to their officers (both being based on the same *do ut des* principle), but despite their greater numbers, their limited earnings prevented them from setting up altars made from lasting or luxurious materials, nor did they partake in the financing of the shrines' construction and reconstruction works.

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- ⁸⁵ CIL III, 5768 [Bregenz – AD 238/244]: ‚deo Mercurio | Arcecio ex vo | to aram posuit‘; CIL V, 7865–7866 [Châteauneuf-Villevieille – AD 179/300]: ‚Q(uintus) Eniboudius | Montanus 7 (centurio) | leg(ionis) III Italic(ae) | [...] aram posu | it.‘
- ⁸⁶ CSIR Deutschland I. 1, Nr. 430 [Regensburg – AD 179/300]: ‚qui et por | ticum.‘
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Rezumat

Provincia Raetia, una dintre importantele zone strategice ale sistemului defensiv roman, a ocupat teritoriul aproximativ al Bavariei actuale, în Europa Centrală. Formând împreună cu provinciile germanice același sistem defensiv (Obergermanisch-Raetischer Limes), Raetia a avut rolul de a apăra pasurile din Alpi și Peninsula Italică. Totuși, numai după războaiele marcomanice, în jurul anilor 170, s-a stabilit în zonă proaspăt înființată legiunea a III-a Italică. Castrul legiunii a fost construit în anul 179 pe teritoriul actualului oraș Regensburg, iar castrul și așezarea din jurul acestuia au alcătuit cel mai important centru al provinciei până în secolul al V-lea. Toponimul Regensburg derivă din denumirea antică a castrului (Castra Regina, Not. dign. occ. 35).

Legiunea a III-a Italică a avut o influență majoră asupra locuitorilor provinciei. Studiul de față prezintă efectele prezenței acesteia în regiune, prin analiza informațiilor oferite de inscripțiile latine.

Kivonat

Közép-Európában, megközelítőleg a mai Bajorország területén fekvő Raetia a római határvédelem egyik fontos pillére volt. A germán tartományokkal közös határvédelmi rendszerbe (Obergermanisch-Raetischer Limes) tartozó Raetia az alpesi hágók, így közvetlenül az itáliai félsziget védelmét szolgálta. Ennek ellenére a tartományban állandó jelleggel csak a markomann háborúk kitörését követően, a Kr. u. 170-es évektől jelent meg az újonnan sorozott legio III Italica. A legio Kr. u. 179-ben a mai Regensburg területén építette fel táborát, amely nagyban hozzájárult ahhoz, hogy a tábor és a körülötte kialakult virágzó település a tartomány kiemelt központjává működött egészen annak Kr. u. V. században bekövetkezett feladásáig és azt követően is megőrizte jelentőségét. A Regensburg helynév közvetlenül visszavezethető a tábor antik megjelölésére (Castra Regina, Not. dign. occ. 35). A legio III Italica nagy befolyást gyakorolt a provincia lakosságának életére. Jelen cikk a legio jelenlétének hatását a kézzelfogható bizonyítékok közül a legkézzelfoghatóbbakon, a latin nyelvű feliratos forrásokon keresztül mutatja be.

ABBREVIATIONS

AA	Archäologischer Anzeiger, Berlin
AB	Archaeologia Baltica, Klaipėda
ActaArchHung	Acta Archaeologica Academiae Scientiarum Hungaricae, Budapest
ActaEa	Acta Eurasistica, Wrocław
ActaMN	Acta Musei Napocensis, Cluj-Napoca
ActaSic	Acta Siculica, Sf. Gheorghe/Sepsiszentgyörgy
ActaTS	Acta Terrae Septemcastrensis, Sibiu
AE	L'Année Epigraphique, Paris
AHG	Annals of Human Genetics, New York
AI	Archaeologia Iugoslavica, Beograd
AISC	Anuarul Institutului de Studii Clasice, Cluj
AKorrBl	Archäologisches Korrespondenzblatt, Mainz
AnB	Analele Banatului, Timișoara
AncCivScytSib	Ancient Civilizations from Scythia to Siberia, Leiden
AnnMedCEU	Annual of Medieval Studies at CEU, Budapest
Antaeus	Antaeus. Communicationes ex Instituto Archaeologico Academiae Scientiarum Hungaricae, Budapest
Apulum	Apulum. Acta Musei Apulensis, Alba Iulia
ArchAustr	Archaeologia Austriaca, Wien
ArchÉrt	Archaeologiai Értesítő, Budapest
ArchKözl	Archaeologiai Közlemények, Budapest
ARozhl	Archeologické Rozhledy, Praha
Areopolisz	Areopolisz. Történelmi és társadalomtudományi tanulmányok, Székelyudvarhely
ArhKiev	Archeologija. Nacional'na akademija nauk Ukraini. Institut archeologii, Kyjiv
ArhMed	Arheologia Medievală, Cluj-Napoca
ArhMold	Arheologia Moldovei, București
ArhSof	Arheologija. Organ na Arheologičeskija Institut i Muzej pri Bălgarskata Akademija na Naukite, Sofija
ARegia	Alba Regia. Annales Musei Stephani Regis, Székesfehérvár
ArsHung	Ars Hungarica. Bulletin of the Institute of Art History of the Hungarian Academy of Sciences, Budapest
AT	Antik tanulmányok. Studia antiqua, Budapest
Banatica	Banatica. Muzeul Banatului Montan, Reșița
BÁMÉ	A Béri Balogh Ádám Múzeum Évkönyve, Szekszárd
BAR	British Archaeological Reports, Oxford
BAVA	Beiträge zur Allgemeinen und Vergleichenden Archäologie, München
BayVgBl	Bayerische Vorgeschichtsblätter, München
BerBayDenkmPfl	Bericht der Bayerischen Bodendenkmalpflege, Bonn
BerDenkmPflNs	Berichte zur Denkmalpflege in Niedersachsen, Hameln
BerRGK	Bericht der Römisch-Germanischen Kommission, Berlin
BiMÉ	A Bihari Múzeum Évkönyve, Berettyóújfalu
BudRég	Budapest Régiségei, Budapest

CCA	Cronica Cercetărilor Arheologice din România, București
CercArh	Cercetări arheologice, București
CIL	Corpus Inscriptionum Latinarum, Berlin
CommArchHung	Communicationes Archaeologicae Hungaricae, Budapest
CSIR	Corpus Signorum Imperii Romani, Berlin–Mainz
Dacia	Dacia. Revue d'Archéologie et d'Histoire Ancienne, Bucarest
DissArch	Dissertationes Archaeologicae ex Instituto Archaeologico Universitatis de Rolando Eötvös Nominatae, Budapest
DME	A Debreceni Déri Múzeum Évkönyve, Debrecen
Dolg	Dolgozatok az Erdélyi Nemzeti Múzeum Érem- és Régiségtárából, Kolozsvár
DolgSzeged	Dolgozatok a Szegedi Tudományegyetem Régiségtudományi Intézetéből, Szeged
EJA	Estonian Journal of Archaeology, Tallinn
EMÉ	Az Egri Múzeum Évkönyve, Eger
EphNap	Ephemeris Napocensis, Cluj-Napoca
EMúz	Erdélyi Múzeum, Kolozsvár
ETF	Erdélyi Tudományos Füzetek, Kolozsvár
FI	File de Istorie. Muzeul de Istorie al Județului Bistrița-Năsăud, Bistrița
FontArchHung	Fontes Archaeologici Hungariae, Budapest
FolArch	Folia Archaeologica, Budapest
FVL	Forschungen zur Volks- und Landeskunde, Sibiu/Hermannstadt
GCBİ	Godišnjak Centra za Balkanološka Ispitivanja, Sarajevo
Gymnasium	Gymnasium Zeitschrift für Kultur der Antike und humanistische Bildung, Heidelberg
HK	Hadtörténelmi Közlemények, Budapest
IPH	Inventaria Praehistorica Hungariae, Budapest
IstorZapiski	Istoricheskiye Zapiski, Novorossiysk
Istros	Istros. Muzeul Brăilei, Brăila
IzvSamara	Izvestiya Samarskogo Nauchnogo Centra Rossijskoj Akademii Nauk, Samara
JAA	Journal of Anthropological Archaeology, New York
JbRGZM	Jahrbuch des Römisch-Germanischen Zentralmuseums, Mainz
JRS	The Journal of Roman Studies, London
KM	Keresztény Magvető. Az Erdélyi Unitárius Egyház Folyóirata, Kolozsvár
Korall	Korall. Társadalomtörténeti Folyóirat, Budapest
KSIA	Kratkie Soobščeniya Instituta Arheologii AN SSSR, Moskva
MAK	Materialy po arheologii Kavkaza, Moskva
MAR	Materialy po arheologii Rossii, Sankt Petersburg
LexMA	Lexikon des Mittelalters, München–Zürich
Marisia	Marisia (V-). Studii și Materiale, Târgu Mureș
Marmatia	Marmatia, Muzeul Județean de Istorie și Arheologie Maramureș, Baia Mare
MatCercArh	Materiale și Cercetări Arheologice, București
MatWczesnośred	Materialy Wczesnośredniowieczne, Wrocław
MemAnt	Memoria antiquitatis. Acta Musei Petrodavensis, Piatra Neamț
MFMÉ	A Móra Ferenc Múzeum Évkönyve, Szeged
MFMÉ – StudArch	A Móra Ferenc Múzeum Évkönyve – Studia Archaeologica, Szeged
MH	Műveltség és Hagyomány, Debrecen
MHVK	Mitteilungen des Historischen Vereins des Kantons Schwyz, Aarau
MIA	Materialy i Issledovaniya po Arheologii SSSR, Moskva

MNMAK	Magyar Nemzeti Múzeum Adattárának Közleményei, Budapest
MünchBeitrVFG	Münchner Beiträge zur Vor- und Frühgeschichte, München
MPK	Mitteilungen der Prähistorischen Kommission, Wien
NK	Numizmatikai Közlöny, Budapest
OH	Opuscula Hungarica, Budapest
PBF	Prähistorische Bronzefunde, Stuttgart
PIR	Prosopographia Imperii Romani, Berlin
PrzA	Przegląd Archeologiczny (Archaeological Review), Poznań–Wrocław
RBK	Reallexikon zur byzantinischen Kunst, Stuttgart
RE	Realencyclopädie: Paulys Realencyclopädie der classischen Altertumswissenschaft, Stuttgart
RESEE	Revue des Études Sud-Est-Européennes, Bucarest
RevBist	Revista Bistriței, Bistrița
RossArh	Rossijskaja Arheologija, Moskva
RRHA	Revue Roumaine d'Histoire de l'Art, Bucarest
SAI	Svod arheologičeskikh istočnikov, Moskva
Sargetia	Sargetia. Acta Musei Devensis, Deva
Savaria	Savaria, Szombathely
SCIV(A)	Studii și Cercetări de Istorie Veche (și Arheologie 1974–), București
SF	Südostforschungen, München
SlovArch	Slovenská Archeológia, Bratislava
SlovNum	Slovenská Numizmatika, Bratislava
SMMK	A Somogy Megyei Múzeumok Közleményei, Kaposvár
SovArh	Sovetskaja Arheologija, Moskva
SHP	Starohrvatska prosvjeta, Zagreb
SpNov	Specimina nova. Dissertationem ex Instituto Historico Universitatis Quinqueecclesiensis de Iano Pannonio nominatae, Pécs
SSz	Soproni Szemle, Sopron
StAntArch	Studia Antiqua et Archaeologica, Iași
Starinar	Starinar. Arheološki Institut Beograd, Beograd
Stratum	Stratum plus. Archaeology&Anthropology, Chișinău
StTH	Studia Turco-Hungarica, Budapest
Światowit	Światowit. Annual of the Institute of Archaeology of the University of
Warsaw, Warsaw	
Századok	Századok. A Magyar Történelmi Társulat Folyóirata, Budapest
Thraco-Dacica	Thraco-Dacica, București
UAV	Ufimskij Arheologičeskij Vestnik, Ufa
UPA	Universitätsforschungen zur Prähistorischen Archäologie, Bonn
VAH	Varia Archaeologica Hungarica, Budapest
VAU	Voprosy Arheologii Urala, Sverdlovsk
Vestnik MGOU	Vestnik Moskovskij Gosudarstvennyj Oblastnoj Universitet. Istoriâ I Političeskie Nauki = Bulletin of the Moscow State Regional University. History and political science, Moscow
VDI	Vestnik Drevnej Istorii, Moskva
VjesDal	Vjesnik za Arheologiju i Povijest Dalmatinsku, Split
VMMK	A Veszprém Megyei Múzeumok Közleményei, Veszprém
VMS	Viking and Medieval Scandinavia, Turnhout
VTT	Veszprémi Történelmi Társaság, Veszprém
WMMÉ	A Wosinsky Mór Megyei Múzeum Évkönyve, Szekszárd
ZGy	Zalai Gyűjtemény, Zalaegerszeg
ZPE	Zeitschrift für Papyrologie und Epigraphik, Bonn