

STUDIA AMSTELODAMENSIA AD EPIGRAPHICAM,  
IUS ANTIQUM ET PAPHOLOGICAM PERTINENTIA

MODERANTIBUS

J.A. ANKUM - H.W. PLEKET - P.J. SIJPESTEIJN

XXX

MICHAEL PEACHIN  
ROMAN IMPERIAL TITULATURE AND CHRONOLOGY,  
A.D. 235 - 284

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ROMAN IMPERIAL TITULATURE AND  
CHRONOLOGY, A.D. 235 - 284

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## Preface

Occupation with the history of the mid-third century A.D. might justifiably be called an exercise in frustration. Literary sources, those that exist, do not easily yield information, and the documentary sources are just as intractable. And while the bare bones of a narrative can be got from what we have, the process of holding this skeleton together with dates has caused much diversity of opinion in a plethora of studies. If ever more than a few specialists are to understand this period, then at the very least there must be some vague resemblance of consensus regarding basic chronology. Hence, what began as a more general study of imperial titulature from the time of Maximinus the Thracian to that of Diocletian gradually reduced itself to something much more limited in purview, albeit still obscenely vast.

As the title of this book indicates, not all aspects of the imperial titulature during the period under investigation are here considered. A catalogue lists the evidence, in so far as I have been able to gather it, for the emperors' titles, and earlier chapters deal with problems of sources and chronology. This alone has spawned far too many pages; thus, further questions have been relegated to a volume soon to follow. I have attempted to be both as complete and as careful as possible, yet I fear that errors, both of omission and commission, lurk. Even so, my hope is that the book will prove to be a reliable enough guide to further study of this period of history. Work on what here appears began some years ago, and has been influenced by many people. They will not go unmentioned.

It was J. Rufus Fears who first inspired me with the history of the ancient world, and he has been a teacher (better mentor) and inspiration ever since. A year spent in Bonn under the tutelage of Johannes Straub, along with the subsequent help and advice of that scholar, have also been a great influence. During six years at Columbia University, several people taught me a great deal, and were then patient enough to read this when I presented it as a dissertation: Roger Bagnall, Alan Cameron, William E. Metcalf, Morton Smith. Nor did the interest of these four in my work end with the submission of a dissertation. Each has been, and is still, important to my development as a scholar. In particular, however, Roger Bagnall and Morton Smith have taken keen interest in my work at every stage, and I owe them more than can here be expressed. K.A. Worp too was kind enough to read and discuss the dissertation at great length, and P.J. Sijpesteijn has helped at various stages of my work on titulature. Over the last few years at New York University my colleagues have provided a stimulating work atmosphere, and I am particularly indebted to Mervin Dilts for both collegiality and friendship. Most recently has come the influence of Géza Alföldy. His guidance during several periods of time spent in Heidelberg has been invaluable, while his

continued interest in my work is most greatly appreciated. Indeed, were it not for his support and hospitality, I should certainly still be at work on this book. To my other friends in Heidelberg and New York go heartfelt thanks.

Time in Germany, during which much transpired with the present volume, was afforded me by the Alexander von Humboldt-Stiftung. That organization continues to have faith in and to promote my work, for which many thanks are due. New York University has also been generous. A Scheuer Presidential Fellowship provided me with time and funds during the autumn of 1986, and now a New York University Research Challenge Fund Grant subvents the publication of this book.

I should also like to note that these pages were produced in camera-ready form with Nota Bene software, and thanks go to Jonathan Gumport of Dragonfly Software for much technical assistance.

In the end, four people have made possible for me not only scholarship, but life as well. It is to them that what follows is dedicated.

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## Abbreviations

## Corpora/Journals\*

<i>ADE</i>	L. Gasperini, <i>Aletrium I. I documenti epigrafici</i> (Alatri 1965)
<i>AEGI</i>	J.G. Milne, <i>Catalogue général des Antiquités Egyptiennes du Musée du Caire. Greek Inscriptions</i> (Oxford 1905)
<i>AEIGL</i>	E. Breccia, <i>Catalogue général des Antiquités Egyptiennes du Musée d'Alexandrie. Inscriptions Greche e Latine</i> (Cairo 1911)
<i>AIJug</i>	V. Hoffiller & B. Saria, <i>Antike Inschriften aus Jugoslavien. Heft I, Noricum und Pannonia Superior</i> (Zagreb 1938)
<i>AMNG II</i>	F. Münzer & M.L. Strack, <i>Die antiken Münzen Nord-Griechenlands. Bd. II.1, Thrakien</i> (Berlin 1912)
<i>AMNG III</i>	H. Gaebler, <i>Die antiken Münzen Nord-Griechenlands. Bd. III.1, Makedonia und Paionia</i> (Berlin 1906)
<i>AE</i>	<i>L'année Epigraphique</i>
<i>BMCRE VI</i>	R.A.G. Carson (ed.), <i>Coins of the Roman Empire in the British Museum, VI</i> (London 1962)
<i>Bureth</i>	P. Bureth, <i>Les titulatures impériales dans les papyrus, les ostraca et les inscriptions d'Égypte (30 a.C.-284 p.C.)</i> (Brussels 1964)
<i>CEMC</i>	S. Panciera (ed.), <i>La collezione epigrafica dei Musei Capitolini</i> (Rome 1987)
<i>CIB</i>	C. Veny, <i>Corpus de las inscripciones baleáricas hasta la dominación árabe</i> (Rome 1965)
<i>CIL</i>	<i>Corpus Inscriptionum Latinarum</i>
<i>CILB</i>	Z. Benzina ben Abdallah, <i>Catalogue des inscriptions latines palennes du Musée du Bardo</i> (Rome 1986)
<i>CIMRM</i>	M.J. Vermaseren, <i>Corpus Inscriptionum et Monumentorum Religionis Mithriacae, Vol. II</i> (The Hague 1960)
<i>Cohen</i>	H. Cohen, <i>Description historique des monnaies frappées sous l'Empire romain<sup>2</sup></i> (Paris 1880-92)
<i>CPIL</i>	R. Hurtado de San Antonio, <i>Corpus provincial de inscripciones latinas (Cáceres)</i> (Cáceres 1977)

\*All abbreviations of journals not listed here, are those of *L'année philologique*.

## Abbreviations

<i>DLPI</i>	H. Swoboda, J. Keil & F. Knoll, <i>Denkmäler aus Lykaonien Pamphylien und Isaurien</i> (Brünn 1935)
<i>ELRA</i>	G. Forni et al., <i>Epigrafi lapidarie romane di Assisi</i> (Electa 1987)
<i>ELS</i>	M. Buonocore, <i>L'epigrafia latina di Superaequum</i> (Castelvecchio Subequo 1985)
<i>ELST</i>	F. Beltrán Lloris, <i>Epigrafía latina de Saguntum y su Territorium</i> (Valencia 1980)
<i>EN</i>	B. Taracena Aguirre & L. Vázquez de Parga, <i>Excavaciones en Navarra</i> (Pamplona 1947)
<i>ENAR</i>	T. Mañanes Pérez, <i>Epigrafía y numismática de Astorga romana y su entorno</i> (Salamanca 1982)
<i>EO</i>	A. Vieira da Silva, <i>Epigrafia de Olisipo</i> (Lisbon 1944)
<i>ERA</i>	F. Diego Santos, <i>Epigrafía romana de Asturias</i> (Oviedo 1959)
<i>ERL</i>	F. Lara Peinado, <i>Epigrafía romana de Lerida</i> (Lerida 1973)
<i>ERM</i>	C. Letta & S. D'Amato, <i>Epigrafia della regione dei Marsi</i> (Milan 1975)
<i>ERPS</i>	A. Jimeno, <i>Epigrafía romana de la provincia de Soria</i> (Soria 1980)
<i>ERR</i>	U. Espinosa, <i>Epigrafía romana de la Rioja</i> (Logroño 1986)
<i>ERZ</i>	G. Fatás & M.A. Martín Bueno, <i>Epigrafía romana de Zaragoza y su Provincia</i> (Zaragoza 1977)
<i>ES</i>	<i>Epigraphische Studien</i>
<i>ETERA</i>	J. Carlos Elorza, <i>Ensayo topográfico de epigrafía romana Alavesa</i> (Vitoria 1967)
<i>FC</i>	R. Etienne, G. Fabre & M. Lèveque, <i>Fouilles de Conimbriga II. Epigraphie et Sculpture</i> (Paris 1976)
<i>FD</i>	<i>Fouilles de Delphes</i>
<i>FiE</i>	<i>Forschungen in Ephesos</i>
<i>FLEL</i>	M. Abilio Rabanal Alonso, <i>Fuentes literarias y epigráficas de León en la Antigüedad</i> (León 1982)
<i>GA</i>	Jean-Louis Maier, <i>Genavae Augustae. Les inscriptions romaines de Genève</i> (Geneva 1983)
<i>Gnecchi I-III</i>	F. Gnecchi, <i>I Medaglioni Romani</i> 3 vols. (Milan 1912)
<i>HAepigr</i>	<i>Hispania Antiqua Epigraphica</i>
<i>HCC III</i>	Anne S. Robertson, <i>Roman Imperial Coins in the Hunter Coin Cabinet, University of Glasgow, III: Pertinax to Aemilian</i> (Oxford 1977)
<i>HCC IV</i>	Anne S. Robertson, <i>Roman Imperial Coins in the Hunter Coin Cabinet, University of Glasgow, IV: Valerian I to Allectus</i> (Oxford 1978)
<i>HSE</i>	F. Hild, <i>Supplementum epigraphicum zu CIL III. Das pannonische Niederösterreich, Burgenland und Wien, 1902-1968</i> (diss. Vienna 1968)

- Hunter G. MacDonald, *Catalogue of Greek Coins in the Hunterian Collection, University of Glasgow* (Glasgow 1889-1905)
- IA J. Marcillet-Jaubert, *Les inscriptions d'Altava* (Aix-en-Provence 1968)
- IAL E. Espérandieu, *Inscriptions antiques de Lectoure* (Paris 1892)
- IALux Ch. M. Ternès, *Inscriptions antiques du Luxembourg* (Luxembourg 1965)
- IAM II M. Euzennat et al., *Inscriptions antiques du Maroc 2. Inscriptions Latines* (Paris 1982)
- IAML A. Allmer & P. Dissard, *Musée de Lyon. Inscriptions antiques* (Lyon 1888-1893)
- IBR F. Vollmer, *Inscriptiones Bavariae Romanae* (Munich 1915)
- IC G. Dagron & D. Feissel, *Inscriptions de Cilicie* (Paris 1987)
- ICorinth J.H. Kent, *Corinth. The Inscriptions, 1926-1950* (Princeton 1966)
- IDB F.K. Dörner, *Inchriften und Denkmäler aus Bithynien* (Berlin 1941)
- IDR II. Russu et al., *Inscriptiones Daciae Romanae* (Bucarest 1975 ff.)
- IG *Inscriptiones Graecae*
- IGBulg G. Mibailov, *Inscriptiones Graecae in Bulgaria Repertae* (Serdica 1956-1966)
- IGIP G. Sacco, *Iscrizioni greche d'Italia. Porto* (Rome 1984)
- IGLS *Inscriptions grecques et latines de la Syrie*
- IGRR *Inscriptiones Graecae ad Res Romanas Pertinentes*
- IK *Inchriften griechischer Städte aus Kleinasien*
- IGUR L. Moretti, *Inscriptiones Graecae Urbis Romae* (Rome 1968-1972)
- Inscript. Ital *Inscriptiones Italiae*
- ILAlg I S. Gsell, *Inscriptions latines de l'Algérie, I* (Paris 1922)
- ILAlg II S. Gsell & H.-G. Pflaum, *Inscriptions latines de l'Algérie, II* (Paris 1957)
- ILAT R. Cagnat, A. Merlin & L. Chatelain, *Inscriptions latines d'Afrique (Tripolitaine, Tunisie, Maroc)* (Paris 1923)
- ILBelg A. Deman & M.-T. Raepsaet-Charlier, *Les inscriptions latines de Belgique* (Brussels 1985)
- ILCV E. Diehl, *Inscriptiones Latinae Christianae Veteres* (Berlin 1927-31)
- ILER J. Vives, *Inscriptiones latinas de la España romana* (Barcelona 1971-72)
- ILG E. Espérandieu, *Inscriptions latines de Gaule (Narbonnaise)* (Paris 1929)
- ILJug I A. & J. Šašel, *Inscriptiones Latinae quae in Iugoslavia inter annos MCMXL et MCMLX repertae et editae sunt* (Ljubljana 1963)
- ILJug II A. & J. Šašel, *Inscriptiones Latinae quae in Iugoslavia inter annos MCMLX et MCMLXX repertae et editae sunt* (Ljubljana 1978)
- ILM L. Chatelain, *Inscriptions latines du Maroc* (Paris 1942)
- ILMP L. Bivona, *Iscrizioni latine lapidarie del Museo di Palermo* (Palermo 1970)

- ILP M. Mello & G. Voza, *Le iscrizioni latine di Paestum* (Naples 1968)
- ILPG M. Pastor Muñoz & A. Mendoza Eguaras, *Inscriptiones latinas de la provincia de Granada* (Granada 1987)
- ILS H. Dessau, *Inscriptiones Latinae Selectae* (Berlin 1892-1916)
- ILSard G. Sotgiu, *Iscrizioni latine della Sardegna* (Padova 1961)
- ILT A. Merlin, *Inscriptions latines de la Tunisie* (Paris 1944)
- ILTG P. Willeumier, *Inscriptions latines des trois Gaules* (Paris 1963)
- IMM O. Kern, *Die Inschriften von Magnesia am Maeander* (Berlin 1900)
- IMS F. Papazoglou et al., *Inscriptions de la Mésie Supérieure* (Belgrade 1979 ff.)
- IMSM N. Gudea & V. Lucăcel, *Inscriptii și monumente sculpturale în muzeul de istorie și artă* (Zalău 1975)
- IP G. Cresci Marrone & G. Mennella, *Pisaurum I. Le iscrizioni della colonia* (Pisa 1984)
- IPS J. Češka & R. Hošek, *Inscriptiones Pannoniae Superioris in Slovacia Transdanubiana Asservatae* (Brno 1967)
- IRA R. Lázaro Pérez, *Inscriptiones romanas de Almeria* (Almeria 1980)
- IRB D. Sebastian Mariner Bigorra, *Inscriptiones romanas de Barcelona I* (Barcelona 1973)
- IRCL G. Fabre, M. Mayer & I. Rodà, *Inscriptions romaines de Catalogne, II. Lérida* (Paris 1988)
- IRCP José d'Encarnaçao, *Inscrições romanas do conventus Pacensis* (Coimbra 1984)
- IRG F. Bouza Brey, A. d'Ors et al., *Inscriptiones romanas de Galicia* (Santiago 1959-55)
- IRMN C. Castillo, J. Gomez-Pantoja & M. Dolores Mauleón, *Inscriptiones romanas del Museo de Navarra* (Pamplona 1981)
- IRPL F. Diego Santos, *Inscriptiones romanas de la provincia de León* (León 1986)
- IRR J.C. Elorza, M<sup>a</sup> L. Albertos & A. González, *Inscriptiones romanas en la Rioja* (Logroño 1980)
- IRT J.M. Reynolds & J.B. Ward Perkins, *The Inscriptions of Roman Tripolitania* (Rome 1952)
- IRV G. Pereira Menaut, *Inscriptiones romanas de Valentia* (Valencia 1979)
- ISM I D. Pippidi, *Inscripțiile din Scythia Minor grecești și latine, I* (Bucarest 1983)
- JR A. Ventura Conejero, *Jativa Romana* (Valencia 1972)
- JRC G.E. Bean & T.B. Mitford, *Journeys in Rough Cilicia, 1964-1968* (Vienna 1970)

KAK	A. Geissen & W. Weiser, <i>Katalog Alexandrinischer Kaisermlnzen der Sammlung des Instituts für Altertumskunde der Universität zu Köln</i> (Opladen 1974-1983)
KBM	W. Weiser, <i>Katalog der Bithynischen Münzen der Sammlung des Instituts für Altertumskunde der Universität zu Köln. Band I, Nikaia</i> (Opladen 1983)
KK	A. Bernand, <i>De Koptos à Kosseir</i> (Leiden 1972)
KRS	P.S. Leber, <i>Die in Kärnten seit 1902 gefundenen römischen Steininschriften</i> (Klagenfurt 1972)
MAMA	<i>Monumenta Asiae Minoris Antiqua</i>
MGSLK	<i>Mitteilungen der Gesellschaft für Salzburger Landeskunde</i>
Milet	J. Hülsen, <i>Milet. Ergebnisse der Ausgrabungen und Untersuchungen. Bd. I.5, Das Nymphaeum</i> (Berlin & Leipzig 1919)
MRSS	A. Mócsy & T. Szentléleky, <i>Die römischen Steindenkmäler von Savaria</i> (Amsterdam 1971)
MS	M. Dunand, <i>Le musée de Soueïda</i> (Paris 1934)
NILM	W. Welkow, <i>Nouvelles inscriptions latines de Montana</i> (Warsaw 1955)
OGIS	W. Dittenberger, <i>Oriens Graeci Inscriptiones Selectae</i> (Leipzig 1903-1905)
Oliverio	G. Oliverio, <i>La stele dei nuovi comandamenti e dei cereali. Iscrizioni di Cirene, (Gortina), El Gùbba, Ngarnes, Gasr Barbùres, Gasr Taurgùni, Tolméta</i> (Bergamo 1933)
OR	D. Tudor, <i>Oltenia Romana</i> (Bucharest 1968)
Pais	H. Pais, <i>Corporis Inscriptionum Latinarum Supplementa Italica, I. Galliae Cisalpinae</i> (Rome 1884)
PD	A. Bernand, <i>Pan du désert</i> (Leiden 1977)
PdD	A. Bernand, <i>Les portes du désert</i> (Paris 1984)
RECAM II	S. Mitchell, <i>Regional Epigraphic Catalogues of Asia Minor, II. The Ankara District. The Inscriptions of North Galatia</i> (Oxford 1982)
RGAI	A. Riese, <i>Das Rheinische Germanien in den antiken Inschriften</i> (Leipzig & Berlin 1914)
RIB	R.G. Collingwood & R.P. Wright, <i>The Roman Inscriptions of Britain. I, The Inscriptions on Stone</i> (Oxford 1965)
RIBW	F. Haug & G. Sixt, <i>Die römischen Inschriften und Bildwerke Württembergs<sup>2</sup></i> (Stuttgart 1914)
RIC	H. Mattingly, E.A. Sydenham et al., <i>The Roman Imperial Coinage</i> (London 1923 ff.)
RIS	E. Weber, <i>Die römerzeitlichen Inschriften der Steiermark</i> (Graz 1969)
RISC	P. Wright & E.J. Phillips, <i>Roman Inscribed and Sculptured Stones in Carlisle Museum<sup>3</sup></i> (Carlisle 1975)

RIT	G. Alföldy, <i>Die römischen Inschriften von Tarraco</i> (Berlin 1975)
RIU	L. Barkóczy, A. Mócsy et al., <i>Die römischen Inschriften Ungarns</i> (Amsterdam 1972 ff.)
RRM I	D. French, <i>Roman Roads and Milestones of Asia Minor, Fasc. I: The Pilgrim's Road</i> (Oxford 1981)
RSK	B. & H. Galsterer, <i>Die römischen Steininschriften aus Köln</i> (Köln 1975)
RSO	H. Castritius, M. Claus & L. Hefner, "Die römischen Steininschriften des Odenwaldes" in W. Wackerfuß (ed.), <i>Beiträge zur Erforschung des Odenwaldes und seiner Randlandschaften II. Festschrift für Hans H. Weber</i> (Breuberg-Neustadt 1977) 238-308
RSS	G. Walser, <i>Die römischen Straßen der Schweiz. I. Teil, Die Meilensteine</i> (Bern 1967)
SEG	<i>Supplementum Epigraphicum Graecum</i>
SGLI	E. Littmann, D. Magie & D.R. Stuart, <i>Syria. Publications of the Princeton University Archaeological Expeditions to Syria in 1904-5 and 1909. III, Greek and Latin Inscriptions. Section A, Southern Syria</i> (Leiden 1921)
SK	G.E. Bean, <i>Side Kibeleri. The Inscriptions of Side</i> (Ankara 1965)
SNGAul	<i>Sylogae Nummorum Graecorum, Von Aulock Collection</i>
SNGCop	<i>Sylogae Nummorum Graecorum, Copenhagen Collection</i>
SP	J.G.C. Anderson, F. Cumont & H. Grégoire, <i>Recueil des inscriptions grecques et latines du Pont et de l'Arménie</i> (Brussels 1910)
Syll. <sup>3</sup>	<i>Sylogae Inscriptionum Graecarum</i>
TAD	<i>Türk Arkeoloji Dergisi</i>
TAM	<i>Tituli Asiae minoris</i>
WRIS	G. Walser, <i>Römische Inschriften in der Schweiz für den Schulunterricht ausgewählt, photographiert und erklärt</i> (Bern 1979-80)

## Books and Articles

Alföldy 1967	A. Alföldy, <i>Studien zur Geschichte der Weltkrise des 3. Jahrhunderts nach Christus</i> (Darmstadt 1967)
Alföldy 1966	G. Alföldy, "Ein bellum Sarmaticum und ein ludus Sarmaticus in der Historia Augusta" <i>BHAC</i> 1964/65 (Bonn 1966) 21-34
Alföldy 1969	G. Alföldy, <i>Fasti Hispanienses</i> (Wiesbaden 1969)
Alföldy 1984a	G. Alföldy, "Su alcune epigrafi imperiali di Aquileia" <i>AAAd</i> 24 (1984) 241-58

- Alföldy 1984b G. Alföldy, *Römische Statuen in Venetia et Histria. Epigraphische Quellen* (Heidelberg 1984)
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- Alram 1989 M. Alram, *Die Münzprägung des Kaisers Maximinus I. Thrax (235/238)* (Vienna 1989)
- Armstrong 1987 D. Armstrong, "Tribunician Dates of the Joint and Separate Reigns of Valerianus and Gallienus: a Plea for the August - September Theory" *ZPE* 67 (1987) 215-23
- Bagnall et al. 1987 Roger S. Bagnall, Alan Cameron, Seth R. Schwartz & K.A. Worp, *Consuls of the Later Roman Empire* (Atlanta 1987)
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- Barbieri 1952 G. Barbieri, *L'albo senatorio da Settimio Severo a Carino (193-285)* (Rome 1952)
- Barbieri 1964 G. Barbieri, *Akte des IV. internationalen Kongress für griechische und lateinische Epigraphik* (Vienna 1964)
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- Barnes 1981 T.D. Barnes, *Constantine and Eusebius* (Cambridge Mass. 1981)
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- Barnes 1984 T.D. Barnes, "The Composition of Cassius Dio's *Roman History*" *Phoenix* 38 (1984) 240-55
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## Introduction

By the early third century A.D. the titulature of the Roman emperors had achieved a standard basic format -- *Imperator Caesar* (name) *Pius Felix Augustus pontifex maximus tribunicia potestate* (iteration) *consul* (iteration) *pater patriae proconsul*.<sup>1</sup> The evolution of this formula had begun with the stabilization in 27 B.C. of Augustus' name as *Imperator Caesar divi filius Augustus*. Use of these names, or titles, varied throughout the first century A.D., but by the time of Trajan they reached a regularized form -- *Imperator Caesar* (name) *Augustus*.<sup>2</sup> *Pius* was voted for Antoninus by the senate, possibly during the fall of 138,<sup>3</sup> and Commodus added *Felix* in 185. The combination *Pius Felix Augustus* was not, however,

<sup>1</sup> The development of this formula has been most thoroughly examined by Hammond 1957, and Hammond 1959, 58-127. See as well, König 1970, 67-72 for a brief sketch. Mastino 1981, 27-43, though he deals with a limited period, and though he does not deal with the development of this formula per se, is now also essential.

<sup>2</sup> There has been a good deal of debate as to when exactly these (esp. *Imperator* and *Caesar*) ceased to be names and became titles. As regards *Imperator*, see: A. von Premerstein, *Vom Werden und Wesen des Prinzipats* (Munich 1937) esp. 255-60; D. McFayden, *The History of the Title Imperator under the Roman Empire* (diss. University of Chicago 1920) esp. 28 ff.; Hammond 1957, 21-41; R. Syme, "Imperator Caesar. A Study in Nomenclature" *Historia* 7 (1958) 172-88; Hammond 1959, 59-63; L. Lesuisse, "La nomination de l'empereur et le titre d'imperator" *AC* 30 (1961) 415-28; D. Kienast, "Imperator" *ZRG* 78 (1961) 417-21; Parsi 1963, 56-68, 172-85; R. Combès, *Imperator. Recherches sur l'emploi et la signification du titre d'imperator dans la Rome républicaine* (Paris 1966) 121-54; A. Degrassi, "I nomi dell'imperatore Augusto. Il praenomen Imperatoris" in *Studi in onore di Edoardo Volterra V* (Milan 1971) 580-92; B.W. Jones, *The Emperor Titus* (New York and London 1984) 58, 80-1. On *Caesar*: Hammond 1957, 21-41; Hammond 1959, 59-63; Syme, *Historia* 7 (1958) 172-88; L. Lesuisse, "Le titre de Caesar et son évolution au cours de l'empire" *LEC* 29 (1961) 271-87; Parsi 1963, 52-68. *Augustus*, as a title, has attracted less attention; however, the plural has been of some interest: E. Meyer, "Augusti" *Chiron* 5 (1975) 393-402 (with his earlier articles on the subject), and B.E. Thomasson, "Zum Gebrauch von Augustorum, Augg. und Aug. als Bezeichnung der Samtherrschaft zweier Herrscher" *ZPE* 52 (1983) 125-35. On the Greek equivalent (i.e. *Αὐτοκράτωρ*, and similar terms) as used in literature, A. Wifstrand, "Αὐτοκράτωρ, Καίσαρ, Βασιλεὺς. Bemerkungen zu den griechischen Benennungen der römischen Kaiser" in *ΔΡΑΓΜΑ M.P. Nilsson dedicatum* (Lund 1939) 529-39. See also Combès, *Imperator* 111-4. According to the categories established by Mastino 1981, 17 and passim, these would all be names. It seems to me, however, that indeed by the Flavian period these all had more the nature of titles than names. This is also the opinion of Lesuisse, Parsi, Combès and apparently Jones.

<sup>3</sup> Hammond 1957, 45-7 and Hammond 1959, 62. Note also J. Rufus Fears, *Princeps a diis electus. The Divine Election of the Emperor as a Political Concept at Rome* (Rome 1977), 253 n. 1.

adopted regularly until Caracalla did so.<sup>4</sup> These then are the elements that comprise what I shall henceforth call the first half of the standard formula. The second half consists of the other titles mentioned above. These seem to have been fixed originally during the reign of Claudius, and to have remained thenceforth standard.<sup>5</sup> Two other types of title also appear frequently and will here be of particular concern, though they were not part of this standard formula -- victory titles and acclamations as *imperator*.

Given the facts, then, that there existed both a basic official titulature and various other official elements that were not part of that regular formula, we are faced with the problem of how an emperor came to possess officially any or all of his titles. It is important to understand this process thoroughly, for only then can we begin to segregate official from non-official titulature. And this, in turn, is essential to any proper analysis of the chronology.

We might begin with the less regularly adopted elements of the titulature. Kneissl has argued a four-step process for the official conferment of victory titles.<sup>6</sup>

1. report of the emperor's victory to the senate
2. grant of the victory title by the senate
3. report of the senatorial decision to the emperor
4. acceptance or denial of the victory title by the emperor

Through the Severan period this must have been the proper system for granting such titles to an emperor, and only those thus conferred can have been official. For the mid-third century, we may assume that this or a similar procedure must have been followed, although we have no direct evidence to support the supposition. At the very least, senatorial approval must have been necessary to make a victory title official.<sup>7</sup> Acclamations as *imperator*, on the other hand, were probably taken as a result of action by the military, and need not necessarily have involved senatorial sanction.<sup>8</sup>

<sup>4</sup> Hammond 1957, 48-50 and Hammond 1959, 62. Further on *Pius Felix*, H. Erckell, *Augustus, Felicitas, Fortuna: lateinische Wortstudien* (Göteborg 1952) 115-20. See also J. Rufus Fears, "The Cult of Virtues and Roman Imperial Ideology" *ANRW* II.17.2 (Berlin 1981), 843-4 and Mastino 1981, 38-40.

<sup>5</sup> Hammond 1959, esp. 63. Cf. also Mastino 1981, 40-3.

<sup>6</sup> Kneissl 1969, 182.

<sup>7</sup> See Kneissl 1969, 174-8 for a brief discussion of victory titles during the rest of the third century.

<sup>8</sup> See below p. 53.

Hammond has examined most thoroughly the method of granting the elements of the standard formula during the first two centuries A.D., and he concludes that through the early third century the senate was responsible for conferring officially the titulature.<sup>9</sup> Indeed, most emperors in this period seem to have been careful not to begin using any titles that the senate had not yet approved. By the early third century, however, this situation had begun to change. Succession to the purple was not so orderly as it had been under the Antonines, and emperors-elect began simply to adopt the standard titular formula (or parts thereof) on their own, leaving the senate to confirm at leisure. Still, there seems to have been a strong feeling that the senate had at least to ratify the adopted titulature. It is worth examining in some detail what can be known of the procedure for granting titles during the Severan period, in order to gain a notion of what might be expected in this regard during subsequent years.

We have one (probably) reliable source of information regarding the senate and its procedure at the beginning of the third century -- Cassius Dio. Fortunately, he was present when news arrived in the senate of Macrinus' elevation, and we have his report (78.16.2).<sup>10</sup>

ἐνέγραψεν δὲ ἐν τῇ ἐπιστολῇ Καίσαρα θ' ἑαυτὸν καὶ αὐτοκράτορα καὶ  
Σεουήρου, προσθεῖς τῷ Μακρίνου ὀνόματι καὶ εὐσεβῆ καὶ εὐτυχῆ καὶ  
Αὔγουστον καὶ ἀνθύπατον, οὐκ ἀναμένων τι ὡς ἐκός ἦν, παρ' ἡμῶν  
ψήφισμα.

So, according to Dio, Macrinus simply took (or was awarded by the troops) the titles *Imperator, Caesar, Pius, Felix, Augustus, proconsul*,<sup>11</sup> and then wrote the senate informing them of this. He did not wait, as had been customary, for the senate to vote him these. If Dio's report is accurate, then Macrinus did not immediately assume the following: *pontifex*

<sup>9</sup> Hammond 1957; Hammond 1959, 1 ff. (esp. 6) and 58 ff. Note also Talbert 1984, 354-5.

<sup>10</sup> Herod. 5.1.2-8 also reports a letter from Macrinus to the senate. The epistle is almost certainly invented, and there is nothing regarding titulature in it. Cf. H. von Petrikovits, *RE* XVIII,1 545 and Whitaker 1969/70, ad loc. Herodian then reports, however, that after having been read the letter, the senate voted Macrinus all the imperial honors (5.2.1). The *HA* also knows that Macrinus wrote to the senate. But in the letters as "transcribed" by the *HA* author, there is no mention of titulature. See *HA Opil.* 7.1 ff. and 11.2. See further below regarding this. On Dio as a source for senatorial proceedings, below p. 21.

<sup>11</sup> N.b., Boissevain has filled a lacuna here with ἀνθύπατον. He cites as a parallel passage Dio 79.2.2, where the discussion is of a similar letter sent to the senate, but by Elagabalus. Also below, pp. 5-6.

*maximus, tribunicia potestate, (consul)*<sup>12</sup> and *pater patriae*. Macrinus' coins, via their reverse legends, however, display precisely those elements of the titulature that Dio does not mention (the obverse legends are with uniformity, IMP C M OPEL SEV MACRINVS AVG).<sup>13</sup>

P M TR P  
 P M TR P P P  
 P M TR P COS P P  
 P M TR P II COS P P  
 P M TR P II COS II P P

The logical assumption is that Macrinus acted as Dio reports and that the senate, in accepting him as emperor, also voted Macrinus the full standard titulature, which is then attested by the coins. Dio's report, however, has been questioned, and precisely because of these coins.

Hammond interpreted the situation as follows.<sup>14</sup>

"...on the coinage of both emperors (Macrinus and Elagabalus) at Rome, the titles *p.m.* and *tr.p.* appear earlier than *p.p.* and *cos.* This priority suggests that the former two titles were assumed as part of the grant of imperial powers upon their proclamation by the legions and that *p.p.* and *cos.* were assumed only when the proclamation had been confirmed by the senate. If so, Dio or his epitomizer is in error in not including the supreme pontificate among the titles assumed before the senate recognized them."

That the consulate does not appear immediately might well be explained by hesitation to count Macrinus' previous *ornamenta consularia* as a true consulate before he had actually held the office.<sup>15</sup> It is also possible that there was some reluctance to make the equestrian

<sup>12</sup> Macrinus first held the consulate in 218, though in 217 (before his acclamation by the troops) he held the *ornamenta consularia*. See Degraffi 1952, 61 and Schillinger-Häfele 1986, 70.

<sup>13</sup> *RJC* IV.2 5 ff., *BMCRE* V ccxiv ff. and 494 ff., *HCC* III 103 ff. Note that the original attribution of some of Macrinus' coins to the mint at Antioch can no longer be accepted. See, C. Clay, "The Roman Coinage of Macrinus and Diadumenian" *NZ* 93 (1979) 21-40.

<sup>14</sup> Hammond 1959, 67 with 99-100 n. 54.

<sup>15</sup> On the *ornamenta* see below p. 52.

upstart *pontifex maximus* or *pater patriae* immediately. But in all of this, we cannot forget the simple fact that the coins frequently give an abbreviated form of the official titulature, and that they cannot be pressed as evidence of the complete official formula.<sup>16</sup> We might consider one other source in this context.

The *HA* reports that Macrinus, upon his acclamation by the troops, wrote the senate; but the letters produced by the *HA* author contain nothing regarding titulature (*Opil.* 5.9 ff.). We are later told that the senate voted the titles *pontifex maximus, Pius, proconsul, the tribunicia potestas* and *Felix* for Macrinus when they learned of events in the East (*Opil.* 7.2-5). The report continues with the notice (*Opil.* 11.2) that when the senate voted him *Pius Felix*, he accepted the latter but rejected the former. Obviously the *HA* author has not carefully followed Dio here, and it is clear that we should once again look first to the man who was actually present as events unfolded.<sup>17</sup>

As Dio says then, Macrinus took part of the standard official titulature at the moment of his acclamation by the troops. The new emperor subsequently informed the senate of this action by letter; and bowing to the inevitable, the *patres* ratified those titles already assumed. We may also reasonably assume, from the evidence of the coins, that those parts of the basic formula still lacking were added officially – whether immediately or gradually. Moreover, it is possible to explain Macrinus' actions as reported by Dio. At the moment of his acclamation he assumed the parts of the titulature that were inherent to the monarchy, indeed associated only with it, viz. the imperial names (or titles). He also took the proconsular imperium, which he needed in order legally to command his troops. However, since there was momentarily no practical need of the pontificate, the tribunician power or the epithet *pater patriae*, he could easily avoid offending the senate over these, and could wait for proper conferment of the titles. The consulate too would come in due time. Dio's account makes perfect sense.

Dio provides more evidence for the habit of writing the senate to inform them of the assumption of titulature. He reports the following concerning Elagabalus' accession (79.2.2-3).

καὶ ἐν μὲν τῇ πρὸς τὴν βουλὴν ἐπιστολῇ τῷ τε πρὸς τὸν δῆμον γράμματι

<sup>16</sup> On this, below pp. 10-4.

<sup>17</sup> That the *HA* author had read and used Dio on these events is argued by F. Kolb, *Literarische Beziehungen zwischen Cassius Dio, Herodian und der Historia Augusta* (Bonn 1972) 118-35. Barcus 1978, 81-9 and 98-107 prefers Marius Maximus as the source. If the *HA* indeed here depends on Maximus, then we have the direct testimony of one senator (Dio) as opposed to the indirect of another (Maximus via the *HA*). Dio is still to be preferred. Note also Hammond 1957, 50 n. 194.

καὶ αὐτοκράτορα καὶ Καίσαρα, τοῦ τε Ἀντωνίνου υἱὸν καὶ τοῦ Σεουήρου ἔγγονον, εἰσεβῆτε καὶ εὐτυχῆ καὶ Αὐγουστον, καὶ ἀνθύπατον τὴν τε ἐξουσίαν τὴν δημοκρατικὴν ἔχοντα ἐαυτὸν ἐνέγραψεν, προλαμβάνων αὐτὰ πρὶν ψηφισθῆναι...

Again, we see that an emperor simply assumes most of the basic titular format. Here the titles *pontifex maximus*, *consul* and *pater patriae* were not immediately taken, possibly in an attempt to avoid offending the senate.<sup>18</sup> And once again, the coins demonstrate that Elagabalus indeed had, eventually, those titles not mentioned by Dio.<sup>19</sup> We must once again assume that within a short time of his acclamation, Elagabalus possessed the full basic titular formula.

Other evidence also deserves mention in the present context. The *HA* asserts that Alexander Severus was the first to receive the full titulature by one block vote of the senate.

...Alexander...accepit imperium, cum ante Caesar a senatu[s] esset appellatus, mortuo scilicet Macrino, Augustumque nomen idem recepit addito eo, ut et patris patriae nomen et ius proconsulare et tribuniciam potestatem et ius quintae relationis deferente[s] senatu uno die adsumeret (*HA Alex.* 1.2-5)

primus denique et omnium cuncta insignia et honorificentiae genera simul recepit... (*HA Alex.* 2.4)

et post adclamationes Aurelius Alexander Caesar Augustus: 'gratias vobis, p.c., non nunc primum sed et de Caesareano nomine et de vita servata et Augusti nomine addito et de pontificatu maximo et de tribunicia potestate et proconsulari imperio, quae omnia novo exemplo uno die in me contulists.' (*HA Alex.* 8.1)

It is not at all clear why the *HA* author should produce such an absurdity; nonetheless, the assertion that Alexander Severus was the first to receive the full titulature from the senate

<sup>18</sup> Elagabalus held a suffect consulate in 218 shortly after his acclamation, but did not take an ordinary consulate until 219. See Degraisi 1952, 61 and Schilling-Häfele 1986, 71. Note also Van't Dack 1982, 333.

<sup>19</sup> See *BMCRE* V pp. 530 ff.

*uno die* is absurd.<sup>20</sup> The important point here is that the *HA* author expected that his reader would understand a block grant of the titulature as standard procedure during the third century.

The situation at the inception of our period, then, seems to have been this: a standard titular format had come into being, and the senate was responsible for the official grant of this titulature to the emperor. Both Macrinus and Elagabalus had been proclaimed by the troops rather than by their respective predecessors, thus foreshadowing the situation during the rest of the century. And both of these men took most of the standard titulature upon acclamation by the military. Moreover, they both informed the senate of this via letter;<sup>21</sup> the *patres* could do little but acquiesce and then grant the full titulature to the new emperor. As Aurelius Victor would put it, referring to the acclamation of Maximinus Thrax, *patres, dum periculosum existimari inermes armato resistere, approbaverunt* (*Caes.* 25.2). The senate was in no place to dictate. Yet, precisely because it was the only font whatsoever of constitutionality, senatorial sanction must have been sought consistently. Whatever the reality of the situation, even specious legality must have seemed preferable to obvious or admitted anarchy. And so, just as the senators could not resist Maximinus' sword, he could not properly rule without their sanction. Hence, when we speak of official titulature, only those titles voted for an emperor by the senate come into question.

We have now a standard formula, which we can expect to have been conferred en bloc by the senate upon each new emperor.<sup>22</sup> This will be the basic form of the official titulature, and can reasonably be assumed for each recent appointee. But how are we to recognize official titles other than those of this basic formula? In particular, how are we to know whether attested victory titles or *imperator* acclamations did or did not have official sanction? We are reduced to educated guessing, and here a comprehensive collection of

<sup>20</sup> Dio (53.18.4) plainly states that in his own day all of the titulature, excepting the censorship, was granted at once. See also Hammond 1959, 6, Talbert 1984, 355 and below n. 22. Also now the thorough discussion of, M. Angustias Villacampa Rubio, *El valor histórico de la Vita Alexandri Severi en los Scriptores Historiae Augustae* (Zaragoza 1988) 41-52.

<sup>21</sup> On this procedure note, Millar 1977, 352.

<sup>22</sup> The consulate, if the new emperor had not held the office already, would be taken in the first January following his accession. See Bagnall et al. 1987, 23. It is also conceivable that the senate will sometimes have granted the titulature *seriatim*, rather than at one session; the pontificate (say) might at times have been granted later. Cf. Hammond 1959, 63-72. Also, if the emperor were in Rome, there may have been some hesitation at some times to vote him proconsular imperium (see below pp. 17-8). Any such delays are, however, almost always impossible accurately to detect during our period.



the available data becomes crucial. Moreover, we must understand thoroughly the relationship between titulature and the evidence that preserves it for us.

## Chapter I, The Sources

Based on the documents collected in the catalogue below, it is possible to pose numerous questions regarding imperial titulature. In what follows, two predominate. The first is that of chronology: regnal dates, tribunician and consular iterations, the dates at which victory titles were granted and the sequence of acclamations as *imperator*. Secondly, I shall be concerned frequently with the problem of official versus non-official titles, particularly as regards the victory titles and *imperator* acclamations. All of this must be accomplished mainly on the basis of the available documentary evidence, though with some slight help from the literature. Hence, it is essential to understand thoroughly the limits of that evidence.

Three categories of document must be evaluated: coins, inscriptions, papyri. What types of error can each group be expected generally to make? Of these three types of document, is one type more reliable than another or the others? Are some of the coins, or some of the inscriptions more reliable than others?

It is also important to be clear about the notions "error" or "reliable." For example, the deletion of some part or parts of the titulature might seem to render a document erroneous or unreliable concerning the complete official titulature. We indeed frequently find the entire second half of an emperor's titulature missing, and we can also expect individual titles often to be deleted. Yet neither of these types of deviation from the complete titulature is precisely erroneous or particularly troublesome. Comparison of numerous documents and knowledge of the usual official formula will normally save us. On the other hand, we shall frequently find consulates, victory titles or acclamations as *imperator* given by only a few documents. This is problematic, for how are we to know whether these titles as attested were official, or whether they were the result of someone's creativity? The only possible method of resolving this dilemma is to compare sources. We must determine which documents are least likely to add non-official titles, and then compare all of these that are available. Only then can we even begin to be sure that a title was officially held.

It is also interesting here to pose another question: Who was responsible for creating each type of document? Instinct might lead us to suppose that documents produced by governmental officials ought to represent more accurately the official titulature. But by asking first just who composed the various documents that we shall be dealing with, and next just how each type of document usually reproduces the titulature, we shall more accurately be able to judge whether certain segments of Roman society, both within and outside the government, were indeed more careful than others regarding the titulature.

## 1. Coins

All of the coins, whether produced by an imperial or a local mint, must be considered official documents.<sup>1</sup> We know, however, precious little regarding the precise mechanisms of control exerted by the government over types and legends. On the basis of what is known, it is possible to talk of the mint at Rome, of the imperial mints in the provinces (Lugdunum, Antioch etc.), of the Alexandrian mint, and finally of the local mints, particularly in Asia Minor.

For the mint at Rome, and to some extent the imperial mints elsewhere, the question of control of types and legends must take into consideration Mommsen's theory of the dyarchy. His hypothesis states that the legend SC, found on the bronze but not the gold and silver coinage of the early Empire, indicates that the *aes* coinage was controlled or administered by the senate, while the gold and silver remained the province of the emperor.<sup>2</sup> The debate, as well as the bibliography, continues, and there appears to be no absolute solution in sight.<sup>3</sup> But whichever side one takes in this controversy, there must be substantial agreement that the emperor could exert at will his *auctoritas* in order to have the types (or legends) that he preferred put on any of these coins. Indeed, a fair amount of literary evidence testifies to the emperor's concern for what appeared on the coins.<sup>4</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Cf. (e.g.) Sutherland 1987, vi, "The imperial coinage was, fundamentally, a government-controlled economic instrument which also said things, and usually illustrated them. This much is beyond question or denial."

<sup>2</sup> Th. Mommsen, *Geschichte des römischen Münzwesens* (Berlin 1860) 742-7 and idem, *Römisches Staatsrecht* II,2 (Leipzig 1887) 1025-7.

<sup>3</sup> The best interpretation seems to me that of, A.M. Burnett, "The Authority of Coin in the Late Republic and Early Empire," *NC* 7.17 (1977) 37-63, and idem, *Coinage in the Roman World* (London 1987) 18-9. For other interpretations of the legend: K. Kraft, "S(enatus) C(onsulto)," *JNG* 12 (1962) 7-49; A. Bay, "The Letters SC on Augustan *Aes* Coinage," *JRS* 62 (1972) 111-22. D.W. Mac Dowall, *The Western Coinages of Nero* (New York 1979) esp. 70-3 argues that, "...the senatorial reference on the *aes* was one of courtesy alone, and not of specific right." This is similar to the opinion expressed by Sutherland 1987, 35-8. Note also Talbert 1984, 379-83.

<sup>4</sup> Fears, *ANRW* II.17.2, 911 n. 395 adduces the following to show that emperors were directly involved in the selection of coin types: Suet. *Aug.* 94, *Ner.* 25; Lucian *Alex.* 58; Cass. Dio 44.4; Euseb. *Vit. Const.* 4.15. To this list add: Herod. 2.15.4 (Septimius Severus gives permission for coins of Clodius Albinus to be struck); *HA Diad.* 2.6-7 (Macrinus has coins of his son Diadumenian struck at Antioch, but waits for senatorial approval before striking his own coins); Cass. Dio 79.4.7 (Elagabalus executes Valerius Paetus because Paetus had made χρυσίδας γλώσσας ἐαυτοῦ φέροντας -- this was thought to presage a revolt). For other instances of revolts being announced by coins: Herod. 1.9.7; *HA trig. tyr.* 26.2-6, 31.3; *HA quatt. tyr.* 2.1. P.-H. Martin, *Die anonymen Münzen des Jahres 68 nach Christus* (Mainz 1974) demonstrates that the pretenders of 68/69 directly employed the coinage for purposes of propaganda, and T.V. Buttrey, "Vespasian as Moneyer" *NC* 7.12 (1972) 89-109 makes a strong case for Vespasian having done much of the selection of his own coin types. See also: B.M. Levick, "Propaganda and the Imperial Coinage," *Antichthon* 16 (1982) 104-16; C.H.V. Sutherland, "The Purpose

Let us accept the notion that the emperor could and often did exert personal influence over the product of the imperial mints. Otherwise, during the third century, we can only assume that the choice of types and legends might have been left to other officials, possibly the senate, or the *procurator monetae*. It is worth noting, though, that the *aes* coinage, along with all evidence of the existence of *tres viri monetales*, ends in the third century.<sup>5</sup> It would seem that any senatorial control over the coinage at Rome may have stopped at this time as well. And as regards the procurator of the mint, we simply have no evidence that he decided what was to appear on the coins.<sup>6</sup>

We know also relatively little concerning control of provincial coinages, whether of imperial or purely local mintage. During the early Empire local coinages operated in the West as well as the East, and in the West it appears that some effort was made by the central government to determine the product of the imperial mints.<sup>7</sup> In particular, the Julio-Claudians seem to have controlled the western coinages at will.<sup>8</sup> We know also, though, that provincial governors could order an issue of coins from a provincial imperial mint. Whether they also specified types or legends cannot be determined.<sup>9</sup> By the mid-third century, however, the local mints in the West had been suppressed.<sup>10</sup>

Asia Minor, on the other hand, is particularly interesting in this sense, for there the local coinages persisted into the mid-third century; and Kraft's study of the system of coinage

of Roman Imperial Coin Types," *RN* 25 (1983) 73-82; and, Campbell 1984, 36. Cf. also Sutherland 1987, 51-3, 55-8, 72-4 etc., and Burnett, *Coinage* (above n. 3) 24-5 and 66 ff.

<sup>5</sup> The latest datable *tres viri* are from the reign of Alexander Severus, although it is possible that the office continued in existence until the time of (say) Gallienus. See J.R. Jones, "Mint Magistrates in the Early Roman Empire" *BICS* 17 (1970) 70-8.

<sup>6</sup> See M. Peachin, "The Procurator Monetae" *NC* 146 (1986) 103-5.

<sup>7</sup> See: C.H.V. Sutherland, "Early Imperial Mints in the Western Provinces, the Direction of Coin Types" *NAC* 12 (1983) 151-7; J.-B. Giard, "Pouvoir central et libertés locales. Le monnayage en bronze de Claude avant 50 après J.C." *RN* 12 (1970) 33-43; MacDowall, *Western Coinages of Nero* 130-1. For the East: K. Kraft, *Das System der kaiserzeitlichen Münzprägung in Kleinasien* (Berlin 1972); Harl 1978, esp. 36-125; Harl 1987, 12-7.

<sup>8</sup> C.H.V. Sutherland, *The Emperor and the Coinage: Julio-Claudian Studies* (London 1976) 96 ff.

<sup>9</sup> Cf. Burnett, *NC* 7.17 (1977) 57-9 and Harl 1978, 52-64.

<sup>10</sup> Cf. M. Grant, "The Decline and Fall of City-Coinage in Spain" *NC* 6.9 (1950) 93-106.

there has revealed a fascinating situation.<sup>11</sup> It now appears that central workshops produced all of the coinage for the cities in a given area. Furthermore, it seems that the workers ■ these centralized shops largely controlled the legends of the coins. It is not clear just how far the provincial or local governments interfered in the initial selection of (obverse) types and legends, but there seems no doubt that the moneyers at these common mints had a great deal of influence as regards the final product. Of special interest here is Kraft's conclusion that some of the central workshops coined consistently with the legend ΣΕΒΑΣΤΟΣ while others used always ΑΥΓΟΥΣΤΟΣ. This decision seems attributable to the officials at the mint itself.

Alexandria too is problematic. Milne suggested that the mint there was under the direction of the *idios logos*, though this now seems unlikely.<sup>12</sup> And while suggesting the *idios logos* as director of the mint, Milne also said the following regarding types: "On the whole, the impression produced by the list of the types used at Alexandria is that the mint officials, at any rate after the reign of Domitian, were not directed by any orders from the heads of the government; when they were not very busy, they devised fresh (type) designs, but in times of pressure they used the stock ones..."<sup>13</sup> We simply cannot be sure who decided what was to be put on the coins in Alexandria.

The picture that emerges, then, is one of rather erratic control of the coinage. At Rome or ■ the imperial mints, the emperor could, and probably often did, exert his personal influence over the content of the coinage. He did so, however, at will, and we cannot expect that all emperors at all times decided what was to appear on these issues. Otherwise little can be known. The *procurator monetæ* at Rome, provincial governors, or officials at the various mints may have been responsible for the makeup of these coinages in the absence of an imperial mandate. Issues of local mints in the Balkan area, Asia Minor, Syria-Palestine generally exhibit more autonomy, as do the Alexandrian coins. These coinages appear to have been largely designed locally.

<sup>11</sup> Kraft, *System der kaiserzeitlichen Münzprägung*. It should be noted, however, that there has been criticism of Kraft's theories: A. Johnston, "Review Article. New Problems for Old: Konrad Kraft on Die-sharing in Asia Minor" *NC* 7.14 (1974) 203-7. It will probably be some time before the problems of the coinage of Asia Minor during the Empire are truly settled, but I think that Kraft's analysis must, for the time being, stand. Note also Harl 1987, 16-7.

<sup>12</sup> Milne 1933, xviii. The most recent study of the *idios logos* portrays the office as being involved chiefly with land and property administration. There is no mention whatever of coinage. See P.R. Swaney, *The Ptolemaic and Roman Idios Logos* (Toronto 1970).

<sup>13</sup> Milne 1933, xl.

Having come so far, we are nonetheless short of our destination. We have some idea as to who may have determined the titulature that appeared on coins, but we must now see what, if anything, this implies. Let us first consider the question of official versus non-official titulature. It might seem reasonable to assume that the mints most clearly controlled by the central government (Rome especially, and the imperial mints in the provinces) would best represent official policy regarding the titulature. One thing is certain -- drastic abbreviation is to be expected. The seven different combinations of titulature on Maximinus Thrax' Roman issues demonstrate this sufficiently.

1. MAX PI AVG GERM
2. IMP MAX PI AVG
3. IMP MAX PI AVG PONT MAX TR POT P P
4. MAX PI AVG GERM PONT MAX TR POT II COS P ■
5. IMP MAX PI AVG PONT MAX TR POT II COS P P
6. MAX PI AVG GERM PONT MAX TR POT III COS P P
7. MAX PI AVG GERM PONT MAX TR POT IIII COS P P

A number of Maximinus' titles simply do not appear: *Caesar*, *Felix*, *proconsul*, *Sarmaticus maximus*, *Dacicus maximus*. We can reasonably assume a priori that *Caesar*, *Felix* and *proconsul* were officially part of Maximinus' titulature. And although two of his victory titles do not appear on the coins from Rome, they appear widely in the other documents, and in particular on military diplomas and in the papyri. Thus, all of these titles must also have been official, even though the Roman coins neglect them. It should also be noted that the titles that do appear on the Roman issues come in varied combinations. Clearly, even at Rome it was not terribly important to be absolutely exact as regards an emperor's official titulature. The same holds for all other mints the Empire over.

That a title is lacking entirely on the coinage, then, does not alone indicate that it was not officially held. But must we fear that titles not officially held will appear on coins of Rome, or on those of imperial mints in the provinces? Until the reign of Valerian this seems to pose no great problem, but afterwards becomes most troublesome. By way of exemplum, let us consider Valerian.

A number of his coins from Rome label him *restitutor orbis*,<sup>14</sup> though no other mint graces him with this epithet. On the other hand, at Viminacium he appears as *restitutor*

<sup>14</sup> Cat. nos. 7, 16, 21.

*generis humani*,<sup>15</sup> and at Antioch as *restitutor orientis*.<sup>16</sup> It seems most unlikely that Valerian had any of these titles officially, that is by vote of the senate. Rather, we must wonder whether some official (or officials) at each mint in question might not have made the decision to bestow an idiosyncratic title upon him.<sup>17</sup> As this exemplum demonstrates, even the mint at Rome cannot be trusted to apply only officially held titulature to an emperor. In order to weed official from non-official we must go further than the coins.

Chronology is likewise troublesome. The coins from Alexandria will often be useful, and we can expect that the year dates given there are to be trusted.<sup>18</sup> On the other hand, tribunician and consular iterations provided by other coins, even those of Rome, are not always reliable. For example, the Roman coins of Gordian III attest him as both *tr. pot. III cos. II* and *tr. pot. VII*; no scheme of tribunician and consular iterations allows both.<sup>19</sup> We are forced to admit that even at the mint in Rome, mistakes of chronology happened.

It is clear, then, that the coins alone can give us neither the official titulature, nor chronology with absolute reliability. In the first place we cannot be sure of the chain of command that led to the production of legends. Yet, even if we did know this, the coins themselves demonstrate a frequent disregard for exactitude. Even the coins from the mint at Rome often delete titles that were held officially, might add titles that were not granted by the senate, and can be expected at times to make errors in chronology. The coins must be controlled at every step by means of other available documentation.

## 2. Inscriptions

Several types of inscription record imperial titulature in this period: rescripts (*subscriptiones* and *epistulae*), military diplomas, milestones and various kinds of

<sup>15</sup> Cat. no. 15.

<sup>16</sup> Cat. nos. 17, 22 (?).

<sup>17</sup> It might be argued that the Antioch coins reflect the recapture of the city in 254, on which: Kuhoff 1979, 12; Halfmann 1986, 236; Harl 1987, 109-12. They then might have been produced by order of Valerian himself. On the other hand, these coins could just as well reflect the enthusiasm of the Antiochenes. Note also Drinkwater 1987, 167 on the various Gallic issues with *restitutor* for Gallienus.

<sup>18</sup> There is an odd situation (e.g.) under Trebonianus Gallus, but this exception serves to prove the rule. See below pp. 73-4.

<sup>19</sup> See below pp. 60-1. Other examples of confused chronology on the coins will be discussed below.

dedication.<sup>20</sup> The first three can, without further ado, be considered official documents. Also to be called official are dedications of statues of emperors.<sup>21</sup> Indeed, all dedications made by corporate bodies (e.g. cities, *collegia*, military units) should also be labeled official. Only those dedications set up by individuals for private purposes may be called properly non-official.

*Rescripts* -- In considering rescripts, we must divide our attention between two types of imperial correspondence.<sup>22</sup> Private individuals might petition the emperor in the written form of a *libellus*, which the emperor answered with a *scriptio*. Important individuals and communities were more likely to contact the emperor via an *epistula*, which would be answered in like form. It has been suggested that the titulature proper to the former differed from that employed in *epistulae* -- *subscriptiones* contained only the first half of the official formula, whereas the full titulature was appropriate to letters.<sup>23</sup> We shall see that such a formalized distinction may not have appertained by the mid-third century.

The method of composition and then dispersal of the texts that we possess is also somewhat problematic.<sup>24</sup> *Subscriptiones*, particularly because of their brevity, may in some cases have been set to paper by the emperor himself.<sup>25</sup> In other cases, and the answer of the nine year old Gordian III to the people of Skaptopara would be an example, the *libellis* must have composed the answer. In either case, the titulature will have been set down within the confines of the imperial household. The *libellus*, with the emperor's *scriptio*, was then posted publicly, and had to be copied by the petitioner in the presence of witnesses. This copy of the original document, then, served as the text on whose basis an inscription commemorating the imperial response might be cut. It seems doubtful that emperors themselves should generally have taken the time to write *epistulae*. Rather, it is more likely that in most cases, the emperor will have dictated an answer which was then put to paper in the office of the *ab epistulis*. This office will have been responsible for the titulature that appeared. The letter itself was then returned to the petitioner, and from this

<sup>20</sup> There are no inscribed edicts from this period. Cf. Millar 1977, 257. Note also Williams 1976, 237.

<sup>21</sup> Alföldy 1984b, 52-5.

<sup>22</sup> The distinction between imperial *subscriptiones* and *epistulae* was originally set out by Wilcken 1920, and is now generally accepted.

<sup>23</sup> Williams 1986, 192 and *passim*.

<sup>24</sup> On this see: Wilcken 1920, 11 ff.; Millar 1977, 206 ff.; Williams 1980.

<sup>25</sup> Millar 1977, 244-6 comes close to this opinion.

document a stone might be produced. It is clear that we must contend with the possibility of corruption in the process of transmission. Subscriptions will have been copied once at the time of their posting, and then again onto stone. Epistles might suffer mutation going from paper to stone. Still, it is probably safe to suppose that some care will usually have been exerted in copying such documents, and the inscriptions probably represent, with a fair degree of accuracy, the text as it came from court.

From the period here in question we have imperial titulature on three inscribed subscriptions.<sup>26</sup> The first is the famous rescript of Gordian III to the citizens of Skaptopara.<sup>27</sup> They (apparently) addressed him initially as, *Αὐτοκράτωρ Καῖσαρ Μ. Ἀντωνίου Γορδιανῶς Εὐσεβῆς Εὐτυχῆς Σεβαστός* (lines 8-9), which is mirrored by the titulature heading the reply, *Imperator Caesar Marcus Antonius Gordianus Pius Felix Augustus* (line 166).<sup>28</sup> We also have a rescript from Philip to a community of imperial tenants in Phrygia.<sup>29</sup> The titulature of the Latin subscription is, *Imperator Caesar Marcus Iulius Philippus Pius Felix Augustus et Marcus Iulius Philippus nobilissimus Caesar* (line 1), again repeated by the Greek text.<sup>30</sup> Finally there is a rescript from Valerian, Gallienus and Saloninus to the tenants of a sanctuary of Zeus at Baetocaece in Syria.<sup>31</sup> The emperors are labeled, *Imperator Caesar Publius Licinius Valerianus Pius Felix Augustus et Imperator Caesar Publius Licinius Gallienus Pius Felix Augustus et Licinius Cornelius Saloninus Valerianus nobilissimus Caesar* (lines 1-8).<sup>32</sup> It will be noted that all three of these omit the

<sup>26</sup> On these in detail, Williams 1986, 198-207.

<sup>27</sup> *IGBulg* 2236. The *a libellus* at this moment cannot be identified. He is Honoré's number 12 (Honoré 1981, 85-90).

<sup>28</sup> It is interesting to note that in the heading to the petition and rescript (lines 3-4), *dominus noster* is added to Gordian's titulature. This addition is probably to be attributed to Aurelius Pyrrus, who presented the petition on behalf of the village. See Williams 1986, 201.

<sup>29</sup> *CIL* III 14191. Although there has been debate as to whether this is a subscription or an epistle, the former has most recently been suggested -- Williams 1986, 204-5. Note that Wilcken 1920, 10 argued for an exceptional situation here, viz. an *epistula* answering a *libellus*. He could supply no explanation however.

<sup>30</sup> See the note in the catalogue below (no. 179) on the restoration of this stone. The *a libellus* at this moment is again unknown. See Honoré 1981, 90-3.

<sup>31</sup> *IGLS* VII 4028.

<sup>32</sup> Mention of Saloninus and the presence of Valerian places the stone between ca. June/July 258 and ca. June 260. This, in turn, means that two unknowns are here in question as *a libellus* -- Honoré's nos. 14 and 15. See Honoré 1981, 93-6.

second half of the standard formula, which may have been the common practice in subscriptions.<sup>33</sup> Still, the fact that we have so few inscribed subscriptions makes it risky to assume from those preserved anything like standard practice.

The habits of *epistulae* with regard to titulature might be illustrated by two letters from the reign of Valerian. The first is a missive to Julius Apella in Smyrna, where the titulature is abbreviated as in the subscript.<sup>34</sup>

Αὐτοκράτωρ Καῖσαρ Πούβλιος Λικίνιος Οὐαλεριανὸς Εὐσεβῆς Εὐτυχῆς /  
Σεβαστός καὶ Αὐτοκράτωρ Καῖσαρ Πούβλιος Λικίνιος Γαλλιφηνός Εὐτυχῆς  
Σε/βαστός [καὶ] Λικίνιος Κ[ορνήλιος] ἐπι/φανέστατος Καῖσαρ  
(*CIL* III 412/*CIG* 3182/*IGRR* IV 1404/*JK* 24,1 604)

Another letter, this to the people of Arycanda in Lycia, has a more, though apparently not entirely, complete titulature.

[Αὐτοκράτωρ Καῖσαρ Πούβ(λιος) Λικ(ίνιος)] / Οὐα[λεριανός] Εὐσε[βῆς]  
Σεβαστός] / ἀρχ[ιερεὺς μέ]γιστος / δημα[ρχικῆς] ἐξουσίας τὸ [--  
πα]/τῆρ πατρίδος ἀνθίπ[ατος] καὶ [Καῖ]/σαρ Πούβ(λιος) Λικ(ίνιος)  
Γαλλιφηνός Εὐσε[βῆς] / ἀρχιερεὺς μέγ[ιστος] Γερμανικὸς [δημαρχικῆς]  
ἐξου]/σίας τὸ ς' ὑπάτος τὸ γ' π[ατῆρ] π[ατρίδος] ἀν[θίπ(ατος)] /  
Οὐαλεριανὸς ἐπιφανέστα[τος] (*SEG* 6 (1932) 759)

The imperial letters from the archive wall in Aphrodisias are also instructive.<sup>35</sup> In a letter of Gordian III from 239 we find the title *proconsul* lacking, whereas a document of 243 has the complete standard formula.<sup>36</sup> That the title does not appear in the first document is possibly to be explained by constitutional regard for the principle that an emperor's military powers were not to be exhibited in Rome.<sup>37</sup> However, a third letter, this to a

<sup>33</sup> Cf. (e.g.) Williams 1986, 182, 204, 206.

<sup>34</sup> See the note in the catalogue below (no. 429) on the restoration of this stone.

<sup>35</sup> Reynolds 1982, 33-7 and 131-43.

<sup>36</sup> Reynolds 1982, nos. 20 and 21 respectively.

<sup>37</sup> Reynolds 1982, 132.

private citizen, deletes the entire second half of the standard formula.<sup>38</sup> Are we to suppose that because a citizen was less important than a city, half of the official titulature in an *epistula* to an individual would normally be left out? Or is it valid simply to suppose that at any given moment, in any given document, such abbreviation of the titulature might occur? Finally, a letter of Trajan Decius and Herennius Etruscus exhibits perplexing titulature.<sup>39</sup> Decius there receives the complete standard formula except for one element -- the pontificate. And oddly, this office is attributed to Herennius. The document is simply odd and confusing.<sup>40</sup> What is clear from the examples cited though, is that even a document such as an *epistula* sent by the imperial chancellery is liable to present oddities of titulature, and must be employed with caution.

We can expect, then, that rescripts will abbreviate the titulature, and this possibly rather erratically. On the other hand, it seems safe to assume that they will not add titles that were not officially held by the emperor. At least no known document can be shown to do so. And finally, where chronological elements of the titulature are included, we should probably trust that these will be accurate unless absolutely forced to think the contrary.

*Military diplomas* -- The military diplomas that we now possess were copies of imperial constitutions granting privileges to soldiers. While the original texts were kept in Rome, the soldier could purchase a reproduction for personal use.<sup>41</sup> These documents give the titulature roughly as do the rescripts. We can expect a diploma, for example, to abbreviate the full formula: *CIL XVI 155, Imperator Caesar P. Licinius Valerianus Pius Felix Augustus pontifex maximus tribunicia potestate II consul II et Imperator Caesar P. Licinius Egnatius Gallienus Pius Felix Augustus pontifex maximus tribunicia potestate II consul*. Here *proconsul* and *pater patriae*, both of which are expected and otherwise attested for these emperors, are missing for both. It also happens that the titulature on the interior and exterior faces of a single diploma may vary: *CIL XVI 146, Imperator Caesar C. Iulius Verus Maximinus Pius Felix Augustus Germanicus Dacicus Sarmaticus maximus pontifex maximus tribunicia*

<sup>38</sup> Reynolds 1982, no. 22.

<sup>39</sup> Reynolds 1982, no. 25.

<sup>40</sup> On the problems of dating and titulature, Reynolds 1982, 141-2.

<sup>41</sup> See F. Lammert, *RE XV.2* (Stuttgart 1932) 1666-8. On the sale of diplomas to those wishing to purchase, M. Roxan, "The Distribution of Roman Military Diplomas," *ES 12* (Bonn 1981) 276-8 and eadem, "Observations on the Reasons for Changes in Formula in Diplomas circa AD 140," in W. Eck and H. Wolff (eds.), *Heer und Integrationspolitik. Die römischen Militärdiplome als historische Quelle* (Vienna 1986) 266-71. Note that these documents could be issued to active as well as discharged soldiers: G. Alföldy, *Römische Heeresgeschichte. Beiträge 1962-1985* (Amsterdam 1987) 51-65.

*potestate III consul pater patriae proconsul et C. Iulius Verus Maximus nobilissimus Caesar* (intus), and *Imperator Caesar C. Iulius Verus Maximinus Pius Felix Augustus Germanicus Dacicus Sarmaticus maximus pontifex maximus tribunicia potestate III consul pater patriae proconsul et C. Iulius Verus Maximus Germanicus Dacicus Sarmaticus maximus nobilissimus Caesar* (extrinsecus). Even more troublesome is the realization that a military diploma may hopelessly confuse the chronological elements of an emperor's titulature, as is seemingly the case with *CIL XVI 152*.<sup>42</sup> There is no reason to believe, however, that a military diploma might add titles not officially held by an emperor.

*Milestones and Public Dedications* -- Surely these too are to be considered official documents; yet here, the reliability of the titulature inscribed is considerably less. There is no need to discuss milestones in any detail, since their notorious lack of care in reproducing the imperial titulature has already been noticed.<sup>43</sup> Abbreviation and confused chronology abound. More importantly, however, we must recognize the fact that milestones may also grace an emperor with titles that he seems not to have held officially. Dedications fall into the same category.

This analysis of the inscriptional evidence is rather disheartening. The one type of inscription that might, as a category, be reliable vis à vis chronology -- rescripts -- is most rare in our period. Indeed, the rarity of inscribed rescripts may account for the seeming accuracy of these documents in this respect. Otherwise, no inscription can be trusted *prima facie* as reproducing accurately the chronological elements of the titulature. As for official titles, we can expect to find nothing but these in the rescripts and the diplomas; but, elements of the full titulature may at any moment be omitted. Almost any other inscription is suspect until proven reliable.

There is only one method, then, of using these documents with anything like accuracy. The inscriptions must be collected as completely as possible, and then each stone must be compared with others if it appears in any way inaccurate. Not only this, but the inscriptions as a whole must consistently be compared with the other sorts of documentation.

<sup>42</sup> See below pp. 64 f.

<sup>43</sup> See, e.g.: Weber 1968-71, 121; G. Walser, "Bemerkungen zu den gallischen-germanischen Meilensteinen" *ZPE 43* (1981) 390-1. Note also Kneissl 1969, 175 and 183 and Gostar 1975, 645.

### 3. Papyri

It would seem best to call the papyri, in general, official documents. They are mostly legal records of one sort or another which might have had to stand up in court, and they were in most cases composed by professional scribes.<sup>44</sup> As to the question of official titulature, they, like all of our documents, can be expected to abbreviate. On the whole, they do not add titles that were not officially held, although some victory titles, for example, seem to have crept mistakenly into some of these documents. A few local oddities appear as well.<sup>45</sup>

It is for chronology that the papyri are particularly valuable. Indeed, these are probably our best sources for determining the length of emperors' reigns.<sup>46</sup> The first papyrus attesting any given prince must be recognized as an incontrovertible *terminus ante quem* for his *dies imperii*. It seems clear that the scribes were careful to wait for and abide by official news from Rome (or at least ultimately to date by the official *dies*).<sup>47</sup> And also, if the speed and regularity with which the news of new consuls reached Egypt is all indicative, then the report of a new emperor must have been generally not long in arriving.<sup>48</sup> The last papyrus of an emperor, used in combination with the first of his successor, will generally provide a reasonably accurate *terminus* for the change of emperors.

<sup>44</sup> Note also the treatment of these documents in Bagnall et al. 1987, 67-70.

<sup>45</sup> Cf. (e.g.) Max. cat. no. 213 (ὁ κρείττοτος), or Max. cat. nos. 224 ff. (ὁ λεπώτατος).

<sup>46</sup> On the value of the papyri as a source for chronology: Van't Dack 1974, 882-4; idem 1975; A. Martin, "Domitian Germanicus et les documents grecs d'Égypte" *Historia* 36 (1987) 73-82. For a more skeptical view of the papyri in this regard, Drinkwater 1987, 97 ff.

<sup>47</sup> See below p. 26 n. 4.

<sup>48</sup> On the news of consuls, Bagnall et al. 1987, 29-32. One might suppose as well that the report of a new emperor was rather more urgent than the announcement of the new consuls of the year, and thus probably travelled even more rapidly to Egypt. Note, e.g., that Otho was recognized at Thebes less than a month after his accession on 15 January -- O. Montevocchi et G. Geraci, "Documenta papyracea inedita ad Neronis atque Othonis principatus pertinentia in papyris Mediolanensibus reperta" in *Akten des XIII. internationalen Papyrologenkongresses* (Munich 1974) 300-1. The journey from Rome to Thebes is usually calculated to take 50 days (below p. 26 n. 5), and this under favorable conditions rather than in the middle of winter. See also Dupuis 1988, 104-5.

### 4. Literary Sources

It hardly need be repeated that the extant ancient literature treating the mid-third century is poor. In particular, our sources are not good with chronology. They may be used to supplement other documentation, but in the main are of little help. For the second question, viz. official titulature, Cassius Dio and Herodian come principally into question. But the chief problem of our sources for this period, whatever the type of inquiry, is that they are almost all derivative from earlier lost works. Thus, their value depends upon that of books which we no longer have, and can only with hazard interpret. I shall therefore here concentrate on those authors who provided originally the basis of the historical tradition, rather than on their successors who actually preserve for us that tradition.<sup>49</sup>

Cassius Dio, a Bithynian Greek, rose to the highest levels of Roman government.<sup>50</sup> He had entered upon the *cursus* ca. 183, was suffect consul ca. 205/6, and *ordinarius* with Alexander Severus in 229. Dio seems to have been in Rome for the events of 193, and was probably in Rome during the joint reign of Caracalla and Geta, but then in Nicomedia with Caracalla during 214. By 215 he was back at Rome, and was in the senate when news of Macrinus' elevation arrived. He then spent some years away from Rome as *curator* of Pergamum and Smyrna, and seems not to have been present for the elevation of Alexander. Still, this means that Dio will have witnessed a number of imperial acclamations in the senate, will certainly have been familiar with senatorial procedure in this respect, and had access to senatorial records of such affairs.<sup>51</sup> Hence, he merits trust when he describes the conferment of titles on emperors.

<sup>49</sup> There were other sources, now lost, for the early years of the century, which will not be discussed here. On (e.g.) Marius Maximus and "Ignotus" Syme 1971, 30-53 and 113-34; Barnes 1978, 98-107; R. Syme, *Historia Augusta Papers* (Oxford 1983) 30-45. Asinius Quadratus (*FGrHist* 97) may have dealt with the early third century (the Suda s.v. Κοδράτος, says through Alexander Severus), but his fragments evidence his writing only as far as 166 -- Barnes 1978, 108 n. 3. On several other now lost contemporary historians, see Millar 1969, 15.

<sup>50</sup> The dates given here are those suggested by F. Millar, *A Study of Cassius Dio* (Oxford 1964) 5-27 and 204-7. For our purposes, the important question is when Dio was in Rome, and when not. In this respect, Millar's chronology coincides roughly with that most recently suggested by Barnes 1984, 241-5 (with other literature).

<sup>51</sup> Note, however, W. Aemling, "Cassius Dio und Bithynien" *EA* 4 (1984) 131 on the fact that Dio (among others) was excused from attending meetings of the senate so as to pursue his literary interests. Nonetheless, when Dio says that he was present, there is no ground for disbelief.

There is not a great deal known of Herodian. It seems likely that he spent time in Rome during the late second and early third centuries.<sup>52</sup> It is probable that he was an imperial slave or freedman.<sup>53</sup> He says (1.2.5) that he was a civil servant ἐν βουλευτικῇ ἢ δημοσίᾳ ὑπηρεσίᾳ.<sup>54</sup> This being the case, it has been argued that, "...Herodian could have had access to senatorial documents, travelled in the provinces, experienced the life of the palace and shared the middle-class interests of the senatorial and equestrian families of the capital."<sup>55</sup> It hardly seems likely, though, that Herodian had access to senatorial documents. Indeed, it seems that he was totally unfamiliar with the interior of the Curia, if that is any indication of his knowledge of the senate and senatorial procedure.<sup>56</sup> As to the intimate details of imperial government then, Herodian will have had rudimentary knowledge at least, but nothing like the experience of Dio. His worth in this regard is then significantly less than that of Dio. As regards chronology, it has clearly been shown that Herodian was often imprecise.<sup>57</sup>

P. Herennius Dexippus, the only contemporary historian of the mid-third century for whom we possess significant fragments, came from one of the best, albeit not senatorial, families of Athens.<sup>58</sup> His *Chronika* was carefully arranged chronologically,<sup>59</sup> and would have provided a good chronological sketch of the third century for anyone willing to copy

<sup>52</sup> Whittaker 1969/70, I xxdiii believes that Herodian was in Rome during 188-93. Kolb 1972, 25 ff. however, has argued that Herodian was never in Rome; rather, he had all of his references to the capital from Dio. Alföldy 1988, 241-2 and 266-9 argues persuasively, though, that Herodian did have first hand knowledge of Rome. It is not, however, possible to date his stays quite so precisely as does Whittaker.

<sup>53</sup> Alföldy 1988, 264-6.

<sup>54</sup> On this, Whittaker 1969/70, I xix ff. and Alföldy 1988, 263. Millar 1969, 15 n. 23 says, "So vague is his knowledge of events that it is tempting to suggest that the phrase...might refer to minor imperial and city offices in some province or provinces." This seems too skeptical.

<sup>55</sup> Whittaker 1969/70, I xxiv. Millar 1969, 15 thinks that Herodian, "...remained throughout far from the centre of events."

<sup>56</sup> Alföldy 1988, 267-8. Barnes 1978, 83 n. 14 remarks that there is no need to believe that Herodian wrote with senatorial patronage.

<sup>57</sup> Whittaker 1969/70, I xxix ff.

<sup>58</sup> Millar 1969, 19-21.

<sup>59</sup> Cf. Eunap. *FGrHist* 100, F1.

meticulously. Other than this, little can be said of the work.<sup>60</sup> From what remains of the *Skythika*,<sup>61</sup> it would seem unlikely that much was there to interest the present topic. But whatever may have been included in either of Dexippus' relevant works, it seems unlikely that he would have had any reliable information on senatorial proceedings at Rome.<sup>62</sup>

Finally there is Eunann's *Kaisergeschichte*. Little of consequence can be said of this source, which must now almost certainly be thought to have existed.<sup>63</sup> This brief history covered the period (probably) from Augustus to ca. 357.<sup>64</sup> Given this, the *KG* will have been dependent upon earlier sources, and we simply cannot say what those may have been.<sup>65</sup> Resultantly, we can determine little as to its reliability regarding chronology, and nothing as to what it may have reported regarding official titulature.

Various chronographic sources also give rather precise regnal dates. This is particularly the case with the *Chronograph of 354*. The *Chronograph* purports to give the exact duration of the reigns of most third century emperors, and indeed, it has been lent much credence by recent studies.<sup>66</sup> Nevertheless, I have seen no serious attempt to determine its real value as regards the dates that it supplies. Its value, of course, will depend ultimately upon its sources. But since the sources used by the chronographer elude us, once again so must its

<sup>60</sup> Cf. Millar 1969, 22-3. Also D.F. Buck, "A reconsideration of Dexippus' *Chronika*" *Latomus* 43 (1984) 596-7.

<sup>61</sup> *FGrHist* 100, F6-7, F24-30.

<sup>62</sup> As Millar 1969, 26 says, there is no reason to believe that Dexippus ever even went to Rome.

<sup>63</sup> Barnes 1978, 91-4; H.W. Bird, *Sextus Aurelius Victor. A Historiographical Study* (Liverpool 1984) 16-20.

<sup>64</sup> On dating the *KG* narrative down to 357: Bird 1973, 375-7; Bird, *Sextus Aurelius Victor* 16-7, though he here is less certain, arguing that a terminal date of 337 might also be a possibility. For this latter date: Barnes 1970, 15-20; Syme 1971, 222; Barnes 1978, 91-4.

<sup>65</sup> There is, with the exception of the *KG*, a veritable lacuna in our source tradition between the end of Dexippus' *Chronika* and the historians and epitomators of the late fourth century. Still, there seems to have been a sort of common pool of information used by all. See: J. Schlumberger, *Die Epitome de Caesaribus* (Munich 1974) 172-82; Barnes 1978, 90-113; R.C. Blockley, *The Fragmentary Classicising Historians of the Later Roman Empire* (Liverpool 1981) 23-6; Bird, *Sextus Aurelius Victor* esp. 20-3. Also Millar 1969, 15 on the few other historians who covered various parts of the third century.

<sup>66</sup> See, e.g., Schwartz 1977 or Chastagnol 1960.



true worth.<sup>67</sup> I think that this holds true also for the various other chronicles and authors who give exact regnal dates for the emperors of this period.<sup>68</sup>

Finally, the law codes should be mentioned in this context. For titulature they are of no help, since they uniformly call emperors simply *Imperator Augustus*. There are, on the other hand, a few instances where imperial constitutions will be useful for dating. These will be discussed as they arise, and here it need only be noted that much care must be exercised with dates derived from laws.<sup>69</sup>

It is thus clear that reports concerning the grant of titles in Aurelius Victor, Eutropius, the *Epitome de Caesaribus*, the *Historia Augusta*, Zosimus etc. cannot be safely evaluated. Hence, the literary sources bring very little as regards official titulature during the period in question. We get a glimpse of procedure from Dio (see above pp. 3 ff.), but little else. It looks as though Dexippus, at least, will have provided relatively good chronological information. However, sifting the notices originally contained in his *Chronika* from those elsewhere preserved is most perplexing, and brings again little. In the end, almost all questions concerning titulature in the mid-third century must be answered on the basis of the documentary evidence. We may now begin asking.

<sup>67</sup> The only recent discussion (Mommsen in the *Chronica Minora* discussed the sources for the earlier period) of the possible sources seems to be the remark of Barnes 1970, 23-4, "Surely the writer (or a predecessor) has used some sort of collection of *mirabilia*. Enough evidence does not survive to render possible the identification of the Chronographer's sources. It is certain, however, that he did not use the *KG*."

<sup>68</sup> For some remarks on this type of literature, see now Bagnall et al. 1987, 47-57.

<sup>69</sup> Cf. Lorient 1975a, 722 and Honoré 1981, 88 n. 497.

## Chapter II, Chronology

### 1. Regnal Dates

In order to establish properly the chronology of the various elements of the titulature, it is necessary first to set out clearly *termini* of individual reigns. It now seems clear that the Egyptian documents furnish the most accurate information in this regard, and their testimony has been compiled conveniently by Dominic Rathbone.<sup>1</sup> However, Rathbone is concerned with determining dates of recognition in the Arsinoite nome, not with the date of official recognition, viz. the *dies imperii*. Moreover, the very notion of official recognition raises chronological problems.

Blanche Parsi has demonstrated that by the third century, the creation of an emperor habitually went something like the following.<sup>2</sup> If the previous emperor had not designated a successor, some branch of the military would usually step in and make the selection. This does not mean that the senate was legally prohibited from selecting an emperor, but simply that under normal circumstances it no longer did so. And while investiture, that is official recognition of the newly designated prince, was still a responsibility of the senate, in the event of designation by the military it was apparently normal to choose the day of the military acclamation as the official *dies imperii*. If, on the other hand, designation was accomplished by an emperor, the day of senatorial investiture became the *dies*. But in either case it was a vote of the senate that made a man officially emperor, and that decided or validated ultimately his official *dies imperii*.<sup>3</sup>

In Egypt (at least), it would appear that under normal circumstances officials waited for an announcement from the senate before recognizing a new emperor, and that the official *dies imperii*, whether military or senatorial, was then calculated as the beginning date for

<sup>1</sup> Rathbone 1986. See also above p. 20 n. 46.

<sup>2</sup> Parsi 1963, 75 ff. Though she often presses the evidence (especially the *HA*) too hard, Parsi's overall picture of the system seems valid. Note also Campbell 1984, 374 ff.

<sup>3</sup> Campbell 1984, 377 argues that only a *lex* passed by the people officially made a man emperor. This he bases on *Dig.* 1.4.1 and *Gaius Inst.* 1.5. Still, he concedes that the law will have been instigated by an initial *senatus consultum* and that therefore, "...it is in a sense true that the vote of the senate conferred legal recognition."

the reign.<sup>4</sup> Hence, in most of the cases to be considered below, the following situation obtains. Egyptian documents for the most part, but supplemented by others where relevant, will best reveal rough *termini* for a given reign. We must then calculate the time necessary for: a) news of the (usually) military acclamation to reach Rome; b) ■ brief amount of time for the senate to meet and approve the new emperor; c) time for the news then to travel from Rome to Egypt.<sup>5</sup> By working backwards from the date of recognition in Egypt then, it should be possible to calculate with rough accuracy the official *dies imperii*, though it is generally difficult or impossible to know whether the date of military acclamation or that of senatorial recognition was chosen.

What follows then, are the regnal dates (from official *dies imperii* to death) of the emperors here in question. I supply the dates that I consider to be most likely, the most recent (and most important) literature on the topic, and then a rough sketch of the evidence upon which the dates rest.

#### Maximinus Thrax, ca. mid-March 235 - ca. early June 238

Accession: Peachin 1985; Rathbone 1986, 108-9; Alram 1989, 25.

The earliest document attesting Maximinus as emperor is not from Egypt but from Rome, and records his co-optation into the *sodales Antoniniani* -- CIL VI 2001.12-6, dating to 25 March 235. It is impossible to know exactly how much time it would have taken for news of his proclamation to travel from Mainz to Rome. Nor can we be sure how much time elapsed between his recognition by the senate and his co-optation into the *sodales*. Still, it seems likely that all of this could have taken place during (roughly) March 235. We are

<sup>4</sup> Rea 1972b, 17 argues that officials in Egypt dated from the official *dies imperii*. So too Van't Dack 1975, 133-4 and Gallazzi 1976, 246.

<sup>5</sup> For travel time from Rome to Egypt I adopt the suggestions of Rathbone 1986, 102: 25 days to Alexandria; 30 days to Oxyrhynchus or the Arsinoite; 50 days to Thebes. See also Price 1973, 82 with: Gaul to Italy, 22-60 days; Illyricum to Rome, 35-82 days; Rome to Byzantium, 29-80 days; Italy to Africa, 31-63 days. Price calculates possibly too much time, particularly if a message were travelling with urgency. See the discussion of W. Riepl, *Das Nachrichtenwesen des Altertums* (Leipzig 1913) esp. 183-235. Further, J. Nichols, *Vespasian and the Pures Flavianae* (Wiesbaden 1978) 41-2. In all of this, the urgency of the message and the season must be kept in mind. Cf. Whitaker 1969/70, II p. 175 n. 3. There will also be, of course, cases where clearly the news (and resultant acceptance) of a new emperor did not percolate to Egypt via Rome. These cases will be considered individually. On travel time, see also above p. 20 n. 48.

probably not far off if we place senatorial investiture in about mid-March, and military acclamation late in February or early in March.

Death:<sup>6</sup> Rea 1972a; Lorient 1974; Lorient 1975a, 688-724; Dietz 1980, 345-7; Sartre 1984; Rathbone 1986, 109-10.

The most reliable evidence for dating Maximinus' death and the recognition of the first two Gordians is probably *P. Oxy. XLIII 3107*, which has been clarified by Rea. The papyrus is a cumulative list of taxes received at Oxyrhynchus and signed thrice (i.e. at each collection) by Aurelius Euseb(es ?); it shows that Maximinus was still recognized as emperor at Oxyrhynchus on 7 April 238. But the entry for 13 June shows Gordians I and II as emperors. By combining these dates with the account of Herodian, it is possible to suggest early June for the murder of Maximinus.

Maximus, *dies Caesaris*, ca. 7 January/26 April 236<sup>7</sup>

Lorient 1973; Alram 1989, 27-9.<sup>8</sup>

The *terminus post quem* is a military diploma (*AE* (1972) 503/Roxan 1978, 77) dated to 7 January 236 and lacking Maximus. Note also *CJ* 2.3.13 (9 January 236) where he is likewise missing. The *terminus ante quem* is provided by *P. Reinach* 91, where Maximus is mentioned for the first time, and which apparently dates to 16 May 236. Since the papyrus is a letter from the prefect, I have calculated travel time to Alexandria. *P. Lond.* III 947 IV supports this *terminus*.<sup>9</sup> And the evidence of the inscriptions seems to agree with that from Egypt.<sup>10</sup>

<sup>6</sup> On the events and circumstances of 238 more broadly see: Kolb 1977; Lorient 1978; Dietz 1980, 5-24, 69-73, 315-40. The chronology of the spring and summer of 238 is most troublesome. I offer a solution to this complicated problem in a forthcoming article ("Once More A.D. 238," *Athenaeum*), which I follow here. However, the arguments of Lorient 1974 and Sartre 1984 for an earlier dating of the events should also be consulted.

<sup>7</sup> Although a number of documents show Maximus as *Augustus*, it now seems clear that he was never raised to this rank. See, P.J. Sijpesteijn, "Imperator Caesar Maximinus and Maximus Caesar" *ZPE* 68 (1987) 135-8.

<sup>8</sup> Note also, W. den Boer, "Einige Bemerkungen zur Regierung von Maximinus Thrax" in G. Wirth (ed.), *Romanitas Christianitas. Untersuchungen zur Geschichte und Literatur der römischen Kaiserzeit. Johannes Straub zum 70. Geburtstag* (Berlin & New York 1982) 352-4.

<sup>9</sup> See P.J. Sijpesteijn, *ZPE* 76 (1989) 213 n. 2.

<sup>10</sup> Cf. Stylow 1974, 520 n. 16.

Gordian I and Gordian II, ca. mid/late March - late April 238

Accession: See above, Maximinus, death.

*P. Oxy.* XLIII 3107 shows that the Gordians were recognized sometime between 7 April and 13 June in the Oxyrhynchite nome; hence ca. 8 March/14 May at Rome. By combining this evidence with the account of Herodian, it is possible to offer a rough guess as to the date of their recognition by the senate. Rea 1989, 105-6 now suggests that there may have been a brief period (ca. 25 April/13 June) when Gordian I was recognized as sole emperor in Egypt. This, though, is most hypothetical, and still would not change the overall chronology.

Death: See above, Maximinus, death.

*P. Yale inv.* 156 (Oxyrhynchus?, 20 June) and *O. Leid.* 144.4-8 and *O. Bodl.* II 1621.1-4 (both Thebes, 21 July) show that the deaths of the Gordians and the acclamation of Pupienus and Balbinus must have come in Rome at the very latest between ca. 21 May and 1 June. We are also told that the Gordians reigned for 20 or 22 days.<sup>11</sup> Allowing some time for confusion and hesitation, we suggest the date in late April.

Pupienus and Balbinus, ca. late April - early August 238

Accession: See above, Maximinus, death.

The earliest documents for these emperors are *O. Leid.* 144.4-8 and *O. Bodl.* II 1621.1-4. Both ostraca come from Thebes, and are dated to 21 July 238, which would mean that with fifty days travel time taken into account, their *dies imperii* must have been prior to 1 June. See also above on the death of the Gordians.

Death: See above, Maximinus, death.

The latest document for these two is *SB I* 5125.21-6, from the Arsinoite nome, and dated 8 September 238. Assuming then, that the news of their demise made its way immediately from Rome to Egypt, they must have met their ends approximately thirty days before the first week or two in September. The chronographic sources give two or three months for

<sup>11</sup> *Chronograph of 354* (ed. Mommsen) p. 147 (20 days), Zonar. 12.17d (22 days). See also Lorient 1974, 299 n. 8.

their reign, which should correspond roughly to May, June and July.<sup>12</sup> See further below, Gordian III, accession.

Gordian III, *dies Caesaris*, ca. late April 238

It is clear from the literary sources that Gordian was forced upon Pupienus and Balbinus almost immediately following their accession, thus the date.<sup>13</sup>

Gordian III, early August 238 - late January/early February 244

Accession: See above, Maximinus, death.

The earliest papyrological date for Gordian as *Augustus* is *MPER II* p. 23, 21 September 238 (exact provenance unknown). Since the papyrus is dated year two, his official *dies imperii* must have preceded 29 August, though the exact *dies* is disputed. Although the Egyptian documents would suggest the date given here (Peachin, *Athenaeum*, forthcoming), earlier dates, based mainly on inscriptional evidence, have also been suggested: ca. 9 May (Sartre 1984); ca. 6/7 June (Lorient 1974).

Death: Lorient 1975a, 770-5; idem 1975b, 789 and 796; Rathbone 1986, 111-2.<sup>14</sup>

The latest date for Gordian as emperor is supplied by an inscription from Khardassy in Upper Egypt – *SB V* 8487 (26 February 244). *CJ* 3.42.6 attests Philip by 14 March 244,<sup>15</sup> and *PSI XII* 1238.20-1 (from middle Egypt) has him as emperor in Pharmouthi (27 March - 25 April) of that year. This evidence would indicate that the news of Gordian's death and

<sup>12</sup> *Chronograph of 354* (ed. Mommsen) p. 147, 99 days; Cedrenus, *Hist. Compend.* (Bonn) p. 450, 2 months; *Chron. Pasch.* (Bona) p. 501, 100 days.

<sup>13</sup> The best account is Herod. 7.10.5-9, with Whittaker 1969/70, II p. 232 n. 1. The *HA* author asserts that it was *populus et milites* who forced Gordian's election as *Caesar* – *HA Maxim.* 20.1-2, *HA Gord.* 22.2-3, *HA Max. Balb.* 3.3-5.

<sup>14</sup> See also de Blois 1978/79, 12-4, MacDonald 1981 and Kettenhofen 1982, 31-6. Rea 1989, 105 now offers a tentative hypothesis that *P. Leid.* F 1948/3.4 attests Gordian at Oxyrhynchus on 25 April 244. This, as Rea says, is most questionable.

<sup>15</sup> The reliability of the inscription of the law is, of course, questionable. Cf. Rathbone 1986, 112 n. 1. The date is not, though, questioned by (e.g.) Honoré 1981, 90-1 nn. 512, 520, 530.

Philip's acclamation by the troops must have reached Rome sometime in about late February 244. Taking into account travel time from Syria to Rome, we can reasonably place Gordian's death late in January or early in February.

#### Sabinianus, 240

Sabinianus revolted against Gordian in Carthage. Cf. *HA Gord.* 23.4 and Zos. 1.17.1. Paschoud 1971, 21 n. 41 supposes that he was proconsul of Africa.

#### Philippus Arabs, ca. late February/early March 244 - ca. September 249

Accession: See above, Gordian III, death.

Calculating on the basis of the *Chronograph of 354* (ed. Mommsen) p. 147, Lorient (1975b, 789 and 796) places Philip's *dies imperii* between 1 and 14 March 244.<sup>16</sup> It is true that the *Chronograph* supplies the only exact length for his reign, viz. 5 years 5 months and 29 days, but it is not so clear, I think, that this calculation is to be trusted. On the other hand, it is clear (above, Gordian III, death) that news of Philip's acclamation by the troops must have reached Rome in about late February. If the date of senatorial recognition served as his *dies*, then we arrive at the time period suggested above.

Death: Lorient 1975b, 794-6; Rathbone 1986, 112.

The latest dates for Philip are supplied by *P. Harr.* 80.39-41 (Oxyrhynchite, 22 September 249), and Alexandrian coins dated to year seven, i.e. post 29 August 249. The earliest evidence for Trajan Decius as emperor is: *CJ* 10.16.3 (16 October 249) and *P. Oxy.* XIV 1636.39-41 (27 November 249). Also, since we know that Decius was killed ca. June 251 (below), and since there are only two Egyptian years for him, his *dies* must have fallen after 29 August 249. All of this would seem to indicate that senatorial recognition of Decius

<sup>16</sup> The dates are accepted by: Schwartz 1977, 167; Bonino & Stylow 1982, 32 n. 6; Schilling-Häfele 1986, 75.

came in September of 249, i.e. very soon after the defeat of Philip at Verona.<sup>17</sup>

Philip Junior, *dies Caesaris*, ca. mid-August 244

Lorient 1975b, 791-2; Rathbone 1986, 112.

Although there are literary indications that Philip Junior was associated immediately with his father,<sup>18</sup> the documents indicate otherwise. Neither papyri nor Alexandrian coins reliably attest a first Egyptian year for Philip Junior.<sup>19</sup> The lack of an Egyptian year one for the younger Philip indicates that the *dies Caesaris* fell very near to or just after 29 August 244. The earliest papyrus to mention him as *Caesar* is *P. Stras.* III 144.21-2 (13 October 244, provenance unknown). Hence, the senate must by ca. 13 September have voted Philip *Caesar*. The latest Egyptian date with Philip Senior alone is *PSI* XII 1238.37-8 (2 September 244), which makes it unlikely that the senate had voted the son *Caesar* before ca. 4 August. Finally, *CJ* 4.29.10 shows Philip as *Caesar* on 15 August. If the testimony of this law can be accepted, then the son must have been made *Caesar* in mid-August, but too late for those in Egypt to include him on documents of year one of the reign.

Philip Junior, *dies Augusti*, ca. July 247

Lorient 1975b, 792.

The younger Philip first appears as *Augustus* on the Alexandrian coins late (probably) in year four,<sup>20</sup> hence the *dies* must fall prior to 29 August 247. An inscription from Rome (*CIL* VI 32414) dated to 11 June 247 still calls him *Caesar*, which provides a probable *terminus post quem*. News of the *dies* must have arrived in Egypt close enough to the end of August so as not to allow coins of Philip Junior as *Augustus* to be produced in year three.

<sup>17</sup> Lorient 1975b, 795 gives a slightly broader range of dates, viz. 29 August/16 October, but then (796) says that Philip cannot have died later than 11 September. But again, the *Chronograph of 354* is essential to the more precise dating. Schwartz 1977, 173, also based on the *Chronograph*, dates the death of Philip to 7 September 249. Cf. also Rea 1984b, 19-20.

<sup>18</sup> *Epit. de Caes.* 28.3, Eutrop. 9.3, Zonar. 12.19.

<sup>19</sup> *P. Oxy.* L 3565.8-10, *P. Flor.* 4.6 (both April/May 245), and *SB* I 4299.8 (July/August 245) all mention a "past year one" of both Philips. These are just retrospective scribal errors. For a questionable Alexandrian tetradrachm with Philip Junior during year one, Lorient 1975b, 792 n. 12. Lorient notes that the inscriptions also indicate the son to have been associated later rather than at the beginning of the reign.

<sup>20</sup> See now *KAK* 2795 ff. Also Vogt 1924, 195 and Milne 1933, 3689 ff.

Trajan Decius, ca. September 249 - ca. early June 251

Accession: See above, Philip the Arab, death.

I give here the likely date of Decius' recognition by the senate, which must have followed closely the battle at Verona. However, his acclamation by the troops may well have been in May or June.<sup>21</sup> Given Decius' attempts to avoid conflict with Philip, his careful dealings with the senate and the testimony of the Egyptian evidence (above), we should probably suppose that his official *dies* fell on the day of senatorial recognition.<sup>22</sup>

Death: Clarke 1980; Rathbone 1986, 113.

The latest Egyptian date for Decius is *O. Bodl.* II 1633 (30 June 251, Thebes); and an inscription from Rome (*CIL* VI 31130 = 36760) dated to 24 June calls him *divus*. Another Roman inscription (*CIL* VI 31129), which dates to 9 June, does not yet have Decius deified. It would seem that he died early in June, very shortly after Herennius.

Herennius Etruscus, *dies Caesaris*, early September 250

Rea 1984b, 19-21; Rathbone 1986, 113.

The literary sources do not indicate precisely when Herennius was made *Caesar*.<sup>23</sup> However, the Egyptian documents (set out conveniently by Rea, loc. cit.) show that he was recognized as *Caesar* in Egypt not much before 16 September 250.<sup>24</sup> It may well be that he was made *Caesar* on the anniversary of Decius' *dies imperii*.<sup>25</sup>

<sup>21</sup> Lortiot 1975b 794-5. Dušanić 1976 has argued for a brief period after the death of Philip when Philip Junior was associated with Decius. Against this, Pohlšander 1982 and Rea 1984b, 19-20.

<sup>22</sup> Cf. W. Ensslin, *CAH* XII 93-5. It is also conceivable that he dated his *dies* from the date of the defeat of Philip at Verona. Since the battle and senatorial recognition must have been nearly simultaneous, it is impossible to distinguish.

<sup>23</sup> *Aur. Vict. Caes.* 29.1, *Epit. de Caes.* 29.1-2, *Eutrop.* 9.4, *Oros. hist. adv.* pag. 7.21.3.

<sup>24</sup> *P. Oxy.* LI 3608.1-7. *CJ* 5.12.9 attests Herennius as *Caesar* on 8 June 250, but well may be mistaken. See Rea 1984b, 20-1.

<sup>25</sup> Cf. Salisbury & Mattingly 1924, 12.

Herennius Etruscus, *dies Augusti*, ca. May/June 251 (?)

Salisbury & Mattingly 1924, 12-5.

A number of documents might attest Herennius as *Augustus*; but the only truly reliable testimonia are a few coins from Rome (*RIC* IV.3 153 -- 98 & 101).<sup>26</sup> Since no document from Egypt clearly labels Herennius *Augustus*, and since the only imperial mint to issue coins for him with this status was Rome, it looks as though he were raised to this status very close to his death in June.<sup>27</sup>

Hostilian, *dies Caesaris*, early September 250

Rea 1984b, 19-21; Rathbone 1986, 113.

It would appear that Hostilian was made *Caesar* almost simultaneously with his brother.<sup>28</sup> *P. Oxy.* LI 3608.1-7 and 3609.11-5 show Decius with Herennius as *Caesar* on 16 and 30 September respectively. Hostilian first appears on 11 October (*P. Oxy.* XXXVI 2795.30-8). Hence, it would seem that there was a brief period at the beginning of September, during which the elder son was *Caesar*, but the younger was not. This is a bit odd, and it seems *prima facie* more likely that both were raised to the status of *Caesar* simultaneously and in celebration (possibly) of the anniversary of Decius' *dies*. It may be that the Egyptian documents are slightly misleading in this sense.

<sup>26</sup> Several inscriptions might be adduced, none of which alone could stand as proof of this status: *CIL* II 4953/*IRT* 936 (102); *CIL* III 5988 and 5989 (155); *CIL* III 13312 (99); *CIL* VI 31129 (141); *IG* XII.5 667/*Syll.*<sup>3</sup> 890 (164); Reynolds 1982, 25 (147). *O. Bodl.* II 1633, where Decius and both sons are οἱ κύριοι ἡμῶν Σεβαστοὶ might also indicate this; but the document may also be simply imprecise. *SNGAul* 5113 (100) calls him *Augustus*, but this is hardly proof of the status.

<sup>27</sup> Mattingly & Sydenham 1924, 18 suggest that Herennius was raised when Decius sent him to Illyricum to prepare for the battle with the Goths on the Danube. This, however, would place his elevation earlier, in (say) late winter 250/251. Cf. also Halfmann 1986, 235-6.

<sup>28</sup> Note, though, that the literary sources talk only of Herennius Etruscus being made *Caesar*: *Aur. Vict. Caes.* 29.1; *Epit. de Caes.* 29.2; *Eutrop.* 9.4; *Oros. hist. adv.* pag. 7.21.3. Cf. also the *Chronograph of 354* (ed. Mommsen) p. 147, where only Decius is mentioned.

Hostilian, *dies Augusti*, ca. June 251 (?)

Sotgiu 1975, 798-9; Rea 1984b, 20-1.

It is not at all clear just when Hostilian first became *Augustus*. It has been argued that he was made *Augustus* while Decius was still alive.<sup>29</sup> On the other hand, it may be that he remained *Caesar* until after the death of his father, and that Trebonianus Gallus first raised him to the position of *Augustus*.<sup>30</sup> If so, the date would be in June.

Hostilian, death, ca. 24 June/30 July 251

There is a papyrus (*SB VI 9235.1*, Thebes) that attests the joint reign of Trebonianus Gallus and Hostilian on 13 August 251. Another (*P. Oxy. LI 3610.6* and 8) dates before 30 August 251, and has Trebonianus Gallus alone. It would appear that Hostilian died during the interval represented by these two papyri, and with travel time taken into account, we arrive at the dates given.

Pacatianus, ca. 21 April 248 - 20 April 249

For the dates, Lorient 1975b, 794. See also *RIC IV.3*, 65-6.

Iotapianus, ca. 248/249

For the dates, Lorient, 1975b, 794.

<sup>29</sup> Alföldi 1967, 344-5. L. Pareti, *Storia di Roma e del mondo romano VI* (Turin 1961) 29 suggests that he was made *Augustus* by Decius after Herennius was killed. There appears to have been very little time, however, between the deaths of Herennius and Decius. Cf. Salisbury & Mattingly 1924, ■.

<sup>30</sup> *RIC IV.3*, 109-10. See also C. Préaux, "Trebonien Galle ■ Hostilianus" *Aegyptus* 32 (1952) 152-7 and Sotgiu 1975, 799.

Silbannacus, ca. 248/249

One antoninianus attests this usurper. Cf. *RIC IV.3* p. 105.

Sponsianus, ca. 248/249

As with Silbannacus, a few rare coins attest this usurper. Cf. *RIC IV.3* p. 106

Julius Valens Lucinianus, ca. February/March 251<sup>31</sup>

That he revolted is attested by the *Epit. de Caes.* 29.5 and *Aur. Vict. Caes.* 29.3. Cyprian *Ep.* 55.9, which was written in early March 251,<sup>32</sup> mentions an *aemulus princeps* just at this moment. In question is most likely Lucinianus.<sup>33</sup> There is no documentary evidence for Lucinianus.

Trebonianus Gallus, ca. early June 251 - late July/early August 253

Accession: Paschoud 1971, 147 n. 51; Rea 1984b.

By dating Decius' death to June (above), we gain a fixed point for Gallus' proclamation by the troops at Abrittus. He then spent a bit of time settling affairs on the Danube and next returned to Rome, where the senate confirmed him. The official *dies* may well have fallen on the day of acclamation by the troops.

Death: See below, Aemilianus.

<sup>31</sup> The name is given variously in the MSS (also Lucianus and Licinianus). I depend here upon Pichlmayr's decision.

<sup>32</sup> Clarke 1980, 115-6.

<sup>33</sup> Alföldi 1967, 344.

Volusian, *dies Caesaris*, ca. June 251

The literary sources have Volusian associated with his father from the start of the reign, and his status initially must have been as *Caesar*.<sup>34</sup>

Volusian, *dies Augusti*, ca. late July/early August 251

Rea 1984b, 21.

It appears that Gallus first associated himself with Hostilian, then ruled briefly alone, and finally took Volusian as his full partner. Since Volusian's Egyptian year dating is the same as his father's, it stands to reason that the son's *dies* fell prior to 29 August 251 -- but probably not much earlier.

Volusian, death, late July/early August 253

See below, Aemilianus.

#### Aemilianus, ca. late July - mid-September 253

Lafaurie 1966, 144-5; Price 1973, 75-6; Schwartz 1977, 173; Rathbone 1986, 115-7.

We are told that Aemilian reigned for approximately three months,<sup>35</sup> and we now know that one of those months was September of 253 (Price loc. cit.). The evidence for *termini* is Egyptian.

Gallus and Volusian..... *P. Oxy.* VIII 1119.30 (22 August 253)  
(latest attestation)

Aemilian..... *P. Köln* IV 196.21 (25 July/23 August 253)

Aemilian..... *O. Petr.* 139 (19 September 253)

Aemilian..... *P. Oxy.* X 1286.10 & *P. Got.* 4.23-6 (28 September/  
27 October 253)

Valerian..... *P. Köln* IV 196 (28 September/27 October 253)

<sup>34</sup> *Aur. Vict. Caes.* 30.1, *Eutrop.* 9.5, *Zonar.* 12.21, *Zos.* 1.24.1. A few documents, though not many, attest him as *Caesar*: cat. nos. 44-6.

<sup>35</sup> *Aur. Vict. Caes.* 31.3, *Epit. de Caes.* 31.2 (he died in his fourth month of rule), *Eutrop.* 9.6, *Cedreus Hist. Compend.* (Bonn) p. 454 (one year), *Zonar.* 12.22 (not quite four months), *Chronograph of 354* (ed. Mommsen) p. 148 (88 days).

It is also worth noting that the Alexandrian coins show only year two for Aemilian; there was apparently no time to prepare an issue for year one. The Egyptian evidence seems to demonstrate that news of Aemilian's accession reached Egypt sometime late in August. Taking travel time into account then, he must have been recognized at Rome late in July or possibly very early in August. As for the end of his reign, we have papyri from Phaophi for both Aemilian and Valerian. Hence, news of the change in emperors arrived in Egypt in the period between 28 September and 27 October. Again, taking travel time into account, the recognition of Valerian at Rome must be placed sometime in September -- we might guess somewhere towards the middle (say, in the 20's) of the month. The three months of the chronographic sources, then, might be July, August and September.<sup>36</sup>

#### Uranus Antoninus, ca. summer 253 - winter 253/254

I accept the dates proposed by Baldus 1971, 19-44 & 69-71<sup>37</sup>

#### Valerian, mid-September 253 - ca. June 260

Accession: see above, Aemilian

Death: Christol 1975, 818-21; König 1981, 20-31; Kettenhofen 1982, 97-9; Rathbone 1986, 117-8; Harl 1987, 112-3; Drinkwater 1987, 96-102.<sup>38</sup>

<sup>36</sup> Rathbone 1986, 116 n. 2 argues that both these dates (roughly) and the three month figure for the length of the reign cannot be correct. However, if we accept that Aemilian ruled during three different months, and not for three complete months, then we might to this extent retain both.

<sup>37</sup> Callu 1969, 175 ff. dates Uranus between ca. May 253 and Valerian's arrival in the East (mid-summer 254). For the date of the latter, Pekáry 1962, 123-8 and Halfmann 1986, 236.

<sup>38</sup> I give here only the most recent literature for placing Valerian's capture in 260, which seems almost certainly the correct date. Also for 260, G. Wirth, *BJ* 181 (1981) 655. Others, however, have argued for 259: Lopuszanski 1951; Fitz 1966, 22-4; de Blois 1976, 2; Kuhoff 1979, 16-7. Elks 1975, 91-109 has argued, on the basis of hoard evidence, that Valerian was captured late in 257 or early in 258.

Again, Egyptian documents provide the most reliable testimony.<sup>39</sup> The latest trustworthy papyrological indication of Valerian is *P. Oxy.* XVIII 2186.12 (28 August 260). There is one Alexandrian coin dated to year eight of Valerian, viz. post 29 August 260 (Milne 1933, 4050). To this might be added an inscription (*CIL* VIII 12294 (=23877)/*ILT* 1416), which attests a ninth tribunician iteration for him (10 December 260 - 9 December 261, see below). Macrianus and Quietus first appear as *Augusti* in the papyri on 17 September 260 (*P. Oxy.* XLIX 3476.12-3). News of the revolt of Macrianus and Quietus, then, reached Egypt sometime between ca. 29 August and 17 September 260. It would appear that Valerian was captured in June,<sup>40</sup> and that Macrianus proclaimed his sons early in September.<sup>41</sup>

Valerian *Caesar*, ca. September 256 - summer 258

Zaccaria 1978, esp. 69-78 and 116-22; Rea 1984a; Drinkwater 1987, 103.

Valerian Junior appears first in the fourth Egyptian year (256/57) of Valerian and Gallienus (*BGU* III 945, September/October 256; Milne 1933, p. 94; *KAK* 2991 ff.). The Alexandrian coins would indicate that his *dies Caesaris* fell after 29 August 256, while the papyrus shows that his elevation was known in Egypt no later than 27 October. Hence, the date in September for his *dies*. His death is to be placed in the summer of 258 (below, Salomonius).

Salomonius *Caesar*, ca. June/July 258 - fall 260

Zaccaria 1978, 69-78 and 137-9; Rea 1984a, 1125 (esp. n. 1).

The Alexandrian coins show Valerian *Caesar* exclusively during years four (256/57) and five (257/58), and then Salomonius for years five, six and seven (i.e. 257/58 - 259/60). There

<sup>39</sup> Note that several documents dating long after Valerian's capture and death still name him as emperor: *CJ* 3.8.3 (262), 5.62.17 (8 January 265), *P. Grenf.* II 69 (7 October 265). See also König 1981, 24-5.

<sup>40</sup> Cf. Alföldi 1967, 349 and Christol 1975, 818-20. Also Şahin et al. 1983, 51 for a date of 25 June.

<sup>41</sup> Rathbone 1986, 118 n. 1 remarks that since year one of Macrianus and Quietus is the Egyptian year 260/61, their proclamation in Syria must have post-dated 29 August 260. König 1981, 26-7 suggests that news of the usurpation will have reached Egypt within a month, and that early to mid-September is here in question. The gap in time between Valerian's capture and the revolt of Macrianus and Quietus is also revealed by a series of antoninianii of Gallienus minted at Samosata by Macrianus the elder in this interval. Cf. Alföldi 1967, 135-6 and 220. The fact that there are Alexandrian coins only of year one (Milne 1933, 4053-8; *KAK* 3011-4) also shows that their *dies* fell after 29 August.

is, however, little attestation of Salomonius on the coins of year five.<sup>42</sup> The first papyrus for Salomonius is *P. Oxy.* XXXI 2560.23-7 (4-12 August 258).<sup>43</sup> Corrected for Rome, this gives us a *terminus ante quem* for the death of Valerian *Caesar* and the *dies* of Salomonius of roughly 4-12 July 258. The latest papyrus of Salomonius is *P. Oxy.* XVIII 2186.10 and 12-3 (28 August 260). It is just at this point, however, that Macrianus and Quietus were recongized in Egypt, as a result of which, Gallienus and Salomonius disappear from the Egyptian documents for roughly a year. With Gallienus' return to control of Egypt in the summer/fall of 261, Salomonius has disappeared. Thus he must have died sometime between 28 August 260 and approximately the same season in the next year. We know that Salomonius was killed by Postumus,<sup>44</sup> which allows a more precise fix. The revolt of Postumus can, with some security, be placed in the fall of 260. This, then, is when Salomonius must have been killed.<sup>45</sup>

Gallienus, mid-September 253 - ca. early September 268

Accession: Pflaum 1966/67; Christol 1975, 808-9; Rathbone 1986, 117.

Several of the literary sources report that Gallienus was briefly associated as *Caesar* with Valerian; however, this appears to be a mistake.<sup>46</sup> The joint reign lasted, then, from mid-September 253 until Valerian's capture ca. June 260. A period of confusion follows, but by the fall of 261 the East was loyal once again, and Gallienus' sole reign begins.<sup>47</sup>

<sup>42</sup> Milne 1933, 3990, *KAK* 3001.

<sup>43</sup> Zaccaria 1978, 70 ff. takes this papyrus to date 1 Mesore. However, as the original editors and Rea 1984a 1125 n. 1 remark, the date consisted of a double digit number, with the first letter being iota. Hence, the possible dates given here.

<sup>44</sup> *HA trig. tyr.* 3.1-2. According to another tradition, the Gauls killed Salomonius out of hatred of Gallienus -- *HA trig. tyr.* 3.3. The former tradition seems the more probable -- König 1981, 47-8.

<sup>45</sup> König 1981, 41-51.

<sup>46</sup> *Aur. Vict. Caes.* 32.3; *Eutrop.* 9.7; *Oros. hist. adv. pag.* 7.22.1; *Hieron. Chron.* (ed. Helm) p. 220. Against the official association of Gallienus as *Caesar*, M. Peachin, "Gallienus *Caesar*?" *ZPE* 74 (1988) 219-24.

<sup>47</sup> It is now clear that there is no papyrological testimony for a year eight (260/61) -- Rathbone 1986, 117-8 n. 4. A few Alexandrian coins do, however, attest this year -- Milne 1933, 4051 and 4059-61.



Death: Rea 1972b, 15-26; Price 1973, 77; Rathbone 1986, 120.

Two documents are here essential. The latest papyrus attesting Gallienus (*P. Tebt.* II 581) dates to 28 September 268, while the earliest of Claudius II (*P. Stras.* I 10.23-5) dates to 16 October 268. News of Claudius' accession, then, reached Egypt during the first half of October, hence the senate must have voted the imperial honors to Claudius during the first half of September. Gallienus' murder at Milan, then, will have been (probably) late in August or very early in September.<sup>48</sup> Given this dating, it may seem odd that there are no Alexandrian coins of year 16 of Gallienus; but perhaps the mint had not yet struck an issue for the new year, or perhaps they had not yet released the new issue and simply melted it down when news of Claudius' accession arrived.

#### Ingenuus, ca. June/mid-summer 260

Fitz 1966; Christol 1975, 820; Göbl 1970; König 1981, 51; Drinkwater 1987, 100-4.

It seems now clear that Ingenuus revolted while Gallienus was at Milan, and that this came just after the death of Valerian. The revolt was, however, put down rapidly.

#### Regalianus, ca. June - ca. fall 260

Fitz 1966; Christol 1975, 820; Göbl 1970; *PLRE* I 762; Barnes 1972, 170; Dembski 1977; König 1981, 51; Drinkwater 1987, 100-4.

Gallienus was rid of Ingenuus when Regalianus revolted, though the uprisings were probably not far apart. Once again, the usurpation was short-lived.

#### Macrianus and Quietus, ca. early September 260 - ca. summer/fall 261

Accession: See above, Valerian, death.

<sup>48</sup> For the sequence of events, Zos. 1.40-1, Zonar. 12.25. The *HA* (*Claud.* 4.2) is grossly in error by claiming that Claudius' acclamation was announced in Rome on 24 March. See Christol 1975, 824-5 and König 1981, 130.

Death: Here again we depend upon Egyptian documents (see esp. König 1981, 24-5).

*BGU* VII 1568 (15 June 261)..... Macrianus & Quietus  
*P. Stras.* I 5.7 (14 August 261) ..... Gallienus  
*P. Stras.* I 6.37-8 (30 October 261)..... Macrianus & Quietus  
*P. Stras.* I 7.1-2 (30 March 262)..... Gallienus

The Alexandrian mint produced coins only of year one for these two (i.e. 29 August 260-28 August 261), and there are a few coins of Gallienus' year eight (260/261) -- Milne 1933, 4051, 4059-61.<sup>49</sup> It would appear that Egypt was again loyal to Gallienus by August 261. Furthermore, *P. Stras.* I 5 seems to indicate that people in Hermopolis thought Gallienus back in power by mid-August 261. The course of events may account for this apparent confusion in the Egyptian documents.<sup>50</sup> Having seized power, Macrianus took his son of the same name and marched west, leaving Ballista and his other son Quietus in the East. Macrianus marched as far as Illyricum, where he engaged in battle Domitianus, who defeated and killed the two Macriani. When news of this reached the East, Ballista shifted his allegiance to Odenathus, and allowed Quietus to be murdered. I would suggest that Macrianus spent the winter of 260/61 consolidating his position in the East and gathering his troops. The march west must have occupied (say) the spring of 261. The battle in Illyricum, then, might well have taken place in mid-summer of the year, and news of this reached Egypt by August, but probably late in August because there are so few coins of year eight (260/61) for Gallienus (though there might have been a period of confusion when the officials at the mint could not decide what to do). The confusion continued into the fall of 261 (cf. *P. Stras.* I 6) because Quietus was still alive. His death should probably be placed sometime in the fall or early winter of 261, for it was only in 262 that the mint at Antioch began again to mint in Gallienus' name.<sup>51</sup>

<sup>49</sup> On the few papyri that had been thought possibly to attest a year eight for Gallienus, Rathbone 1986, 117-8.

<sup>50</sup> *HA Gall.* 1.2-3.2 and *HA trig. tyr.* 12-14.2.

<sup>51</sup> See also Alföldi 1967, 156-7, and Göbl 1952, 27-31. Further Barnes 1972, 163.

L. Mussius Aemilianus, ca. summer or fall 261/summer 262

PLRE I 23 Aemilianus 6; Barnes 1972 146.

*P. Oxy.* XXXIV 2710 shows Aemilianus still as prefect on 17 May 261, but by August 262 a new man held the office (*P. Stras.* I 5). We know also that Aemilianus revolted when the uprising of Macrianus and Quietus came to an end (*HA Gall.* 4.1-2).<sup>52</sup>

Aureolus, ca. April/May - late September 268

Alföldi 1967, 1-15; PLRE I 138; Barnes 1972, 149; König 1981, 125-31; Drinkwater 1987, 31-3, and 146-7.<sup>53</sup>

Claudius II, ca. early September 268 - mid-August 270

Accession: See above, Gallienus, death.<sup>54</sup>

Death: Rea 1972b, 15-26; Price 1973, 81-5; Rea 1977, 227-9; Rathbone 1986, 120-1.

The latest papyrological date for Claudius is *P. Oxy.* XIV 1646.32-4 (28 September/27 October 270). There are also Alexandrian coins of Claudius' year three (i.e. post 29 August 270).<sup>55</sup> Though there are no papyri attesting Quintillus, there are Alexandrian coins of his year one.<sup>56</sup> News of Claudius' death, then, cannot have reached Alexandria until sometime

<sup>52</sup> Cf. B.E. Thomasson, *Laterculi Praesidium I* (Göteborg 1984) 357-8.

<sup>53</sup> Bastien 1984, 133-4 and 140 argues that all of Aureolus' coins are probably fakes.

<sup>54</sup> See also Bastien 1984, 134-7.

<sup>55</sup> Milne 1933, 4284-95 and *KAK* 3046-8.

<sup>56</sup> Milne 1933, 4296-8 and *KAK* 3049-50.

in September of 270. The news had to travel from Sirmium to Rome, and thence to Alexandria. Allowing for travel time, we should place Claudius' death in about mid-August.

Quintillus, post August - mid-September 270

Barnes 1972, 168-70; Rea 1972b, esp. 23-4; Price 1973, esp. 81-5; Rathbone 1986, 121-2. News of Claudius' death resulted in the acclamation, and apparent senatorial approval, of Quintillus.<sup>57</sup> The fact that there are Alexandrian coins only of his year one demonstrates that his *dies imperii* must have fallen after 29 August 270.<sup>58</sup> Though there are no papyri dated by Quintillus, there are some dated ἐπὶ ὑμᾶτων, of which the earliest dates to 12 October 270.<sup>59</sup> Rathbone suggests that the Palmyrene invasion was not the cause of these papyri, but rather news of Quintillus' death inspired the dating. He can resultantly suggest a reign of ca. 27 days for Quintillus.<sup>60</sup> Still, a dating by consuls in this period is extremely unusual and probably suggests more than just a change of emperors.<sup>61</sup>

Aurelian, ca. mid to late August 270 - mid-September/early December 275

Accession: Rea 1972b, 20-5; Price 1973 77-83; Rathbone 1986, 122-4.

Claudius died in (say) mid-August, and shortly thereafter his brother Quintillus was placed on the throne; but his reign came quickly to a close. At first, Aurelian's accession was dated to mid-September 270 in the Egyptian documents, but later dated prior to 29 August, so as

<sup>57</sup> Eutrop. 9.12 says that he was elected emperor *consensu militum*, and named *Augustus consensu senatus*. Hieron. *Chron.* (ed. Helm) p. 222 is similar -- *Quintillus, Claudii frater, a senatu Augustus appellatus*. Zonar. 12.26 says that some reports attributed the senate with his proclamation. The fact that we have coins minted at Rome and Alexandria demonstrates senatorial approval. See also Paschoud 1971, 162 n. 75.

<sup>58</sup> Milne 1933, 4296-8 and *KAK* 3049-50.

<sup>59</sup> For a list see Rathbone 1986, 123.

<sup>60</sup> Rathbone 1986, 122 suggests 29 August/24 September.

<sup>61</sup> Cf. K. Strobel, *Mundus ece mutat et labitur? Beiträge zu einer Geschichte der Mentalen Strukturen breiterer Bevölkerungsschichten im Imperium Romanum* (Heidelberg forthcoming) Chpt. V.3.

to make the *dies imperii* coincide with the date of Claudius' death.<sup>62</sup> This back-dating of the *dies* is also supported by Zonar. 12.26, where it is reported that Claudius, on his deathbed, designated Aurelian, but that the senate appointed Quintillus upon hearing of Claudius' death. This version of events was probably part of Aurelian's propaganda, designed to discredit Quintillus.

#### Death:

The latest document attesting Aurelian is *P. Oxy.* XII 1455.20-6 (19 October 275),<sup>63</sup> while the earliest of Tacitus is *P. Cair. Isid.* 108.17-9 = *SB V* 7677 (9 May 276). We know that Tacitus was consul on 1 January 276,<sup>64</sup> and it also appears that Tacitus had two tribunician iterations, the second beginning (probably) on 10 December 275. Aurelian's death and Tacitus' accession, then, should be dated in the period ca. mid-September/early December 275.<sup>65</sup> The six month interregnum claimed by some of the literary sources is most likely a mistake.<sup>66</sup>

<sup>62</sup> Rea's interpretation is now reaffirmed by Van't Dack 1982, 329-30.

<sup>63</sup> *O. Mich.* I 1573 is published with a reference to year eight of Aurelian. This, however, must be a mistake of some kind. See: Youtie, *Scriptunculae* I 159; Price 1973, 84 n. 53; Rathbone 1986 124 n. 8.

<sup>64</sup> Degrassi 1952, 74.

<sup>65</sup> Note that *HA Tac.* 3.2 ff. claims that Tacitus was proclaimed on 25 September. It should also be noted that Tacitus' second tribunician iteration has been called *extra mensum*, hence irrelevant for the chronology of his reign. See (e.g.) Rathbone 1986, 125 n. 1.

<sup>66</sup> Cf. Aur. Vict. *Caes.* 36.1, *Epit. de Caes.* 35.10 (seven months), *HA Tac.* 2.1. These same sources also claim a rule of six months for Tacitus, which seems too neat a coincidence -- see Syme 1971, 237-8. It may be that we are dealing here with some sort of confusion introduced by the *KG*. There are also some coins that have been thought to suggest an interregnum (*RIC V.1* p. 361), but this now seems not to be acceptable -- D. Yonge, "The So-Called Interregnum Coinage" *NC* 7.19 (1979), 47-60. Chastagnol 1980, 76-7 suggests that Aurelian died in October, that there was a brief interregnum (ca. October - November/December), and Tacitus' *dies feli* in late November or early December.

#### Domitianus ca. 271 (?)

Almost nothing is known of this man. He may have been Aureolus' general who fought Macrianus (*HA trig. tyr.* 12.14).<sup>67</sup> Otherwise, see: *RIC V.2*, p. 578; Homo 1904, 81. n. 3; *PLRE I* 262 Domitianus 1.

#### Zenobia and Vaballathus, ca. winter 271/72- ■ May/June 272

Accession: Rea 1972b, 15-26; Price 1973, 77-84; Rathbone 1986, 122-4.

The Egyptian evidence shows Claudius as late as September/October 270 (*P. Oxy.* XIV 1646), a year one for Quintillus (above n. 58), a year one of Aurelian alone (Milne 1933, 4299-4303 and *KAK* 3051-2), and then a period of dating ἐπὶ ὑπάρτων during October/November of 270. By 7/15 December we get the first dating with Aurelian and Vaballathus (*P. Oxy.* XL 2921.6-11). It would appear then, that Zenobia's general Zabdas must have captured Egypt in about November 270.<sup>68</sup> The Alexandrian coins, just as all of the known papyrological documents, show jointly Aurelian and Vaballathus through most of Vaballathus' year five (i.e. 271/72). However, there are a few late issues of year five with Vaballathus or Zenobia alone (Milne 1933, 4349-53, *KAK* 3064-5). The situation is apparently similar on the coins of Antioch.<sup>69</sup> This evidence would seem to suggest that there was some kind of arrangement between Aurelian and the Palmyrenes until about winter 271/72. Then, Zenobia and Vaballathus seem to have claimed complete independence, and to have revolted openly from Rome.

Defeat: See above, accession.

The earliest Egyptian document with Aurelian as sole ruler again (after his year one) is *P. Oxy.* XL 2902.16-8 (24 June 272). This gives a *terminus ante quem* for his defeat of Zenobia and Vaballathus.

<sup>67</sup> See Barnes 1972, 156.

<sup>68</sup> See also P.J. Parsons, "A Proclamation of Vaballathus?" *CE* 42 (1967) esp. 400-1.

<sup>69</sup> Cf. M. Peachin, "Johannes Malalas and the Moneyers' Revolt" in C. Deroux (ed.), *Studies in Latin Literature and Roman History III* (Brussels 1983) 329-30. It must be admitted, however, that the Antiochene coins still deserve a close study before their chronology can be determined absolutely.

Tacitus, mid-September/early December 275 - ca. June 276

Accession: See above, Aurelian, death.

Death: Schwartz 1948, 466; Vitucci 1952, 129; Polverini 1975; Schwartz 1977, 171; Chastagnol 1980, 77.

Fixing dates for Tacitus' death, the brief reign of Florian and the accession of Probus is problematic. Events proceeded, roughly, as follows.<sup>70</sup> Tacitus came to the throne sometime in the fall of 275. Meanwhile, the Goths had invaded Asia Minor and pushed as far as Cilicia. Tacitus attacked, won a victory, but shortly thereafter was murdered (or died) somewhere in Asia Minor. His brother, and praetorian prefect, Florian then took the purple. However, nearly simultaneously the army in Syria raised Probus. Florian advanced as far as Tarsus, but there took ill and died, which left Probus as sole emperor. The latest Egyptian attestation of Tacitus is *P. Oxy.* VI 907.27-8 (25 June/24 July 276),<sup>71</sup> and the coins from Alexandria attest only a year one. There are no Egyptian documents for Florian.<sup>72</sup> The earliest document for Probus (*O. Mich.* I 157.1) has no month date, only year one (hence prior to 29 August 276), and there is a small issue of his year one from the Alexandrian mint.<sup>73</sup> The chronographic sources are fairly uniform in assigning Tacitus a reign of six months, while they give two or three months to Florian.<sup>74</sup> Tacitus must have

<sup>70</sup> Zos. 1.63-4, Zonar. 12.28. Also Besnier 1937, 266-9 and Mattingly 1939, 311-3.

<sup>71</sup> *PSI* V 457.20-1 is dated by Claudius II, not Tacitus. The proper date of the document is 25 July 269. Cf. R. Plataudi, "Note di lettura" *ZPE* 27 (1977) 117-8.

<sup>72</sup> Since Probus controlled Egypt (Zos. 1.64.1) this is no surprise. Note also that Antioch minted no coins for Florian. See M. Weder, "The Eastern issues of Probus" *NC* 144 (1984), 206-10.

<sup>73</sup> Milne 1933, xdv argues that the first Egyptian year of Probus must have covered more than three months, this based on the size of the issue for this year. Though he may be right, still it is dangerous to make such arguments based on the size of coin issues. Cf. Bastien 1984, 135; Peachin 1985, 76.

<sup>74</sup> We have the following:

*Chron.* 354 (ed. Mommsen) p. 148 -- Tacitus, 8 months 12 days; Florian, 88 days

*Eutrop.* 9.16 -- Tacitus, ca. 6 months; Florian, 2 months 20 days

*Aur. Vict. Caes.* 36.2 -- Tacitus, 200 days; 37.1 -- Florian, 1 or 2 months

*Epit. de Caes.* 36.1 -- Tacitus, 200 days; 36.2 -- Florian, 60 days

*HA Tac.* 13.5 and 14.5 -- Tacitus, ca. 6 months; 14.5 -- Florian, ca. 2 months

*Oros. Hist. adv. pag.* 7.24.1 -- Tacitus, 6 months; Florian, 3 months

*Prosper Tiro Epit. Chron.* (ed. Mommsen) p. 443 -- Tacitus, 6 months; Florian, 88 days

*Chron. Gall. ad a. 511* (ed. Mommsen) p. 642 -- Tacitus, 6 months; Florian, 89 days

*Cassiod. Chron.* (ed. Mommsen) p. 148 -- Tacitus, 6 months; Florian, 88 days

survived into (roughly) June of 276. Probus will have been recognized in Syria and Egypt very shortly after -- probably also in about June. Florian's two or three months, then, were ca. June through (say) August of 276.

Florian, ca. June - August 276

See above, Tacitus, death.

Probus, ca. June 276 - September/9 December 282

Accession: See above, Tacitus, death.

Death: Gallazzi 1976, 245-8; Rathbone 1986, 126.

The latest Egyptian document for Probus is now *P. Oxy.* L 3569.15-6 (28 October/27 November 282), while the earliest of Carus is *P. Oxy.* I 55.16-9 (7 April 283).<sup>75</sup> The papyri, then, would suggest a range of ca. September (or October) 282 - early March 283 for the accession of Carus. The Alexandrian coins show for Probus eight years; hence, he must have remained on the throne past late August 282.<sup>76</sup> As we shall see below, Carus must have been killed ca. July 283. The documents are fairly consistent in attributing two tribunician iterations to him; hence, he probably came to the throne prior to 10 December 282. Thus, the date of Probus' death and Carus' accession falls between ca. September/October and 9 December 282.

<sup>75</sup> *P. Com.* 12.1-3 (attesting Carus) had been thought to date to Choiak (November/December) of 282, but has now been re-read, and dates really to 25 June/24 July 283. See Rathbone 1986, 127 n. 2. There are also several early datings for Carinus, but these all appear to be retrospective. Again, Rathbone 1986, 128 n. 2. *P. Com.* Inv. 78 = Neugebauer and Van Hoesen, *Greek Horoscopes* no. 282 is dated by Carinus alone to 13 September 282. The document is, however, certainly retrospective. Rathbone 1986, 128 n. 2.

<sup>76</sup> Milne 1933, 4653-9 and *KAK* 3158.

Saturninus, ca. 277/281

PLRE I 808 Saturninus 12; Paschoud 1971, 173 n. 95; Barnes 1972, 171-2; Chastagnol 1980, 78.

Of Saturninus we know next to nothing. He was possibly governor of Syria, and revolted in the East. Zosimus (1.61.1) seems to place the revolt toward the beginning of Probus' reign, while Hieron. *Chron.* (ed. Helm) p. 224 puts it in 281. Chastagnol (loc. cit.) suggests three possible dates, all represented by lacunae in the papyrological documentation: August-December 277; September 278-January 279; August-November 280.

Proculus and Bonosus, ca. 280

PLRE I 163 Bonosus 1; PLRE I 745 Proculus 1; Barnes 1972, 150-1 and 168; Salzmänn 1980, 49 ff.

We know essentially nothing other than that these two revolted at Cologne and were put down by Probus. The few coins of Bonosus that exist may be fakes (see below in the catalogue).

Carus, ca. September/9 December 282 - ca. July 283

Accession: See above, Probus, death.

Death: Van't Dack 1974, 886 n. 117; Bird 1976, 123-5; Rathbone 1986, 127.

The latest papyrological attestation of Carus is *P. Oxy.* XIV 1744.6, dated merely year two (i.e. post 29 August 283). There are also Alexandrian coins of his year two, but none of year three.<sup>77</sup> The earliest dating by Carinus and Numerian, without Carus, is *BGU* VII 1611.1-2 (15 September 283, Arsinoite). News, then, of Carus' death seems to have arrived in Egypt during August of 283. Since the news had to travel from Ctesiphon (and possibly via Rome), we can guess that Carus perished in about July. The evidence regarding Numerian as *Augustus* (see below) also supports this dating.

<sup>77</sup> Miloc 1933, 4708 ff.

## Carinus, ca. spring 283 (?) - spring 285

Accession: Gallazzi 1976, 249-50; Chastagnol 1980, 79; Rathbone 1986, 127-8.

Various documents indicate that Carinus was made *Augustus* while Carus yet lived (cat. nos. 140 ff.). Gallazzi (art. cit.) argued on the basis of *O. Mich.* I 26.1 that Carinus' *dies* must have fallen prior to 17 June, or prior to mid-May with travel time taken into account; however, the restoration of the papyrus is problematic, and cannot be pressed (cf. Rathbone 1986, 128 n. 1). Hence, we cannot be certain of Carinus' *dies*, but spring may be a good guess. Carus may well have made his elder son *Augustus* when leaving with Numerian on the Persian campaign.<sup>78</sup> In any case, to this point Carinus had been *Caesar*.<sup>79</sup>

## Death:

The battle at the Margus river and Carinus' death are most frequently placed in spring of 285.<sup>80</sup> Hydatius (ed. Mommsen) p. 229 has the following entry for 285: *Diocletiano II et Aristobulo. His consulibus occisus est Carinus Margo, qui ipso anno cum Aristobulo consul processerat.* This is the only direct evidence available regarding the date of the battle.

## Numerian, ca. July 283 - November 284

Accession: Gallazzi 1976, 250-52; Chastagnol 1980, 79; Rathbone 1986, 127-8.

No document calls Carus and Numerian simultaneously *Augusti*. Thus, it would appear that so long as Carus lived, Numerian remained *Caesar*. It would also seem logical to suppose that the troops in the East proclaimed him *Augustus* when Carus died.<sup>81</sup> There are Alexandrian coins with Numerian as *Augustus* dated to year one (prior to 29 August 283),

<sup>78</sup> This cannot be dated exactly, but see Meloni 1948, 98. The remark of the *HA Car.* 9.4 that the immediately preceding war with the Sarmatians was settled *paucissimis diebus* seems roughly accurate. See Alföldy 1966, 21-6.

<sup>79</sup> See the literary testimonia in the catalogue, as well as cat. nos. 51 ff.

<sup>80</sup> Meloni 1948, 164-70; Polverini 1975, 1032; Bird 1976, 130; Barnes 1982, 50. Chastagnol 1980, 79 on the basis of the information supplied by the *Chronograph of 354* dates Carinus' death to August/September 285.

<sup>81</sup> Eutrop. 9.19.2 claims that Numerian died still as *Caesar*. The *HA Car.* 12.1-13.1 implies that Numerian was *Augustus* ■ least by the time he began to fall ill. Zonar. 12.30 says that upon the death of Carus, "Numerian, his son, was left as sole emperor with the army."

which in conjunction with the evidence for Carus' death lead to the supposition that Numerian's *dies* followed close upon Carus' death.<sup>82</sup> The evidence of the Alexandrian coins seems to show that the news of Carus' death and Numerian's promotion must have arrived after the coins of Carus' year two had begun to be struck, but in time also to get up an issue of year one for Numerian. Thus, the news came just toward the end of August.

Death: Bird 1976, 127-30; Barnes 1981, 1.

The date of Numerian's death is now clear. *P. Panop. Beatty 2* has proved that 20 November 284 was Diocletian's *vicennalia*, hence the date of his *dies imperii*, and thus the date of the discovery of the dead Numerian at Nicomedia.<sup>83</sup>

#### M. Aurelius Sabinus Iulianus, ca. summer 283 (?)

*PLRE* I 474 Iulianus 23 and I 480 Iulianus 38; Paschoud 1971, 178-80.

*Aur. Vict. Caes.* 39.10 claims Iulianus to have revolted upon the death of Carus, while *Zos.* 1.73.2 places the event at the time of Numerian's death. We are also told that he was defeated by Carinus, either in Illyria (*Aur. Vict. Caes.* 39.10) or Italy (*Epi. de Caes.* 38.6, *Zos.* 1.73.3). That he controlled Pannonia, issuing coins at Siscia, is also clear. Most place the revolt at the time of Numerian's death.<sup>84</sup> Still, the point in time just after Numerian's death, with Carinus still controlling the West, Diocletian about to advance from the East and most of the Danube area loyal to Diocletian, will have been rather an inauspicious moment for revolt.<sup>85</sup> It may be, then, that Aurelius Victor places correctly the inception of the revolt.

<sup>82</sup> *P. Fouad. Univ.* 23.19-22 records Carinus as *Augustus* and Numerian as *Caesar*, and is dated to 28 September 283 (Rathbone 1986, 127-8). The document may reflect the fact that news of Numerian's rise in status had not yet reached Hermopolis, or it could be that there was confusion in Egypt as to Numerian's exact status.

<sup>83</sup> W. Ensslin, "Zum *dies imperii* des Kaisers Diocletian" *Aegyptus* 28 (1948), 178-94 argued forcefully for this date even before the publication of the papyrus.

<sup>84</sup> G. Henze, "Aurelius (75)" *RE* 2, 2456; E. Pagan, "Imperator Marcus Aurelius Iulianus" *Narrativna vijesti* 26 (1968) 45-7; P. Bastien, *Monnaie et donativa au Bas-Empire* (Wetteren 1988) 61.

<sup>85</sup> It looks as though Constantius in Dalmatia, at least, must quickly have declared for Diocletian. See M. Peachin, "A Note on the Early Days of Diocletian's Reign" forthcoming *ALAH*. Note also that Barnes 1981, 5 assumes the Danubian provinces to have sided almost immediately with Diocletian. H. Mattingly, *CAH* XII, 323 says that Iulianus revolted "even before the elevation of Diocles." He is not clear as to just how long before.

## 2. Other Chronological Elements

*Tribunician Power* -- *Tribunicia potestas* was initially reckoned from and renewed on the date at which the comitial vote was taken to grant it. The Flavians seem to have changed this scheme, renewing instead on their respective *dies imperii*. Finally, Trajan initiated the custom of reckoning from the day on which the *tribuni plebis* took office, i.e. from 10 December. This was then the case through the reign of Alexander Severus at least.<sup>86</sup> The mid-third century presents a rather mixed picture, but with Diocletian we again find the practice of renewal on 10 December.<sup>87</sup>

It is extremely difficult to establish any a priori rules for renewal of the tribunician power during the period here in question. Dio may indicate that in his day, emperors renewed their tribunician powers on 10 December, though this again brings us only so far as Alexander Severus.<sup>88</sup> Nor is there any direct evidence to prove that this tradition was adhered to consistently throughout the third century. On the other hand, the fact that Diocletian did reckon from the traditional date is an indication that the custom (or at least its memory) survived through the century. It seems reasonable, then, to begin from the assumption that the tribunician power was iterated on 10 December annually throughout our period. Where the evidence against seems incontrovertible, I shall have to abandon this stance; but unless the evidence is heavily weighed against, this assumption will prevail.<sup>89</sup>

<sup>86</sup> This abbreviated account derives from Hammond 1949 and Hammond 1959, 76-6. See also Lorient 1974, 300 n. 19 and Mastino 1981, 46. For other arguments (e.g.), F.H. Stobbe, "Die Tribunicenjahre der römischen Kaiser" *Philologus* 32 (1873) 1-91, or Mattingly 1930. On the early development of the tribunician power see now, W.K. Lacey, "Summi fastigii vocabulum: The Story of a Title" *JRS* 69 (1979) 28-34.

<sup>87</sup> The most complete studies of the tribunician power in the third century are, Schulz 1919, 220-47 and Mattingly 1930. Kramer & Jones 1943 complements Mattingly. There are, however, numerous problems of interpretation of the documents in all of these. For Diocletian's renewal date: Barnes 1982, 25-6; Kolb 1987, 26.

<sup>88</sup> See Dio 53.17.10-1. R.P. Hock, "Dio 53.17.10 and the Tribunician Day during the Reign of Septimius Severus" *SO* 59 (1984) 115-9 now argues that this passage cannot prove the 10 December date of renewal for Severus, and inclines to accept renewal on 1 January for him.

<sup>89</sup> Schillinger-Häfele 1986, 16-7 takes a similar position.

*The Consulate* -- The consulates of this period are, on the whole, well attested, and easily accessible.<sup>90</sup> At several points in the period here discussed, however, various documents attribute more consulates to an emperor than do the preserved fasti. In such cases we might suppose one of three explanations: a) the document(s) in question attributes the extra consulate by mistake; b) the extra iteration represents an otherwise unattested suffect consulate; c) the extra iteration represents the calculation of *ornamenta consularia* held by the emperor at some earlier point. Mistakenly dated documents must be judged individually. But what is the general probability of the other two explanations?

It seems to me unlikely that *ornamenta* should have been the cause of consulates not attested by the fasti. Prior to the early third century, the award of *ornamenta* never counted as official tenure of the consulate.<sup>91</sup> Dio (46.46.4) reports that Septimius Severus granted the praetorian prefect Plautianus the *ornamenta consularia*, and that later, when Plautianus got his first ordinary consulate, Severus called it his second due to the earlier honor. Dio then says that this happened afterwards -- καὶ ἀπ' ἐκείνων καὶ ἐφ' ἑτέρω τὸ αὐτὸ ἐγένετο. We have indeed several examples of such reckoning in the years immediately following: Q. Maecius Laetus (cos. ord. 215); T. Messius Extricatus (cos. ord. 217); M. Oclatinus Adventus (cos. ord. 218); the emperor Macrinus (cos. ord. 218); P. Valerius Comazon (cos. ord. 220).<sup>92</sup> Yet, it is now also clear that Alexander Severus reformed the procedure of honoring praetorian prefects at least. Instead of granting them the *ornamenta consularia*, he brought these men into the senate via *adlectio inter consulares*, or by giving them a suffect consulate.<sup>93</sup> Indeed, the evidence for *ornamenta* falls off drastically during the mid-third century.<sup>94</sup> Moreover, where provincial documents especially, but not (say) coins from imperial mints, know of an otherwise unattested second consulate, it seems hardly likely that earlier *ornamenta consularia* should come in question.

<sup>90</sup> Cf. Barnes 1982, 91-2 on reconstructing lists of consuls. Also Bagnall et al. 1987, 47-87 on the various sources for the consuls and consular datings.

<sup>91</sup> Talbert 1984, 367.

<sup>92</sup> See Degraisi 1952, 60-1 and Rémy 1976/77, 170 ff. See also respectively: Barbieri 1952, no. 341 and *PIR*<sup>2</sup> M 54; Barbieri 1952, no. 372 and *PIR*<sup>2</sup> 518; Barbieri 1952, no. 1117 and *PIR*<sup>2</sup> O 9; Barbieri 1952, no. 1120 and *PIR*<sup>2</sup> O 108; Barbieri 1952, no. 1174. Note as well Barnes 1984, 249-50, and Paul M. M. Leuwaissen, *Konsuln und Konsulare in der Zeit von Commodus bis Severus Alexander (180-235 n.Chr.)* (Amsterdam 1989) 66-8 and 397-8.

<sup>93</sup> Chastagnol 1970, 39-52 and Rémy 1976/77, 172-3.

<sup>94</sup> Rémy 1976/77, 173-6. Note also Kuhoff 1979, 34 with n. 57.

Suffect consulates are also troublesome in this regard. By the mid to late third century, the prestige of this honor was on the decline, and it would appear that suffect consulates frequently were left out of both senatorial cursus inscriptions and the fasti.<sup>95</sup> It is, of course, conceivable that an emperor might have wished an earlier suffect consulate to be remembered, or that such was recorded in an attempt to honor him. Still, given the trend clearly demonstrated by Pflaum and Chastagnol, we should probably be wary of any such explanation as well. Indeed, mistakes may often prove to be the most satisfactory interpretation of too many consular iterations in our documentation.

*Imperator Acclamations* -- Although acclamations as *imperator* could be renewed on a regular basis, in our period they seem usually to have corresponded to actual events.<sup>96</sup> In such cases, the army would first proclaim an emperor *imperator*, and this would then be reported in Rome. It may be that the senate was responsible for voting such acclamations official; however, this cannot be proved.<sup>97</sup> These acclamations can sometimes be associated with victories and victory titles, but we are nonetheless dependent upon their mention in dated documents for establishing their chronology.<sup>98</sup>

*Victory Titles* -- Senatorial sanction was required to make a victory title official, and the system for accomplishing this has already been mentioned.<sup>99</sup> It should also be made clear from the outset, however, that the documents frequently produce victory titles that were

<sup>95</sup> On the decline of the suffect consulate: W. Eck and H. Wolff, "Ein Auxiliardiplom aus dem Jahre 203 n. Chr." in *idem* (eds.), *Heer und Integrationspolitik. Die römischen Militärdiplome als historische Quelle* (Cologne 1986) 561 ff. and Bagnall et al. 1987, 2-4. On the deletion of suffect consulates: H.-G. Pflaum, "La fortification de la ville d'Adraha d'Arabie (259-260 à 274-275) d'après des inscriptions récemment découvertes" *Syria* 29 (1952) 326-30; A. Chastagnol, *La préfecture urbaine à Rome sous le Bas-Empire* (Paris 1960) 398 ff.; *idem*, "Observations sur le consular suffect et la préture du Bas-Empire" *RH* 219 (1958) 222-3 = *L'Italie et l'Afrique au Bas-Empire. Scripta Varia* (Lille 1987) 84-5. Note also Barnes 1982, 91.

<sup>96</sup> See the excellent study by Lorio 1981. He there demonstrates that Alexander Severus was proclaimed annually *imperator*, whereas Maximinus Thrax, Gordian III and Trajan Decius all received such acclamations in relation to specific events. It is to be noted as well that these acclamations became less and less popular during the course of the century. See Lorio 1981, 234-5 for a tentative explanation of this.

<sup>97</sup> Cf. Hammond 1959, 77-8; Kneissl 1969, 182 and Talbert 1984, 363-4. Also Stylow 1974, 522.

<sup>98</sup> The papyri, unfortunately, are unanimous in not recording acclamations as *imperator*, which deprives us of what might have been a most useful chronological source.

<sup>99</sup> Above p. 2 and Kneissl 1969, 181-2.

not, in fact, held by the emperor.<sup>100</sup> In order, then, to sort official from non-official victory titles, a careful comparison of the types and values of the documents recording these must be made. Where such titles are attested by coins from (especially) the mint at Rome, military diplomas or a wide variety of documents from throughout the Empire, there is cause to believe the title to have been official. Otherwise, we may reasonably question whether it was officially taken, and thus its value as an indicator for chronology.

As regards the chronology of these titles, and thus of the events that occasioned them, little is to be had from the literary sources. We are again chiefly dependent on the documentary evidence. Where victory titles appear in documents that are securely datable, that is with specified consular and/or tribunician iterations, a fix can be had. And by combining such information with the testimony of the papyri it is possible to calculate with some accuracy the time at which a given victory title was assumed. There will have been, of course, a lag between the date of the event and the final official grant of the title by the senate.

### 3. Chronology of the Titulature

In what follows, an attempt will be made to derive a chronology of the above described elements of the imperial titulature during our period. This effort must be based on the more securely datable elements of the titulature, primarily tribunician and consular iterations. The procedure will be first to set out the precisely datable formulae (otherwise unspecified references throughout are to catalogue numbers), that is to say, those attested by documents which provide specific iteration numbers.<sup>101</sup> With the evidence then clearly in view, we shall proceed to attempt dates for these elements of the titulature. Again, it is assumed throughout that the entire standard formula was adopted at the time of or shortly after the *dies imperii*.

<sup>100</sup> See, e.g., Gostar 1975, Kacials 1969, 97, 148 ff., 166-7 or Lorient 1981, 229. Cf. also T.D. Barnes, "Two Victory Titles of Constantius" *ZPE* 52 (1983) 229-35 and P. Brennan, "Diocletian and the Goths" *Phoenix* 38 (1984) 142-6.

<sup>101</sup> Documents with, e.g., *tr. pot.* or *cos.* (with no specified iteration number) cannot be taken to imply the first tribunician iteration or consulate, and are thus by themselves of little use for chronology. On this, Stylow 1974, 515-7 and Butrey 1980, 3.

### Maximinus Thrax

<i>tr. pot. cos. des</i> .....	42-5
<i>tr. pot. cos. des. imp. II</i> .....	46
<i>tr. pot. cos. imp. II</i> .....	53
<i>tr. pot. cos. imp. II Germ. + Maxim. Germ.</i> .....	168
<i>tr. pot. II cos.</i> .....	48-51, 167
<i>tr. pot. II cos. Germ.</i> .....	47, 164
<i>tr. pot. II cos. imp. (?)</i> .....	165
<i>tr. pot. II cos. imp. (?) Germ. Dac. Sarm</i> .....	52
<i>tr. pot. II cos. Dac. Germ. Sarm. Parth. + Maxim. Dac.</i> <i>Germ. Sarm. Parth.</i> .....	166
<i>tr. pot. II cos. imp. III</i> .....	54, 169-72
<i>tr. pot. II cos. imp. III Dac. Germ. Sarm</i> .....	173
<i>tr. pot. cos. imp. III</i> .....	183
<i>tr. pot. III cos.</i> .....	56, 174
<i>tr. pot. III cos. Germ.</i> .....	55, (154)
<i>tr. pot. III cos. Germ. + Maxim. Germ.</i> .....	175
<i>tr. pot. III cos. Germ. Sarm. Dac.</i> .....	(40), 57, 176
<i>tr. pot. III cos. Germ. Dac. Sarm. + Maxim. Germ.</i> <i>Dac. Sarm.</i> .....	177, 180
<i>tr. pot. III cos. Germ. Dac. Sarm. + Maxim. Germ.</i> <i>Dac. imp. (?)</i> .....	182
<i>tr. pot. III cos. Germ. Parth. Dac. Sarm. + Maxim. Germ.</i> .....	179
<i>tr. pot. III cos. imp. Germ. Dac. + Maxim. Germ. Dac.</i> .....	178
<i>tr. pot. III cos. I imp. II Germ. Dac. Sarm. + Maxim. Germ.</i> <i>Dac. Sarm.</i> .....	181
<i>cos. imp. IV Germ. Dac. Sarm.</i> .....	184
<i>tr. pot. cos. imp. IV Germ. Dac. Sarm. + Maxim.</i> <i>Germ. Dac. Sarm.</i> .....	185
<i>tr. pot. III imp. V Germ. Sarm. Dac. + Maxim. Germ.</i> <i>Sarm. Dac.</i> .....	186-7
<i>tr. pot. III (?) cos. imp. V (?)</i> .....	(153), 185a
<i>tr. pot. III cos. imp. V (?) Germ.</i> .....	188
<i>tr. pot. III (?) cos. imp. V Germ. Dac. Sarm</i> .....	58



<i>tr. pot. III cos. imp. V Germ. Dac. Sarm. + Maxim.</i>	
<i>Germ. Dac. Sarm.</i> .....	189-92
<i>tr. pot. cos. imp. V Germ. Sarm. Dac. + Maxim. Germ.</i>	
<i>Sarm. Dac.</i> .....	193-6
<i>tr. pot. III imp. VI Germ. Sarm. Dac. + Maxim. Germ.</i>	
<i>Sarm. Dac.</i> .....	197
<i>tr. pot. III cos. imp. VI Germ. Dac. Sarm. + Maxim.</i>	
<i>Germ. Dac. Sarm.</i> .....	198
<i>cos. imp. VI Germ. Dac. Sarm. + Maxim. Germ. Sarm.</i> .....	199-200
<i>tr. pot. IV cos. Germ.</i> .....	59
<i>tr. pot. IV cos. Germ. + Maxim. Germ.</i> .....	201
<i>tr. pot. IV cos. Germ. Dac. Sarm.</i> .....	60
<i>tr. pot. IV cos. imp. V Germ. Dac. Sarm. + Maxim.</i>	
<i>Germ. Dac. Sarm.</i> .....	202
<i>tr. pot. IV (?) cos. imp. VII Germ. Dac. Sarm. + Maxim.</i>	
<i>Germ. Dac. Sarm.</i> .....	203
<i>tr. pot. V cos. imp. VII Germ. Dac. Sarm. + Maxim.</i>	
<i>Germ. Dac. Sarm.</i> .....	204-7
<i>tr. pot. VI cos. imp. VII Germ. Dac. Sarm. + Maxim.</i>	
<i>Germ. Dac. Sarm.</i> .....	208
<i>tr. pot. IX cos. imp. III Germ.</i> .....	209
<i>tr. pot. cos. II</i> .....	60a
<i>tr. pot. cos. III Germ.</i> .....	61
<i>tr. pot. cos. III Germ. + Maxim. Germ.</i> .....	210-1
<i>tr. pot. cos. IV Germ. Sarm.</i> .....	212

Maximinus became consul for the first and only time on 1 January 236.<sup>103</sup> The expected tribunician iterations, with the consulate, are then thus.

<i>tr. pot. I</i> .....	ca. March - 9 December 235
<i>tr. pot. II</i> .....	10 - 31 December 235
<i>tr. pot. II cos.</i> .....	1 January - 9 December 236
<i>tr. pot. III cos.</i> .....	10 December 236 - 9 December 237
<i>tr. pot. IV cos.</i> .....	10 December 237 - ca. June 238

<sup>103</sup> Degraffi 1952, 65.

Several of the combinations listed above cannot fit this scheme. Of those the following are, with no doubt, mistakenly dated: *tr. pot. IX cos. imp. III*; *tr. pot. cos. II*; *tr. pot. cos. III*; *tr. pot. cos. IV*. Fifth and sixth tribunician iterations, which are also odd, but not quite so obviously impossible, are found only on milestones from Hispania, all erected *curante Q. Decio leg. Aug. Pr. Pr.*<sup>104</sup> It seems most likely that Decius (or his stonecutter) was confused regarding Maximinus' tribunician iterations, since there is no likely scheme that would account for a fifth or sixth tribunician iteration.<sup>105</sup> The rest of the documents, however, would fit a plan of tribunician iteration either on 10 December or 1 January. Although there can be no certainty, I should prefer to assume iteration in December.<sup>106</sup>

As for *imperator* acclamations, the combination *tr. pot. cos. des. imp. II* indicates that the first two acclamations should fall before 1 January 236. The first probably came upon Maximinus' accession in March 235, and the second was most likely achieved in fall of the year for the victory over the Alamanni.<sup>107</sup> The third acclamation is attested in combination with the second tribunician iteration, i.e. 10 December 235 - 9 December 236. It may be that this is to be associated with fighting against the Sarmatians and Dacians, possibly in the fall of 236.<sup>108</sup> The fourth acclamation is not known in any securely datable inscription, but must have come either during the second or early in the third tribunician iteration, i.e.

<sup>104</sup> The Decius here in question is the later emperor Trajan Decius. See Alföldy 1969, 56-9 and *idem*, *Römische Heeresgeschichte. Beiträge 1962-1985* (Amsterdam 1987) 456-62.

<sup>105</sup> Townsend 1934, 83-4, in order to explain these tribunician iterations, suggested that Spain remained loyal to Maximinus as late as 240. This seems most unlikely. In order to account for *tr. pot. V*, Bersanetti 1965, 66 n. 4 offers tentatively the hypothesis that Maximinus took an extra tribunician iteration upon the death of the Gordians.

<sup>106</sup> As Stylow 1974, 517 notes, a renewal on Maximinus' *dies imperii* is out of the question, while renewal on 1 January is at least possible. Indeed, the fact that there are documents with *tr. pot. cos. des.* and *tr. pot. II cos.* leads Stylow to wonder whether the January date is not preferable. So too Mattingly 1930, 86 and Alam 1989, 25-6. However, we cannot be certain that a dating formula like the first intends the first tribunician iteration. Moreover, even if it does, a document with this formula could have been produced simply before the tribunician power was renewed on 10 December. Schilling-Häfele 1986, 72 also assumes December iteration.

<sup>107</sup> See Herod. 7.7.6-7 and *HA Maximin.* 12.4, with Stylow 1974, 518-22 and Okamura 1984, 195-203. Note, however, that one stone connects the second *imperator* acclamation with the third tribunician iteration (181). This is probably a mistake. See Stylow 1974, 518 n. 5.

<sup>108</sup> Cf. Stylow 1974, 522.

ca. 236/237.<sup>109</sup> The fifth acclamation is attested usually with *tr. pot. III* (10 December 236 - 9 December 237), but also once with *tr. pot. IV* (December 237 - June 238). The occasions of these last three acclamations are not clear.<sup>110</sup> Sixth and seventh acclamations are also attested. The former would appear to have come during *tr. pot. III*, while the latter is known only with nonsensical tribunician dates (once possibly with *tr. pot. IV* -- 203). Hence, a sixth acclamation during 237/8 may be possible, but a seventh seems dubious.<sup>111</sup>

Rough termini for the victory titles are supplied by two military diplomas. The first (Roxan 1978, 77) has no victory titles and was issued on 7 January 236, while the second (*CIL* XVI 146) has all three of the attested titles (*Germanicus maximus*, *Dacicus maximus*, *Sarmaticus maximus*) and was issued on 7 January 237. The rest of our inscriptional evidence points to the title *Germanicus maximus* having been taken during the course of 236 -- it never appears without the consulate, but does appear alone with the second and third *imperator* acclamations. If the German wars were finally cleared up in the fall of 236,<sup>112</sup> it was probably not until near the end of that year that Maximinus had the title *Germanicus* officially from the senate. A date roughly late in 236 is also indicated by the papyri, which show *Germanicus* (alone) first in January/February 237.<sup>113</sup> Furthermore, it seems to have been late summer in 236 when VICTORIA GERMANICA began to appear as a reverse legend, and shortly after that MAXIMINVS PIVS AVG GERM became the obverse legend on the coins from Rome.<sup>114</sup> We might guess that the senate approved the title by about November.

<sup>109</sup> Note that I have not included in my collection of documents *CIL* II 4693, which is very confused: *Iul. Verus...Pius / III C. pontifex ma/ximus...rcius ma/ximus Sarmatic/us BIOLEST fl. Imp. / IIII cos. p.p. pro/cos. pil. Verus ma/ximus nobilissimus / Caes. Germanicus / maximus ..rcius ma/ximus Pius Imp. Cae/ccis Aug. restitue/frunt.* Stylow 1974, 522 suggests that lines 3-6 might be read, *trib. potest. III imp. IIII* etc., which would indicate (probably) 237 as the date of the fourth *imperator* acclamation.

<sup>110</sup> Bersanetti 1941, 10-1 connects these with the wars on the Danube; but Stylow 1974, 522 is probably correct in placing them earlier.

<sup>111</sup> Bersanetti 1941, 11-2 connects the sixth acclamation vaguely with a campaign on the Danube in 238, and the seventh with Capellianus' victory over Gordians I and II, also in 238. Stylow 1974 does not consider these last two acclamations.

<sup>112</sup> Stylow 1974, 321-2 and Alram 1989, 26-7.

<sup>113</sup> *P. Ross. Geogr.* V 19, 10 (9 February 237); *SB* I 5137, 8 (January/February 237).

<sup>114</sup> *BMCRE* VI, pp. 87-95. Also Carson 1958, 191-3, *HCC* III p. lxxviii and Alram 1989, 27.

*Sarmaticus* and *Dacicus* are not so simple. We have seen one military diploma which bears these titles in January 237, and they are attested by other inscriptions in conjunction not only with the third but also the second tribunician power. The inscriptions then, point to late 236 for the grant of these two titles also.<sup>115</sup> The papyri, however, first show the titles in Pauni (26 May/24 June) of 237.<sup>116</sup> And while the three inscriptions that combine *Sarmaticus* and *Dacicus* with *tr. pot. II* might be questioned,<sup>117</sup> the military diploma is much to reject. For now we must probably suppose that these titles were granted to Maximinus late in 236 or just at the start of 237, but that the news was not transmitted to Egypt until spring of the year.

The epithet *Parthicus maximus* is attested by one stone from Lugdunensis (179), one from Hispania (204) and is restored to another from Italy (166). This title was hardly held officially.

### Gordian III

<i>tr. pot. I</i> .....	75
<i>cos. I</i> .....	74, 199
<i>tr. pot. II cos.</i> .....	76-89, 200, 222-3
<i>tr. pot. III</i> .....	92
<i>tr. pot. III cos.</i> .....	90-1, 93-6, 224-7
<i>tr. pot. III cos. I</i> .....	201
<i>tr. pot. III cos. imp. II</i> .....	111
<i>tr. pot. III cos. imp. III</i> .....	228
<i>cos. II</i> .....	97-105, 202
<i>tr. pot. cos. II</i> .....	106-8, 203, 229

<sup>115</sup> Cf. Stylow 1974, 522-3.

<sup>116</sup> *P. Lond.* 212b. *P. Oxy.* VIII 1114 is dated to 6 July, and *SB* I 5136 and *P. Grenf.* II 67 both date to Epeiph (June/July).

<sup>117</sup> *CIL* III 3736, a milestone from Pannonia Inferior whose reading is not altogether secure, has the victory titles in a confused order, and only in the filiation of Maximus. *CIL* XI 1176 is almost entirely fragmentary, and also calls Maximinus and Maximus *Parthici maximi*, which brings into question here the titulature altogether. *IRT* 46 is almost entirely restored.

<i>tr. pot. III cos. II</i> .....	109-10
<i>tr. pot. IV cos. II</i> .....	112-5
<i>tr. pot. IV cos. II imp. III</i> .....	116
<i>tr. pot. V</i> .....	117
<i>tr. pot. V cos. II</i> .....	118-21, 230
<i>tr. pot. V cos. II imp. V</i> .....	122
<i>tr. pot. V cos. II imp. VI</i> .....	124
<i>tr. pot. VI (?) cos.</i> .....	125
<i>tr. pot. VI cos. II</i> .....	126-7, 204
<i>tr. pot. VI cos. II imp. IV</i> .....	231
<i>tr. pot. VII cos. II</i> .....	128-9
<i>tr. pot. (?) cos. II imp. VI</i> .....	123
<i>tr. pot. cos. imp. VII</i> .....	130
<i>tr. pot. cos. III</i> .....	232

If Gordian's tribunician power was renewed on 10 December, then the consular and tribunician iterations should run as follows.<sup>118</sup>

<i>tr. pot. I</i> .....	ca. early August - 9 December	238
<i>tr. pot. II</i> .....	10 - 31 December	238
<i>tr. pot. II cos. I</i> .....	1 January - 9 December	239
<i>tr. pot. III cos. I</i> .....	10 December 239 - 9 December	240
<i>tr. pot. IV cos. I</i> .....	10 - 31 December	240
<i>tr. pot. IV cos. II</i> .....	1 January - 9 December	241
<i>tr. pot. V cos. II</i> .....	10 December 241 - 9 December	242
<i>tr. pot. VI cos. II</i> .....	10 December 242 - 9 December	243
<i>tr. pot. VII cos. II</i> .....	10 December 243 - February	244

Given this, the combination *tr. pot. III cos. II* is an impossible date; yet, this combination is solidly attested by coins from the Roman mint. Furthermore, the assumption that 1 January was the date of tribunician renewal creates the same problem, i.e. *tr. pot. III cos. II* is impossible. For this reason, Mattingly assumed that Gordian renewed his tribunician power on the date of his *dies imperii*.<sup>119</sup> This would indeed solve the problem of *tr. pot. III cos. II*;

<sup>118</sup> Degraffi 1952, 67 for the consulates.

<sup>119</sup> Mattingly 1930, 86. Also *RIC* IV.3 pp. 2-3 with the earlier literature.

however, renewal on the *dies* would leave Gordian with only six tribunician iterations, whereas a seventh is attested, and this again by coins from Rome.<sup>120</sup> The only solution is to suppose some of our evidence mistaken. If the *tr. pot. III cos. II* combination is wrong, then the following documents must be discounted: 13 coins from the Roman mint and one inscription from Gallia Belgica.<sup>121</sup> The assumption that *tr. pot. VII* is impossible excludes the following: four coins from Rome and two from Antioch, and possibly an inscription from Dalmatia.<sup>122</sup> Given this quandary, I should prefer to suppose that Gordian maintained tradition and renewed his tribunician power on 10 December, and that some of the documents are simply dated mistakenly or in a misleading fashion.<sup>123</sup>

Xavier Lorient has examined the *imperator* iterations, and concludes that these were awarded for specific victories rather than having been simply renewed annually. He proposes the following scheme.<sup>124</sup>

<i>imperator II</i> .....	victory over the Persians, spring	239
<i>imperator III</i> .....	victory over the African usurper Sabinianus,	240
<i>imperator IV</i> .....	possibly for fighting near Hatra or with the Carpi, the	
	dating is unclear because the inscription is improperly dated <sup>125</sup>	
<i>imperator V</i> .....	campaigns of Timesitheus on the Danube,	241/242
<i>imperator VI</i> .....	as with <i>imperator V</i> , but during	242
<i>imperator VII</i> .....	victory over Shapur at Rhessaena, ca. spring	243

No victory titles are attested for Gordian, though a lacunose papyrus has led to the suggestion that he possibly took the titles *Parthicus* and *Adiabenicus* late in his reign.<sup>126</sup>

<sup>120</sup> This dilemma is solved (*RIC* IV.2 p. 3) by simply assuming that Gordian lived into August 244 (also assumed is a *dies imperii* "about the end of July, A.D. 238"). Thus, the coins with *tr. pot. VII* would have been minted in August 244, just before Gordian died. But his death was not so late (above), hence this theory founders. See also the comments of G. Costa, *Diz. Epig.* III, 543-6, though he can offer no resolution.

<sup>121</sup> *RIC* IV.3 236 (Antioch) is apparently a hybrid, the reverse belonging to Philip the Arab.

<sup>122</sup> The tribunician iteration in *AE* (1935) 161 is partially restored (*tr. pot. v(iii)*), hence not reliable.

<sup>123</sup> Lorient 1981, 231-2 n. 29 agrees. He supposes that the documents with *tr. pot. III cos. II* were produced in anticipation of the second consulate. See also Okamura 1984, 451-9 and Schillinger-Häfele 1986, 74.

<sup>124</sup> Lorient 1981, 229-34. On Gordian's campaigns in the East, Kettenhofen 1982, 19-37.

<sup>125</sup> Lorient 1981, 232.

<sup>126</sup> Rea 1989, 105.

## Philippus Arabs

## Philip Senior --

<i>tr. pot. cos. I</i> .....	98
<i>tr. pot. cos. et cos. des.</i> .....	55
<i>tr. pot. II</i> .....	50
<i>tr. pot. II cos.</i> .....	46-9, 51-3
<i>tr. pot. II cos. II (?)</i> .....	56
<i>tr. pot. III cos.</i> .....	54, 57
<i>tr. pot. cos. II</i> .....	99
<i>tr. pot. III cos. II</i> .....	58
<i>tr. pot. IV cos. II</i> .....	59-61
<i>cos. III</i> .....	62-3
<i>tr. pot. cos. III</i> .....	100
<i>tr. pot. V cos. III</i> .....	64-8
<i>tr. pot. cos. IV</i> .....	101
<i>tr. pot. VI cos.</i> .....	69-70
<i>tr. pot. XV cos. II</i> .....	71

## Philip Junior --

<i>cos. II</i> .....	122
<i>tr. pot. IV cos.</i> .....	123
<i>tr. pot. IV cos. II</i> .....	124-5
<i>tr. pot. V cos. II</i> .....	126
<i>tr. pot. cos. III</i> .....	152
<i>tr. pot. cos. IV</i> .....	153
<i>tr. pot. VI cos.</i> .....	127

## Philip Senior and Junior --

<i>tr. pot. cos. des. + Caes</i> .....	215
<i>tr. pot. cos. des. Pers. max. + Caes</i> .....	216
<i>tr. pot. II + Caes</i> .....	217
<i>tr. pot. II cos. + Caes</i> .....	218-21
<i>tr. pot. II cos. II + Caes</i> .....	223
<i>tr. pot. III cos. + Caes</i> .....	224-6

<i>cos. II + Caes</i> .....	222
<i>cos. II + Caes. cos</i> .....	227, 229, 231-2
<i>tr. pot. IV cos. II + Caes</i> .....	234
<i>tr. pot. IV cos. II + Caes. cos</i> .....	233
<i>cos. II + Aug</i> .....	228
<i>cos. II + Aug. cos</i> .....	230
<i>cos. des. III + Aug. cos. II des. cos</i> .....	238
<i>tr. pot. IV cos. III des. + Aug. tr. pot. IV cos. des</i> .....	239
<i>cos. III + Aug. cos. II</i> .....	235-7, 240
<i>tr. pot. V (?) + tr. pot. II (?)</i> .....	242
<i>tr. pot. V cos. III + Aug. tr. pot. II cos. II</i> .....	241, 245
<i>tr. pot. V (?) cos. III + Aug. tr. pot. V cos. II</i> .....	243
<i>tr. pot. V cos. IV + Aug. cos</i> .....	244

The consulates for Philip and his son are,<sup>127</sup>

- 245 -- Philip *cos. I*  
 247 -- Philip *cos. II* and Philip Junior *cos. I*  
 248 -- Philip *cos. III* and Philip Junior *cos. II*.

Whether we assume tribunician iteration on 10 December or on 1 January, a number of the documents listed above do not fit.<sup>128</sup> For Philip the following combinations of tribunician power and consulates are on either scheme impossible: *tr. pot. II cos. II*; *tr. pot. III cos. II*; *tr. pot. XV cos. II*; *tr. pot. V cos. IV*. Clearly, documents with *tr. pot. XV* or *cos. IV* are not to be considered. The reading of *CIL* II 188 is extremely problematic, and can hardly be used as evidence.<sup>129</sup> *RIC* IV.3, 75 (58), an antoninianus minted at Antioch and

<sup>127</sup> Degraisi 1952, 68.

<sup>128</sup> Arguing for renewal on 1 January: *RIC* IV.3, 55-6; Lorient 1975b, 790. Mattingly 1930, 86-7 thought it impossible to decide between the two renewal dates. Iteration on Philip's *dies imperii* would allow for most of the documents, but would create havoc in interpreting *CH*, XVI 152 and 153, the most important documents for this question. Hence, it seems best to rule out this possibility. Nor is it even considered by Mattingly or Lorient.

<sup>129</sup> The stone was originally read with *tr. pot. cos. V*, but Hübner (cf. *CIL* ad loc.) suggested reading either *tr. pot. II cos.* as was Philip in 245, or *tr. pot. II cos. II*, as was (possibly, see below) Philip Junior in 248. Hübner prints the latter as his restoration.

with the reverse legend *tr. pot. III cos. II*, is unique and most unusual, hence suspect.<sup>130</sup> None of these documents can inspire any faith.

Although almost all of the other documents might allow renewal of the tribunician power on either 10 December or 1 January, there is some reason to believe that Philip renewed on 1 January. *CIL XVI 152* gives for him *tr. pot. IV cos. III des.*, and is dated 28 December. *CIL XVI 153* has *tr. pot. V cos. III*, and is dated 7 January. The two can be reconciled only if we assume that the former was produced at the end of 247, the latter in the first days of 248, and that Philip's tribunician power was renewed on 1 January.<sup>131</sup> This may well be correct; however, it should be noted that the tribunician and consular iterations for Philip Junior in *CIL XVI 152* are confused (see further below), which casts some doubt on the value of the document for dating altogether. Nor is tribunician renewal on 1 January universally accepted.<sup>132</sup>

Philip Junior's tribunician powers are more perplexing. Several documents seem to show that his *tribunicia potestas* was reckoned equally with that of his father.

239 -- *tr. pot. IV cos. des.* (military diploma)

124-5 -- *tr. pot. IV cos. II* (coins from Rome and Antioch)

126, 243 -- *tr. pot. V cos. II* (coins from Rome, dedication from Sardinia)

127 -- *tr. pot. VI cos.* (coins from Antioch)

On the other hand, two documents indicate that Philip Junior's tribunician power was reckoned from his *dies Augusti*.<sup>133</sup>

241 -- *tr. pot. II cos. II* (military diploma)

245 -- *tr. pot. II cos. II* (dedication from Cuicul)

<sup>130</sup> *RIC* cites the coin from Cohen (no. 129), who in turn claims that the coin is in the collection of the British Museum. It is not clear to me whether the coin really exists or not.

<sup>131</sup> This is the generally accepted interpretation: Mattingly 1930, 86 n. 3; Lortot 1975b, 790; Armstrong 1986, 215.

<sup>132</sup> Schilling-Häfele 1986, 16-7 and 75 does not accept the 1 January renewal.

<sup>133</sup> A milestone from Cappadocia (242) may also call Philip Junior *tr. pot. II* and his father simultaneously *tr. pot. V*.

It is conceivable that those responsible in the mints somehow confused the titulature of father and son,<sup>134</sup> and dedications are always subject to mistaken dating formulas. However, we are still left with two military diplomas that give contradictory testimony as to how Philip Junior's tribunician power was reckoned.

The question of tribunician iteration for this reign, then, centers around the two military diplomas, *CIL XVI 152* and *153*. If both are dated properly for Philip, then he most likely renewed his tribunician power on 1 January. On the other hand, both cannot have the proper formula for Philip Junior unless there were two official systems of reckoning his tribunician power. This seems highly unlikely; thus, one of these diplomas must have a mistaken dating formula for Philip Junior. It seems more likely that his tribunician power was calculated from his *dies Augusti*,<sup>135</sup> which would mean that the mistaken document is *CIL XVI 152*. And if his father indeed renewed his *tribunicia potestas* on 1 January each year, then so too will have the son.

Both father and son seem to have had officially the victory titles *Germanicus maximus* and *Carpicus maximus*.<sup>136</sup> These titles are attested by a medallion (*Gnecchi II* p. 97, 4), dated III ET II COS (i.e. post 1 January 248), and appear first in the papyri during June of 249 (*P. Oxy. X 1276*). The papyri along with the medallion seem to show that these titles were official. It would appear that the senate must have voted them sometime during 248 or early in 249.<sup>137</sup>

A number of documents attest victory titles connected with a defeat of the Persians; however, none of these is likely to reflect an official grant of any such victory title.<sup>138</sup> It

<sup>134</sup> It may be worth noting that the reverse types of the coins with *tr. pot. IV cos. II* for Philip Junior are identical to reverse types minted for Philip. See *RIC IV.3*, 262, 262b as compared with 151b for Rome, and 232-4 compared with 75a-76a for Antioch.

<sup>135</sup> Mommsen (*CIL X 8001* and *EE IV* p. 182) considered this to have been the case. Schilling-Häfele 1986, 75 calculates his tribunician power from 247, and with renewal on 10 December.

<sup>136</sup> The relevant evidence is papyrological -- 275-7. One inscription (87) attests *Germanicus*.

<sup>137</sup> See also *RIC IV.3* 66 with the reverse legend VICTORIA CARPICA (Rome, undated). Gostar 1975, 246-7 doubts that Philip officially had the title *Carpicus maximus*.

<sup>138</sup> The documents are: 36 (a milestone from Moesia Superior); 45 (a milestone from Pannonia Superior); 83 (a dedication by the city Trajanopolis in Thrace); 213 (two milestones from Pannonia Inferior); 216 (a dedication from Rome); 277 (*P. Harr.* 80,40 -- This papyrus does read Περθικοί rather than Καρπικοί, as confirmed by Dr. R. Coles, letter of 6.vi.83, but seems a scribal error.). See also the comments in *AE* (1975) ad num. 765 and of Lortot 1981, 234 and Rea 1989, 105.

must be that a number of people around the Empire simply assumed that the peace signed with Persia in the summer of 244 would result in a victory title.<sup>139</sup>

### Trajan Decius

<i>tr. pot. cos. I des.</i> .....	35
<i>tr. pot. cos. II des.</i> .....	36-7
<i>cos. II</i> .....	38-40, 43, 139 (?)
<i>tr. pot. cos. II</i> .....	41-2, 44-6
<i>tr. pot. cos. II + Heren. and Hostil. Caes.</i> .....	156
<i>tr. pot. II + Heren. and Hostil. Caes.</i> .....	155
<i>tr. pot. II cos. II</i> .....	47-50
<i>tr. pot. II cos. II + Heren. Caes.</i> .....	137-8
<i>tr. pot. II cos. III des.</i> .....	59
<i>tr. pot. II cos. II des. III + Heren. cos. des. Caes.</i> <i>+ Hostil. Caes.</i> .....	157
<i>tr. pot. II cos. II des. III + Heren. Caes. tr. pot. cos.</i> <i>des. + Hostil. Caes.</i> .....	158
<i>tr. pot. III cos. II</i> .....	51-2
<i>tr. pot. III cos. II imp. III</i> .....	53
<i>tr. pot. III cos. II des. III + Heren. Caes. tr. pot. cos. des.</i> .....	140
<i>tr. pot. III cos. II des. III + Heren. tr. pot. I cos. des.</i> .....	147
<i>tr. pot. III cos. II des. III + Hostil. Caes.</i> .....	148
<i>tr. pot. IV cos. II</i> .....	54-8
<i>cos. III + Heren. Aug. cos.</i> .....	141-2
<i>tr. pot. cos. III</i> .....	60-1
<i>tr. pot. III cos. III</i> .....	62
<i>tr. pot. IV cos. III Dac. max. + Heren. cos. + Hostil.</i> <i>Caes.</i> .....	159-60

<sup>139</sup> Philip did celebrate the signing of this peace by issuing coins (at Antioch) with the reverse legend, PAX FVNDATA CVM PERSIS (*RIC* IV.3 69, 72). See also Kneissl 1969, 175-6, Halfmann 1986, 234-5 and Kettenhofen 1982, 36-7.

<i>tr. pot. IV cos. III imp. II Germ. max. + Heren. Caes.</i> <i>+ Hostil. Caes.</i> .....	161
Herennius Etruscus -- <i>tr. pot. II cos. II</i> .....	102
Hostilianus -- <i>tr. pot. II</i> .....	126

The consulates for this reign are,<sup>140</sup>

Decius *cos. II* -- 250

Decius *cos. III*, Herennius *cos. I* -- 251.

Tribunician iterations are extremely problematic. A number of documents attest a fourth iteration for Decius, which seems *prima facie* impossible given the short length of his reign.<sup>141</sup> Either a 10 December or a 1 January iteration date will allow for three iterations, while a *dies imperii* iteration would imply only two tribunician powers for Decius. One way out is to assume that Decius took an extraordinary grant of tribunician power at some point; but this would be rather unusual, and produces its own problems anyhow.<sup>142</sup> Instead of straining to account for a fourth iteration, it would seem preferable to presume the documents with *tr. pot. IV* mistaken, and then to concentrate on the remaining

<sup>140</sup> Degrassi 1952, 69.

<sup>141</sup> Some of the documents in question actually have *tr. pot. procos. IIII cos. II* (54-5, 57-8). I have assumed this proconsular iteration to be confused, and that originally intended was a tribunician iteration number. Salisbury & Mattingly 1924, 6 leave this unexplained.

<sup>142</sup> L. Fronza, "Studi sull'imperatore Decio: L'adventus Augusti" *AFLT* 21 (1951) 227-45 suggests that Decius took an extra tribunician iteration in May 251 in celebration of the grant of the title *nobilissimus Caesar* to Herennius Etruscus. Yet, it is now clear that Herennius was made *Caesar* ca. September 250 (above p. 32). Furthermore, I do not see how Fronza's hypothesis can account for the documents with *tr. pot. IV cos. II*. And even if we assume that Decius took this extra tribunician iteration during 250, which would explain (possibly) the fact that *cos. II* is combined with his second, third and fourth tribunician iterations, we would still have to discount *tr. pot. III cos. III*.

evidence.<sup>143</sup> With the troublesome fourth tribunician iteration set aside, the one remaining problematic combination is *tr. pot. III cos. II*. Assuming iteration on 10 December, this combination fits the brief period 10-31 December 250. If we opt for renewal on 1 January, it is an impossible combination. I should thus prefer 10 December.<sup>144</sup>

There are two attested *imperator* acclamations for Decius: 161, with *imp. II*; and 53, with *imp. III*. The first is a milestone, whose dating formula has already been rejected as impossible; hence, this hardly seems a reliable document. *Imp. III* is restored to the second, thus also unreliable. There is hardly sense in any attempt to associate these with specific occasions, yet they may reflect vague knowledge of the campaigns in the Balkans in 250/51.<sup>145</sup>

Two victory titles occur for Decius: *Dacicus maximus* and *Germanicus maximus*. The former appears on three Spanish milestones (138, 159-60), and on one from Pannonia Superior (152). The latter is preserved by one milestone from Africa (161). These titles appear neither in the papyri nor on the coins. Hence, it seems dubious that the senate voted officially any victory titles for Decius.<sup>146</sup>

Inscriptions attest the tribunician power for both Herennius Etruscus and Hostilian. Indeed, both are attested, though dubiously, with even a second iteration of that power.<sup>147</sup> It is clear that Herennius received the *tribunicia potestas* sometime in the fall of 250 (probably before 10 December), since we have him as *tr. pot. I cos. des.* along with Decius

<sup>143</sup> The documents to be discounted are: six milestones from the road between Bracara and Asturica (*CIL* II 4809, 4812-3, 4833, 4835, 6219); two milestones from the road along the east coast of Spain, from Carthago Nova to the Pyrenees (*CIL* II 4957-8); one milestone from Africa (*AE* (1942-43) 55). Mattingly 1930, 87 is able to account for four tribunician iterations (on a 10 December system), but dates Decius' accession to 248, a year too early.

<sup>144</sup> Note also that the formula *tr. pot. III cos. II des. III* is given by an imperial rescript -- Reynolds 1982, no. 25.

<sup>145</sup> On these wars generally, Besnier 1937, 168-9 and Salisbury & Mattingly 1924, 17-8. Also Halfmann 1986, 235-6. And on the *imperator* acclamations, Lorient 1981, 234.

<sup>146</sup> There are coins with the reverse legend VICTORIA GERMANICA: *RIC* IV.3 43 (Milan); 154 (Herennius Etruscus, Rome); 185 (Hostilian, Rome). We also have coins with DACIA (*RIC* IV.3 2 ff.) and DACIA FELIX (*RIC* IV.3 14 ff.). Still, this is no proof that a victory title was taken officially. Gostar 1975, 645 also doubts the Spanish milestones and the title *Dacicus maximus*.

<sup>147</sup> The inscriptions here involved are problematic as to chronology. See 102 and 126 respectively. Note also 131 for Hostilian.

as *tr. pot. II* (and *III*) *cos. II des. III*.<sup>148</sup> Hostilian apparently received this honor later than his brother, though just how much later is not clear.<sup>149</sup>

### Trebonianus Gallus and Volusian

Gallus --

<i>tr. pot. II cos.</i> .....	16
<i>tr. pot. cos. II</i> .....	15, 42
<i>tr. pot. II cos. II</i> .....	17-20
<i>tr. pot. IV cos. II</i> .....	21

Volusian --

<i>tr. pot. II cos.</i> .....	63-6
<i>tr. pot. cos. II</i> .....	67, 88
<i>tr. pot. IV cos. II</i> .....	68-9

Gallus and Volusian --

<i>tr. pot. II + Volus. Aug.</i> .....	135
<i>tr. pot. cos. II des. + tr. pot. cos. des.</i> .....	123-4
<i>tr. pot. cos. II + Volus. Aug.</i> .....	125
<i>cos. II + nos.</i> .....	126, 129, 132-3
<i>tr. pot. cos. II + tr. pot. cos.</i> .....	127-8, 130-1
<i>tr. pot. II cos. + tr. pot. II cos.</i> .....	136-7
<i>tr. pot. III cos. + tr. pot. III (?) cos.</i> .....	138
<i>cos. II + cos. II</i> .....	134
<i>tr. pot. cos. II + tr. pot. cos. II</i> .....	139-40
<i>tr. pot. IV cos. II + tr. pot. IV cos. II</i> .....	141

<sup>148</sup> Note that 147 is an imperial rescript, thus most likely accurate in its dating formula. The other evidence is not so good. 158 is much restored, as are the chronological elements for Decius in 140.

<sup>149</sup> Cf. Schilling-Häfele 1986, 77.

The consulates for these two are,

Gallus *cos. II* + Volusian *cos. I* -- 252  
 Gallus *cos. II* + Volusian *cos. II* -- 253.<sup>150</sup>

If we assume renewal of the tribunician power on 10 December, then we get the following.

Gallus --

*tr. pot. I cos. I* ..... ca. June - 9 December 251  
*tr. pot. II cos. I* ..... 9 - 31 December 251  
*tr. pot. II cos. II* ..... 1 January - 9 December 252  
*tr. pot. III cos. II* ..... 10 December 252 - July/August 253

Volusian --

*tr. pot. I* ..... ca. July/August - 9 December 251  
*tr. pot. II* ..... 10 - 31 December 251  
*tr. pot. II cos. I* ..... 1 January - 9 December 252  
*tr. pot. III cos. I* ..... 10 - 31 December 252  
*tr. pot. III cos. II* ..... 1 January - July/August 253

This scheme would mean, however, that all of the documents with *tr. pot. IV* are impossibly dated; and that would include a number of coins from the mint at Rome (21, 68-9).<sup>151</sup> These coins have been interpreted thus.<sup>152</sup>

"The date, *Tr. P. IIII Cos. II*, however, is relatively common in all metals, particularly for Volusian... There is no normal way of reckoning the tribunician power known to coins which will explain this date. There is one suggestion, which, even if it has its own difficulties explains the facts and does not try to explain them away. Gallus, in allying himself to the family of Decius by accepting the surviving son as his colleague, was virtually adopting himself into his family. As

<sup>150</sup> Degrassi 1952, 69.

<sup>151</sup> *Tr. pot. IV* is also attested by an inscription from Rome (141), and possibly by another from Hispania (20).

<sup>152</sup> *RIC IV* 3, p. 152.

adopted son of Decius, he could use his father's reckoning, even as Philip II had used that of his father."

For the sake of the argument, let us assume that Trebonianus Gallus made Hostilian his co-Augustus (above), and that the tribunician power was reckoned as here suggested. Given this, there would then be two possible schemes of tribunician renewal.

Renewal on 10 December:

Gallus --

*tr. pot. I cos. I* ..... ca. September - 9 December 249  
*tr. pot. II cos. I* ..... 10 December 249 - 9 December 250  
*tr. pot. III cos. I* ..... 10 December 250 - 9 December 251  
*tr. pot. IV cos. I* ..... 9 - 31 December 251  
*tr. pot. IV cos. II* ..... 1 January - 9 December 252  
*tr. pot. V cos. II* ..... 10 - 31 December 252  
*tr. pot. V cos. III* ..... 1 January - ca. July/August 253

Volusian --

*tr. pot. I* ..... ca. September - 9 December 249  
*tr. pot. II* ..... 10 December 249 - 9 December 250  
*tr. pot. III* ..... 10 December 250 - 9 December 251  
*tr. pot. IV* ..... 10 - 31 December 251  
*tr. pot. IV cos. I* ..... 1 January - 9 December 252  
*tr. pot. V cos. I* ..... 10 - 31 December 252  
*tr. pot. V cos. II* ..... 1 January - July/August 253

Renewal on 1 January:

Gallus --

*tr. pot. I cos. I* ..... ca. September - December 249  
*tr. pot. II cos. I* ..... 250  
*tr. pot. III cos. I* ..... 251  
*tr. pot. IV cos. II* ..... 252  
*tr. pot. V cos. II* ..... January - July/August 253



## Volusian --

<i>tr. pot. I</i> .....	ca. September - December 249
<i>tr. pot. II</i> .....	250
<i>tr. pot. III</i> .....	251
<i>tr. pot. IV cos. I</i> .....	252
<i>tr. pot. V cos. II</i> .....	January - July/August 253

Either of these schemes would allow the combination *tr. pot. IV cos. II* for Gallus, but there are still other problems. A coin of Gallus from the mint at Rome (*RIC* IV.3, 98) has the combination *tr. pot. II cos. II*. This fits neither scheme. The coin is, however, unique and its testimony should not be pressed.<sup>153</sup> The combination *tr. pot. II cos.* for Volusian is also impossible, though it is attested only by a few inscriptions which may not be reliable.<sup>154</sup> Finally, there is no evidence of a fifth tribunician iteration for either Gallus or Volusian. And although the systems of back-dating to the reign of Trajan Decius allow the *tr. pot. IV cos. II* combination for Gallus, they do not account for such coins of Volusian.

Indeed, there seem to be only two ways of explaining these latter. It may be that the reverses of Volusian with this legend are in fact reverses that were intended for Decius. Only a die study of the coins, however, could substantiate or rule out this possibility.<sup>155</sup> The only other method of accommodating this dating for both Gallus and Volusian is to posit yet another system of tribunician reckoning. If both dated their tribunician power from and renewed it on the anniversary of Decius' *dies imperii*, then we would have the following.

## Gallus --

<i>tr. pot. I cos. I</i> .....	September 249 - September 250
<i>tr. pot. II cos. I</i> .....	September 250 - September 251
<i>tr. pot. III cos. I</i> .....	September - December 251
<i>tr. pot. III cos. II</i> .....	January - September 252
<i>tr. pot. IV cos. II</i> .....	September 252 - July/August 253

<sup>153</sup> See the comments at *RIC* IV.3, p. 152.

<sup>154</sup> See 63-6, all dedications.

<sup>155</sup> It may be worth noting that the reverse types of Gallus and Volusian from Rome seem to be generally similar. See the descriptions in *RIC*.

## Volusian --

<i>tr. pot. I</i> .....	September 249 - September 250
<i>tr. pot. II</i> .....	September 250 - September 251
<i>tr. pot. III</i> .....	September - December 251
<i>tr. pot. III cos. I</i> .....	January - September 252
<i>tr. pot. IV cos. I</i> .....	September - December 252
<i>tr. pot. IV cos. II</i> .....	January - July/August 253

This scheme does account for *tr. pot. IV cos. II* for both Gallus and Volusian, and thus for the coins from Rome. However, *tr. pot. II cos. II* for Gallus and *tr. pot. II cos.* for Volusian still cannot be accommodated.

The two most likely solutions then are these. There may have been normal iteration of the tribunician power (10 December), in which case we should have to assume that the mint officials in Rome managed somehow to miscalculate the tribunician reckoning of these emperors, and to grant them mistakenly a fourth iteration. The other possibility, which would absolve the Roman mint officials of such an error, must presume tribunician iteration on the date of the *dies imperii* of Trajan Decius. I can see no method of reaching a satisfactory decision regarding these possibilities, and it may be best for the present to register a decision of non liquet.<sup>156</sup>

Chronological trouble during this reign also appears in the Alexandrian coinage. For Decius we have the expected years A and B, but for Gallus and Volusian there are only coins dated to year Γ. It has been suggested that year three of Gallus and Volusian was equivalent to what would have been year three for Decius (i.e. 251/52). This would in turn indicate that they indeed reckoned chronologically from the reign of their predecessor, and that the revolt of Aemilian is to be placed in August/September of 252 rather than in the year following.<sup>157</sup> On the evidence of the coins alone this might be permissible. However, the papyri show year one of Gallus and Hostilian (*SB* VI 9235.1), year one of Gallus alone (*P. Oxy.* LI 3610.6 and 8), and years two and three of Gallus and Volusian.<sup>158</sup> Furthermore, it is now abundantly clear that the reign of Aemilian fell in the late summer and early fall

<sup>156</sup> Mattingly 1930, 87-8, for example, assumed a double reckoning of Gallus' tribunician power -- first from his own accession, and secondly from the accession of Trajan Decius. This would, at least, accommodate all of the documents. One hesitates, however, to accept such a system of reckoning.

<sup>157</sup> Mattingly 1930, 88-91 and *idem* 1935, 55-8.

<sup>158</sup> Cf. *Burreth*, pp. 116-7.

of 253 (above pp. 36-7). The Alexandrian coinage, then, should probably be interpreted as follows. Year A is lacking possibly because there simply was not enough time to get an issue out -- or maybe there was too much confusion with Decius dead, Hostilian alive as Gallus' co-emperor, and Volusian also (probably) associated as *Caesar*. The mint did not produce coins during year ■ for reasons that still are not clear.<sup>159</sup> Normal operations then resumed in year Γ (252/53).

It looks, then, as though there was some kind of back-dating to the reign of Trajan Decius. This, in turn, must have caused confusion. Precisely what happened, however, remains obscure, and we can, on the basis of the remaining documentation, only guess at the situation.

There are neither *imperator* acclamations nor victory titles attested for this reign.

### Valerian I and family

Valerian --	
<i>Germ. max. III</i> .....	28-9
<i>tr. pot. II cos.</i> .....	30
<i>tr. pot. cos. II</i> .....	31-2
<i>tr. pot. II cos. II</i> .....	33-5
<i>tr. pot. III cos.</i> .....	36-7
<i>tr. pot. III cos. II</i> .....	38-9
<i>tr. pot. III cos. II imp. V Germ. max.</i> .....	40
<i>tr. pot. cos. III</i> .....	41
<i>tr. pot. III cos. III</i> .....	42-5
<i>tr. pot. IV cos. III</i> .....	46
<i>tr. pot. IV cos. III Germ. max.</i> .....	47
<i>tr. pot. V cos. III</i> .....	48-50
<i>tr. pot. ? cos. IV</i> .....	51
<i>tr. pot. V cos. IV</i> .....	52-4
<i>tr. pot. VI cos. IV</i> .....	55
<i>tr. pot. IX cos. IV Germ. max.</i> .....	56

<sup>159</sup> Alföldi 1967, 348 suggests that financial troubles resulted in this lacuna in the Alexandrian coinage.

Gallienus --	
<i>Germ. max. III</i> .....	161
<i>Germ. max. V</i> .....	162-4
<i>tr. pot. II cos.</i> .....	170-1
<i>cos. II</i> .....	167-8
<i>tr. pot. cos. II</i> .....	166, 169, 172
<i>tr. pot. ? cos. II</i> .....	173
<i>tr. pot. II cos. II</i> .....	174
<i>tr. pot. II cos. II cos. III</i> .....	175
<i>tr. pot. III cos.</i> .....	176-8
<i>tr. pot. III cos. II</i> .....	179-80
<i>tr. pot. III cos. II Germ. max.</i> .....	181
<i>tr. pot. IV cos. II</i> .....	182-3
<i>cos. III</i> .....	184
<i>tr. pot. cos. III</i> .....	185
<i>tr. pot. cos. III Germ. max.</i> .....	186
<i>tr. pot. III cos. III</i> .....	188-9
<i>tr. pot. IV cos. III</i> .....	192
<i>tr. pot. IV cos. III Germ. max.</i> .....	190-2
<i>tr. pot. IV cos. III imp. III Dac. max. Germ. max.</i> .....	193
<i>tr. pot. V cos. III</i> .....	194
<i>tr. pot. V cos. II cos. III</i> .....	195
<i>tr. pot. V cos. III Germ.</i> .....	196
<i>cos. III imp. VIII</i> .....	187
<i>tr. pot. VII cos.</i> .....	197-8, 200, 202
<i>tr. pot. VII cos. Germ.</i> .....	199, 201, 203
<i>tr. pot. VII cos. III</i> .....	204
<i>tr. pot. VIII cos. III</i> .....	205
<i>cos. IV</i> .....	206-7
<i>tr. pot. V cos. IV</i> .....	208
<i>tr. pot. VII cos. IV</i> .....	209
<i>tr. pot. VIII cos. IV Germ. max.</i> .....	210
<i>tr. pot. IX cos. IV</i> .....	211-2
<i>tr. pot. IX cos. IV cos. V</i> .....	213
<i>tr. pot. X cos. IV</i> .....	214
<i>tr. pot. X cos. IV Germ. max.</i> .....	215
<i>tr. pot. X cos. IV des. V imp. X Germ.</i> .....	216

cos. V .....	217-8
tr. pot. cos. V imp. VI .....	219
tr. pot. X cos. V .....	219a
tr. pot. X cos. V Parth. max. Germ. ....	220
tr. pot. XII cos. V .....	221
tr. pot. XII cos. V Germ. Pers. max .....	222
tr. pot. XII cos. V imp. Germ. max. Dac. max. Pers. max.....	223
tr. pot. XII cos. VI .....	224
tr. pot. XIII (or XII) cos. VI imp. X Germ. ....	225
tr. pot. XIII cos. VI imp. XII Germ. max .....	227
cos. VI des. VII .....	228
tr. pot. XIV cos. VI des. VII .....	231
tr. pot. XIV cos. VI des. VII Germ. max .....	292
tr. pot. XIV cos. VI des. VII Germ. max. Parth. max.....	229-30
tr. pot. XV cos. VII .....	232-4
tr. pot. XVI .....	235
tr. pot. XVI cos. VII .....	236-7
tr. pot. XVI cos. VII imp. XV Germ. max .....	238
tr. pot. XVII .....	239
tr. pot. XVIII .....	240

## Valerian I and Gallienus --

tr. pot. cos. II + Aug .....	373
cos. II + cos .....	370-1
tr. pot. cos. II + tr. pot. cos .....	372
tr. pot. II + tr. pot .....	374
tr. pot. II cos. II + tr. pot. cos .....	375-6
tr. pot. cos. II + tr. pot. cos. II .....	377-8
tr. pot. III cos. II + tr. pot. ? cos. ? .....	379
cos. III + cos. II .....	380, 399
Aug. + tr. pot. IV cos. II imp. II Germ. max .....	400
cos. IV + cos. III .....	381
tr. pot. IV cos. IV Germ. max. + Aug .....	382

## Valerian I, Gallienus and Valerian II --

tr. pot. cos. III Germ. max. + tr. pot. cos. III procos. IV Germ. max. + Caes .....	413
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tr. pot. V cos. III Germ. max. + tr. pot. IV cos. III Germ. max. + Caes .....	414
tr. pot. ? cos. IV + tr. pot. ? cos. III + Caes .....	415
tr. pot. V cos. IV imp. III + tr. pot. V cos. III Germ. + Caes .....	416
tr. pot. VI cos. IV Germ. max. + tr. pot. VI cos. III Germ. max. + Caes .....	432
Valerian I, Gallienus and Saloninus --	
tr. pot. VII cos. IV Germ. max. + tr. pot. VII cos. III Germ. max. + Caes .....	436

Valerian might conceivably have iterated his tribunician power on the anniversary of his *dies imperii*, on 10 December or 1 January annually, or possibly in August/September of each year.<sup>160</sup> Of the attested combinations of consular and tribunician iterations, the following are inconsistent with the respective iteration dates.

<i>dies imperii</i>	10 December	1 January	August/September
<i>t.p. III cos. II</i>		<i>t.p. III cos. II</i>	
<i>t.p. IV cos. IV</i>	<i>t.p. IV cos. IV</i>	<i>t.p. IV cos. IV</i>	<i>t.p. IV cos. IV</i>
<i>t.p. V cos. III</i>		<i>t.p. V cos. III</i>	
		<i>t.p. V cos. IV</i>	
<i>t.p. IX cos. IV</i>	<i>t.p. IX cos. IV</i>	<i>t.p. IV cos. IV</i>	<i>t.p. IX cos. IV</i> <sup>161</sup>

Clearly, the least desirable iteration dates for Valerian's tribunician power are his *dies imperii* and 1 January. The other two possibilities share two inconsistent combinations. We have already noted (above n. 161) the problems with *tr. pot. IX cos. IV*. The combination *tr.*

<sup>160</sup> This last possibility has most recently been argued by Armstrong 1986.

<sup>161</sup> The document with the ninth tribunician iteration is a dedication from Africa (56). If we place Valerian's capture in about June of 260, and if his ninth tribunician power were to begin in August/September, it is possible that the news of his capture had not yet reached Africa (or possibly there was still confusion as to the significance of his capture), and that this date is accurate on Armstrong's scheme. But see also König 1981, 22, who suggests *tr. pot. VIII* for this stone.

*pot. IV cos. IV* also is recorded only by one inscription, a dedication from Numidia (382).<sup>162</sup> Since these two combinations fit none of the possible schemes of tribunician and consular iteration, and since neither of the documents involved should be pressed as to accuracy, it would seem best to discard these two combinations as erroneous. This would mean that our available documentation for Valerian is consistent with either Armstrong's plan of tribunician iteration, or with iteration on 10 December. Before suggesting a choice, however, let us examine the evidence for Gallienus' tribunician iterations.

It seems safe to assume that documents with *tr. pot. XVII* or *tr. pot. XVIII* for Gallienus are simply mistakenly dated.<sup>163</sup> Of the other attested combinations for Gallienus, the following are inconsistent with the respective iteration dates.<sup>164</sup>

<i>dies imperii</i>	10 December	1 January	August/September
	<i>t.p. II cos. II</i>	<i>t.p. II cos. II</i>	<i>t.p. II cos. II</i>
<i>t.p. III cos. III</i>	<i>t.p. III cos. III</i> <i>t.p. IV cos. III</i>	<i>t.p. III cos. III</i> <i>t.p. IV cos. III</i>	<i>t.p. III cos. III</i> <i>t.p. IV cos. III</i>
		<i>t.p. V cos. II (III)</i>	
<i>t.p. V cos. IV</i>	<i>t.p. V cos. IV</i>	<i>t.p. V cos. IV</i>	<i>t.p. V cos. IV</i>
<i>t.p. VII cos. IV</i>	<i>t.p. VII cos. IV</i>	<i>t.p. VII cos. IV</i>	<i>t.p. VII cos. IV</i>
<i>t.p. VIII cos. IV</i>	<i>t.p. VIII cos. IV</i>	<i>t.p. VIII cos. IV</i>	<i>t.p. VIII cos. IV</i>
		<i>t.p. X cos. IV</i>	
<i>t.p. XII cos. V</i>		<i>t.p. XII cos. V</i>	
<i>t.p. XIV cos. VI des. VII</i>		<i>t.p. XIV cos. VI des. VII</i>	

Here again, 1 January is obviously undesirable. Iteration on the *dies imperii* might seem possible, but would be first of all inconsistent with what appears to have been the case for Valerian, and secondly would require us to assume the documents with *tr. pot. XIV cos. VI*

<sup>162</sup> Manni 1947, 118 suggests that instead of *tr. pot. IIII cos. IIII*, we should read on this stone *tr. pot. VII cos. IIII*.

<sup>163</sup> On the former, Armstrong 1986, 221-3 and Elks, *NC* 7.15 (1975) 102. On the latter, Manni 1947, 126.

<sup>164</sup> To be perfectly fair, it should be noted that several other combinations fit the 10 December date, but only barely:

*tr. pot. V cos. II* (10 - 31 December 256)

*tr. pot. X cos. IV* (10 - 31 December 262)

*tr. pot. XII cos. V* (10 - 31 December 263).

*des. VII* mistaken. This might be admissible, yet it would mean that an imperial rescript (292) was improperly dated, an unlikely notion. Once again, 10 December and August/September seem the most likely possibilities, and again we find that precisely the same documents fit neither scheme. However, acceptance of either of these schemes will require the rejection of some documents that seemingly should be trustworthy.

*tr. pot. II cos. II* - *RIC* V.1, 116 (Rome)

*tr. pot. III cos. III* - *RIC* V.1, 117 (Rome)

*tr. pot. IV cos. III* - *RIC* V.1, 119, 119a and *HCC* IV, 13 (Rome)

*tr. pot. V cos. IV* - *RIC* V.1, 6 (Lugdunum) and *RIC* V.1, 122 (Rome)

*tr. pot. VII cos. IV* - *RIC* V.1, 7-8 (Lugdunum) and *RIC* V.1, 152 (Rome)

All of these coins, however, derive from *Cohen*, none are pictured in *RIC*, and only one appears elsewhere (*HCC* IV, 13).<sup>165</sup> Thus, the testimony of these is dubious at best, and they should possibly be discounted as evidence for the chronology of Gallienus' reign.

It seems, then, that the documents leave us a choice of 10 December or August/September for the renewal of Valerian's and Gallienus' tribunician power. Given this, I should prefer the former. It would be more usual. Although it will not account for every document, it would appear best, for now, to accept regular iteration of the tribunician power on 10 December annually by Valerian and Gallienus.<sup>166</sup>

It would appear that both Valerian and Gallienus had officially the victory title *Germanicus maximus*, taken for Gallienus' successes on the Rhine. Dating, however, is

<sup>165</sup> The coins are as follows in *Cohen*:

6 = *Cohen* 812 (Banduri)

7 = 152 = *Cohen* 831 and 832 (?) (Paris, Cabinet des Médailles and M. Derré respectively)

116 = *Cohen* 800 (Musée de Danemark)

117 = *Cohen* 802 (M. Rollin)

119 = *Cohen* 806 (Paris, Cabinet des Médailles)

119a = *Cohen* 805 (no authority cited)

122 = *Cohen* 813 (Paris, Cabinet des Médailles).

<sup>166</sup> It should be noted that Armstrong's argument for August/September centers around two basic assumptions: a) Philip renewed his tribunician power on 1 January rather than 10 December, and by doing so broke the tradition of renewal in December; b) Valerian and Gallienus dated their tribunician power from the death of Trebonianus Gallus (ca. June/July 253) and renewed it on the date of Gallus' *dies imperii* (supposedly mid-August). Philip may have renewed his *tribunicia potestas* on 1 January, but this is not absolutely clear from the available documentation (see above pp. 63 ff.). Nor, if he did renew on 1 January, does this prove that his practice will certainly have determined that of his successors. Backdating to the reign of Trebonianus Gallus is also problematic, and cannot be proved.

problematic. Valerian departed for the eastern front almost immediately after assuming the purple -- he seems to have arrived in Antioch in 254.<sup>167</sup> Gallienus, left in the West, meanwhile had his hands full. There was fighting on the Danube and Rhine frontiers, and then in northern Italy; but dating these wars is troublesome.<sup>168</sup> On the basis of archaeological (destruction of *castella* along the Rhine *limes*) and hoard evidence, it can be established that the Alamanni began to attack there in 254.<sup>169</sup> It seems agreed, however, that Gallienus did not leave the Danube for the Rhine frontier until late in 256 or early in 257. The German victory, then, is generally dated to 257.<sup>170</sup> However, the victory title *Germanicus maximus* appears in the papyri for Valerian and Gallienus already in the summer of 255.<sup>171</sup> A number of other documents, if we can trust the dating of these, show the title also in 254/55.<sup>172</sup> It would appear, then, that people around the Empire knew at least of problems on the Rhine by 254/55. That Gallienus himself had actually begun to fight there, or that the senate had already voted him the title *Germanicus maximus* both seem unlikely given the present interpretation of his movements in these years. Still, given the poor information provided by our sources,<sup>173</sup> it might just be conceivable that Gallienus went north more quickly than is usually assumed. Hence, a date of ca. 255/57 for the grant of this title might be suggested.

<sup>167</sup> Pékáry 1962, 124-5; Baldus 1971, 261; Halfmann 1986, 236.

<sup>168</sup> *Aur. Vict. Caes.* 33.1, *Eutrop.* 9.7 and *Zos.* 1.30.2 ff. tell of fighting, but give no information as to chronology. On these wars: Christol 1975, 814-5; Halfmann 1986, 237; Drinkwater 1987, 103 ff.

<sup>169</sup> Demougeot 1969, 484-8. See also de Blois 1976, 6.

<sup>170</sup> Demougeot 1969, 443-4 and 491-3; Christol 1975, 814-5. Note also Halfmann 1986, 237. The dating of the campaign to 257 depends largely upon the fact that minting operations were moved from Viminacium to Cologne in 257.

<sup>171</sup> *CPR* 1 176 (29 June 255) and *P. Oxy.* X 1277 (9 August 255). R. Coles has kindly confirmed for me the reading of the *Oxyrhynchus papyrus* (letter of 6.vi.83).

<sup>172</sup> 40, Valerian *tr. pot. III cos. II Germ. max.* (10/31 December 254); 47, Valerian *tr. pot. IV cos. III Germ. max.* (10 December 255/9 December 256); 178, Gallienus *tr. pot. III cos. Germ. max.* (10 December 254/9 December 255); 181, Gallienus *tr. pot. III cos. II Germ. max.* (1 January/9 December 255); 400, Gallienus *tr. pot. IV cos. II Germ. max.* (10/31 December 255).

<sup>173</sup> The most detailed account is that of *Zos.* 1.30.2 ff., but this too leaves much to be desired. Cf. the comments of Paschoud 1971, ad loc.

It has been argued that Gallienus received the title *Dacicus maximus* in 257.<sup>174</sup> However, it seems unlikely that Gallienus should have received a victory title that was not accorded Valerian.<sup>175</sup> Moreover, the documents that attest *Dacicus* are unreliable.<sup>176</sup> It seems most likely that these instances of the title represent knowledge of the fighting along the lower Danube, and that some folk simply assumed the title would be granted.<sup>177</sup> It seems unlikely that the senate ever voted such a victory title.

Two other victory titles appear: *Parthicus maximus* and *Persicus maximus*. The first is attested by inscriptions from 262 and 265.<sup>178</sup> One papyrus may also have *Parthicus*.<sup>179</sup> There are a few coins with the legend VICTORIA PARTHICA, but none with the victory title.<sup>180</sup> It seems unlikely that Gallienus held the victory title *Parthicus maximus*. Rather, it appears to have been used as a synonym for *Persicus maximus*. This title is attested rather widely in the papyri, appearing first in September of 266.<sup>181</sup> Inscriptional evidence, on the

<sup>174</sup> Maani 1947, 138 and Maani 1949, 20-31. Also Alföldi 1967, 360.

<sup>175</sup> There is no good explanation of such an action. It might be possible that already Gallienus wished to assert his independence from Valerian. Certainly after his capture by the Persians, Gallienus attempted to distance himself from the shamed Valerian; but that, of course, would come later. Cf. de Blois 1976, 24 ff. on the relationship of Valerian and Gallienus.

<sup>176</sup> 160 is highly restored, and cannot be dated. 193 has, as published, *tr. pot. IV cos. III* for Gallienus. The date is impossible, and Christol 1975, 817 has suggested reading *tr. pot. VII* rather than *III*. 223 has *tr. pot. XII cos. V*, which places it in December of 263. Thus, the dating of any possible grant of this title is virtually impossible. Nor can any of these documents (all dedications) demonstrate that the title was held officially. It is also worth noting that the coinage nowhere shows a trace of a *victoria Dacica*. Gostar 1975, 645-6 does not accept this victory title for Gallienus. Nor can the known movements of Gallienus shed any light on a possible campaign in Dacia. See Halfmann 1986, 237-8.

<sup>177</sup> On the wars in the Balkans at this time, Gaggero 1973, 49-51.

<sup>178</sup> 220, Gallienus *tr. pot. X cos. V Parth. max. Germ. max.* (1 January/9 December 262); 229, Gallienus *tr. pot. XIV cos. VI des. VII Germ. max. Parth. max.* (December 265). See also 149 and 150, where the victory titles are restored.

<sup>179</sup> *P. Oxy.* XII 1475.36 has Γερμανικοῦ μεγ[ιστοῦ] Παρθικοῦ μεγίστου for Gallienus. This is odd since the rest of the papyri attest Παρσιικός. Indeed, R. Coles informs me (letter of 6.vi.83) that Παρσιικός might be the proper reading. See also J.R. Rea, *P. Coll. Youtie* 468.

<sup>180</sup> Valerian -- *RIC* V.1 291 (Antioch). Gallienus -- *RIC* V.1 453 (Asia ?), 309-10 (Rome). Cf. Kettenhofen 1982, 81-2.

<sup>181</sup> The earliest papyrus is *P. Coll. Youtie* 68 (8 September 266 ?). The latest papyrus of Gallienus without the title is *P. Ryd.* II 165 (28 March 266).

other hand, attests the title as early as 263.<sup>182</sup> If we must choose between a number of papyri that are consistent and three inscriptions, neither from Rome nor of an official nature, the former must surely be the better choice. This victory title seems most obviously connected with the wars waged for Gallienus by Odenathus and completed in 264.<sup>183</sup> However, the gap between the peace of 264 and the vote of the title in (probably) 266/67 is odd. It has even led to the suggestion that the title was taken as a result of the campaigns of Gallienus' general Heraclianus in the East during 266/67, though this is most unlikely.<sup>184</sup> Ultimately, we must here trust the papyri, and should probably place the grant of this title roughly in the period March/September 266. The hesitation in granting the title may have been caused by misgivings regarding the assumption of a victory title for wars completed by a client king.

For Valerian there are two attested acclamations as *imperator* – *tr. pot. III cos. II imp. V Germ. max.* (40, December 254), and (possibly) *tr. pot. V cos. IV imp. III* (416, January - 9 December 257). Clearly these two inscriptions contradict one another. The reading of the latter, however, is uncertain (cf. cat. ad loc.) and the former too has been called into question.<sup>185</sup> Acclamations as *imperator* for Gallienus are also most troublesome. We have the following.

- 400 -- *tr. pot. IV cos. II imp. II Germ. max.* (10 December 255/9 December 256)  
 193 -- *tr. pot. IV cos. III imp. III Tac. max. Germ. max.* (impossible date -- 257/60 ?)  
 219 -- *tr. pot. cos. V imp. VI* (262/63)  
 187 -- *cos. III imp. VIII* (255/56)  
 216 -- *tr. pot. X cos. IV des. V imp. X Germ.* (December 261)

<sup>182</sup> 222, *tr. pot. XII cos. V Germ. Pers. max.* (December 263); 223, *tr. pot. XII cos. V Germ. max. Tac. max. Pers. max.* (December 263). Note also 230, *tr. pot. XIV (?) cos. VI des. VII Germ. max. Pers. max.* (10-31 December 265). On these see also Ron, *P. Coll. Youlle* 467-8.

<sup>183</sup> See de Blois 1975, 7-12.

<sup>184</sup> Manni 1949, 40-1. This conjecture is based on *HA Gall.* 13.1-5. According to the *HA* author, Zenobia took control after Odenathus' death, and began to rule not like a woman, but even better than Gallienus and many other emperors. Meanwhile, Gallienus had determined on an offensive against the Persians, and dispatched to this purpose Heraclianus. The general was defeated by the Palmyrenes before even meeting the Persians. If this is true, it hardly seems the proper inspiration for a victory title. Alföldi 1967, 356 is also dubious of an open break with Palmyra at this point, thus calling the whole passage into question. Again suspicious of the *HA* here is Borsanetti 1942, 172. Also on Heraclianus: *IGBulg* III.2, 1568; Syme 1971, 210; de Blois 1976, 3.

<sup>185</sup> Manni 1947, 130 n. 1.

- 225 -- *tr. pot. XIII (?) cos. VI imp. X Germ.* (10 December 264/9 December 265)  
 227 -- *tr. pot. XIII cos. VI imp. XII Germ. max.* (10 December 264/9 December 265)  
 238 -- *tr. pot. XVI cos. VII imp. XV* (10 December 267/September 268)

The evidence is clearly, at first glance, discordant, and there have been two valiant efforts at making sense of it. Alföldi suggested that there were several acclamations initially, but that when Valerian was captured, Gallienus dissociated himself entirely from his embarrassing father. This resolutely entailed a new numbering of *imperator* acclamations. Alföldi's scheme can be presented thus.<sup>186</sup>

Joint Reign	Gallienus alone	Date	Event Concerned
<i>imp. I</i>		254/57	German victory
<i>imp. II</i>		254/57	German victory
<i>imp. III</i>		254/57	German victory
<i>imp. IV</i>	<i>imp. I</i>	257/58	Defeat of Alamanni, Milan
<i>imp. V</i>	<i>imp. II</i>	257/58	German victory, bipartition of the army
<i>imp. VI</i>	<i>imp. III</i>	260	Defeat of Ingenuus
<i>imp. VII</i>		260	Defeat of Regalianus
<i>imp. VIII</i>		261	Defeat of Macrianus

But there are immediate problems. First, the medallion with *cos. V imp. VI*. If the consular iteration is correct, then *imp. VI* must fall after 1 January 262. Alföldi argued that the consular iteration was wrong, and should have been *cos. IV*.<sup>187</sup> However, the argument proceeds to the results tabulated above, which would make the inscription with *cos. III imp. VIII* impossible. Nor does Alföldi account for the attested tenth, twelfth or fifteenth iterations; or why Gallienus should have returned to the old numbering system after having begun anew. And finally, if the new numbering system was consequent upon Valerian's

<sup>186</sup> Alföldi 1967, 73-119, 210-27 and 360 ff. The argument depends upon the assumption that the so-called legionary issues, with *pia fidelis* V, VI, or VII for various legions, were issued concurrently and equivalently with Gallienus' acclamations as *imperator*. I may note that I have had trouble determining the events and dates that belong with *imp. IV* = *imp. I* and *imp. V* = *imp. II*, because Alföldi changed his mind about this, but did not (so far as I can see) explain his new interpretation thoroughly. Note also that Fitz 1966, 21 dates the defeat of the Alamanni at Milan to late 259. See also Halfmann 1986, 237.

<sup>187</sup> Alföldi 1967, 220.

capture, then it should begin in 260, not prior to this. Alföldi's system will simply not account for the evidence as we have it.

The other attempt at reconciling the available documentation is Manni's.<sup>188</sup> The system that he proposes, however, is immensely complex, involving three different and simultaneous calculations of the chronological elements of the titulature. Moreover, there are documents known to Manni (e.g. *RIC* V.1 3, or *CIL* VIII 21559),<sup>189</sup> as well as another not known to him (*ADE* 12), that cannot (without emendation) be fitted into his scheme. Still, his system has two virtues. It is consistent with itself, and it accounts for most of the documents. Weighing against it, however, is the overly complex system itself, and the a priori assumption that Gallienus simply iterated his *imperator* acclamations annually.<sup>190</sup> Hence, this system too is ultimately unsatisfactory.

Both Alföldi and Manni realize that in order to save the documents, we should have to presume some sort of (at least) dual reckoning of Gallienus' *imperator* iterations. And both (sensibly) prefer to connect the change in reckoning with the break between Gallienus and Valerian. Yet, given all of the uncertainty involved (the accuracy of the documents, the actual fashion in which Valerian's and Gallienus' tribunician powers were reckoned, the paucity of documents with *imperator* iterations, the lack of any real knowledge of the wars fought by Gallienus in the West), I am not convinced that it is possible to date properly, or to connect these acclamations with actual victories. We are probably safe in assuming that there were as many as fifteen acclamations. Whether these were indeed iterated annually or taken instead for actual victories cannot be known.

## Claudius II

<i>tr. pot. cos. imp. II</i> .....	36
<i>tr. pot. imp. II Goth. (?) Germ. max</i> .....	35
<i>tr. pot. II</i> .....	42, 68
<i>tr. pot. II cos.</i> .....	37-41, 69

<sup>188</sup> Manni 1947, 113-50 (esp. 137-45 and 147-50). It is not altogether clear to me from Manni's arguments whence the acclamations listed under "computo B."

<sup>189</sup> See Manni 1947, 125 and 129 for these documents and his suggestions regarding them.

<sup>190</sup> Manni 1947, esp. 130.

<i>tr. pot. II cos. Germ. max</i> .....	43
<i>tr. pot. cos. II</i> .....	44-5
<i>tr. pot. II cos. II</i> .....	46-7
<i>tr. pot. III cos.</i> .....	48
<i>tr. pot. III cos. Germ.</i> .....	49
<i>tr. pot. III cos. II</i> .....	52
<i>tr. pot. III cos. II Goth. max</i> .....	50, 53
<i>tr. pot. III cos. II Goth. max. Parth. max</i> .....	51
<i>cos. III</i> .....	54-5

Since Claudius came to the purple in September 268 and died in August 270, we might expect the following tribunician iterations.

<i>tr. pot. I</i> -- September - 9 December 268
<i>tr. pot. II</i> -- 10 December 268 - 9 December 269
<i>tr. pot. III</i> -- 10 December 269 - August 270

Three tribunician iterations are attested by the documents, hence there is no reason to doubt that they fell thus. The consulates, however, are troublesome.

The fasti with unanimity call Claudius *cos. I* in 269, and they do not mention a second consulate.<sup>191</sup> A number of documents, however, attest a second or even a third consulate. In order to account for the appearance of this second consulate, it has been argued that Claudius, at some point before ascending the throne, held the *ornamenta consularia*, and that confusion over this led some to award him a second consulate.<sup>192</sup> Given the facts, that the fasti have nothing regarding plural consulates, that it would be odd to find *ornamenta* counted (see above p. 52) and that all of the inscriptions attesting multiple consulates are either dedications or milestones, it would seem better to assume the documents simply mistakenly dated.<sup>193</sup>

There are only two attestations of *imperator* iterations for Claudius (36 -- a dedication from Sardinia; and 35 -- a dedication from Hispania), both with *imp. II*. If these are

<sup>191</sup> Degraasi 1952, 72.

<sup>192</sup> Rea 1972b, 27-8.

<sup>193</sup> *FIR*<sup>2</sup> A 1626 and Schillinger-Häfele 1986, 82 assume the documents mistaken. Bagnall et al. 1987, s.a. 284 are doubtful of *ornamenta* being here in question, and suggest that Claudius took a suffect consulate during the last part of his first year as emperor. Cf. also Damerau 1934, 38-9.

correctly reflective of acclamations by the troops, we should probably link the second with Claudius' success against the Goths, and assume that the first was on the occasion of his initial proclamation. On the other hand, these inscriptions may simply be mistaken.

Several victory titles appear for Claudius. *Germanicus maximus* is attested by three inscriptions: a dedication by some soldiers in Narbonensis (43); a military dedication from Pannonia Inferior (49); a dedication from Hispania (35). Since this title appears neither on the coinage nor in the papyri, and since it is so rarely documented even by the inscriptions, it would seem reasonable to conclude that it was not officially granted.<sup>194</sup> It may be reflective of the victory over the Alamanni in 268, or possibly even of Claudius' success against the Goths.<sup>195</sup> The title *Parthicus maximus* is also known (51); however, it cannot be linked with confidence to any campaign, and should not be taken as an official title.<sup>196</sup>

Close inspection of the evidence for the title *Gothicus maximus* reveals some interesting facts. First of all, the papyri do not know the title for Claudius. Secondly, it appears only posthumously on the coins.<sup>197</sup> Finally, the documents that do attest the title while Claudius lived are all troublesome.

35 -- *Gothicus* appears in a garbled and possibly mistaken way. See the note in the catalogue.

50 -- This stone is one of those that contains the mistaken dating formula *tr. pot. III cos. II*. Hence, the victory title may also be suspicious.

51 -- As the previous inscription.

53 -- As the previous two inscriptions. Also, Claudius' name must be restored, and it is possible that the stone really belongs to Probus.

Given this state of the evidence, it would appear that Claudius was not made *Gothicus* while he breathed. Although it would appear that he had fairly well completed his activities against the Goths by the time he died, it seems possible that the senate had not yet voted

<sup>194</sup> There are coins with VICTORIA GERMANICA -- *RIC* V.1 247-9 and *HCC* IV 86 (Ephesus or Cyzicus); however, these come from an eastern mint, and do not bear the actual victory title anyhow.

<sup>195</sup> Cf. Damerou 1934, 53. Also Gaggero 1973, 71-101, and Halfmann 1986, 239.

<sup>196</sup> Damerou 1934, 61.

<sup>197</sup> There are *consecratio* issues from Rome and Milan with DIVO CLAVDIO GOTHICO, *RIC* V.1 263 and 264. The only other certain indication of a Gothic victory in the coinage are the Cyzicene (?) issues with the reverse legend, VICTORIAE GOTHIC, *RIC* V.1 251 and 252.

the title *Gothicus*.<sup>198</sup> He may well have expired in the course of mopping up the last remnants of the Gothic intruders, and the senate would have voted him god and *Gothicus* nearly concurrently.

### Aurelian

<i>cos. Germ. max. II</i> .....	104
<i>tr. pot. II</i> .....	105
<i>tr. pot. III cos. Parth. max. Goth. max. Germ. max. Carp. max</i> .....	106
<i>cos. II</i> .....	103
<i>tr. pot. cos. II (?)</i> .....	107
<i>tr. pot. cos. II Germ. max. Goth. max.</i> .....	108
<i>tr. pot. cos. II Parth. max.</i> .....	108a
<i>tr. pot. III cos. II Germ. max. Goth. max.</i> .....	109
<i>tr. pot. V cos. II</i> .....	110-2
<i>tr. pot. V (?) cos. II Germ. max. Goth. max. Parth. max. (?)</i> .....	113
<i>tr. pot. VI cos. II</i> .....	114
<i>tr. pot. VII cos. II</i> .....	115
<i>cos. II des. III Germ. max. Goth. max. Parth. max. Carp. max.</i> .....	116
<i>tr. pot. V cos. II des. III imp. III Goth. max. Germ. max.</i> <i>Parth. max. Carp. max</i> .....	117
<i>cos. III</i> .....	119, 121
<i>cos. III Germ. max. Carp. max.</i> .....	118
<i>tr. pot. cos. III</i> .....	120
<i>tr. pot. III cos. III procos. III Arab. max. Goth. max.</i> <i>Carp. max</i> .....	122
<i>tr. pot. IV cos. III Germ. max. Goth. max. Parth. max</i> .....	124
<i>tr. pot. V cos. III Germ. max</i> .....	125
<i>tr. pot. V cos. III Goth. max. Palmyr. max. Germ. max.</i> .....	126

<sup>198</sup> For the fighting complete, *HA Claud.* 12.2. See also Damerou 1934, 73-5.



<i>tr. pot. V cos. III imp. Germ. max. Goth. max. Carp. max.</i>	
<i>Pers. max.</i> .....	127
<i>tr. pot. VI cos. III</i> .....	128-30
<i>tr. pot. VI cos. III Parth. max.</i> .....	131
<i>tr. pot. VI (?) cos. III (?) Germ. max. Goth. max. Carp. max.</i>	
<i>Parth. max.</i> .....	132
<i>tr. pot. VII cos. III imp. Germ. max. Goth. max. Parth. max.</i>	
<i>Dac. max. Carp. max.</i> .....	133
<i>cos. III (?) imp. V (?) Germ. max. Goth. max. Carp. max.</i> .....	123

Aurelian was *cos. I* in 271, *cos. II* in 274 and *cos. III* in 275.<sup>199</sup> There seems to be a general consensus that the tribunician power was renewed on 10 December.<sup>200</sup> Yet, there is an attested seventh iteration, which would not fit any normal scheme of iteration. Furthermore, the attested combinations of consular and tribunician iterations create problems regarding the consulates.<sup>201</sup> In order to account for the documents, Rea has supposed first that Aurelian took an extra tribunician power during 274 (either for his defeats of Zenobia and Tetricus, or in celebration of his *quinquennialia*), and secondly that at some point he had received the *ornamenta consularia*, which resulted in a double reckoning of his consulates.<sup>202</sup> I reproduce Rea's table summarizing his conclusions.

<sup>199</sup> Degraasi 1952, 72-3.

<sup>200</sup> Homo 1904, 340; Sotgiu 1961, 11 ff.; Rea 1972b, 28; Sotgiu 1975, 1044; Schillinger-Häfele 1986, 83. Kramer & Jones 1943, 83-6 conclude that Aurelian iterated his tribunician power on his *dies imperii*, and Bivona 1966, 106-19 assumes that Aurelian began to re-number it after the defeat of Zenobia in 272. Neither of these notions is acceptable.

<sup>201</sup> *HA Aurelian*. 11.8 has Valerian promise Aurelian the (suffect) consulate along with Ulpian Crinitus in 258. The passage is, however, an obvious invention of the *HA* author. See Merten et al. 1985, ad loc.

<sup>202</sup> Rea 1972b, 26-30. Note, though, that some of the documents used by Rea are not reliable. *CIL* VIII 9040 belongs to Gallienus, not Aurelian. See Deininger 1970. *CIL* XII 5511 reads, —*m*ax. *Gothico max. / —* trib. *pot. III cos. II [—] / p. p.* The stone could belong to Claudius II, Aurelian or Probus. *CIL* XII 5548 is problematic. See the note in the catalogue (123). *Cohen* 177 has as its authority Mionnet. The coin is not to be trusted.

	<i>tr. pot.</i>	consul (a)	consul (b)
August 270	1	0	1
December 270	2	0	1
January 271	2	1	2
December 271	3	1	2
December 272	4	1	2
December 273	5	1	2
January 274	5	2	3
? 274	6	2	3
December 274	7	2	3
January 275	7	3	4

Yet even this cumbersome system will not account for all of the documents. The combinations *tr. pot. III cos. III* and *tr. pot. IV cos. III* still do not fit.<sup>203</sup> It seems that whatever scheme of iteration we assume, we shall have to admit that there are mistakenly dated documents.<sup>204</sup>

Let us then consider the possibility of regular iterations for both consular and tribunician powers.

<i>tr. pot. I</i> .....	August - 9 December 270
<i>tr. pot. II</i> .....	10 - 31 December 270
<i>tr. pot. II cos. I</i> .....	1 January - 9 December 271
<i>tr. pot. III cos. I</i> .....	10 December 271 - 9 December 272
<i>tr. pot. IV cos. I</i> .....	10 December 272 - 9 December 273
<i>tr. pot. V cos. I</i> .....	10 - 31 December 273
<i>tr. pot. V cos. II</i> .....	1 January - 9 December 274
<i>tr. pot. VI cos. II</i> .....	10 - 31 December 274
<i>tr. pot. VI cos. III</i> .....	1 January - ca. December 275

<sup>203</sup> The documents in question are respectively: a dedication by the *ordo* of Barcelona (122); a milestone from Narbonensis (124); one coin supposedly minted at Rome (*Cohen* 177 -- see above n. 202).

<sup>204</sup> Note the cautious comments of Price 1973, 84, "Even this (Rea's theory) does not fit every quoted inscription, and one may be permitted to suspect that wild and ill-conceived dates may be found on provincial milestones, etc., and even on coins from provincial mints, due solely to the ignorance of the personnel concerned."

The first problem with this scheme is the seventh tribunician iteration, preserved on a milestone from Lugdunensis (133) and by coins from Rome and (possibly) Siscia (115).<sup>205</sup> The stone might easily have a mistaken dating formula, but one is somewhat loath to reject especially the Roman coins. Six other inscriptions also have dating formulas that will not fit.

- 117 (dedication) -- *tr. pot. V cos. II des. III*
- 122 (dedication) -- *tr. pot. III cos. III*
- 124 (milestone) -- *tr. pot. IV cos. III*
- 125 (milestone) -- *tr. pot. V cos. III*
- 126 (dedication) -- *tr. pot. V cos. III*
- 127 (milestone) -- *tr. pot. V cos. III*

Of these, 122 fits neither Rea's scheme nor that suggested here. It is probably best simply to assume this stone mistakenly dated. In order to account for the additional five inscriptions that would still be mistaken, we should have to suppose *ornamenta* or a suffect consulate at some point. For reasons already given (above p. 52), the former seems unlikely. Nor is it possible to add at one point a suffect with the result that all of the attested dating formulas work. Hence, though there can be no certainty, it seems preferable to trust the fasti, and resultantly to assume that several of our documents present mistakenly combined tribunician and consular iterations.<sup>206</sup>

The coins from Rome with *tr. pot. VII* are still, however, perplexing. It is possible to accommodate them by suggesting an extra tribunician iteration, though this would be indeed unusual.<sup>207</sup> On the other hand, if Aurelian lived as long as early December 275, it is conceivable that the mint at Rome had produced coins in anticipation of the renewed tribunician power. These then, may already have gone into circulation when the news of Aurelian's death arrived. Still, it seems hardly possible to reconcile this combination (*tr. pot. VII cos. II*) in any way with the combination *tr. pot. VI cos. III*. It may be that the stones

<sup>205</sup> We can trust that the Roman mint produced this legend because of its appearance in *HCC*. The coin from Siscia (*RIC* V.1 186 = *Cohen* 179), however, is odd. *Cohen* reports the reverse legend as, P ■■ TB P VII COS II P P, but then in a note claims that Mionnet read, PROVIDENTIA DEOR. He also says, in the note, that the letters SXXT appear in the exergue. This is all rather puzzling, and leads one to suspect the coin.

<sup>206</sup> Cf. Schilling-Häfele 1986, 83.

<sup>207</sup> Rea 1972b, 27 bolsters his argument for this by supposing that both Maximinus Thrax and Trajan Decius also took additional tribunician iterations. This is, however, unlikely. See above pp. 57 and 67 respectively.

attesting the latter are simply mistaken. In sum, though, there is no absolutely clear answer as to how Aurelian calculated his tribunician power.

We have the following *imperator* acclamations.

- 117 -- *tr. pot. V cos. II des. III imp. III*
- 123 -- *imp. V cos. III (?)*
- 127 -- *tr. pot. V imp. cos. III*
- 133 -- *tr. pot. VII cos. III imp.*

It seems likely that Aurelian was acclaimed *imperator*, but how many times, exactly when and why cannot be determined.

There are quite a few victory titles attested for Aurelian.<sup>208</sup>

- Adiabenicus* -- HA Aurelian. 30.5
- Arabicus maximus* -- 94, 122
- Armenicus (sic)* -- HA Aurelian. 30.5
- Britannicus maximus* -- 102
- Carpicus maximus* -- 101, 106, 116-8, 122-3, 127, 132-3, 148-9
- Dacicus maximus* -- 133
- Germanicus maximus* -- 17, 73, 80, 93, 100-2, 104, 106, 108-9, 113, 116-8, 123-7 132-3, 149, 151
- Gothicus maximus* -- 17, 91, 101-2, 108-9, 113, 116-7, 122-4, 126-7, 132-3, 146-9, 151
- Palmyrenicus maximus* -- 126
- Parthicus maximus* -- 80, 106, 113, 116-7, 124, 131-3
- Persicus maximus* -- 94, 101, 127, 149
- Sarmaticus maximus* -- 102

Of the documents that attest these, the papyri are likely best to represent the officially held titles.<sup>209</sup> To be found there are: *Carpicus maximus*, *Germanicus maximus*, *Gothicus*

<sup>208</sup> There is now an excellent study of Aurelian's victory titles, which obviates a fuller discussion here -- Kettenhofen 1986.

<sup>209</sup> The coins are of little help. We have one coin with VICTORIA PARTICA (*RIC* V.1 240, Siscia), another with VICTORIA GERM (*RIC* V.1 355, Cyzicus) and one more with VICTORIA GOTHIC (*RIC* V.1 339, Cyzicus).

*maximus*, *Persicus maximus*.<sup>210</sup> These must be the official victory titles, and were probably assumed as follows.<sup>211</sup>

*Germanicus maximus* -- 270/71, victory over the Germani Iuthungi  
*Gothicus maximus* -- late 271, victory over the Goths at Cannabae  
*Carpicus maximus* -- 272, victory over the Carpi on the Danube  
*Persicus maximus* -- 272, victory over the Palmyrenes<sup>212</sup>

### Tacitus

<i>tr. pot. procos. IV</i> .....	42
<i>tr. pot. II</i> .....	43 (?), 45
<i>tr. pot. II cos.</i> .....	44, 46-8
<i>tr. pot. cas. des. II</i> .....	49
<i>tr. pot. cas. II</i> .....	50-2
<i>tr. pot. II cos. II</i> .....	53
<i>tr. pot. II cos. II Goth. max.</i> .....	54
<i>cos. III</i> .....	55-6

Tacitus' tribunician power, given the available documents, can have been iterated either on 10 December or 1 January. The former is more likely, particularly if his *dies imperii* fell early in the fall, but this cannot be certainly determined. Again, because it had been traditional, and because there is no solid evidence to the contrary, I should prefer iteration on 10 December.<sup>213</sup>

<sup>210</sup> A highly restored papyrus (*P. Lips.* 119) may attest *Britannicus maximus*. König 1974, 51-6 discusses the title and the papyrus. He concludes that the title was not official, but that it relates to Britain's having decided to rejoin the central Empire (as opposed to the Gallic) in 271. See also Kettenhofen 1986, 140-1.

<sup>211</sup> See Sotgiu 1961, 17 ff. and eadem, "Aureliano (1960-1972)" *ANRW* II.2 (Berlin & New York) 1042-3. Gostar 1975, 646 and 647 assumes respectively that *Dacicus maximus* was not official, but that *Carpicus maximus* was.

<sup>212</sup> See also Kettenhofen 1986, 144.

<sup>213</sup> Cf. Kramer & Jones 1943, 83, Jones 1939, 368 and Schilling-Häfele 1986, 84.

Tacitus was *cos. I* in 273 and *cos. II* in 276.<sup>214</sup> Two coins produced by the mint at Ticinum, however, record a third consulate. Degrassi suggested that Tacitus took a suffect consulate late in 275, while Rea would opt again for *ornamenta consularia*.<sup>215</sup> The last seems the least likely; nor is there any certainty given the choice between a mistake by the die-cutters at Ticinum and a possible suffect consulate.

A milestone from Narbonensis (54) produces the victory title *Gothicus maximus*. It seems indeed clear that Tacitus won a victory over the Goths in Asia Minor.<sup>216</sup> However, neither the papyri nor any other document record this title. It is not probable that Tacitus was officially *Gothicus maximus*.

### Florian

A number of documents assign a consulate to Florian --

<i>tr. pot. cos.</i> -- 17 (dedication, Dalmatia)
<i>tr. pot. cos.</i> -- 20 (dedication, Baetica)
<i>tr. pot. cos. II</i> -- 21 (milestone, Numidia)

We are told by *HA Tac.* 9.6, on the other hand, that Tacitus petitioned the senate for a suffect consulate for Florian, but was rebuffed because the *patres* had already drawn up their list. Degrassi, listing this passage and *CIL* II 1115 (20), awarded Florian the suffect consulate in 276.<sup>217</sup> The *HA* passage must be anachronistic; not until the fourth century did the senate again appoint suffect consuls.<sup>218</sup> We are left, then, with just the three

<sup>214</sup> Degrassi 1952, 73-4.

<sup>215</sup> Degrassi 1952, 73 and Rea 1972b, 27-8.

<sup>216</sup> Zos. 1.63-4, Zonar. 12.28. See also Syme 1971, 247 and Gaggero 1973, 113-7. Also the coins with the reverse legend *VICTORIA GOTHICA*: *RIC* V.1 110, 171-3 (Ticinum) and 199-200 (Serdica).

<sup>217</sup> Degrassi 1952, 74. So too Schilling-Häfele 1986, 84.

<sup>218</sup> See Merten et al. 1985, ad loc. and Bagnall et al. 1987, 3. Surely this is part of the theme of senatorial revival during Tacitus' reign which the *HA* author carefully developed. On this, but without the present passage, Syme 1971, 239-41.

inscriptions. Given the brevity of his reign, it is hardly likely that Florian held a second consulate, thus the last stone must produce an error. Nor are the other two particularly forceful. It seems more likely that these stones erroneously give the consulate to Florian.

### Probus

<i>tr. pot. II cos.</i> .....	86
<i>tr. pot. III</i> .....	87
<i>tr. pot. III cos.</i> .....	88
<i>cos. II</i> .....	89-90, 94a
<i>tr. pot. cos. II</i> .....	91-5
<i>cos. III</i> .....	97-9, 104
<i>tr. pot. cos. III</i> .....	96, 100-2
<i>tr. pot. cos. III Germ. max.</i> .....	103
<i>tr. pot. IV</i> .....	105
<i>tr. pot. IV cos. III Goth. max. Germ. max.</i> .....	106-7
<i>tr. pot. V cos. III Goth. Germ.</i> .....	108
<i>cos. IV</i> .....	108a-10
<i>tr. pot. V cos. IV</i> .....	111-2
<i>tr. pot. VI cos. IV</i> .....	113-4
<i>cos. V</i> .....	114a-5
<i>tr. pot. VI cos. V</i> .....	116-8

If we assume regular tribunician iteration on 10 December, then we get the following scheme.<sup>219</sup>

<i>tr. pot. I</i> .....	ca. June - 9 December 276
<i>tr. pot. II</i> .....	10 - 31 December 276
<i>tr. pot. II cos. I</i> .....	1 January - 9 December 277
<i>tr. pot. III cos. I</i> .....	10 - 31 December 277
<i>tr. pot. III cos. II</i> .....	1 January - 9 December 278

<sup>219</sup> For the consulates, Degraffi 1952, 74.

<i>tr. pot. IV cos. II</i> .....	10 - 31 December 278
<i>tr. pot. IV cos. III</i> .....	1 January - 9 December 279
<i>tr. pot. V cos. III</i> .....	10 December 279 - 9 December 280
<i>tr. pot. VI cos. III</i> .....	10 - 31 December 280
<i>tr. pot. VI cos. IV</i> .....	1 January - 9 December 281
<i>tr. pot. VII cos. IV</i> .....	10 - 31 December 281
<i>tr. pot. VII cos. V</i> .....	1 January - September/December 282

Two of the attested combinations will not fit this scheme.

<i>tr. pot. V cos. IV</i> -- RIC V.2 914 (Antioch), RIC V.2 248 (Rome)
<i>tr. pot. VI cos. V</i> -- RIC V.2 249-51, 260, HCC IV 67, Gnechi III p. 71, 93 (Rome)

The fact that several coins from the mint at Rome do not fit makes regular iteration on 10 December somewhat suspect.<sup>220</sup> Furthermore, regular iteration requires seven tribunician powers altogether, whereas the documents show only six. This is particularly odd, since the seventh iteration would have been rather long. In solution, Probus' *dies imperii* has been suggested as the annual date of tribunician renewal; and indeed, this will accommodate the documents.<sup>221</sup> On the other hand, this system of tribunician iteration would again leave us with a long (ca. June - fall 282) period that should have been *tr. pot. VII*, but which is recorded nowhere in the preserved documents. There is one possibility that would account for everything.

We know that so long as Florian lived, Probus did not control the West. Hence, he could not have received the tribunician power from the senate until after Florian's death at the earliest. Perhaps he waited just a bit longer, i.e. until 10 December 276 to take his first tribunician power, and reckoned annual renewal on 10 December thenceforth.<sup>222</sup>

<sup>220</sup> See also Vitucci 1952, 136-7.

<sup>221</sup> Kramer & Jones 1943, 80-1.

<sup>222</sup> According to *HA Prob.* 11.5 and 12.8, the senate voted the tribunician power for Probus on 3 February, presumably of 277. The whole of this, though, is fiction. Cf. Merten et al. 1985, ad loc. Also Syme 1971, 217-20 generally on the creations of the *HA* author regarding Probus. Schilling-Häfele 1986, 85 assumes 10 December iteration, though with *tr. pot. II* coming on 10 December 276.

<i>tr. pot. I</i> .....	10 - 31 December 276
<i>tr. pot. I cos. I</i> .....	1 January - 9 December 277
<i>tr. pot. II cos. I</i> .....	10 - 31 December 277
<i>tr. pot. II cos. II</i> .....	1 January - 9 December 278
<i>tr. pot. III cos. II</i> .....	10 - 31 December 278
<i>tr. pot. III cos. III</i> .....	1 January - 9 December 279
<i>tr. pot. IV cos. III</i> .....	10 December 279 - 9 December 280
<i>tr. pot. V cos. III</i> .....	10 - 31 December 280
<i>tr. pot. V cos. IV</i> .....	1 January - 9 December 281
<i>tr. pot. VI cos. IV</i> .....	10 - 31 December 281
<i>tr. pot. VI cos. V</i> .....	1 January - September 282

The following victory titles are on record for Probus.

<i>Adiab.</i> -- 85 (dedication, Africa)
<i>Goth.</i> -- 74 (dedication, Italy)
<i>cos. III Germ. max.</i> -- 103 (dedication, Africa)
<i>verus Goth. verus Germ.</i> -- 60 (dedication, Tarraconensis)
<i>tr. pot. V cos. III verus Goth. verus Germ.</i> -- 108 (dedication, Hispania)
<i>tr. pot. IV cos. III Goth. max. Germ. max.</i> -- 106-7 (milestones, Narbonensis)
<i>Germ. max. Med. max. Parth. max.</i> -- 134 (papyrus)
<i>Goth. max. Parth. max. Germ. max.</i> -- 135 (papyri)
<i>Goth. max. Pers. max. Germ. max.</i> -- 136 (papyri)
<i>Pers. max. Goth. max.</i> -- 137 (papyri)
<i>Francicus, Gothicus, Sarmaticus, Parthicus</i> -- <i>HA Prob.</i> 11.9

Because of the abominable state of the literary tradition for this reign, it is extremely difficult to establish just whom Probus fought as well as when he may have done so.<sup>223</sup> It seems, from the list given above, that Probus had officially three victory titles, viz. *Gothicus maximus*, *Germanicus maximus* and *Persicus* (or *Parthicus*) *maximus*. The earliest papyrus with victory titles, *P. Oxy.* XIV 1713.20-3 (20 October 279) shows all three of these titles.

<sup>223</sup> The essential accounts are, *HA Prob.* 13.5 ff., *Zos.* 1.77.1 ff. and 1.69.1-4. Vitucci 1952, 33-83 provides the most thorough interpretation. See also Walser & Pekáry 1962, 54-5 and Polverini 1975, 1025-7.

The other datable documents with victory titles show *cos. III* (279/80). Hence, it would appear that all of these titles were awarded to Probus between 276 and 279.<sup>224</sup>

Vitucci has suggested that *Gothicus maximus* was granted in 277.<sup>225</sup> He bases his argument on *CIL* XI 1178b (74), which combines the title with *tr. pot. cos.* It is then assumed that *cos.* means *cos. I*, which in turn means 277. This may be, but as Vitucci himself realizes, the lack of an iteration number renders the date of the stone, hence that of the title, suspicious.<sup>226</sup>

The German campaign, according to Vitucci, was carried out in 277 and 278.<sup>227</sup> This would fit well with the evidence suggesting the actual grant of the title *Germanicus maximus* by (roughly) 279.

It would appear, given its relatively frequent appearance in the papyri, that Probus had officially the victory title *Persicus* (or *Parthicus*) *maximus*.<sup>228</sup> There is no obvious event, however, with which this title can be connected. The *HA Prob.* 17.4 reports that the Parthians, struck with fear because of Probus' resounding success against the revolting Blemmyae in Egypt, sent ambassadors to seek an agreement with Rome. The date would be about right, i.e. ca. 280, but the report of an embassy from the Parthians may well be another of the *HA* author's fictions.<sup>229</sup> While we should possibly accept *Persicus maximus* as an official title, and date its grant prior to 279/80, the occasion of the grant must remain obscure.<sup>230</sup>

<sup>224</sup> Also on the victory titles: E. Van't Dack, "De zegecognomina van Keizer Probus" in *Zetesis. Album amicorum door vrienden en collega's aangeboden aan Prof. Dr. E. de Strycker* (Antwerp & Utrecht 1973) 566-79; E. Kettenhofen, "Zur Siegestitulatur des Kaisers Probus" *ZA* 36 (1986) 39-43.

<sup>225</sup> Vitucci 1952, 35-6 esp. n. 3. Salamon 1971, 138 agrees. See too Gaggero 1973, 119.

<sup>226</sup> Cf. Vitucci 1952, 34-5.

<sup>227</sup> Vitucci 1952, 35-48. The dates are accepted by Polverini 1975, 1025-6.

<sup>228</sup> See cat. nos. 134-7. The title appears nowhere else in the documents. Nor is there any sort of reference (e.g. *VICTORIA PARTHICA* or the like) to a victory over Persia in the coinage. Vitucci 1952, 63 notes the lack of attestation outside the papyri, and resolutely questions the title as official.

<sup>229</sup> On the revolt of the Blemmyae, Schwartz 1970, 385-6. The report of the embassy from the Persians may have been modeled on the similar situation in 296/97 -- cf. Vitucci 1952, 62-3. See also Merten et al. 1985, ad loc.

<sup>230</sup> Perhaps this had something to do with the revolt of Saturninus. Yet, those events are so obscure as to be of no help here. See: Vitucci 1952, 58-61; Pomeroy 1969, 54-6; Polverini 1975, 1026 n. 50. Also above p. 48.

One stone (64) may record an *imperator* acclamation. No date, however, can be assigned to this.

### Carus, Carinus, Numerian

<i>tr. pot. cos. II</i> .....	36-8
<i>tr. pot. II cos. II</i> .....	39-40
<i>tr. pot. II cos. II Pers. max. Germ. max</i> .....	41
<i>tr. pot. II cos. II + Carinus Caes. + Numerian Caes</i> .....	179
Carinus <i>tr. pot. II cos. Germ. max</i> .....	93

The consulates for this reign are,

283 -- Carus *cos. II*, and after his death Carinus *cos. I*  
 284 -- Carinus *cos. II*, Numerian *cos. I*.<sup>231</sup>

It is clear that Carus came to the throne in the fall of 282, and was dead by summer of 283. We have two tribunician iterations attested by the documents, which would allow us to posit renewal of Carus' tribunician power either on 10 December or on 1 January. Though I should prefer the former date, the documents cannot prove it.<sup>232</sup>

If Carinus was *Augustus* from roughly spring 283 until the same season in 285, and if he renewed his tribunician power on either 10 December or 1 January, then there is room for three tribunician iterations for him. The documents attest only two. Nonetheless, this is acceptable, since the third iteration would have begun either on 10 December 284 or 1 January 285. In either case, Diocletian was already proclaimed, and there will have been

<sup>231</sup> Degrassi 1952, 75. It is not altogether clear why Carus is *cos. II* in his first imperial consulate. Degrassi suggested *ornamenta*, though a suffect consulate (say) in the fall of 282 seems more likely. Cf. Bagnall et al. 1987, s.a. 285. Also Meloni 1948, 35-7.

<sup>232</sup> Kramer & Jones 1943, 81-2 argue for an anniversary renewal, but mistakenly assume: a) that Carus died in December of 283; b) that documents with (e.g.) *tr. pot. cos. II* imply absolutely the first tribunician iteration. Meloni 1948, 32-5 argues that Carus (possibly) took his first tribunician power upon accession, and his second when Carinus was granted the tribunician power. Schillinger-Häfele 1986, 85 assumes regular renewal on 10 December.

confusion about Carinus' position, which could well have caused no documents (or very few) with *tr. pot. III* to have been produced.<sup>233</sup>

With a reign extending from ca. July 283 until November 284, we might expect two tribunician iterations for Numerian as well. It seems clear that he received the tribunician power (132 ff.), probably when he became *Augustus*; however, there is no evidence of a second iteration. Still, the argument from silence is not probative.

The following victory titles are attested.

Carus,  
*Germ. max.* -- 151 (dedication, Italy), 183 (papyri)  
*Pers. max.* -- 181 (dedication, Egypt)  
*divus Parth.* -- 5 (coins, Lugdunum and Siscia)  
*divus Pers.* -- 6 (coins, Rome)  
*Pers. max. Germ. max. tr. pot. II cos. II* -- 41 (dedication, Africa)

Carinus,  
*Germ. max.* -- 80 (dedication, Numidia), 173 (milestone, Numidia), 183 (papyri)  
*Germ. max. Brit. max. Pers. max.* -- 190 (milestone, Italy)  
*Germ. max. tr. pot. II cos.* -- 93 (dedication, Numidia)

Carus & Carinus,  
*Germ.* -- 159 (dedication, Italy)

The posthumous victory titles on the coins from Rome, Lugdunum and Siscia indicate that Carinus had his father declared either *Persicus* or *Parthicus*.<sup>234</sup> It also seems possible that Carinus was *Germanicus maximus* officially, though *Britannicus* and *Persicus* seem much less likely.

It may be that we have an *imperator* acclamation for Numerian (130); but again, no date can reasonably be offered.

<sup>233</sup> Note also that Carinus seems to have assumed a third consulate in 285, the memory of which was nearly obliterated by Diocletian. Bagnall et al. 1987, s.a. 284. The third tribunician power may have gone the same way as the consulate.

<sup>234</sup> The *HA Car.* 8.1 also claims that Carus received the epithet *Persicus*.

**The Gallic Empire**<sup>235</sup>**Postumus, late summer/fall 260 - ca. spring 269**

<i>tr. pot. I cos. I (?)</i> .....	summer/fall - 9 December 260
<i>tr. pot. II cos. I</i> .....	10 - 31 December 260
<i>tr. pot. II cos. II</i> .....	1 January - 9 December 261
<i>tr. pot. III cos. II</i> .....	10 - 31 December 261
<i>tr. pot. III cos. III</i> .....	1 January - 9 December 262
<i>tr. pot. IV cos. III</i> .....	10 December 262 - 9 December 263
<i>tr. pot. V cos. III</i> .....	10 December 263 - 9 December 264
<i>tr. pot. VI cos. III</i> .....	10 December 264 - 9 December 265
<i>tr. pot. VII cos. III</i> .....	10 December 265 - 9 December 266
<i>tr. pot. VIII cos. III</i> .....	10 - 31 December 266
<i>tr. pot. VIII cos. IV</i> .....	1 January - 9 December 267
<i>tr. pot. IX cos. IV</i> .....	10 December 267 - 9 December 268
<i>tr. pot. X cos. IV</i> .....	10 - 31 December 268
<i>tr. pot. X cos. V</i> .....	1 January - ca. spring 269

**Laelianus, ca. spring 269**

*tr. pot. I*

**Marius, ca. spring 269**

*tr. pot. I*

**Victorinus, ca. late spring 269 - early 271**

<i>tr. pot. I cos. I</i> .....	spring - 9 December 269
<i>tr. pot. II cos. I</i> .....	10 - 31 December 269
<i>tr. pot. II cos. II</i> .....	1 January - 9 December 270
<i>tr. pot. III cos. II</i> .....	10 December 270 - early 271

<sup>235</sup> Since it would be most inconvenient to attempt, in the present format, to describe the evidence for the chronology of the Gallic emperors (mainly numismatic with the addition of the problematic literary sources), and since there are already several recent and excellent studies of the subject, I have contented myself with a mere table of dates. For the best arguments, König 1981 and Drinkwater 1987.

**Tetricus, early 271 - ca. spring 274**

<i>tr. pot. I</i> .....	early - 9 December 271
<i>tr. pot. II</i> .....	10 - 31 December 271
<i>tr. pot. II cos. I</i> .....	1 January - 9 December 272
<i>tr. pot. III cos. I</i> .....	10 - 31 December 272
<i>tr. pot. III cos. II</i> .....	1 January - 9 December 273
<i>tr. pot. IV cos. II</i> .....	10 - 31 December 273
<i>tr. pot. IV cos. III</i> .....	1 January - ca. spring 274

CATALOGUE



## Introduction

In this catalogue I have attempted to gather as completely and to reproduce as accurately as possible the evidence for the titulature of the emperors and pretenders from Maximinus Thrax to Carinus. The task has been arduous, and there can be no claim to perfection in any sense. In particular, I should mention that I was able to lay hands on *CIL* XVII only at the last minute, and its incorporation has thus caused some difficulty. It should also be noted that, due to the perplexing variety of the evidence, I have been unable to devise a simple method of presenting the material. Hence some explanation of the catalogue's arrangement is in order.

Within the section for each imperial family, each attested titular formula is listed along with the documents that preserve it. The formulae themselves are arranged by language (Greek or Latin), and then according to three basic groups, which depend, in turn, on the standard official titulature. Group A contains all examples with just the first half of the standard official formula, i.e. *Imperator Caesar (name) Pius Felix Augustus*. Group B has those formulae with elements of both the first and second half (*pontifex maximus tribunicia potestate consul pater patriae proconsul*) of this standard formula, but without any exact chronological indications -- i.e. iteration numbers. Group C contains those formulae that do have some kind of iteration number, and here the standard formula is subordinate to chronology. Of course, other epithets (e.g. *dominus noster, restitutor orbis* or the like) are frequently included in all three categories, but in so far as arrangement is concerned, they play a role secondary to the elements of the standard formula.

For inscriptions I give only a location within a province, employing the Severan provincial divisions. Wherever the text of a stone has seemed to me to be dubious, I have included a footnote on it, though I reproduce only that part of the inscription which contains imperial titulature. Coins can be listed according to mint, though this becomes difficult in many cases because of the uncertainties regarding mint attributions.<sup>1</sup> For the papyri *Burreth* is still essential. I have also employed the work of Professor Sijpesteijn frequently to correct and supplement entries in *Burreth*, and have attempted to add relevant

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<sup>1</sup>This is particularly troublesome for the medallions. Through the time of Gallienus, these were minted only at Rome, but subsequently at various places. Cf. J.M.C. Toynbee, *Roman Medallions* (repr. New York 1986) 48-51 with the comments of W.E. Metcalf (i-ii). P. Bastien, *Monnaie et donativa au Bas-Empire* (Wetteren 1988) 54-61 now discusses the minting places of medallions for the period from Claudius II through the usurper Sabinus Iulianus. Still, it is very difficult to assign individual coins to their proper mints, particularly for Probus and Carus and his sons. Nor can I claim to have attempted this with any real success.

papyri published in the interim. As with the inscriptions, where coin legends or papyrus texts require interpretation, this is relegated to a footnote.

**Maximinus Thrax and Maximus**

(ca. mid-March 235 - early June 238)

*C(aius) Iul(ius) Ver(us) Max(iminus)**C(aius) Iul(ius) Ver(us) Maxim(us)***I. Literary Testimonia**

*Aur. Vict. Caes. 25.1-2 Namque Gaius Iulius Maximinus...potentiam cepit suffragiis legionum. Quod tamen etiam patres, dum periculosum existimant inermes armato resistere, approbaverunt; filiusque eius pari nomine Gaius Iulius Maximinus Caesar factus est.*

*Epit. de Caes. 25.1 Iulius Maximinus Thrax, ex militaribus, imperavit annos tres.*

*Eutrop. 9.1 Post hunc Maximinus ex corpore militari primus ad imperium accessit sola militum voluntate, cum nulla senatus intercessisset auctoritas neque ipse senator esset. Is bello adversus Germanos feliciter gesto cum a militibus imperator esset appellatus...*

*Herodian 6.9.5-6 ...πεισθέντες οι στρατιῶται τὸν μὲν Ἀλέξανδρον καταλιμπάνουσιν, αὐτοὶ δὲ προσλασι τῷ Μαξιμίνῳ, αὐτοκράτωρ τε ὑπὸ πάντων ἐκεῖνος ἀναγορεύεται.*

*idem 6.9.6 ὁ δὲ Μαξιμίνος ὑπὸ πάντος τοῦ στρατοῦ Σεβαστὸς προσαγορευθεῖς...*

*HA Maximin. 8.1 Sed occiso Alexandro Maxim<in>us primum e corpore militari et nondum senator sine decreto senatus Augustus ab exercitu appellatus est filio sibimet in participatu<m> dato...*

*idem 22.6 inter haec Maximinus cum filio adule<s>cente, quem Caesarem appellaverat...*

*Oros. hist. adv. pag. 7.19.1 Maximinus...nulla senatus voluntate imperator ab exercitu...creatus...*

*Zonaras 12.16 Αὐταρχήσας δ' οὗτος ὁ Μαξιμίνος εὐθὺς ἐπέστειλε τῇ συγκλήτῳ, τὴν ἐκ τῶν στρατευμάτων ἀνάρρησιν ταύτη δηλῶν ἑαυτοῦ.*

**II. Maximinus, Latin Titles, Group A**

- d. n. C. Iul. Max. Aug.*  
Inscriptions: Numidia -- *CIL VIII 22221*
- Max. Pi. Aug. Germ.*  
Coins: Italy (Rome) -- *RIC IV.2 18-23, 78-94; BMCRE VI 137 ff.; HCC III 18-9, 46-62; Gnechchi I p. 47, 1; II p. 87, 4*
- Imp. Max. Pi.*  
Coins: Cilicia (Ninika-Claudiopolis) -- *SNGAul 5778-81*
- Imp. Max. Pi. Aug.*  
Coins: Italy (Rome) -- *RIC IV.2 7-17, 43-77; BMCRE VI 1 ff.; HCC III 4-17, 23-43; Gnechchi I p. 42, 2; II p. 86, 1*  
Thrace (Deultum) -- *BMC Thrace p. 112, 13; SNGCop Thrace 546; Hunter I p. 439, 4*  
Asia (Alexandria Troas) -- *SNGAul 7566*
- Imp. C. Iul. Ver. Max. Pi. Fel. Aug.*  
Inscriptions: Mauretania Caes. -- *EE v 1316/CIL VIII 22619/1A 11*
- Imp. Caes. Iul. Ver. Max.*  
Coins: Macedonia (Pella) -- *BMC Macedonia p. 94, 41*  
Cilicia (Ninika-Claudiopolis) -- *SNGAul 5775-7*
- Imp. Caes. C. Iul. Max.*  
Coins: Asia (Alexandria Troas) -- *SNGAul 7567*

8. *Imp. Caes. C. Iul. Ver. Max.*  
 Inscriptions: Italy -- *ILP* 47  
 Asia -- *MAMA* VIII 7<sup>1</sup>  
 Mauretania Caes. -- *CIL* VIII 9039  
 Coins: Macedonia (Pella) -- *SNGCop Macedonia* 285
9. *Imp. Caes. C. Iul. Ver. Max. Aug.*  
 Coins: Lycia (Comana) -- *SNGAul* 5068  
 Lycia (Cremna) -- *SNGAul* 5101-3, 8606
10. *Imp. Caes. Iul. Ver. Max. Pi. Fel. Aug.*  
 Inscriptions: Arabia -- *AE* (1897) 144/*CIL* III 14149.33
11. *Imp. Caes. C. Iul. Max. Pi. Fel. Aug.*  
 Inscriptions: Arabia -- *AE* (1904) 67
12. *Imp. Caes. C. Iul. Ver. Max. Pi. Fel. Aug.*  
 Inscriptions: Lusitania -- Castillo 1985, 241 n. 185  
 Bithynia -- *CIL* III 12226 (= 13650)/*IK* 9, 21; *RRM* 31b2  
 Numidia -- *CIL* VIII 22342<sup>3</sup>  
 Mauretania Caes. -- *EE* vii 669/*CIL* VIII 22597<sup>4</sup>
13. *Imp. Caes. C. Iul. Ver. Max. Pi. Fel. Aug. n.*  
 Inscriptions: Mauretania Caes. -- *AE* (1935) 42
14. *d. n. Imp. Caes. C. Max. Pi. Fel. Aug.*  
 Inscriptions: Numidia -- *AE* (1948) 209

<sup>1</sup>The inscription is broken after *Maximinius*.

<sup>2</sup>The stone is broken after, [*pio felici*], and *Augusto* is my suggestion.

<sup>3</sup>*Imp(eratori) Cae[s(ar)] C(aio) Iulio [Ve]ro Max[i]mino [Pi]o Fel[ici]---*

<sup>4</sup>*Imp(eratori) [Cae[s(ar)] C(aio) Iu[li]o Vero] / Max[imino] / Pio [Felici] / Aug[usto]---*

15. *Imp. Caes. C. Iul. Ver. Max. Pi. Fel. Aug. Germ. max. Sarm. max.*  
 Inscriptions: Baetica -- *CIL* II 4695<sup>5</sup>
16. *Imp. Caes. C. Iul. Ver. Max. Inv. Aug. Germ. max. Pi.*  
 Inscriptions: Germania Sup. -- *CIL* XIII 7467<sup>6</sup>
17. *Imp. Caes. C. Iul. Ver. Max. Pi. Fel. Inv. Aug.*  
 Inscriptions: Pannonia Sup. -- *CIL* III 11135/*ILS* 4311
18. *d. n. Imp. Caes. C. Iul. Ver. Max. Pi. Fel. Inv. Aug.*  
 Inscriptions: Italy -- *CIL* VI 428/*ILS* 2219
19. *Imp. Caes. C. Iul. Ver. Max. Pi. Fel. Inv. Aug. Aquileiensium restitutor et conditor*  
 Inscriptions: Italy -- *CIL* V 7989/*ILS* 487
- III. Maximinus, Latin Titles, Group B
20. *Imp. Max. cos.*  
 Inscriptions: Moesia Sup. -- *AE* (1972) 503/Roxan 1978, 77<sup>7</sup>
21. *Imp. d. n. Max. Aug. cos.*  
 Inscriptions: Germania Sup. -- *CIL* XIII 7281/*ILS* 3805; *RGAI* 2138
22. *Imp. Max. Pi. Aug. pont. max. tr. pot. p. p.*  
 Coins: Italy (Rome) -- *RIC* IV.2 1, 24-6; *BMCRE* VI 9-14; *HCC* III 1-2

<sup>5</sup>*Imp(erator) Cae[s(ar)] C(aio)] Iulius Verus / Maximinus Pius Felix / Aug(ustus) Germanicus max(imus) / Sarmaticus max(imus) [---]*

<sup>6</sup>*Imp(eratori) [Caesa]r <i> [C(aio)] I[ul]io Vero Maximino Invic]/to Aug(usto) Germ(anico) maximo Pio[---]*

<sup>7</sup>This is the dating formula of the inside of tabella 1. See also below 27 and 49.

23. *Imp. Caes. C. Iul. Max. Aug. cos.*  
Inscriptions: Italy -- *CIL* VI 2009.21/*ILS* 466<sup>8</sup>
24. *Imp. Caes. C. Iul. Ver. Max. Aug. pont. max. tr. pot. cos. p. p.*  
Inscriptions: Moesia Inf. -- *AE* (1902) 126/*CIL* III 14429<sup>9</sup>
25. *Imp. Caes. C. Iul. Ver. Max. Pl. Fel. Aug. tr. pot.*  
Inscriptions: Cappadocia -- *CIL* III 6932, 6945
26. *Imp. Caes. C. Iul. Ver. Max. Pl. Fel. Aug. p. p.*  
Inscriptions: Africa -- *CIL* VIII 757/*ILS* 5517
27. *Imp. Caes. C. Iul. Ver. Max. Pl. Fel. Aug. cos.*  
Inscriptions: Italy -- *CIL* VI 2001.17<sup>10</sup>  
Moesia Sup. -- *AE* (1972) 503/Roxan 1978, 77<sup>11</sup>
28. *Imp. Caes. C. Iul. Ver. Max. Pl. Fel. Aug. tr. pot. p. p.*  
Inscriptions: Galatia -- *RRM* 36(i)
29. *Imp. Caes. C. Iul. Ver. Max. Pl. Fel. Aug. tr. pot. p. p. cos. procos.*  
Inscriptions: Bithynia -- French 1986, 80 no. 4
30. *Imp. Caes. C. Iul. Ver. Max. Pl. Fel. Aug. pont. max. Sarm. max. Dac. max.*  
Inscriptions: Baetica -- *CIL* II 4696<sup>12</sup>

<sup>8</sup>[*Imp(eratori) Caes(ari) C(aio) Iul(io) Maximino A(u)g(usto) et Pupienio Africano c(o)n(s)ul(l)ibus*].

<sup>9</sup>I give the reading printed in *CIL*, which differs slightly from that given in *AE*.

<sup>10</sup>[*Imp(eratori) Caes(ari) C(aio) Iul(io) Vero Maximino] Pl(o) Fel(ici) Aug(usto) et M(arco) [Pupienio Africano] c(o)n(s)ul(l)ibus*].

<sup>11</sup>See also 20 above and 49 below.

<sup>12</sup>*Imp(erator) Caes(ar) / L. (sic) Iulius Verus Maximinus / Pius Felix Aug(ustus) p(ontifex) m(aximus) / Sarmaticus maximus / Dacicus maximus / P[...]/ S[...]*.

31. *Imp. Caes. C. Iul. Ver. Max. Pl. Fel. Aug. pont. max. Germ. max. Dac. max. Sarm. max.*  
Inscriptions: Africa -- *IRT* 47
32. *Imp. Caes. C. Iul. Ver. Max. Pl. Fel. Aug. pont. max. tr. pot. p. p. procos.*  
Inscriptions: Italy -- *CIL* VI 2001.15;<sup>13</sup> *CIL* VI 2009.19/*ILS* 466<sup>14</sup>  
Mauretania Caes. -- *CIL* VIII 10459; *EE* vii 672/*CIL* VIII 22600
33. *Imp. Caes. C. Iul. Ver. Max. Pl. Fel. Aug. pont. max. tr. pot. cos. procos.*  
Inscriptions: Numidia -- *CIL* VIII 10152 (= 22242)
34. *Imp. Caes. C. Iul. Ver. Max. Pl. Fel. Aug. pont. max. tr. pot. cos. p. p.*  
Inscriptions: Pannonia Sup. -- *CIL* III 4643/Weber 1968-71, 129 no. 6<sup>15</sup>  
Mauretania Caes. -- *CIL* VIII 22605
35. *Imp. Caes. C. Iul. Ver. Max. Pl. Fel. Aug. pont. max. tr. pot. p. p. cos. procos.*  
Inscriptions: Pannonia Inf. -- *AE* (1975) 698, 699  
Numidia -- Gsell 1915, cc-cci/Safama 1980, 110
36. *Imp. Caes. C. Iul. Ver. Max. Inv. Pl. Fel. Aug. pont. max.*  
Inscriptions: Numidia -- Salama 1951-52, 227 no. 2, 228 no. 3<sup>16</sup>
37. *Imp. Caes. C. Iul. Ver. Max. Pl. Fel. Inv. Aug. pont. max. tr. pot. p. p.*  
Inscriptions: Cappadocia -- *EE* v 75/*CIL* III 6951; *EE* v 76/*CIL* III 6952

<sup>13</sup>[*Imp(erator) Caes(ar) C(aius) Iulius Verus Maximinus Pius Felix Aug(ustus) / pont(ificus) max(imus) trib(unicia) po[st]est(ate) p(ater) p(atris) proco(n)sul(i)*].

<sup>14</sup>*Imp(eratore) Caes(arem) C(aium) Iulium Verum Maximinum Pium [Felicem Aug(ustum) pont(ificem) max(imum)] / trib(unicia) pot(estate) [p(atrem) p(atris) p(roco)n(s)ulem]*.

<sup>15</sup>*Imp(erator) [Caes(ar)] C(aius) Iuli[us] / V[erus M]axim[us] / P[ius Felix] Aug(ustus) / [pontifex] max[im]us / trib(unicia) pot(estate) co(n)sul p(ater) p(atris)---*.

<sup>16</sup>Both stones are fragmentary; but by combining them, we get this formula.

38. *Imp. Caes. C. Iul. Ver. Max. Inv. Pi. Fel. Aug. pont. max. tr. pot. p. p. procos.*  
Inscriptions: Pannonia Inf. -- *CIL* III 14354,4
39. *Imp. Caes. C. Iul. Ver. Max. Inv. Pi. Fel. Aug. pont. max. tr. pot. p. p. cos. procos.*  
Inscriptions: Pannonia Sup. -- *CIL* III 11340
40. *Imp. Caes. C. Iul. Ver. Max. Pl. Fel. Aug. Germ. max. Sarm. max. Dac. max. pont. max. tr. pot. cos. procos. optimus maximus princ. n.*  
Inscriptions: Lugdunensis -- *CIL* XIII 8861/XVII 312<sup>17</sup>
41. *d. n. invictissimus Imp. Caes. C. Iul. Ver. Max. Pi. Fel. Aug. pont. max. tr. pot. p. p. procos.*  
Inscriptions: Moesia Inf. -- *AE* (1957) 338/NILM 1

#### IV. Maximinus, Latin Titles, Group C

42. *Imp. Caes. C. Iul. Ver. Max. Pi. Fel. Aug. tr. pot. p. p. cos. des.*  
Inscriptions: Italy -- *CIL* VI 1085  
Pannonia Inf. -- *EE* (v 444/*CIL* III 10645
43. *Imp. Caes. C. Iul. Ver. Max. Pi. Fel. Aug. tr. pot. procos. cos. des.*  
Inscriptions: Italy -- *CIL* XI 4177
44. *Imp. Caes. C. Iul. Ver. Max. Pi. Fel. Aug. pont. max. tr. pot. cos. des. p. p. procos.*  
Inscriptions: Pannonia Inf. -- *CIL* III 6465

<sup>17</sup>I would restore this stone as follows: *Imp(eratori) Caes(ari) [C(aio) Iulio] Ve(ro) Max(imin)o Pio / Felic(i) Aug(usto) [G(erman)ico max(im)o] Sarm(atic)o / max(im)o Duc(ico ma)x(im)o / pont(ifici) ma(x(im)o) trib(unicia) p(ot)estate / c(o)n(s)ul(i) proc(onsuli) [optim]o ma(ximo)que [prin]cipi] n(ostro)*. It is possible that *tr. pot. III* is here to be restored, as below 57. Walser (*CIL* XVII) does restore the third tribunician iteration, and also adds in the lacunose line *p(atr) p(atr)iae*.

45. *Imp. Caes. C. Iul. Ver. Max. Pi. Fel. Inv. Aug. pont. max. tr. pot. p. p. procos. cos. des.*  
Inscriptions: Narbonensis -- *CIL* XII 5427/König 1970, 2; *CIL* XII 5428/König 1970, 4/*CIL* XVII 4
46. *Imp. Caes. C. Iul. Ver. Max. Pi. Fel. Aug. pont. max. tr. pot. cos. des. imp. II p. p. procos.*  
Inscriptions: Sardinia -- *AE* (1973) 276/Stylov 1974, 515-32/Sotgiu 1988, B90
47. *Max. Pi. Aug. Germ. pont. max. tr. pot. II cos. p. p.*  
Coins: Italy (Rome) -- *RIC* IV.2 4, 35-6; *BMCRE* VI 157-60
48. *Imp. Max. Pi. Aug. pont. max. tr. pot. II cos. p. p.*  
Coins: Italy (Rome) -- *RIC* IV.2 2-3, 27-34, 112; *BMCRE* VI 44, 54-7, 77-84; *HCC* III 3, 20-2; *Gnecchi* II p. 86, 2-3
49. *Imp. Caes. C. Iul. Ver. Max. Pi. Fel. Aug. pont. max. tr. pot. II p. p. procos. cos.*  
Inscriptions: Sardinia -- *EE* viii 798/Stylov 1974, 530-1/*AE* (1975) 466/Sotgiu 1988,C19  
Pannonia Inf. -- *CIL* III 10642<sup>18</sup>  
Moesia Sup. -- *AE* (1972) 503/Roxan 1978, 77<sup>19</sup>
50. *Imp. d. n. C. Iul. Ver. Max. Pi. Fel. Aug. tr. pot. II cos. procos. p. p.*  
Inscriptions: Numidia -- *CIL* VIII 22267
51. *Imp. Caes. C. Iul. Ver. Max. Pi. Fel. Aug. p. p. tr. pot. II cos. procos. conservator orbis*  
Inscriptions: Africa -- *IRT* 452

<sup>18</sup>*Imp(eratori) Caes(ari) / C(aio) [Iulio] Ve(ro) / Ma(ximino) / P(atio) F(elici) Au(gusto) po]n]t(ifici) maximo / tribunicia / potestate II / p(atr) p(atr)iae co(n)s(ul) pr]o co(n)s(ul)i.*

<sup>19</sup>See also 20 and 27 above.

52. *Imp. Caes. C. Iul. Ver. Max. Pi. Fel. Aug. pont. max. Germ. max. Dac. max. Sarm. max. tr. pot. II cos. imp. (?) procos. p. p.*  
Inscriptions: Africa -- IRT 46<sup>20</sup>
53. *Imp. Caes. C. Iul. Ver. Max. Pi. Fel. Inv. Aug. pont. max. p. p. tr. pot. cos. procos. imp. II*  
Inscriptions: Noricum -- CIL III 5742<sup>21</sup>
54. *Imp. Caes. C. Iul. Max. Pi. Fel. Aug. pont. max. tr. pot. II imp. III cos. p. p.*  
Inscriptions: Dalmatia -- AE (1925) 51<sup>22</sup>
55. *Max. Pi. Aug. Germ. pont. max. tr. pot. III cos. p. p.*  
Coins: Italy (Rome) -- RIC IV.2 5, 37-9; BMCRE VI 161-9
56. *d. n. Imp. Caes. C. Iul. Ver. Max. Pi. Fel. Aug. pont. max. tr. pot. III cos. p. p. procos.*  
Inscriptions: Mauretania Caes. -- CIL VIII 22569
57. *Imp. Caes. C. Iul. Ver. Max. Pi. Fel. Aug. Germ. max. Sarm. max. Dac. max. pont. max. tr. pot. III cos. procos. p. p. optimus maximus. princ. n.*  
Inscriptions: Lugdunensis -- CIL XIII 8862/XVII 313;<sup>23</sup> CIL XIII 8864/XVII 316

<sup>20</sup>*[Imp(eratori) Caes(ari) C(a)lo Iulio Vero Maximino P(ia) F(elici) Aug(usto) / pont(ifici) max(imo) G(erm(anico) max(imo) D(ac)ico max(imo) Sarm(atico) max(imo) / trib(unicia) p(ro)st(ate) II co(n)s(uli) imp(eratori) ? procons(uli) p(atr) p(atr)iae]---*

<sup>21</sup>This inscription also had, originally, the titulature of Maximus; but it breaks after his name, thus I have entered it here rather than below with the stones of Maximinus and Maximus. There are two other stones, with both Maximinus and Maximus, from Noricum -- cf. 167 below.

<sup>22</sup>*[Imp(erator) Caes(ar) C(a)lus Iulius / Maximinus] / Pius Felix Aug(ustus) [pont(ific) / maximus] trib(unicia) [pot(estate) II] / imp(erator) III co(n)s(ul) p(ater) p(atr)iae.*

<sup>23</sup>See also 40 above.

58. *Imp. Caes. C. Iul. Ver. Max. Pi. Fel. Aug. pont. max. Germ. max. Dac. max. Sarm. max. tr. pot. III imp. V cos. p. p. procos.*  
Inscriptions: Germania Sup. -- CIL XIII 6375 (=9083)/IBR 494/  
RIBW 165/CIL XVII 655;<sup>24</sup> CIL XIII 11971<sup>25</sup>  
Africa -- CIL VIII 10073 (=22031)<sup>26</sup>
59. *Max. Pi. Aug. Germ. pont. max. tr. pot. IV cos. p. p.*  
Coins: Italy (Rome) -- RIC IV.2 6, 40-2; BMCRE VI 219-25; HCC III 44-5
60. *Imp. Caes. C. Iul. Ver. Max. Pi. Fel. Aug. pont. max. Germ. max. Dac. max. Sarm. max. tr. pot. IV p. p. cos. procos.*  
Inscriptions: Africa -- JLAT 452
- 60a. *Imp. Caes. C. Iul. Ver. Max. Pi. Fel. Inv. Aug. pont. max. tr. pot. cos. II p. p. procos.*  
Inscriptions: Narbonensis -- CIL XVII 303c<sup>27</sup>
61. *Imp. Caes. C. Iul. Ver. Max. Pi. Fel. Aug. Germ. max. pont. max. tr. pot. cos. III*  
Inscriptions: Aquitania -- AE (1975) 611  
Lusitania -- CIL XVII 366<sup>28</sup>  
Italy -- CIL XI 6201

<sup>24</sup>*[Imp(erator) Caes(ar) C(a)lus Iulius Verus] / Max(im)in(us) Fel(ix) / Aug(ustus) [p(ontifex) / m(aximus) G(ermanicus) max(imus) / Dac(icus) max(imus) [S]arm(aticus) / max(imus) trib(unicia) [p(otestate) III] im(p)erator] [V / co(n)s(ul) p(ater) p(atr)iae] p(ro)co(n)s(ul). This stone surely contained Maximus' titulature as well, but that is now lost. Walser (CIL XVII) restores, C(a)lus Iulius Verus / Maximus nob(ilissimus) Caes(ar).*

<sup>25</sup>*[Imp(eratori) Caes(ari) C(a)lo Iulio / Vero Maximino P(ia) / Fel(ici) Aug(usto) pont(ifici) / max(imo) G(erm(anico) max(imo) / Dac(ico) max(imo) Sarm(atico) max(imo) trib(unicia) / [pot(estate) III] imp(eratori) V [p(atr) p(atr)iae] co(n)s(uli) / proco(n)s(uli).]*

<sup>26</sup>*[Imp(erator) Caes(ar) / C(a)lus Iulius Verus / Maximinus Pius / Fel(ix) Aug(ustus) G(ermani) / cus max(imus) Sarmaticus / max(imus) Dacicus max(imus) / pont(ific) max(imus) [trib(unicia) pot(estate) III] / imp(erator) V [...]*

<sup>27</sup>This milestone contains several different inscriptions, and the text that Walser attributes to Maximinus is questionable, as he notes. In particular, this would be the only known attestation of *cos. II* for Maximinus.

<sup>28</sup>CIL XVII 489 may also attest *cos. III* for Maximinus; but the stone is too fragmentary to allow certainty.

## V. Maximinus, Greek Titles, Group A

62. Μαξ.  
Inscriptions: Egypt -- *KK* 57
63. Γ. Ιουλ. Ουρπ. Μαξ.  
Coins: Asia (Nysa) -- *SNGAul* 3050
64. Γ. Ιουλ. Ουρπ. Μαξ. Αυγ.  
Coins: Asia (Dorylaion) -- *SNGAul* 3564  
Asia (Hadrianeia) -- *SNGAul* 1138  
Bithynia (Claudiopolis) -- *SNGAul* 333-5  
Bithynia (Heracleia Pontica) -- *SNGAul* 406-10  
Bithynia (Juliiopolis) -- *SNGAul* 6974  
Bithynia (Nicaea) -- *SNGAul* 629-40, 7046; *KBM* 34-52  
Bithynia (Nicómedia) -- *SNGAul* 788-96  
Bithynia (Prusa on the Olympos) -- *SNGAul* 877-9, 7155  
Bithynia (Prusias on the Ilypius) -- *SNGAul* 7166  
Bithynia (Tios) -- *SNGAul* 995-8, 7185-6
65. Γ. Ιουλ. Μαξ. Σεβ.  
Coins: Palestine (Ascalon) -- *BMC Palestine* p. 140, 251-3<sup>29</sup>
66. Γ. Ιουλ. Ουρπ. Μαξ. Ευσ. Ευτ. Σεβ.  
Papyri: *BGU* 2086, 8-9
67. Αυτ. Μαξ.  
Coins: Thrace (Anchialos) -- *AMNG* II, 615-6  
Asia (Nysa) -- *SNGAul* 3049

<sup>29</sup> These coins are all worn and the obverse legends only partially preserved. No. 251, [--]ΡΟΣΜΑΞΙΜΕΙΝΟΣΣ[ΕΒ]; no. 252, [--]ΜΑΞΙΜΕΙΝΟΣΣΕΒ; no. 253, ΓΙΟΥ[ΑΜΑΞΙΜΕΙΝ]ΟΣΣΕΒ. By combining what is preserved on each coin, we can reasonably suggest this formula.

68. Αυτ. Γ. Ιουλ. Ουρπ. Μαξ.  
Coins: Macedonia (Thessalonica) -- *SNGCop Macedonia* 425
69. Αυτ. Μαξ. Ευσ.  
Coins: Thrace (Anchialos) -- *BMC Thrace* p. 85, 15  
Egypt (Alexandria) -- Milne 1933, p. 78; *KAK* 2553 ff.
70. Αυτ. Μαξ. Ευσ. Αυγ.  
Coins: Moesia Inf. (Tomi) -- *BMC Thrace* p. 60, 43-6; *SNGCop Thrace* 299; Hunter I p. 417, 9  
Thrace (Anchialos) -- *BMC Thrace* p. 85-6, 16-8; *AMNG* II, 568-614; *SNGCop Thrace* 440-1
71. Αυτ. Μαξ. Ευσ. Σεβ.  
Coins: Egypt (Alexandria) -- *KAK* 2547 ff.
72. Γ. Ιουλ. Ουρπ. Μαξ. Αυτ. Ευσ. Ευτ. Σεβ.  
Inscriptions: Thrace -- *IGBulg* 731
73. Γ. Ιουλ. Ουρπ. Μαξ. Καισ. ὁ κυρ.  
Papyri: *Bureth* p. 110, no. 1 (1)
74. Αυτ. Καισ. Ιουλ. Μαξ.  
Coins: Lycia (Selge) -- *SNGAul* 5312
75. Αυτ. Καισ. Ιουλ. Ουρπ. Μαξ.  
Coins: Macedonia (Amphipolis) -- *SNGCop Macedonia* 119
76. Αυτ. Καισ. Γ. Ιουλ. Ουρπ. Μαξ.  
Coins: Macedonia (Thessalonica) -- *BMC Macedonia* p. 123-4, 111-4; Hunter I p. 374, 69  
Asia (Akmoneia) -- *SNGAul* 3378  
Asia (Cyzicus) -- *SNGAul* 7382  
Asia (Ephesus) -- *SNGAul* 1912  
Asia (Eucarpeia) -- *SNGAul* 3578  
Asia (Nysa) -- *SNGAul* 3051  
Asia (Themisonion) -- *SNGAul* 4020-1

- Lycia (Adada) -- *SNGAul* 4899  
 Lycia (Kolbasa) -- *SNGAul* 5062  
 Lycia (Timbriada) -- *SNGAul* 5374  
 Cilicia (Anemurion) -- *SNGAul* 5521-2  
 Cilicia (Carallia) -- *SNGAul* 5608, 8685  
 Cilicia (Jotape) -- *SNGAul* 8682  
 Cilicia (Koropissos) -- *SNGAul* 5673  
 Cilicia (Philadelphia) -- *SNGAul* 5804  
 Cilicia (Side) -- *SNGAul* 4826-8, 8539-40  
 Cilicia (Syedra) -- *SNGAul* 5902
77. Αυτ. Καισ. Ιουλ. (?) Μαξ. Αυγ.  
 Coins: Lycia (Perge) -- *SNGAul* 4693
78. Αυτ. Καισ. Γ. Ιουλ. Μαξ. Αυγ.  
 Coins: Lycia (Seleucia Sidera) -- *SNGAul* 5235
79. Αυτ. Καισ. Μαξ. Σεβ.  
 Papyri: *Bureth* p. 110, no. 2 (1)
80. Αυτ. Καισ. Γ. Ιουλ. Ουαρ. Μαξ. Σεβ.  
 Inscriptions: Asia -- *MAMA* VII 7b  
 Coins: Lycia (Andeda) -- *SNGAul* 4911  
 Lycia (Aspendos) -- *SNGAul* 4593, 8504  
 Lycia (Perge) -- *SNGAul* 4692  
 Cilicia (Anazarbos) -- *SNGAul* 5500  
 Cilicia (Flaviopolis) -- *SNGAul* 5564
81. ὁ κυρ. ἡμῶν Αυτ. Καισ. Γ. Ιουλ. Ουαρ. Μαξ. Σεβ.  
 Inscriptions: Asia -- *AE* (1967) 476/*IK* 12, 301<sup>30</sup>

<sup>30</sup> This stone contained originally the titulature of both Maximinus and Maximus; however, the lower portion is now lost. What remains of the titulature is (lines 3 ff.), ...τῶν κυρίων / ἡμῶν Αὐτοκράτορος Καίσαρος Γ. Ἰουλίου / [Οὐάρου Μαξιμίνου Σεβασταύ--

82. ὁ μέγιστος καὶ θειώτατος καὶ θεοφιλέστατος Καισ. Γ. Ιουλ. Ουαρ. Μαξ. Αυτ. Σεβ.  
 Γερμ. μεγ. Δακ. μεγ. Σαρμ. μεγ.  
 Inscriptions: Thrace -- *IGRR* I 755/*IGBulg* 1563
83. Αυτ. Καισ. Γ. Ιουλ. Ουαρ. Μαξ. Ευσ. Ευτ. Σεβ.  
 Inscriptions: Achaea -- *SEG* (1959) 348/*AE* (1960) 308  
 Papyri: *Bureth* p. 110, no. 3 (6); *P. Oxy.* L 3564, 9-11
84. ὁ κυρ. ἡμῶν Αυτ. Καισ. Γ. Ιουλ. Ουαρ. Μαξ. Ευσ. Ευτ. Σεβ.  
 Inscriptions: Egypt -- *IGRR* I 1100/*AEIGL* 86  
 Achaea -- *SEG* 24 (1969) 443  
 Papyri: *Bureth* p. 111, no. 1 (4)
85. ὁ μέγιστος καὶ θειώτατος Αυτ. Καισ. Γ. Ιουλ. Ουαρ. Μαξ. Ευσ. Ευτ. Σεβ.  
 Inscriptions: Achaea -- *IG* V,2 134
86. ὁ γῆς καὶ θαλάσσης καὶ παντὸς ἀνθρώπων ἔθνους δεσπότης Αυτ. Καισ. Γ. Ιουλ.  
 Ουαρ. Μαξ. Ευσ. Ευτ. Σεβ. ὁ Αὐικ.  
 Inscriptions: Moesia Inf. -- *ISM* I 94

#### VI. Maximinus, Greek Titles, Group B

87. Αυτ. Καισ. Γ. Ιουλ. Ουαρ. Μαξ. Σεβ. π. π.  
 Coins: Cilicia (Tarsus) -- *SNGAul* 6029-32

#### VII. Maximus, Latin Titles, Group A

88. *Jul. Ver. Maxim.*  
 Coins: Macedonia (Coela) -- *BMC Thrace* p. 192, 5; *SNGCop Thrace* 881



89. *Iul. Maxim. Caes.*  
Coins: Asia (Alexandria Troas) -- *SNGAul* 1476, 7568
90. *Iul. Ver. Maxim. Caes.*  
Coins: Italy (Rome) -- *RJC* IV.2 1; *BMCRE* VI 118; *HCC* III 1
91. *C. Iul. Ver. Maxim. Caes.*  
Inscriptions: Italy -- *CIL* VI 2001.19<sup>31</sup>  
Coins: Italy (Rome) -- *RJC* IV.2 6-8; *BMCRE* VI 119-22; *HCC* III 5-6  
Thrace (Deultum) -- *BMC Thrace* p. 112, 14-5  
Macedonia (Dium) -- *BMC Macedonia* p. 71, 6  
Macedonia (Pella) -- *BMC Macedonia* p. 94, 41; *Hunter I* p. 364, 22  
Lycia (Cremna) -- *SNGAul* 5102-3
92. *C. Iul. Ver. Maxim. Caes. princ. iuv.*  
Coins: Italy (Rome) -- *RJC* IV.2 9-10; *BMCRE* VI 123-5
93. *Maxim. Caes. Germ.*  
Coins: Italy (Rome) -- *RJC* IV.2 2, 11-2, 15-6;<sup>32</sup> *BMCRE* VI 201-9; *HCC* III 2, 7-10
94. *Maxim. Caes. Germ. princ. iuv.*  
Coins: Italy (Rome) -- *RJC* IV.2 3, 5, 13-4; *BMCRE* VI 210-8; *HCC* III 3-4, 11-6
95. *C. Iul. Ver. Maxim. nob. Caes.*  
Inscriptions: Cappadocia -- *CIL* III 308<sup>33</sup>  
Africa -- *IRT* 453

<sup>31</sup>[*C(aius) Iulius Verus Maximus*] *Caes(ar)*.

<sup>32</sup>Both nos. 15 and 16 are hybrids, with reverses of Maximinus.

<sup>33</sup>The stone actually has *Maximino*, rather than *Maximo*, but I take this as a mistake by the stone-cutter.

96. *d. n. C. Iul. Ver. Maxim. nob. Caes.*  
Inscriptions: Numidia -- *CIL* VIII 22238<sup>34</sup>
97. *C. Iul. Ver. Maxim. nob. Caes. princ. iuv.*  
Inscriptions: Africa -- *AE* (1937) 45<sup>35</sup>
98. *C. Iul. Ver. Maxim. nob. Caes. princ. iuv. Germ. max.*  
Inscriptions: Italy -- *ILP* 49
99. *C. Iul. Ver. Maxim. nob. Caes. Germ. max. Dac. max. Sarm. max. princ. iuv.*  
Inscriptions: Italy -- *CIL* VI 1086<sup>36</sup>
100. *C. Iul. Ver. Maxim. Aug. nob. Caes.*  
Inscriptions: Numidia -- *AE* (1906) 8;<sup>37</sup> *CIL* VIII 22274<sup>38</sup>
101. *C. Iul. Ver. Maxim. nob. Caes. Aug. princ. iuv.*  
Inscriptions: Numidia -- *CIL* VIII 10179
102. *C. Iul. Ver. Maxim. Caes. Aug. Pi. Fel.*  
Inscriptions: Asia -- *MAMA* VIII 348/*AE* (1933) 3

<sup>34</sup>This stone actually has *Maximino* -- surely the stonecutter's error.

<sup>35</sup>The stone reads: --[*mus nob[ilissim(us)] / Caes(ar) prin[ceps] iul[us]ventutis* etc. Maximinus was probably also included on this milestone originally. It is possible to date the stone to the reign of Maximinus and Maximus because it was set up by O. Valerius, *procurator provinciae Africae*. See H.-G. Pfau, *Les carrières procuratoriennes équestres sous le Haut-Empire romain* (Paris 1961) 1097.

<sup>36</sup>This stone breaks off after Maximus' titulature. The *CIL* editors restore the following (lines 5-6): [*filio d(omini) n(ostri) C(aii) Iuli Veri / Maximini P(ati) F(elicis) Aug(usti)*]--.

<sup>37</sup>This stone reads (lines 2-3): [*pro salute C(aii) Iuli Veri M[axim]i Aug(usti) no[biliss]imi Caes(ar)is*].

<sup>38</sup>This stone also contained (apparently) Maximinus' titles, but is too damaged to restore properly.

## VIII. Maximus, Latin Titles, Group B

103. *C. Iul. Ver. Maxim. nob. Caes. Pl. Fel. Inv. Aug. pont. max. tr. pot. cos.*  
Inscriptions: Aquitania -- *CIL XIII* 8926<sup>39</sup>

## IX. Maximus, Greek Titles, Group A

104. Μαξιμ.  
Coins: Thrace (Byzantium) -- *BMC Thrace* p. 106, 100
105. Γ. Ιουλ. Ουρρ. Μαξιμ.  
Coins: Asia (Orthosia) -- *SNGAul* 2647  
Lycia (Adada) -- *SNGAul* 4900
106. Μαξιμ. Καισ.  
Coins: Asia (Hadrianopolis) -- *SNGAul* 3611
107. Ουρρ. Μαξιμ. Καισ.  
Coins: Moesia Inf. (Tomi) -- *BMC Thrace* p. 61, 49
108. Γ. Ιουλ. Μαξιμ. Καισ.  
Inscriptions: Belgica -- *ILBelg* 149
109. Ιουλ. Ουρρ. Μαξιμ. Καισ.  
Coins: Macedonia (Thessalonica) -- *Hunter I* p. 374, 70
110. Γ. Ιουλ. Ουρρ. Μαξιμ. Καισ.  
Coins: Moesia Inf. (Tomi) -- *BMC Thrace* p. 61, 47-8  
Macedonia (Thessalonica) -- *BMC Macedonia* p. 124, 115

<sup>39</sup>The upper part of this stone is lost, and all that remains of the name is, ---*aximo*. Espérandieu originally thought the stone to belong to Constantius, but this is rightly rejected by Hirschfeld (*CIL* ad loc.).

- Bithynia (Amastris) -- *SNGAul* 174  
Bithynia (Cios) -- *SNGAul* 510-1  
Bithynia (Claudiopolis) -- *SNGAul* 336-9  
Bithynia (Heraclea Pontica) -- *SNGAul* 411, 6956-7  
Bithynia (Nicaea) -- *SNGAul* 641-52, 7047-8; *KBM* 53-65  
Bithynia (Nicomedia) -- *SNGAul* 797-805, 7115-6  
Bithynia (Prusias on the Hypios) -- *SNGAul* 907  
Bithynia (Tios) -- *SNGAul* 999-1001  
Asia (Bruzos) -- *SNGAul* 3526  
Asia (Cyme) -- *SNGAul* 1655  
Asia (Cyzicus) -- *SNGAul* 1282  
Asia (Magnesia on the Maeander) -- *SNGAul* 2060  
Asia (Nysa) -- *SNGAul* 3052  
Lycia (Perge) -- *SNGAul* 4695  
Lycia (Side) -- *SNGAul* 8541  
Cilicia (Tarsus) -- *SNGAul* 8716  
Egypt (Alexandria) -- Milne 1933, p. 78; *KAK* 2587 ff.
111. Γ. Ιουλ. Ουρρ. Μαξιμ. Καισ. Γερμ. Δοκ. Σαρμ.  
Coins: Cilicia (Coropissos) -- *SNGAul* 5674-5
112. Γ. Ιουλ. Ουρρ. Μαξιμ. Σεβ.  
Coins: Bithynia (Amisos) -- *SNGAul* 6749-50
113. Καισ. Γ. Ιουλ. Ουρρ. Μαξιμ. Σεβ.  
Coins: Lycia (Isinda) -- *SNGAul* 5042  
Lycia (Selge) -- *SNGAul* 5313
114. Καισ. Γ. Ιουλ. Ουρρ. Μαξιμ. Ευσ (or Ευτ.) Σεβ.  
Coins: Lycia (Pendelissos) -- *SNGAul* 5140  
Lycia (Perge) -- *SNGAul* 4694

## X. Maximinus and Maximus, Latin Titles, Group A

115. *Max. et Maxim. Augg. Germm.*  
 Coins: Italy (Rome) -- *RJC* IV.2 120-1; *BMCRE* VI 230-1; *Gnechci* II pp. 86-7, 3-4
116. *Ver. Maxim. nob. Caes. princ. iuv. Germ. max. C. Iul. Max. Pi. Fel. Aug. Germ. max. fil.*  
 Inscriptions: Italy -- *CIL* XI 6202
117. *Imp. Max. Aug. et Maxim. Caes.*  
 Inscriptions: Italy -- *CIL* IX 3014 (= 5307)/*ILS* 4137
118. *Imp. Max. Pi. Aug. Maxim. Caes. Germ.*  
 Coins: Italy (Rome) -- *RJC* IV.2 118
119. *divae Paulinae Aug. C. Iul. Ver. Max. Pi. Fel. Imp. Aug. uxori C. Iul. Ver. Maxim. matri nob. Caes.*  
 Inscriptions: Italy -- *AE* (1964) 236/*ILP* 48
120. *Imp. C. Iul. Max. Pi. Fel. et C. Iul. Ver. Maxim. nob. Caes. Augg.*  
 Inscriptions: Dalmatia -- *CIL* III 10165
121. *Imp. C. Iul. Ver. Max. Pi. Fel. Aug. et C. Iul. Ver. Max. nob. Caes.*  
 Inscriptions: Mauretania Caes. -- *EE* vii 676/*CIL* VIII 22624/*IA* 12
122. *Imp. C. Iul. Ver. Max. Pi. Aug. et C. Iul. Ver. Maxim. nob. Caes.*  
 Inscriptions: Moesia Inf. -- *AE* (1924) 148/*JSM* I 346
123. *Imp. Caes. C. Iul. Ver. Max. Pi. Aug. Germ. max. Dac. max. Sarm. max. et C. Iul. Ver. Maxim. Germ. max. Dac. max. Sarm. max. Caes. sanctissimus Aug. fil. Aug.*  
 Papyri: *Bureth* p. 112 no. 3(1)
124. *Imp. Caes. C. Iul. Ver. Max. Inv. Aug. et C. Iul. Ver. Maxim. nob. Caes.*  
 Inscriptions: Italy -- Scott 1981, 309-10

125. *Imp. Caes. C. Iul. Ver. Max. Aug. Inv. et C. Iul. Ver. Maxim. nob. Caes. fil. Aug. n.*  
 Inscriptions: Palestine -- *AE* (1895) 177
126. *Imp. Caes. C. Iul. Max. Pi. Fel. Aug. et C. Iul. Maxim. nob. Caes.*  
 Inscriptions: Narbonensis -- *CIL* XII 5534/*RSS* 24/*WRIS* 319/*CIL* XVII 135  
 Belgica -- *CIL* XIII 9058/*RSS* 29/*CIL* XVII 130
127. *Imp. Caes. C. Iul. Ver. Max. Pi. Fel. Aug. et Ver. Maxim. nob. Caes.*  
 Inscriptions: Galatia -- *AE* (1985) 813
128. *Imp. Caes. C. Iul. Ver. Max. Pi. Fel. Aug. et C. Iul. Ver. Maxim. Caes. nob.*  
 Inscriptions: Germania Sup. -- *CIL* XIII 9121/*XVII* 630
129. *Imp. Caes. C. Iul. Ver. Max. Pi. Fel. et C. Iul. Ver. Maxim. nob. Caes. Augg.*  
 Inscriptions: Numidia -- *CIL* VIII 10240
130. *Imp. Caes. C. Iul. Ver. Max. Pi. Fel. Aug. n. et C. Iul. Ver. Maxim. nob. Caes. fil. Aug. n.*  
 Inscriptions: Palestine -- *AE* (1971) 474<sup>40</sup>  
 Arabia -- *CIL* III 14154.1/*ILS* 5844
131. *Imp. Caes. C. Iul. Ver. Max. Pi. Fel. Aug. Germ. max. et C. Iul. Ver. Maxim. nob. Caes. fil. eius Germ. max.*  
 Inscriptions: Palestine -- *AE* (1902) 16
132. *Imp. Caes. C. Iul. Ver. Max. Pi. Fel. Aug. Germ. max. Imp. n. fil. C. Iul. Ver. Maxim. Germ. max. nob. Caes. n. princ. iuv.*  
 Inscriptions: Italy -- *AE* (1973) 238
133. *Imp. Caes. C. Iul. Ver. Max. Pi. Fel. Aug. Germ. Sarm. Dac. max. et C. Iul. Ver. Maxim. nob. Caes.*  
 Inscriptions: Narbonensis -- *CIL* XII 5545/*König* 1970, 117/*CIL* XVII 155

<sup>40</sup>[*Imp(eratori) Caes(ari) C(aio) / Iulio Vero / Maximino P(ri)ncipis Fel(ici) / Aug(usto) n(ostri) et / C(aio) Iulio] Vero / Maximo / [nobil(iss)imo / [C]aes(ari) / [I]ul(ia) / Aug(usti) n(ostri)*. The editors have restored this inscription on the basis of *CIL* III 14154.

134. *Imp. Caes. C. Iul. Ver. Max. Pi. Fel. Inv. Aug. et C. Iul. Ver. Maxim. nob. Caes.*  
Inscriptions: Moesia Inf. -- *CIL* III 7605/*IDR* V 97; *CIL* III 14462/*ISM* I 321  
Asia (?) -- Polacco 1970, 188  
Cappadocia -- *AE* (1977) 814  
Numidia -- *CIL* VIII 10214<sup>41</sup>
135. *Imp. Caes. C. Iul. Ver. Max. Pi. Fel. Inv. Aug. et C. Iul. Ver. Maxim. nob. Caes. princ. iuv.*  
Inscriptions: Pannonia Inf. -- *CIL* III 10646
136. *Imp. Caes. C. Iul. Ver. Max. Inv. Pi. Fel. Aug. et C. Iul. Ver. Maxim. nob. Caes. princ. iuv. Aug.*  
Inscriptions: Numidia -- *CIL* VIII 10254
137. *C. Iul. Ver. Maxim. nob. Caes. princ. iuv. Germ. Imp. Caes. C. Iul. Ver. Max. Pi. Fel. Aug. Germ. fil.*  
Inscriptions: Italy -- *CIL* V 5123<sup>42</sup>
138. *C. Iul. Ver. Maxim. nob. Caes. Germ. max. Dac. max. Sarm. max. princ. iuv. fil. Imp. Caes. C. Iul. Ver. Max. Pi. Fel. Aug. Germ. max. Dac. max. Sarm. max.*  
Inscriptions: Italy -- *CIL* VI 3788 (=31386)/Peachin 1984, 123-6
139. *C. Iul. Ver. Maxim. nob. Caes. princ. iuv. fil. d. n. Iul. Ver. Max. Pi. Fel. Aug.*  
Inscriptions: Galatia -- *CIL* III 6770/*RECAM* II 225
140. *dd. nn. Imp. Caes. Max. Pi. Fel. et Maxim. nob. Caes. Augg.*  
Inscriptions: Numidia -- *CIL* VIII 4515
141. *dd. nn. Imp. Caes. C. Iul. Ver. Max. Aug. et C. Iul. Ver. Maxim. nob. Caes.*  
Inscriptions: Dalmatia -- Bojanovski 1977, 188-96

<sup>41</sup>*Imperatore (sic) / Caesare (sic) C(aio) Iulio Vero Max(imo) Invic(ito) Pio Felice (sic) / [Aug(usto) et C(aio) Iulio / Vero Max(imo) / [nob(illissimo) Caes(ari)]].*

<sup>42</sup>The first part of the stone is lost, and all of Maximus' titulature is restored.

142. *C. Iul. Ver. Maxim. nob. Caes. fil. d. n. Imp. Caes. C. Iul. Ver. Max. Pi. Fel. Aug.*  
Inscriptions: Africa -- *EE* vii 119/*CIL* VIII 12251<sup>43</sup>
143. *C. Iul. Ver. Maxim. nob. Caes. Germ. max. Dac. max. Sarm. max. princ. iuv. fil. d. n. Imp. Caes. C. Iul. Ver. Max. Pi. Fel. Aug. Germ. max. Dac. max. Sarm. max.*  
Inscriptions: Italy -- *CIL* XI 1428/*Inscript. Ital.* VII, 1 11
144. *C. Iul. Ver. Maxim. nob. Caes. fil. d. n. Imp. Caes. C. Iul. Ver. Max. Pi. Fel. Inv. Aug.*  
Inscriptions: Dacia -- *AE* (1934) 111/*IDR* V 20
- XI. Maximinus and Maximus, Latin Titles, Group B
145. *divae Paulinae Aug. n. Imp. C. Iul. Ver. Max. Pi. Fel. pont. max. Germ. max. Sarm. max. Dac. max. cos. procos. p. p. uxori C. Iul. Ver. Maxim. nob. Caes. princ. iuv. Germ. max. Sarm. max. Dac. max.*  
Inscriptions: Italy -- *AE* (1964) 220
146. *Imp. Caes. C. Iul. Ver. Max. Pi. Fel. pont. max. tr. pot. p. p. procos. Imp. et C. Iul. Ver. Maxim. nob. Caes. Augg.*  
Inscriptions: Numidia -- *AE* (1940) 153/*AE* (1949) 134<sup>44</sup>
147. *Imp. Caes. C. Iul. Ver. Max. Pi. Aug. Fel. pont. max. tr. pot. p. p. cos. procos. et C. Iul. Max. nob. Caes.*  
Inscriptions: Lusitania -- *IRCP* 664a

<sup>43</sup>*C(aio) Iulio Vero Maxi[mo] nobilissimo / Caes(ari) fil(i)o d(omi)ni n(ostri) / Imp(eratoris) Caes(aris) C(aii) Iuli Veri / [Max]imini P[ro]f[er]entis Aug(usti)---*

<sup>44</sup>*[Pro Salute Imp(eratoris) Caes(aris) / C(aii) Iuli Veri Maximini / P[ro]f[er]entis pont(ificis) max(imi) / trib(unicia) pot(estate) p(atris) p(atris) proco(n)s(ulis) / Imp(eratoris) et C(aii) Iuli Veri Ma[xi]mi nobilissimi / Caes(aris) Aug(ustorum).*

148. *Imp. Caes. C. Iul. Ver. Max. Inv. Aug. pont. max. tr. pot. p. p. cos. procos. et C. Iul. Ver. Maxim. nob. Caes.*  
Inscriptions: Pannonia Sup. -- *CIL* III 3711a (=10621a?)
149. *Imp. Caes. C. Iul. Ver. Max. Pi. Fel. Inv. Aug. cos. et C. Iul. Maxim. nob. Imp.*  
Inscriptions: Sardinia -- Sotgiu 1988, B161
150. *Imp. Caes. C. Iul. Ver. Max. Pi. Fel. Aug. tr. pot. cos. p. p. procos. et C. Iul. Ver. Maxim. nob. Caes.*  
Inscriptions: Pannonia Sup. -- *CIL* III 15203/AJug 604
151. *Imp. Caes. C. Iul. Ver. Max. Pi. Fel. Aug. pont. max. tr. pot. cos. p. p. procos. et C. Iul. Ver. Maxim. nob. Caes.*  
Inscriptions: Germania Sup. -- *CIL* XIII 9085/XVII 622;<sup>45</sup> *CIL* XIII 9106/RSO 214/*CIL* XVII 638  
Pannonia Sup. -- *AJug* 602
152. *Imp. Caes. C. Iul. Ver. Max. Pi. Fel. Aug. pont. max. tr. pot. p. p. cos. procos. et C. Iul. Maxim. nob. Caes. fil. Aug. n.*  
Inscriptions: Pannonia Inf. -- *CIL* III 3743
153. *Imp. Caes. C. Iul. Ver. Max. Pi. Fel. Aug. pont. max. tr. pot. cos. procos. p. p. Imp. et C. Iul. Ver. Maxim. nob. Caes. princ. iuv.*  
Inscriptions: Lugdunensis -- *CIL* XIII 8867/XVII 31846

<sup>45</sup>This stone is entirely restored after the first line, *Imp(eratori) C(aesar) C(aio) Iulio f...*

<sup>46</sup>Walser now restores (*CIL* XVII ad loc.), *Imp(erator) Caesar [C(aius) Iul(ius) Ver]us Maxim[us] Pius / Felix Aug(ustus) p(ontifex) m(aximus) [tr(ibunicia) p(otestate) III co(n)s(ul)] / proco(n)s(ul) p(ater) p(atris) imp(erator) V] / et C(aius) Iul(ius) Ver[us] Maxim[us] / nobilissimus [Caesar] / princeps iuven[is]*. The text of this stone (which is now lost) is based on one transcription, published by J.M. Delamure in 1674. It is odd to find *imperator* after the rest of the standard formula, and given Delamure's text in line 4, *PROCOS PRIM*, we may suspect that he miscopied here. The other stones which Walser restores similarly to this one (cf. below 185a) are all entirely fragmentary, and thus not good parallels. Nor is there any other stone that would offer a truly similar text. See: 46, 52-4, 58, 165, 168-73, 178, 181, 183-200, 202-9.

154. *Imp. Caes. C. Iul. Ver. Max. Pi. Fel. Aug. Germ. max. pont. max. tr. pot. cos. procos. p. p. optimus maximus princ. n. et C. Iul. Ver. Maxim. Germ. max. nob. Caes. Aug. n. fil.*  
Inscriptions: Lugdunensis -- *CIL* XIII 8866/XVII 31747
155. *Imp. Caes. C. Iul. Ver. Max. Pi. Fel. Aug. pont. max. tr. pot. p. p. procos. Germ. max. Dac. max. Sarm. max. et C. Iul. Ver. Maxim. nob. Caes. fil. Germ. max. Dac. max. Sarm. max.*  
Inscriptions: Pannonia Sup. -- *CIL* III 4630 (=11339)
156. *Imp. Caes. C. Iul. Ver. Max. Pi. Fel. Aug. Germ. max. Dac. max. Sarm. max. pont. max. tr. pot. cos. p. p. procos. et C. Iul. Ver. Maxim. Germ. max. Dac. max. Sarm. max. princ. iuv. nob. Caes.*  
Inscriptions: Italy -- *CIL* V 8076
157. *Imp. Caes. C. Iul. Ver. Max. Pi. Fel. Aug. max. Germ. max. Dac. max. Sarm. max. pont. max. tr. pot. p. p. cos. procos. et Imp. C. Iul. Ver. Maxim. Germ. max. Dac. max. Sarm. max. nob. Caes. Pi. Fel. Aug.*  
Inscriptions: Pannonia Inf. -- *CIL* III 3740
158. *Imp. Caes. C. Iul. Ver. Max. Pi. Fel. Inv. Aug. pont. max. tr. pot. cos. p. p. et C. Iul. Ver. Maxim. nob. Caes.*  
Inscriptions: Raetia -- *CIL* III 5985/IBR 461
159. *Imp. Caes. C. Iul. Ver. Max. Inv. Pi. Fel. Aug. pont. max. tr. pot. p. p. cos. procos. et C. Iul. Ver. Maxim. nob. Caes.*  
Inscriptions: Pannonia Inf. -- *CIL* III 14354.5
160. *Imp. Caes. C. Iul. Ver. Max. Pi. Fel. Inv. Aug. tr. pot. p. p. cos. procos. et C. Iul. Ver. Maxim. nob. Caes. Aug.*  
Inscriptions: Bithynia -- French 1981, 152 no. 4 (i)

<sup>47</sup>Walser (*CIL* XVII ad loc.) restores the third tribunician iteration to line 4 of this stone.

161. *Imp. Caes. C. Iul. Ver. Max. Inv. Pi. Fel. Aug. pont. max. tr. pot. p. p. cos. procos. et Imp. C. Iul. Ver. Maxim. nob. Caes. Pi. Fel. Aug.*  
Inscriptions: Pannonia Inf. -- *CIL* III 3739
162. *C. Iul. Ver. Maxim. nob. Caes. Imp. Caes. C. Iul. Ver. Max. Inv. Pi. Fel. Aug. pont. max. tr. pot. cos. p. p. procos. fil.*  
Inscriptions: Numidia -- *CIL* VIII 10203/*ILS* 491; *CIL* VIII 10215; Salama 1951-52, 235-6 no. 1; Marcillet-Jaubert 1980, 168-9 no. 16
163. *Imp. Caes. C. Iul. Max. Pi. Fel. (?) Inv. Aug. pont. max. p. p. tr. pot. (?) cos. Germ. Dac. (?) max. Sarm. max. C. Iul. Ver. Max. nob. Caes. princ. iuv. Germ. (?) max. Dac. max. Sarm. max. (?) Imp. C. Iul. Ver. Maxim. Pi. Fel. Aug. (?) pont. (?) max. Dac. max. Sarm. (?) max. fortissimi princ. (?)*  
Inscriptions: Lusitania -- *CIL* II 4649 (= 6201)/*CPIL* 673<sup>48</sup>

## XII. Maximinus and Maximus, Latin Titles, Group C

164. *Max. Pi. Aug. Germ. pont. max. tr. pot. II cos. p. p. C. Iul. Ver. Maxim. Caes.*  
Coins: Italy (Rome) -- *RIC* IV.2 117; *BMCRE* VI 228; *Gnecchi* II p. 86, 1
165. *Imp. Caes. C. Iul. Ver. Max. Pi. Fel. Aug. pont. max. tr. pot. II imp. (?) cos. procos. p. p. et C. Iul. Ver. Maxim. nob. Caes.*  
Inscriptions: Lugdunensis -- *CIL* XIII 8887/*XVII* 340<sup>49</sup>

<sup>48</sup>This stone is published in all three places with different readings. I cannot locate a photo. I base my reconstruction of the titulature on *CIL* II 6201, but have little confidence that the stone actually had this text. So far as I can determine, the stone has not been seen since the middle of the last century.

<sup>49</sup>*Imp(erator) Caes(ar) C(aius) Iul(ius) / Verus Max(iminus) / Pius F(elix) Aug(ustus) [pontifex] / m(ax)imus trib(unicia) pot(estate) II [imp(erator) ? / co(n)s(ul) p(ro)co(n)s(ul) p(ater) p(atris) et / C(aius) Iul(ius) Ver(us) / [Max(im)us] n(obilissimus) Caes(ar)---* Walser (*CIL* XVII ad loc.) would restore this stone as 185a below, but, I think the restoration suggested by the original *CIL* editors is better. See also above 42.

166. *C. Iul. Ver. Maxim. nob. Caes. princ. iuv. Dac. max. Germ. max. Sarm. max. Parth. max. et victor Imp. Caes. Iul. Ver. Max. Pi. Fel. Aug. Dac. max. Germ. max. Sarm. max. Parth. max. et victor tr. pot. II cos. procos. p. p. fil.*  
Inscriptions: Italy -- *CIL* XI 1176<sup>50</sup>
167. *Imp. Caes. C. Iul. Ver. Max. Pi. Fel. Inv. Aug. pont. max. tr. pot. II cos. p. p. procos. et C. Iul. Ver. Maxim. nob. Caes. princ. iuv. dd. indulgentissimi*  
Inscriptions: Noricum -- *CIL* III 14110; *AE* (1973) 389
168. *Imp. Caes. C. Iul. Ver. Max. Pi. Fel. Germ. max. Aug. pont. max. p. p. tr. pot. cos. procos. imp. II et C. Iul. Ver. Maxim. nob. Caes. princ. iuv. dd. Invv. Aug. fil. Germ. max.*  
Inscriptions: Pannonia Sup. -- *CIL* III 11316<sup>51</sup>
169. *Imp. Caes. C. Iul. Ver. Max. Pi. Fel. pont. max. tr. pot. II imp. III cos. p. p. et C. Iul. Ver. Maxim. nob. Caes.*  
Inscriptions: Dalmatia -- *AE* (1973) 415/*ILJug* II 1012
170. *Imp. Caes. C. Iul. Ver. Max. Pi. Fel. Aug. pont. max. tr. pot. II imp. III cos. p. p. et C. Iul. Ver. Maxim. nob. Caes. fil. Aug.*  
Inscriptions: Dacia -- *CIL* III 8060
171. *Imp. Caes. C. Iul. Ver. Max. Pi. Fel. Aug. pont. max. tr. pot. II cos. imp. III cos. procos. p. p. et C. Iul. Ver. Maxim. nob. Caes.*  
Inscriptions: Dacia -- *CIL* III 14216.19/*IDR* II 589
172. *Imp. Caes. C. Iul. Ver. Max. Pi. Fel. Aug. pont. max. tr. pot. II imp. III cos. p. p. procos. et C. Iul. Ver. Maxim. Aug. nob. Caes.*  
Inscriptions: Pannonia Inf. -- *AE* (1975) 700

<sup>50</sup>*[C(aio) Iulio Vero Maximo / nobilissimo Caesari] / p(ro)inc(ipi) luvent(uis) Dacico] / m(ax)imo Germ(anico) m(ax)imo Sar(mat)ico] / m(ax)imo Parth(ico) max(imo) et victori / Imp(eratoris) C(aii) Iul(i) Veri Max(imini) Pii / [Felicis Aug(usti)] Dac(ici) m(ax)imi] / Germ(anici) max(imini) Sarm(at)ici] m(ax)imi] Parth(ici) / max(imini) et victoris trib(unicia) p(ot)estate II / co(n)s(ul) [-...] p(atris) p(atris) filio.*

<sup>51</sup>This stone is somewhat damaged, but this appears to be the proper reading.

173. *Imp. Caes. C. Iul. Ver. Max. Pi. Fel. Aug. pont. max. tr. pot. II imp. III cos. procos. p. p. et C. Iul. Ver. Maxim. nob. Caes. fil. Aug. n. Dac. Germ. Sarm. imp. max.*  
Inscriptions: Pannonia Inf. -- *CIL* III 3736 (=10649)
174. *Imp. Caes. C. Iul. Ver. Max. Pi. Fel. Aug. pont. max. tr. pot. III cos. procos. p. p. et C. Iul. Ver. Maxim. nob. Caes.*  
Inscriptions: Pannonia Sup. -- *CIL* III 11341;<sup>52</sup> *EE* II 911/*CIL* III 11342
175. *Imp. Caes. C. Iul. Ver. Max. Pi. Fel. Aug. Germ. max. pont. max. tr. pot. III cos. procos. p. p. optimus maximus princ. n. et C. Iul. Ver. Maxim. Germ. max. nob. Caes. Aug. n. fil.*  
Inscriptions: Aquitania -- *CIL* XIII 8984-8989/XVII 453-8<sup>53</sup>
176. *Imp. Caes. C. Iul. Ver. Max. Pi. Fel. Aug. Germ. Dac. Sarm. max. pont. max. tr. pot. III cos. p. p. procos. et C. Iul. Ver. Maxim. nob. Caes.*  
Inscriptions: Thrace -- *CIL* XVI 146 (intus)
177. *Imp. Caes. C. Iul. Ver. Max. Pi. Fel. Aug. Germ. Dac. Sarm. max. pont. max. tr. pot. III cos. p. p. procos. et C. Iul. Ver. Maxim. Germ. Dac. Sarm. max. nob. Caes.*  
Inscriptions: Thrace -- *AE* (1912) 59/*CIL* XVI 146 (extrinsecus)
178. *Imp. Caes. C. Iul. Ver. Max. Pi. Fel. Aug. Germ. max. Dac. max. pont. max. tr. pot. III imp. cos. p. p. procos. ■ C. Iul. Ver. Maxim. nob. Caes. Germ. max. Dac. max.*  
Inscriptions: Germania Sup. -- *CIL* XIII 6547/*RIBW* 422<sup>54</sup>

<sup>52</sup>The tribunician iteration is restored to this stone.

<sup>53</sup>These stones are all fragmentary, but by using them in conjunction it seems possible to derive the given titulature and to restore them all accordingly.

<sup>54</sup>{*Imp(erator) Caes(ar) C(a)ius Iulius Ver(us) Maximinus / {P(rius) F(elix) Aug(ustus) Germ(anicus) max(imus) Dac(icus) max(imus) po[n]t(ificis) m[aj]x(imus) trib(unicia) pot(estate) III / {imp(erator) co(n)s(ul) p(ater) p(atris) p[ro]c[on]s(ul) et / {C(a)ius Iulius Ver(us) Maxi[mus] no[b]ilissimus) Caes(ar) / {Germ(anicus) m[aj]x(imus) Dac(icus) max(imus)---*

179. *Imp. Caes. C. Iul. Ver. Max. Pi. Fel. Aug. Germ. max. Parth. max. Dac. max. Sarm. max. pont. max. tr. pot. III cos. procos. p. p. optimus maximus princ. n. et C. Iul. Ver. Maxim. Germ. max. nob. Caes. Aug. n. fil.*  
Inscriptions: Lugdunensis -- *CIL* XIII 8863/XVII 315
180. *Imp. Caes. C. Iul. Ver. Max. Pi. Fel. Inv. Aug. Germ. max. Dac. max. Sarm. max. tr. pot. III cos. p. p. et C. Iul. Ver. Maxim. nob. Caes. Germ. max. Dac. max. Sarm. max.*  
Inscriptions: Moesia Sup. -- *IDR* V 250 bis<sup>55</sup>
181. *Imp. Caes. C. Iul. Ver. Max. Pi. Fel. Aug. pont. max. Germ. max. Dac. max. Sarm. max. tr. pot. III imp. II cos. I p. p. procos et C. Iul. Ver. Maxim. nob. Caes. Germ. max. Dac. max. Sarm. max. fil. Imp. Caes. C. Iul. Ver. Max. Pi. Fel.*  
Inscriptions: Baetica -- *CIL* II 4731<sup>56</sup>
182. *Imp. Caes. C. Iul. Ver. Max. Pi. Fel. Aug. pont. max. p. p. tr. pot. III cos. Germ. max. Dac. max. Sarm. max. C. Iul. Ver. Maxim. nob. Caes. princ. iuv. Germ. max. Dac. max. imp. (?)*  
Inscriptions: Lusitania -- *IRCP* 664<sup>57</sup>
183. *Imp. Caes. C. Iul. Ver. Max. Pi. Fel. Aug. tr. pot. cos. imp. III p. p. et C. Iul. Ver. Maxim. nob. Caes. fil. Aug. n.*  
Inscriptions: Dalmatia -- *CIL* III 10052 (= 15103)
184. *Imp. Caes. C. Iul. Ver. Max. Pi. Aug. Germ. max. Dac. max. Sarm. max. pont. max. imp. IV p. p. cos. procos. et C. Iul. Ver. Maxim. nob. Caes. princ. iuv. fil. d. n. Imp. C. Iul. Ver.*  
Inscriptions: Hispania -- *AE* (1966) 217

<sup>55</sup>{*Imp(eratori) Caes(ari) C(a)io Iulio Vero Maximino} Pio Felici Invicto Aug(usti) {Germ(anico) max(im)o} Dac(ico) max(im)o Sarm(at)ico max(im)o trib(unicia) pot(estate) III co(n)s(ul) p(atr) p(atris) et {C(a)io Iulio Vero Maximo} no[b]ilissimo Caes(ari) G(erm(anico) {max(im)o} Dacico {ma}x(im)o Sarm(at)ico max(im)o---*

<sup>56</sup>Stylow 1974, 518 n. 5 argues that the tribunician and *imperator* iteration numbers on this stone are reversed.

<sup>57</sup>This stone is very poorly inscribed, and the reading is highly conjectural.

185. *Imp. Caes. C. Iul. Ver. Max. Pi. Fel. Aug. pont. pax. tr. pot. imp. IV cos. procos. p. p. et C. Iul. Ver. Maxim. nob. Caes. fil. Aug. n. Dacc. Germm. Sarmm. max.*  
Inscriptions: Pannonia Inf. -- *CIL* III 3732
- 185a. *Imp. Caes. C. Iul. Ver. Max. Pi. Fel. Aug. pont. max. tr. pot. III (?) cos. procos. p. p. imp. V (?) et C. Iul. Ver. Maxim. nob. Caes. princ. iuv.*  
Inscriptions: Lugdunensis -- *CIL* XIII 8869/XVII 321; *CIL* XIII 8870/ XVII 322; *CIL* XIII 8874/XVII 326<sup>58</sup>
186. *Imp. Caes. C. Iul. Ver. Max. Aug. Germ. max. Sarm. max. Dac. max. tr. pot. III imp. V pont. max. et C. Iul. Ver. Maxim. nob. Caes. princ. iuv. Germ. max. Sarm. max. Dac. max.*  
Inscriptions: Africa -- *AE* (1926) 138/IRT 925
187. *Imp. Caes. C. Iul. Ver. Max. Pi. Fel. Aug. Germ. max. Sarm. max. Dac. max. pont. max. tr. pot. III imp. V et C. Iul. Ver. Maxim. nob. Caes. princ. iuv. Germ. max. Sarm. max. Dac. max.*  
Inscriptions: Africa -- *CIL* VIII 10021; *EE* vii 599/*CIL* VIII 10025 (=21920); *CIL* VIII 10075 (=22056)/*CILB* 471; *CIL* VIII 10083 (=22073); *EE* vii 568/*CIL* VIII 22020; *CIL* VIII 22123; *AE* (1905) 179; *AE* (1912) 23/*ILAT* 650/IRT 924; IRT 933-4, 936, 946, 967
188. *Imp. Caes. C. Iul. Ver. Max. Pi. Fel. Aug. pont. max. tr. pot. III imp. V cos. p. p. Germ. max. et C. Iul. Ver. Maxim. nob. Caes. princ. iuv.*  
Inscriptions: Aquitania -- *CIL* XIII 8940/XVII 367<sup>59</sup>

<sup>58</sup>Of these stones, the first retains the most titulature, and is restored thus by Walser (*CIL* XVII ad loc.), [Imp(erator) Caesar C(aius) Iul(ius) / Ver(us) [Maximinus] / P(ius) Fel(ix) Aug(ustus) [p(ontifex) m(aximus) tr(ibunicia) p(otestate) III / co(n)s(ul) / proco(n)s(ul) p(ater) p(atricae) imp(erator) V et / C(aius) Iul(ius) V]e[r]us [Maximus nob(ilissimus) / Caes(ar)] princeps [iuventutis]]. As can be seen, this formula is questionable. See also above 40.

<sup>59</sup>The *imperator* iteration is restored.

189. *Imp. Caes. C. Iul. Ver. Max. Pi. Fel. Aug. Germ. max. Dac. max. Sarm. max. pont. max. tr. pot. III imp. V cos. procos. et C. Iul. Ver. Maxim. nob. Caes. Germ. max. Dac. max. Sarm. max. fil. eius*  
Inscriptions: Moesia Inf. -- *CIL* III 7612/IDR V 223; *AE* (1974) 572/ISM I 320<sup>60</sup>
190. *Imp. Caes. C. Iul. Ver. Max. Pi. Fel. Aug. Germ. max. Dac. max. Sarm. max. pont. max. tr. pot. III imp. V cos. procos. p. p. et C. Iul. Ver. Maxim. Germ. max. Dac. max. Sarm. max. nob. Caes.*  
Inscriptions: Lugdunensis -- *AE* (1958) 194/ILTG 481/*CIL* XVII 484<sup>61</sup>
191. *Imp. Caes. C. Iul. Ver. Max. Pi. Fel. Inv. Aug. pont. max. tr. pot. III imp. V cos. procos. p. p. et C. Iul. Ver. Maxim. nob. Caes. princ. iuv. Aug. n. fil. Germm. Dacc. Sarmm. max.*  
Inscriptions: Pannonia Inf. -- *EE* ii 764/*CIL* III 10639; *AE* (1969/70) 494
192. *Imp. Caes. C. Iul. Ver. Max. Pi. Fel. Inv. Aug. pont. max. tr. pot. III imp. V cos. procos. p. p. imp. et C. Iul. Ver. Maxim. Aug. nob. Caes. princ. iuv. Aug. n. fil. Germm. Dacc. Sarmm. max.*  
Inscriptions: Pannonia Inf. -- *AE* (1975) 701
193. *Imp. Caes. C. Iul. Ver. Max. Pi. Fel. Aug. Germ. max. Sarm. max. Dac. max. tr. pot. imp. V cos. p. p. procos. et C. Iul. Ver. Maxim. Germ. max. Sarm. max. Dac. max. nob. Caes. fil. Aug. n. pont. max.*  
Inscriptions: Pannonia Inf. -- *CIL* III 3722
194. *Imp. Caes. C. Iul. Ver. Max. Pi. Fel. Aug. Germ. max. Dac. max. Sarm. max. pont. max. tr. pot. imp. V p. p. cos. procos. et C. Iul. Ver. Maxim. nob. Caes. Germ. max. Sarm. max. princ. iuv. fil. d. n. Imp. C. Iul. Ver. Max. Pi. Fel. Aug.*  
Inscriptions: Hispania -- *CIL* II 4816

<sup>60</sup>[Imp(erator) Caes(ar) C(aius) Iul(ius) Ver(us) Maximinus P(ius) F(elix) Aug(ustus) Germ(anicus) max(imus) Dac(icus) max(imus) Sarm(aticus) max(imus) pont(ifex) max(imus) tr(ibunicia) pot(estate) III (?) imp(erator) V (?) co(n)s(ul) proco(n)s(ul) et C(aius) Iul(ius) Ver(us) Maximus nobiliss(imus) / C]aes(ar) Germ(anicus) max(imus) Dac(icus) / max(imus) Sarm(aticus) max(imus) fil(ius) / eius. The restoration is based on *CIL* III 7612.

<sup>61</sup>The tribunician iteration is restored to this stone.



195. *Imp. Caes. C. Iul. Ver. Max. Pi. Fel. Aug. Germ. max. Sarm. max. Dac. max. pont. max. tr. pot. imp. V cos. procos. p. p. et Imp. Caes. C. Iul. Ver. Maxim. Pi. Fel. Aug. Germ. max. Sarm. max. Dac. max. fil. C. Iul. Ver. Max. Germ. max. Sarm. max. Dac. max. nob. Caes.*  
Inscriptions: Narbonensis -- *CIL* XII 5559/König 1970, 132/*CIL* XVII 170<sup>62</sup>
196. *Imp. Caes. C. Iul. Ver. Max. Pi. Fel. Inv. Aug. pont. max. tr. pot. (?) imp. V cos. procos. p. p. et C. Iul. Ver. Maxim. nob. Caes. princ. iuv. Germ. Dacc. Sarm. max.*  
Inscriptions: Pannonia Inf. -- *CIL* III 3708
197. *Imp. Caes. C. Iul. Ver. Max. Pi. Fel. Aug. Germ. max. Sarm. max. Dac. max. pont. max. tr. pot. III imp. VI C. Iul. Ver. Maxim. nob. Caes. princ. iuv. Germ. max. Sarm. max. Dac. max.*  
Inscriptions: Africa -- *CIL* VIII 10047/ILS 488; *EE* vii 573/*CIL* VIII 220306<sup>3</sup>
198. *Imp. Caes. C. Iul. Ver. Max. Pi. Fel. Aug. Germ. max. Dac. max. Sarm. max. pont. max. tr. pot. III imp. VI cos. procos. p. p. et C. Iul. Ver. Maxim. Germ. max. Dac. max. Sarm. max. nob. Caes. n.*  
Inscriptions: Britain -- *CIL* VII 621/RIB 1553<sup>64</sup>

<sup>62</sup>*Imp(erator) Cae(sar) C(aius) Iul(ius) / Verus Maximinus P(ius) F(elix) / Aug(ustus) Germ(anicus) / max(imus) Sarm(aticus) / max(imus) Dac(icus) / max(imus) pont(ificis) max(imus) / trib(unicia) p(otestate) / imp(erator) V [co(n)s(ul) proc(onsul) p(ater) p(atriciae) / e]i Imp(eratoris) Cae(saris) C(aii) Iul(i) Veri / Max(im)ini P(ii) [F(elicis) Aug(usti) Germ(anicus)] / max(im)i [Sarm(atici) / max(im)i Dac(ici) max(im)i] / f(ilius) / C(aius) Iul(ius) V[er]us Max(imus) Germ(anicus) / max(imus) / nobilit[is]m[us] Caesar.*

<sup>63</sup>Only fragments of Maximus' titulature remain on this stone. I have assumed the stone to read like *CIL* VIII 10047, and thus placed it here.

<sup>64</sup>*Imp(eratori) Cae(sari) G(aio) Iulio Ver(o) / [Maximino P(ri) F(elic) Aug(usto) Ge]rmanico max(im)o / [Dac(ico) max(im)o Sarm(atico) max(im)o] pont(ifici) max(im)o / [trib(unicia) p(otestate) III imp(eratori) VI co(n)s(uli) p(roco(n)s(uli) / p(atr) p(atriciae) et G(aio) Iulio Ver(o) Max(im) Ger(manico) max(im)o] Dac(ico) max(im)o] Sarm(atico) / [max(im)o nob(illissimo)] Cae(sari) n(ostro).*

199. *Imp. Caes. C. Iul. Ver. Max. Pi. Aug. Germ. max. Dac. Sarm. max. pont. max. imp. VI p. p. cos. procos. et C. Iul. Ver. Maxim. nob. Caes. Germ. max. Sarm. max. princ. iuv. fil. d. n. Imp. C. Iul. Ver. Max. Pi. Fel. Aug.*  
Inscriptions: Hispania -- *CIL* II 4834<sup>65</sup>
200. *Imp. Caes. C. Iul. Ver. Max. Pi. Aug. Germ. max. Dac. max. Sarm. max. pont. max. imp. VI p. p. cos. procos. et C. Iul. Ver. Maxim. nob. Caes. Germ. max. Sarm. max. princ. iuv. fil. d. n. Imp. C. Iul. Ver. Max. Pi. Fel. Aug.*  
Inscriptions: Hispania -- *CIL* II 4826
201. *Max. et Maxim. Aug. Germ. pont. max. tr. pot. IV cos. p. p.*  
Coins: Italy (Rome) -- *RIC* IV.2 119; *BMCRE* VI 229; *Gnecchi* II p. 86, 2
202. *Imp. Caes. C. Iul. Ver. Max. Pi. Fel. Aug. pont. max. Germ. max. Dac. max. Sarm. max. tr. pot. IV imp. V. cos. procos. p. p. et C. Iul. Ver. Maxim. nob. Caes. Germ. max. Dac. max. Sarm. max. princ. iuv.*  
Inscriptions: Italy -- *CIL* X 6811/ILS 489<sup>66</sup>
203. *Imp. Caes. C. Iul. Ver. Max. Pi. Fel. Aug. Germ. max. Dac. max. Sarm. max. pont. max. tr. pot. IV (?) imp. VII p. p. cos. procos. et C. Iul. Ver. Maxim. nob. Caes. Germ. max. Dac. max. Sarm. max. princ. iuv. fil. d. n. Imp. C. Iul. Ver. Max. Pi. Fel. Aug.*  
Inscriptions: Hispania -- *EE* ix 420/IRG III 6<sup>67</sup>

<sup>65</sup>I have restored *P. F. Aug.* to the end of this formula on the basis of *CIL* II 4816 (194 above) and *CIL* II 4826 (200 below).

<sup>66</sup>The names of both emperors have been erased, but the rest of the inscription is intact.

<sup>67</sup>The inscription reads, *trib. potestatis (sic) D. E.*, and the editors of *IRG* have suggested *IV*.

204. *Imp. Caes. C. Iul. Ver. Max. Pi. Fel. Aug. Germ. max. Dac. max. Sarm. max. pont. max. tr. pot. V imp. VII p. p. cos. procos. et C. Iul. Ver. Maxim. nob. Caes. Germ. max. Dac. max. Sarm. max. princ. iuv. fil. d. n. Imp. C. Iul. Ver. Max. Pi. Fel. Aug.*  
Inscriptions: Hispania -- EN 15/ILER 1985/IRMN 7;<sup>68</sup> EN 62/ILER 1986/IRMN 8<sup>69</sup>
205. *Imp. Caes. C. Iul. Ver. Max. Pi. Fel. Aug. Germ. max. Dac. max. tr. pot. V imp. VII p. p. cos. procos. et C. Iul. Ver. Maxim. nob. Caes. Germ. max. Dac. max. Sarm. max. princ. iuv. fil. d. n. Imp. C. Iul. Ver. Max. Pi. Fel. Aug.*  
Inscriptions: Hispania -- CIL II 6228<sup>70</sup>
206. *Imp. Caes. C. Iul. Ver. Max. Pi. Fel. Aug. Germ. max. Dac. max. Sarm. max. pont. max. tr. pot. V imp. VII p. p. cos. procos. et C. Iul. Ver. Maxim. nob. Caes. Germ. max. Dac. max. Sarm. max. princ. iuv. fil. d. n. Imp. C. Iul. Ver. Max. Pi. Fel. Aug.*  
Inscriptions: Hispania -- CIL II 4756/ILS 490, CIL II 4757, 4758,<sup>71</sup> 4858, 4870, 4874,<sup>72</sup> 4886; AE (1966) 218, (1971) 201<sup>73</sup>
207. *Imp. Caes. C. Iul. Ver. Max. Pi. Fel. Aug. Germ. max. Dac. max. Sarm. max. pont. max. tr. pot. V imp. VII p. p. cos. procos. et C. Iul. Ver. Maxim. nob. Caes. Germ. max. Dac. max. Sarm. max. princ. iuv. fil. d. n. Imp. Caes. C. Iul. Ver. Max. Pi. Fel. Aug.*  
Inscriptions: Hispania -- CIL II 4788

<sup>68</sup>The editors of *IRMN* note that *imp. VII* is here to be expected, not *imp. II*, which is in fact what appears on the stone.

<sup>69</sup>This inscription was meant to be the same as *IRMN* 7. However, here the stonecutter got the *imperator* iteration right (i.e. VII), though in line 3 he labels Maximinus *Parthicus maximus* rather than *Dacicus*. That he meant the latter is fairly clear, since that is what he assigns to Maximus.

<sup>70</sup>*CIL* prints nothing after (line 8), *iuv. fil. d. n. Imp.*; and it is unclear whether the inscription stops here, or whether there was more that now cannot be read. I have assumed the latter, and restored accordingly.

<sup>71</sup>This stone is badly damaged, and I have restored much of it.

<sup>72</sup>Again, the stone is badly damaged, and I have restored most of it.

<sup>73</sup>The tribunician iteration number must here be assumed, and the *imperator* iteration is partially restored. I might note also that *AE* has (lines 11 ff.), *..filius dom(ini) [n(ostr)i] / [Imp(eratoris) Caes(aris) Iuli] Veri Maximini* etc. I believe that the restoration of *Caes(aris)* is probably wrong, and thus have substituted *C(ai)*.

208. *Imp. Caes. C. Iul. Ver. Max. Pi. Aug. Germ. max. Dac. max. Sarm. max. pont. tr. pot. VI imp. VII p. p. cos. procos. ■ C. Iul. Ver. Maxim. nob. Caes. Germ. Dac. max. Sarm. max. princ. iuv. fil. Aug. Imp. Caes. C. Iul. Ver. Max. Pi. Fel.*  
Inscriptions: Hispania -- CIL II 4853
209. *Imp. Caes. C. Iul. Ver. Max. Pi. Fel. Aug. tr. pot. IX pont. max. Germ. max. imp. III cos. p. p. et C. Iul. Ver. Maxim. nob. Caes. Aug. fil.*  
Inscriptions: Dalmatia -- *IJug* II 1022<sup>74</sup>
210. *Imp. Caes. C. Iul. Ver. Max. Pi. Fel. Aug. Germ. max. tr. pot. cos. III procos. p. p. optimus maximus princ. n. et C. Iul. Ver. Maxim. Germ. max. nob. Caes. Aug. n. fil.*  
Inscriptions: Aquitania -- *AE* (1892) 55/*CIL* XIII 8953/*XVII* 471<sup>75</sup>
211. *Imp. Caes. C. Iul. Ver. Max. Pi. Fel. Aug. Germ. max. pont. max. tr. pot. cos. III procos. p. p. optimus maximus princ. n. et C. Iul. Ver. Maxim. Germ. max. nob. Caes. Aug. n. fil.*  
Inscriptions: Aquitania -- *CIL* XIII 8954/*XVII* 472
212. *Imp. Caes. C. Iul. Ver. Max. Pi. Fel. Aug. Germ. max. Sarm. max. pont. max. tr. pot. cos. IV p. p. et C. Iul. Ver. Maxim. nob. Caes. fil. eius*  
Inscriptions: Moesia Inf. -- Hollenstein 1979, 42-4<sup>76</sup>

#### XIV. Maximinus and Maximus, Greek Titles, Group A

213. οἱ κράτιστοι Μαξ. καὶ υἱὸς Μαξίμου.  
Ραρυρί: *Bureth* p. 111, no. 2 (1)

<sup>74</sup>As A. and J. Šašel note, *tr. pot. IX* is a mistake, and should probably have been *tr. pot. III*.

<sup>75</sup>It is clear that *cos. III* in this and the following stone (211 below) is a stonecutter's error. Obviously intended is *tr. pot. III*. Cf. the remarks in *CIL* ad loc.

<sup>76</sup>*Cos. IV* is impossible, and it may be that this was intended as the tribunician iteration number.

214. Γ. Ιουλ. Ουηρ. Μαξ. και Γ. Ιουλ. Ουηρ. Μαξιμ. Καισα. οι κυρρ.  
Papyri: *P. Lond.* III 947 IVa, 1-3
215. οι κυρρ. ἡμῶν Μαξι. Σεββ.  
Inscriptions: Egypt -- *CIG* 5069/*IGRR* I 1356
216. Μαξ. και Μαξιμ. οι κυρρ. ἡμῶν Σεββ.  
Papyri: *Bureth* p. 111, no. 3 (1)
217. οι κυρρ. ἡμῶν Μαξ. και Μαξιμ. Ευσσ. Σεββ.  
Papyri: *Bureth* p. 111, no. 8 (1)
218. ΓΓ. Ιουλλ. Ουηρρ. Μαξ. και Μαξιμ. Καισα. οι κυρρ.  
Papyri: *Bureth* p. 111, no. 4 (1)
219. ΓΓ. Ιουλλ. Ουηρρ. Μαξ. και Μαξιμ. Γερμμ. μεγγ. Δακκ. μεγγ. Σαρμμ. μεγγ.  
Καισα. οι κυρρ.  
Papyri: *P. Oxy.* XLIII 3132, 7-11 and 3107, 2-5 (with υἱός after Μάξιμος)
220. οι κυρρ. ἡμῶν Γ. Ιουλ. Ουηρ. Μαξ. και Γ. Ιουλ. Ουηρ. Μαξιμ. Ευσσ. Σεββ.  
Papyri: *Bureth* p. 112, no. 1 (1); *O. Amst.* 68, 1-3
221. ὁ θεοφιλέστατος Καισ. Γ. Ιουλ. Ουηρ. Μαξιμ. υἱός τοῦ κυρ. ἡμῶν Αυτ. Γ. Ιουλ.  
Ουηρ. Μαξ.  
Inscriptions: Moesia Inf. -- *AE* (1927) 63
222. Αυτ. Γ. Ιουλ. Ουηρ. Μαξ. Σεβ. και Ιουλ. Ουηρ. Μαξιμ. Σεβ. υἱός  
Inscriptions: Thrace -- *AE* (1967) 440/*SEG* 24 (1969) 645
223. ὁ μέγιστος και θεώτατος Αυτ. Γ. Ιουλ. Ουηρ. Μαξ. Σεβ. και ὁ γενναιότατος υἱός  
αὐτοῦ Καισ. Γ. Ιουλ. Ουηρ. Μαξιμ.  
Inscriptions: Achaia -- *IG* II,2 3420 (=III,1 538)

224. οι κυρρ. ἡμῶν Αυτ. Γ. Ιουλ. Ουηρ. Μαξ. Ευσ. Ευτ. Σεβ. και Γ. Ιουλ. Ουηρ. Μαξιμ. ὁ  
Ιερώντατος Καισ. Σεβ. υἱός τοῦ Σεβ.  
Papyri: *Bureth* p. 112, no. 2 (3)<sup>77</sup>
225. ὁ μέγιστος και θεοφιλέστατος Καισ. Γ. Ιουλ. Μαξιμ. Ευτ. Σεβ. υἱός τοῦ μεγίστου  
και θειωτάτου Αυτ. Γ. Ιουλ. Μαξ. Ευσ. Ευτ. Σεβ.  
Inscriptions: Thrace -- *AE* (1926) 98/*IGBulg* 638
226. ὁ μέγιστος και θειώτατος Καισ. Γ. Ιουλ. Ουηρ. Μαξιμ. Ευτ. Ευσ. Σεβ. υἱός τοῦ  
μεγίστου και θειωτάτου Αυτ. Γ. Ιουλ. Ουηρ. Μαξ. Ευτ. Ευσ. Σεβ...ὁ τῆς  
οικουμένης δεσπότης (i.e. Maximus)  
Inscriptions: Thrace -- *AE* (1927) 74/*SEG* 3.2 (1929) 509/*IGBulg* 1515
227. Αυτ. Καισ. Μαξ. και Μαξιμ.  
Coins: Asia (Phocaea) -- *SNGAul* 2147
228. Αυτ. Καισ. Γ. Ιουλ. Ουηρ. Μαξ. Γ. Ιουλ. Ουηρ. Μαξιμ.  
Coins: Cilicia (Flaviopolis) -- *SNGAul* 5565
229. Αυτ. Καισ. Γ. Ουηρ. Μαξ. και Γ. Ιουλ. Ουηρ. Μαξιμ. Σεββ.  
Inscriptions: Thrace -- *SEG* 24 (1969) 631/*AE* (1972) 557
230. Αυτ. Καισ. Γ. Ιουλ. Ουηρ. Μαξ. Σεβ. και υἱός αὐτοῦ Καισ. Γ. Ιουλ. Μαξιμ. Σεβ.  
Inscriptions: Asia -- *SEG* 26 (1976/77) 1261/*IK* 14, 1107
231. Αυτ. Καισ. Γ. Ιουλ. Ουηρ. Μαξ. Σεβ. και Γ. Ιουλ. Ουηρ. Μαξιμ. Σεβ.  
Inscriptions: Thrace -- *SEG* 12 (1955) 354<sup>78</sup>

<sup>77</sup>*Bureth* prints the formula as, οι κύριοι ἡμῶν Αὐτοκράτορες κελ. However, Sijpesteijn 1984, 75-6 demonstrates that the three papyri containing this formula actually read, Αὐτοκράτορος. Hence, Μάξιμος is not styled Αὐτοκράτωρ in these papyri.

<sup>78</sup>Αὐτοκρά[το]ρ[ι] Καίσαρι / Γ. 'Ιουλίω Ο[υ]ίρηω / Μαξιμίω Σε[β]βαστῶ κ[α]ι Γ. 'Ιου[λ]ίου Ο[υ]ίρηω / Μάξι[μ]ου Σε[β]βαστῆ[ος]. Just why Maximus' titulature was cast in the genitive is not clear. Possibly the dedication was to Maximinus as father of Maximus, and more should be restored in line 4.

232. Αυτ. Καισ. Γ. Ιουλ. Ουηρ. Μαξ. Ευσ. Ευτ. Σεβ. και Γ. Ιουλ. Ουηρ. Μαξιμ. ὁ  
 ἱερῶτατος Καισ. Σεβ. υἱὸς τοῦ Σεβ.  
 Papyri: *Bureth* p. 111, no. 5 (3);<sup>79</sup> *P. Wisc.* I 15, 13-6
233. Αυτ. Καισ. Γ. Ιουλ. Ουηρ. Μαξ. Ευσ. Ευτ. Σεβ. και Γ. Ιουλ. Ουηρ. Μαξιμ. ὁ  
 ἱερῶτατος Καισ. Γερμ. μεγ. Σεβ. υἱὸς τοῦ Σεβ.  
 Papyri: *Bureth* p. 111, no. 5 (1)
234. Αυτ. Καισ. Γ. Ιουλ. Ουηρ. Μαξ. Γερμ. μεγ. Ευσ. Ευτ. Σεβ. και Γ. Ιουλ. Ουηρ.  
 Μαξιμ. Γερμ. μεγ. ὁ ἱερῶτατος Καισ. υἱὸς τοῦ Σεβ.  
 Papyri: *Bureth* p. 111, no. 6 (1)
235. Αυτ. Καισ. Γ. Ιουλ. Ουηρ. Μαξ. Γερμ. μεγ. Ευσ. Ευτ. Σεβ. και Γ. Ιουλ. Ουηρ.  
 Μαξιμ. Σαρμ. μεγ. Καισ. Γερμ. μεγ. Σεβ. υἱὸς τοῦ Σεβ.  
 Papyri: *Bureth* p. 111, no. 6 (1)
236. Αυτ. Καισ. Γ. Ιουλ. Ουηρ. Μαξ. Ευσ. Ευτ. Σεβ. Γερμ. μεγ. Δακ. μεγ. Σαρμ. μεγ.  
 και Γ. Ιουλ. Ουηρ. Μαξιμ. Γερμ. μεγ. Δακ. μεγ. Σαρμ. μεγ. ὁ ἱερῶτατος Καισ. Σεβ.  
 υἱὸς τοῦ Σεβ.  
 Papyri: *Bureth* p. 111, no. 7 (8); *P. Oxy.* XLIII 3132, 23-32; *CPR* VII 11, 4-6 and  
 16-8
237. ὁ τοῦ θεοφιλεστάτου κυρ. ἡμῶν Αυτ. Καισ. Γ. Ιουλ. Ουηρ. Μαξ. Ευσ. Ευτ. Σεβ.  
 παῖς Γ. Ιουλ. Ουηρ. Μαξιμ. Σεβ.  
 Papyri: *Bureth* p. 112, no. 4 (1)
238. οἱ κυρρ. ἡμῶν Αυττ. Γ. Ιουλ. Ουηρ. Μαξ. και Γ. Ιουλ. Ουηρ. Μαξιμ. Καισ. Σεββ.  
 Inscriptions: Thrace -- *IGRR* I 1474/*IGBulg* 1374
239. οἱ κυρρ. Αυττ. Γ. Ιουλ. Ουηρ. Μαξ. Σεβ. και Γ. Ιουλ. Ουηρ. Μαξιμ. Καισ.  
 Inscriptions: Thrace -- *AE* (1892) 6/*IGRR* I 692/*IGBulg* 2033;<sup>80</sup> *IGRR* I 691/*IGBulg*  
 2049

<sup>79</sup>On *BGU* IV 1062, see P.J. Sijpesteijn and W.H.M. Liesker, *ZPE* 63 (1986) 289.

<sup>80</sup>This inscription is almost entirely restored.

240. οἱ κυρρ. ἡμῶν Αυττ. Γ. Ιουλ. Ουηρ. Μαξ. Σεβ. και Γ. Ιουλ. Ουηρ. Μαξιμ. Καισ.  
 Inscriptions: Thrace -- *IGRR* I 778<sup>81</sup>
241. οἱ κυρρ. ἡμῶν Αυττ. Καισ. Γ. Ιουλ. Μαξ. και Γ. Ιουλ. Μαξιμ. ὁ υἱὸς αὐτοῦ Σεββ.  
 Inscriptions: Arabia -- *IGRR* III 1213

<sup>81</sup> Ἀγαθῆι τύχηι / Ὑπὲρ ὑγείας τῶν / κυρίων ἡμῶν Αὐτοκρατόρων Γαίου / [Ἰουλίου Μαξιμίνου / Σεβαστοῦ και Γαί]ου Ἰουλίου Οὐή[ρου Μαξιμου]—. This is the restored text as printed in *IGRR*. It seems to me, though, that we should expect Maximinus also to have been called Verus, and that Maximus was labeled *Caesar*.

**Gordians I and II**

(ca. mid to late March - late April 238)

*M(arcus) Ant(oni)us Gord(i)anus Semp(ronianus) Afr(icanus)  
Sen(i)or and Jun(i)or***I. Literary Testimonia***Aur. Vict. Caes. 26.1-2 repente Antonius Gordianus Africae proconsul ab exercitu princeps  
apud Thydri oppidum absens fit.**idem 27.1 Iisdem per Africam diebus milites Gordianum, Gordiani filium...Augustum  
creavere...**Eutrop. 9.2 Postea tres simul Augusti fuerunt, Pupienus, Balbinus, Gordianus, duo  
superiores obscurissimo genere, Gordianus nobilis, quippe cuius pater, senior Gordianus,  
consensu militum, cum proconsulatum Africae gereret, Maximino imperante princeps fuisset  
electus.**Herodian 7.5.7 ...συνδραμόντων ἤδη καὶ πάντων τῶν κατὰ τὴν πόλιν ἐπειδὴ  
διεφοίτησεν ἡ φήμη, Σεβαστὸν Γορδιανὸν ἀναγορεύει.**idem 7.5.8 τῷ τε κυρίῳ αὐτοῦ (sc. Γορδιανῷ I) ὀνόματι προσθέντες Ἀφρικανὸν  
ἐκάλεσαν ἐφ' ἑαυτῶν.**idem 7.7.2 ἢ τε σύγκλιτος συνελθοῦσα πρὶν τὸ ἀκριβὲς εἰδέναι περὶ τοῦ Μαξιμίνου,  
ἐκ τῆς παρουσίας τύχης τὰ μέλλοντα πιστεύσαντες τὸν Γορδιανὸν ἅμα τῷ υἱῷ  
Σεβαστοῦ ἀναγορεύουσι, τὰς δὲ τοῦ Μαξιμίνου τιμὰς ἀνατρέπουσι.**HA Maximin. 14.3 et primo quidem invitus Gordianus purpuram sumpserat; postea vero,  
cum vidit neque filio neque familiae suae tutum id esse, volens susceperit imperium et appellatus  
est omni <bu>s Afris Augustus cum filio apud oppidum Thysdrum.**idem 14.5 appellati etiam Gordianus senex et Gordianus iuvenis a senatu Augusti[s].**idem 16.1 Senatus consulti autem hoc fuit (exemplum): cum ventum esset in aedem  
Cast[r]orum di <e> VI. kl. Iulianum, acceptas litteras Iunius Sitanus consul [I] ex Africa  
Gordiani imperatoris, patris patr <i>ae, proconsulis recitavit...**HA Gord. 9.3 ff. appellato igitur Gordiano imperatore iuvenes...ipsum etiam Gordianum  
Africanum appellaverunt. addunt quidam Africani cognomentu <m> Gordiano idcirco  
inditum, non quod in Africa imperare coepisset, sed quod de Scipionum familia originem  
traheret. in plurimis autem libris invenio et hunc Gordianum et filium eius pariter imperatores  
appellatos et Antoninos cognominatos, in ali <b>i vero Antonios. post hoc Carthaginem  
ventum...filiusque legatus patris, exemplo Scipionum...pari potestate succinctus est.**idem 11.4 ff. p. c., Gordiani duo, pater et filius, ambo ex cons <ul>ib <us>, unus vester  
pro consule, alter vester legatus, magno Afrorum consilio imperatores sunt  
appellati...Gordianos Augustos appellamus. Gordianos principes agnoscimus...**idem 16.4 Hic exitus duorum Gordianorum fuit, quos ambos senatus Augustos appellavit et  
postea inter divos rettulit.**idem 17.1 filius (Gordiani I), qui cum patre et ab Afris et a senatu Augustus appellatus est...**idem 19.7 denique etiam senatus libentissime illum (Gordianum II) Augustum appellavit...**HA Max. Balb. 4.1-2 Prima igitur relatio princ <ip>um fuit, ut duo Gordiani divi  
appellarentur.**Zonaras 12.16 ἐντεῦθεν ἀνακτῆσαντες οἱ ἐκεῖ ἐπαύεστησαν, καὶ τινα τῶν ἐκ τῆς  
βουλῆς ἄνδρα πρεσβύτερον κεκλημένον Γορδιανὸν καὶ ἄκουτα κατασχόντες, διάδημά τε  
τούτῳ περιτιθέασιν καὶ πορφύραν ἐνδύουσι καὶ ἀναγορεύουσιν αὐτοκράτορά τε καὶ  
Αὔγουστον.*

II. Gordian I, Latin Titles, Group A<sup>1</sup>

1. *divus Gord avus Aug. n.*  
Inscriptions: Numidia -- *ILAlg* I 1267
2. *Caes. M. Ant. Gord. Afr. Aug.*  
Coins: Italy (Rome) -- *RIC* IV.2 15-6<sup>2</sup>
3. *Imp. M. Ant. Gord. Afr. Aug.*  
Coins: Italy (Rome) -- *RIC* IV.2 4-6, 13; *BMCRE* VI 8-9, 11; *HCC* III 2-3
4. *Imp. Caes. M. Ant. Gord. Afr. Aug.*  
Coins: Italy (Rome) -- *RIC* IV.2 3, 9-12, 14; *BMCRE* VI 5-7, 10, 12-7a; *HCC* III 4, 6-14

III. Gordian I, Latin Titles, Group B<sup>3</sup>

5. *Imp. M. Ant. Gord. Afr. Aug. pont. max. tr. pot. cos. p. p.*  
Coins: Italy (Rome) -- *RIC* IV.2 1-2; *BMCRE* VI 1-3; *HCC* III 1

<sup>1</sup>For Gordians I and II as *divi*, see also sections X-XIV under Gordian III below.

<sup>2</sup>These coins are both rather odd, and are not (to my knowledge) at present held in any published collection. One is listed by Cohen, but he considered it possibly a fake. They may well be fakes, or the readings of the legends might be in error.

<sup>3</sup>*CIL* VI 2009.26-7 records the following (presumably) for Gordian I, though this titulature is entirely restored: *Imp(eratore)m Caes(arem) M(arcum) Antonium Gordianum Africanum Aug(ustum) pont(ificem) max(imum) / trib(unicia) pot(estate) co(n)s(ulem) II p(atrem) p(atris) pro co(n)s(ulem)*. The first consulate may have been a suffect sometime during the reign of Alexander Severus. Cf. *PIR*<sup>2</sup> A 833 and Degraffi 1952, 278. Gordian II is given the same titulature, again entirely restored, but without a consular iteration (2009.28-9). It is usually presumed that he too held the suffect consulate under Alexander Severus. Cf. *PIR*<sup>2</sup> A 834 and Degraffi 1952, 279.

6. *Imp. Caes. M. Ant. Gord. Afr. Aug. pont. max. tr. pot. cos. p. p.*  
Coins: Italy (Rome) -- *RIC* IV.2 7-8; *BMCRE* VI 4; *HCC* III 5
  7. *Imp. Caes. M. Ant. Gord. Semp. Rom. Afr. Inv. Pi. Fel. Aug. pont. max. tr. pot. cos. p. p. procos.*  
Inscriptions: Africa -- *EE* v 342/*CIL* VIII 12521/*XIII*592/*ILS* 493/Loriot 1978, 81 no. 2<sup>4</sup>
- IV. Gordian I, Greek Titles, Group A
8. *ΑΥΤ. ΚΑΙΣ. Μ. ΑΥΤ. ΓΟΡΔ. ΣΕΜΠ. ΑΦΡ. ΕΥΣ.*  
Coins: Egypt (Alexandria) -- *KAK* 2598-2605
  9. *ΑΥΤ. ΚΑΙΣ. Μ. ΑΥΤ. ΓΟΡΔ. ΣΕΜΠ. ΡΩΡ. ΠΑΤΗΡ ΕΥΣ. ΕΥΤ. ΣΕΒ. ΣΩΤΗΡ ΤΗΣ ΟΙΚΟΥΜΕΝΗΣ*  
Inscriptions: Lycia -- *AE* (1890) 98/*IGRR* III 791a/Loriot 1978, 81 no. 3<sup>5</sup>

## V. Gordian II, Latin Titles, Group A

10. *divus Caes. M. Ant. Gord. Afr. Aug.*  
Coins: Italy (Rome) -- *HCC* III p. 184<sup>6</sup>
11. *Imp. M. Ant. Gord. Afr. Aug.*  
Coins: Italy (Rome) -- *RIC* IV.2 1-3; *BMCRE* VI 19-20; *HCC* III 1-4

<sup>4</sup>This inscription was found in Bordeaux in 1828, but was brought there seemingly from someplace in Africa. See the comments of the *CIL* editors ad. loc.

<sup>5</sup>The inscription breaks after *πατήρ*, and I have restored the rest on the basis of *AE* (1890) 99/*IGRR* III 791b (17 below). Both are dedicatory inscriptions set up by the *gerousia* of Pergé.

<sup>6</sup>This coin is tooled and possibly false. See the note in *HCC* ad. loc.

12. *Imp. Caes. M. Ant. Gord. Afr. Aug.*  
 Coins: Italy (Rome) -- *RIC* IV.2 4-8; *BMCRE* VI 21-27, 29, 31-32; *HCC* III 5-8

#### VI. Gordian II, Latin Titles, Group B

13. *Imp. M. Ant. Gord. Afr. Aug. pont. max. tr. pot. cos. p. p.*  
 Coins: Italy (Rome) -- *RIC* IV.2 9<sup>7</sup>
14. *Imp. Ces. M. Ant. Gord. Afr. Aug. pont. max. tr. pot. cos. p. p.*  
 Coins: Italy (Rome) -- *RIC* IV.2 10; *BMCRE* VI 18
15. *Imp. Caes. M. Ant. Gord. fil. Aug. Semp. Rom. Afr. Pi. Fel. Aug. pont. tr. pot. cas. procos.*  
 Inscriptions: Palestine -- *AE* (1971) 475/Loriot 1978, 72 ff.

#### VII. Gordian II Greek Titles, Group A

16. *Αυτ. Καισ. Μ. Αυτ. Γορδ. Σεμπ. Ρωμ. Σεβ.*  
 Coins: Asia (Prymnessos) -- *SNGAul* 3946
17. *Αυτ. Καισ. Μ. Αυτ. Γορδ. Σεμπ. Ρωμ. Αφρ. υιός Ευσ. Ευτ. Σεβ. σωτήρ τῆς οἰκουμένης*  
 Inscriptions: Lycia -- *AE* (1890) 99/*JGRR* III 791b/Loriot 1978, 81 no. 4

<sup>7</sup>This coin, along with *RIC* IV.2 10 (below 14), may be a hybrid (cf. *RIC* ad. loc.).

#### VIII. Gordian I and II, Latin Titles, Group A

18. *divi Gordd.*  
 vid. inf. Pupienus & Balbinus, 23-6 & Gordian III, 207 ff.
19. *Imp. dd. nn. Gordd. Augg.*  
 Inscriptions: Italy -- *CIL* XV 7338a/Loriot 1978, 81 no. 1
20. *Imp. Caes. M. Ant. Gord. Semp. Rom. Afr. Sen. Pi. Fel. Inv. Aug. et Imp. Caes. M. Ant. Gord. Semp. Rom. Afr. P. (sic) Iun. Pi. Fel. Inv. Aug. dd. indulgentissimi*  
 Inscriptions: Galatia -- Loriot 1978, 81 nos. 5, 6<sup>8</sup>

#### IX. Gordian I and II, Greek Titles, Group A

21. *δάβουρς Γορδδ.*  
 Inscriptions: Italy -- *SEG* 4 (1929) 146/*ILCV* 3995c
22. *Αυτ. Καισ. Μ. Αυτ. Γορδ. Σεμπ. Αφρ. Ευσ.*  
 Coins: Egypt (Alexandria) -- Milne 1933, p. 80
23. *Μ. Αυτ. Γορδ. Ρωμ. Σεμπ. Αφρ. και Μ. Αυτ. Γορδ. Ρωμ. Σεμπ. Αφρ. Καισ. οἱ κυρρ.*  
 Papyri: *P. Oxy.* XLIII 3107, 12-15

<sup>8</sup>No. 6 breaks after *et Imp.* Since both it and number 5 were found near Sungurlu, and since both are milestones, it seems safe to restore 6 based on 5. The "P" after *Afr.* in Gordian II's titulature is probably a stonemason's error.

**Pupienus and Balbinus**

(ca. late April - early August 238)

*D(ecius) Cael(ius) Cal(vinus) Balb(inus)*  
*M(arcus) Cl(odius) Pup(ienus) Max(imus)***I. Literary Testimonia**

*Aur. Vict. Caes. 26.7 At senatus metuens, ne nullis rectoribus specie captae urbis atrociora acciderent, primo potestatum vices, mox conscriptis iunioribus Clodium Pupienum Caecilium Balbinum Caesares constituit.*

*Eutrop. 9.2 Postea tres simul Augusti fuerunt, Pupienus, Balbinus, Gordianus, duo superiores obscurissimo genere, Gordianus nobilis...*

*Herodian 7.10.3 ..διακριθεισῶν τε καὶ τοῦ πλείστου τῆς γνώμης Μάξιμον τε καὶ Βαλβίνου ἀνειπόντας αὐτοκράτορας ἐποίησαν.*

*idem 7.10.5 τῆς οὖν χειροτονίας ἐκείνους ἀνειπούσης Σεβαστοὶ τε ἀνηγορεύθησαν, καὶ πάσαις ταῖς βασιλικαῖς τιμαῖς ἢ σύγκλητος διὰ δόγματος αὐτοῦ ἐκόσμηρεν.*

*HA Maximin. 20.1-2 Haec ubi Romam nuntiata sunt senatus...Maximum... <et Balbinum>...imperatores creavit. quibus a populo Augustis appellatis...*

*HA Gord. 22.1 Post mortem duorum Gordianorum senatus...ex viginti viris...Puppienum sive Maximum et Clodium Balbinum Augustos appellavit...*

*HA Max. Balb. 2.9-10 post haec adclamatum est uno consensu: "aequum est, iustum est. sententiae Sabini omnes consentimus. Maxime et Balbine Augusti, di vos servent."*

*idem 8.1 Decretis ergo omnibus imperatoriis honoribus atque insignibus, percepta tribunicia potestate, iure proconsulari, pontificatu[m] maximo, patris etiam patriae nomine inierunt imperium.*

*Zonaras 12.16 ...δύο προβάλλονται στρατηγοὺς Μάξιμον τε καὶ Ἀλβίνου, καὶ ἄμφω τῆ βουλῆ συναριθμουμένους, τινὲς δὲ Καίσαρας αὐτοῦς πρὸς τῆς βουλῆς ἰστόρησαν ἀναγορευθῆναι, μήπω μαθούσης τὴν ἀνάρρησιν τοῦ Γορδιανοῦ.*

*Zosimus 1.14.2 'Ἐπεὶ δὲ πᾶσι ταῦτα ἐδόκει, προχερρίζονται τῆς βουλῆς ἄνδρας εἴκοσι στρατηγίας ἐμπείρους· ἐκ τούτων αὐτοκράτορας ἐλόμενοι δύο, Βαλβίνου καὶ Μάξιμου...*

**II. Balbinus, Latin Titles, Group A**

- Imp. Caes. D. Cael. Balb. Aug.*  
Coins: Italy (Rome) -- *RIC* IV.2 1-4, 7-15a, 19-25; *BMCRE* VI 1-8, 18-25, 33-41, 67-76; *HCC* III 2-7, 11-22

**III. Balbinus, Latin Titles, Group C**

- Imp. Caes. D. Cael. Balb. Aug. pont. max. tr. pot. cos. II p. p.*  
Coins: Italy (Rome) -- *RIC* IV.2 5-6, 16-18; *BMCRE* VI 26-32; *HCC* III 1, 8-10

**IV. Balbinus, Greek Titles, Group A**

- Aur. Kais. Δ. Καὶλ. Βαλβ. Ευσ.*  
Coins: Egypt (Alexandria) -- Milne 1933, p. 80; *KAK* 2612-3
- Aur. Kais. Δ. Βαλβ. Αυγ.*  
Coins: Bithynia (Heraclea Pontica) -- *SNGAul* 412-17, 6958



5. Αυτ. Καισ. Δ. Καιλ. Βαλβ. Αυγ.  
Coins: Bithynia (Nicomedia) -- *SNGAul* 7117
6. Αυτ. Καισ. Δ. Καιλ. Βαλβ. Σεβ.  
Coins: Egypt (Alexandria) -- Milne 1933, p. 80; *KAK* 2609-11
7. Αυτ. Καισ. Δ. Καιλ. Καλ. Βαλβ. Ευτ. Ευσ. Σεβ. μέγιστος ὁ τῆς οἰκουμένης δεσπότης  
Inscriptions: Thrace -- *AE* (1900) 23/*IGRR* I 722/*IGBulg* 1510

#### V. Balbinus, Greek Titles, Group III

8. Αυτ. Καισ. Καιλ. Βαλβ. Σεβ. π. π.  
Coins: Cilicia (Tarsus) -- *SNGAul* 6033-4

#### VI. Pupienus, Latin Titles, Group A

9. *Imp. Caes. Pup. Max. Aug.*  
Coins: Italy (Rome) -- *RIC* IV.2 9-11, 21-3; *BMCRE* VI 82-96; *HCC* III 7-9, 27-8
10. *Imp. Caes. M. Cl. Pup. Aug.*  
Coins: Italy (Rome) -- *RIC* IV.2 1-4, 7-14, 17-20, 22-5; *BMCRE* VI 9-17, 42-9, 56-61, 77-81; *HCC* III 2-6, 12-26; *Gnecchi* II p. 87, I

#### VII. Pupienus, Latin Titles, Group C

11. *Imp. Caes. Pup. Max. Aug. pont. max. tr. pot. cos. II p. p.*  
Coins: Italy (Rome) -- *BMCRE* VI 97
12. *Imp. Caes. M. Cl. Pup. Aug. pont. max. tr. pot. cos. II p. p.*  
Coins: Italy (Rome) -- *RIC* IV.2 5-6, 15-16; *BMCRE* VI 50-55; *HCC* III 1, 10-11

#### VIII. Pupienus, Greek Titles, Group A

13. Κλ. Πουπ. Μαξ. Αυγ.  
Coins: Bithynia (Heraclea Pontica) -- *SNGAul* 6959
14. Αυτ. Καισ. Μ. Κλ. Πουπ. Ευσ.  
Coins: Egypt (Alexandria) -- Milne 1933, p. 80; *KAK* 2606-8
15. Αυτ. Καισ. Μ. Κλ. Πουπ. Αυγ.  
Coins: Bithynia (Nicomedia) -- *SNGAul* 806-9
16. Αυτ. Καισ. Μ. Κλ. Πουπ. Μαξ. Σεβ.  
Coins: Asia (Hadrianopolis) -- *SNGAul* 8374  
Egypt (Alexandria) -- Milne 1933, p. 80

#### IX. Pupienus, Greek Titles, Group B

17. Αυτ. Καισ. Μ. Κλ. Πουπ. Σεβ. π. π.  
Coins: Cilicia (Tarsus) -- *SNGAul* 6035

## X. Balbinus and Pupienus, Latin Titles, Group C

18. *Imp. Caes. M. Cl. Pup. Max. Pi. Fel. Aug. pont. max. tr. pot. cos. II procos. p. p. et Imp. Caes. D. Cael. Cal. Balb. Pi. Fel. Aug.*  
Inscriptions: Mauretania Caes. -- *CIL VIII 10343; EE vii 673/CIL VIII 22620/IA 13<sup>1</sup>*

## XI. Balbinus and Pupienus, Greek Titles, Group A

19. Πουπ. Βαλβ.  
Inscriptions: Italy -- *SEG 4 (1929) 148/ILCV 3995a*
20. οἱ κυρρ. ἡμῶν Αυττ. Καισθ. Μ. Κλ. Πουπ. Μαξ. καὶ Δ. Καὶλ. Καλ. Βαλβ. Ευσο. Ευττ. Σεββ.  
Papyri: *Bureth p. 112 (1)*

## XII. Balbinus, Pupienus and Gordian III, Latin Titles, Group A

21. *Imp. Caes. M. Clod. Pup. Max. et Imp. Caes. D. Cael. Cal. Balb. Pii. Fell. Augg. et M. Ant. Gord. nob. Caes.*  
Inscriptions: Cappadocia -- *EE v 77<sup>2</sup>*

<sup>1</sup>I have restored *pater patriae* to this inscription in conformity with *CIL VIII 10343*.

<sup>2</sup>The names and titles of Pupienus and Balbinus have been erased from this stone, and the restoration is that suggested by Mommsen (based on *CIL VIII 10342, 10343, & 10365*).

22. *dd. nn. Impp. Caess. M. Cl. Pup. et D. Cael. Cal. Balb. Augg. et M. Ant. Gord. nob. Caes.*  
Inscriptions: Italy -- *AE (1934) 230*

## XIII. Balbinus, Pupienus and Gordian III, Latin Titles, Group B

23. *Imp. Caes. M. Cl. Pup. Max. Pi. Fel. Aug. pont. max. tr. pot. p. p. cos. procos. et Imp. Caes. D. Cael. Cal. Balb. Pi. Fel. Aug. pont. max. tr. pot. p. p. cos. procos. et M. Ant. Gord. nob. Caes. Aug. princ. iuv. nepos divorum Gordianorum*  
Inscriptions: Mauretania Caes. -- *AE (1912) 158; CIL VIII 10342<sup>3</sup>*

## XIV. Balbinus, Pupienus and Gordian III, Latin Titles, Group C

24. *Impp. Caess. M. Cl. Pup. et D. Cael. Cal. Balb. Pii. Fell. Augg. ponti. maxx. trr. poti. I pp. pp. coss. II procos. et M. Ant. Gord. nob. Caes. princ. iuv. nepos divorum Gordianorum*  
Inscriptions: Mauretania Caes. -- *AE (1937) 32*
25. *Imp. Caes. M. Cl. Pup. Max. Pi. Fel. Aug. pont. max. tr. pot. p. p. cos. II procos. et Imp. Caes. D. Cael. Cal. Balb. Pi. Fel. Aug. pont. max. tr. pot. p. p. cos. II procos. et M. Ant. Gord. nob. Caes. princ. iuv. Aug. nepos divorum Gordianorum*  
Inscriptions: Mauretania Caes. -- *AE (1951) 48; CIL VIII 10365/ILS 496*
26. *Imp. Caes. M. Cl. Pup. Max. Pi. Fel. Aug. pont. max. tr. pot. p. p. cos. II procos. et Imp. Caes. D. Cael. Cal. Balb. Pi. Fel. Aug. pont. max. tr. pot. cos. II p. p. et M. Ant. Gord. nob. Caes. princ. iuv. nepos divorum Gordianorum*  
Inscriptions: Mauretania Caes. -- *EE vii 660/CIL VIII 22586*

<sup>3</sup>The milestones from Mauretania often have *P. I. AVG* for Gordian III. This is sometimes resolved as *Pius*; however, I think that *p(rinceps) i(uventutis)* is the more likely resolution. Thus, I have given it throughout.

## XV. Balbinus, Pupienus and Gordian III, Greek Titles, Group A

27. Αυττ. Καισσ. Μ. Κλ. Μαξ. (?) καὶ Δ. Καὺ. Καλ. Βαλβ. Ευσσ. Ενττ. Σεββ. καὶ Μ. Αυτ. Γορδ. ὁ ἱερώτατος Καισ.  
Papyri: *Bureth* p. 112, no. 1 (1)<sup>4</sup>
28. Αυτ. Καισ. Μ. Κλ. Πουπ. Ευσ. Εντ. Σεβ. καὶ Αυτ. Καισ. Δ. Καὺ. Καλ. Βαλβ. Ευσ. Εντ. Σεβ. καὶ Μ. Αυτ. Γορδ. ὁ ἱερώτατος Καισ.  
Papyri: *Bureth* p. 112, no. 2 (2); *O. Leid.* 259, 1-8<sup>5</sup>

<sup>4</sup>I believe that Prof. Sijpesteijn will suggest reading [Πουπιημός] rather than [Μάξιμος].

<sup>5</sup>This ostracoon actually has Pupienus' full name, viz. (line 3): [Μάρκου Κλωδίου] Πουπιημοῦ Μαξίμου.

## Gordian III

(early August 238 - late January/early February 244)

*M(arcus) Ant(oni)us Gord(ianus)*

## I. Literary Testimonia

Eutrop. 9.2.3 *miles ei tumulum vicesimo miliario a Circesio...aedificavit, exequias Romam revexit, ipsum Divum appellavit.*

Herodian 7.10.8-9 ...δεικνύντες τοῖς ἄλλοις Γορδιανοῦ τε ἔγγονον λέγοντες καὶ τῆ αὐτοῦ προσηγορίᾳ ἀποκαλοῦντες, ἀνάγουσιν ἐς τὸ Καπετώλιον εὐφημούμενον ὑπὸ τοῦ δήμου καὶ φυλλοβολοῦμενον. τῆς τε συγκλήτου Καισάρα αὐτὸ ἀποδειξάσης...

idem 8.8.7 καὶ καταλιπόντες τὰ σώματα ἐρριμμένα ἐπὶ τῆς λεωφόρου, ἀράμενοι δὲ τὸν Γορδιανὸν Καισάρα ὄντα, αὐτοκράτορά τε ἀναγορεύσαντες, ἐπειδὴ πρὸς τὸ παρὸν ἄλλον οὐχ εὔρου...

*HA Maximin.* 16.7 "*nepoti Gordiani praeturam decernimus, nepoti Gordiani consulatum spondemus. nepos Gordiani Caesar appelletur. tertius Gordianus praeturam accipiat.*"

idem 20.2-3 *quibus a populo Augustis appellatis per milites et eundem populum etiam parvulus nepos Gordiani Caesar est dictus.*

*HA Gord.* 22.2-3 *tunc populus et milites Gordianum parvulum... petiverunt, ut Caesar appellaretur; raptusque ad senatum atque inde in contione positus idumento imperatorio tectus Caesar est nuncupatus.*

idem 22.5-6 *...cum extinctis Maximinis Maximus etiam et Balbinus militari seditione interempti essent, qui biennio imperaverant, Gordianus adulescens, qui Caesar eatenus fuerat, et a militibus et populo et a senatu et ab omnibus gentibus ingenti amore, ingenti studio et gratia Augustus est appellatus.*

idem 24.2 "domino filio et Augusto Misiheus socer et praefectus."

idem 25.1 "imperator Gordianus Augustus Misiheo patri et praefecto."

idem 31.3 *appellato igitur principe Philippo et Augusto nuncupato Gordianum adulescentem inter deos rettulit.*

*HA Max. Balb. 3.3-5 deinde ad rostra populum convocarunt. ubi cum orationem de senatus sententia et de sua electione habuissent, p. R. cum militibus, qui forte convenerant, adclamavit, "Gordianum Caesarem omnes rogamus." hic nepos erat Gordiani ex filio, qui est in Africa occisus, annum agens aetatis quartum decimum, ut plerique dicunt. qui statim raptus est et novo genere senatus consulti, cum eadem die senatus consultum factum esset, inductus in curiam Caesar est appellatus.*

idem 14.7 *inter haec Gordianus Caesar sublatus ■ militibus imperator est appellatus id est Augustus, quia non erat alius in praesenti...*

Zosimus 1.16.1 *Τῶν δὲ βίᾳ χειμῶνος ἐν τῷ πλείῳ ἀπολομένων, Γορδιανῶ θεατέρου τούτων δυτι παιδι τὴν τῶν ὄλων ἡγεμονίαν τὴ γερούσια παρέδωκεν...*

## II. Gordian Caesar

### 1. *M. Ant. Gord. Caes.*

Coins: Italy (Rome) -- *RJC* IV.2 1-3; *BMCRE* VI 17a, 62-6; *HCC* III p. 191

### 2. *Ant. Gord. nob. Caes.*

Inscriptions: Cappadocia -- *AE* (1888) 181/*CIL* III 6934

## III. Latin Titles, Group A

### 3. *d. n. Gord.*

Inscriptions: Britain -- *CIL* VII 218

### 4. *Gord. Aug.*

Inscriptions: Mauretania Caes. -- *EE* v 1044/*CIL* VIII 21557

### 5. *M. Ant. Gord. Aug.*

Inscriptions: Raetia -- *AE* (1977) 594  
Dacia -- *AE* (1971) 381

### 6. *Gord. Aug. n.*

Inscriptions: Britain -- *EE* ix 1135/*ILS* 4742/*RIB* 1074/*RGAI* 1864  
Numidia -- *AE* (1967) 563

### 7. *d. n. Gord. Aug.*

Inscriptions: Italy -- *CIL* V 6972; *AE* (1889) 106/*EE* vii 1211/*CIL* XIV 4398/*ILS* 2159  
Pannonia Inf. -- *AE* (1974) 522/*RIU* IV 966  
Dalmatia -- *CIL* III 3021

### 8. *M. Ant. Gord. Pi. Fel. Aug.*

Inscriptions: Italy -- *Pais* 961

### 9. *d. n. Gord. Pi. Fel. Aug.*

Inscriptions: Italy -- *CIL* XI 7281  
Moesia Inf. -- *AE* (1896) 116<sup>1</sup>  
Moesia Sup. -- *IMS* IV 106  
Syria -- *CIL* III 132<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup>The inscription actually reads (line 4), *Gordiani p. p. Aug.* I take this to be a stone cutter's error, and emend to the given reading, i.e. *P(ii) F(elicia)*.

<sup>2</sup>*Pius Felix* is here restored.

10. *d. n. M. Ant. Gord. Pi. Fel. Aug.*  
 Inscriptions: Hispania -- *CIL* II 4607; *EE* viii p. 414, no. 143/*ERPS* 128  
 Britain -- *CIL* VII 346/*RIB* 899/*RISC* 35  
 Italy -- *CIL* V 5124/*ILS* 5092; *CIL* IX 4780  
 Dacia -- *CIL* III 858; *AE* (1971) 392/*IMSM* 53
11. *d. n. Gord. Pi. Fel. Inv. Aug.*  
 Inscriptions: Italy -- *CIL* VI 423/*ILS* 4287
12. *d. n. M. Ant. Gord. Pi. Fel. Inv. Aug.*  
 Inscriptions: Italy -- *CIL* VI 1095 (cf. 31239)/*ILS* 503; *CIL* XI 4353
13. *Caes. M. Ant. Gord. Aug.*  
 Inscriptions: Italy -- Patriarca 1935, 133  
 Noricum -- *CIL* III 5709/Grilli 1960, 224/*AE* (1962) 309
14. *Imp. Gord.*  
 Inscriptions: Belgica -- *CIL* XIII 4505
15. *Imp. M. Ant. Gord.*  
 Inscriptions: Italy -- *CIL* X 7203<sup>3</sup>  
 Moesia Inf. -- *AE* (1927) 64/*ISM* 1347  
 Coins: Macedonia (Dium) -- *SNGCop Macedonia* 158  
 Asia (Alexandria Troas) -- *SNGAul* 1477
16. *Imp. d. n. Gord.*  
 Inscriptions: Germania Sup. -- *CIL* XIII 7758<sup>4</sup>  
 Pannonia Sup. -- *CIL* III 13425/*RIU* 147/*MRSS* 10

<sup>3</sup>The stone breaks after (lines 5-6), [*Imp(eratoris) M(arci) A(ntonii) / Gordiani*...]

<sup>4</sup>The stone is badly damaged, and breaks on the right after (line 1), *Imp. d. n. Gordiano?* --

17. *Imp. Gord. Aug.*  
 Inscriptions: Pannonia Inf. -- *CIL* III 3936 (= 10820)/*ILS* 7116/*AJug* 500  
 Coins: Phoenicia (Berytus) -- *BMC Phoenicia* pp. 89-90, 205-55; *Hunter III* p. 242, 35; *SNGCop Phoenicia* 126-7
18. *Imp. d. n. M. Ant. Gord. Aug.*  
 Inscriptions: Belgica -- *ILBelg* 46 bis
19. *Imp. Gord. Pi. Aug.*  
 Coins: Thrace (Deultum) -- *BMC Thrace* p. 113, 18, 20
20. *Imp. Gord. Pi. Fel. Aug.*  
 Inscriptions: Italy -- *AE* (1935) 19  
 Dacia -- *CIL* III 1159  
 Coins: Italy (Rome) -- *RJC* IV.3 63-7, 70-1, 72a, 75, 78-9, 83-6, 95, 97-101, 108-13, 116-8, 120-134b, 136, 140-67, 286-290c, 293, 297-300, 309-319, 323-338; *HCC* III 26-8, 41-73, 101-4, 123-64; *Gnecchi I* p. 5, 1, p. 47, 1 ff.; II p. 87, 1 ff.  
 Moesia Sup. (Viminacium) -- *BMC Thrace* pp. 15-6, 8-9, 12-6; *Hunter I* p. 407, 5-11 *SNGCop Thrace* 143-8  
 Thrace (Deultum) -- *BMC Thrace* p. 113, 17, 19, 21; *SNGCop Thrace* 547-49  
 Macedonia (Pella) -- *BMC Macedonia* p. 95, 46-7  
 Syria (Antioch) -- *RJC* IV.3 208-19, 227, 229-35, 237-42, 244, 247a-48, 248; *HCC* III 165-70  
 Phoenicia (Tyre) -- *BMC Phoenicia* pp. 280-1, 423-30; *Hunter III* p. 270, 58; *SNGCop Phoenicia* 371-2<sup>5</sup>
21. *Imp. M. Ant. Gord. Pi. Fel. Aug.*  
 Inscriptions: Aquitania -- *IAL* 17/*CIL* XIII 511/*ILS* 4126<sup>6</sup>  
 Italy -- *CIL* VI 1094

<sup>5</sup>The obverse legends of both coins are problematic. No. 371 (no photo) is published with the reading, IMP... It is possible to read on no. 372, IMP GORDIANVS.

<sup>6</sup>See also below 100 for the second part of this stone.

22. *Imp. M. Ant. Gord. Pi. Fel. Aug. n.*  
Inscriptions: Dalmatia -- *CIL* III 12724
23. *d. n. Imp. Gord. Pi. Fel. Aug.*  
Inscriptions: Germania Sup. -- *CIL* XIII 6763<sup>7</sup>
24. *Imp. d. n. M. Ant. Gord. Pi. Fel. Aug.*  
Inscriptions: Britain -- *CIL* VII 1183/*RIB* 2295; *CIL* VII 1184  
Aquitania -- *CIL* XIII 1614  
Italy -- *CIL* IX 1458
25. *Imp. Gord. Pi. Fel. Inv. Aug.*  
Inscriptions: Dacia -- *CIL* III 1017
26. *Imp. M. Ant. Gord. Pi. Fel. Inv. Aug.*  
Inscriptions: Britain -- *CIL* VII 344/*ILS* 502/*RIB* 897
27. *Imp. Caes. M. Ant. Gord.*  
Inscriptions: Moesia Inf. -- *AE* (1934) 101/*ISM* I 348<sup>8</sup>  
Coins: Moesia Sup. (Viminacium) -- *BMC Thrace* p. 15, 2  
Macedonia (Coela) -- *BMC Thrace* p. 192, 6; *SNGCop Thrace* 882  
Macedonia (Dium) -- *Hunter* I p. 361, 2; *SNGCop Macedonia* 159<sup>9</sup>  
Macedonia (Pella) -- *BMC Macedonia* pp. 94-5, 42-3; *Hunter* I p. 365,  
24-6; *SNGCop Macedonia* 286-7  
Lycia (Cremna) -- *SNGAul* 5105-8  
Lycia (Antioch) -- *SNGAul* 4961  
Galatia (Eikonion) -- *SNGAul* 5390
28. *Inv. et super omnes indulgentissimus Imp. Caes. M. Ant. Gord. nob. princ.*  
Inscriptions: Moesia Sup. -- *ILJug* II 503

<sup>7</sup>The stone reads (line 4), [*d(omni) n(ostri) Imp(eratoris) G(jordani) P(i) [Fel(icis) Aug(usti)]*].

<sup>8</sup>The stone reads, *Imp(eratori) Cae(sari) / M(arco) Anto(nio) Gor(d) [d]i[ano]---*.

<sup>9</sup>This coin is badly worn, and IMP C M ANT is only barely readable.

29. *Imp. Caes. M. Ant. Gord. Aug.*  
Inscriptions: Britain -- *EE* vii 1098/*EE* ix p. 634/*CIL* VII 1159/*RIB* 2252  
Italy -- *AE* (1921) 73; *AE* (1935) 128/*IGUR* 138  
Moesia Inf. -- *AE* (1972) 545  
Macedonia -- *AE* (1940) 29  
Coins: Italy (Rome) -- *RIC* IV.3 1-14, 34-6, 38-42, 44-5, 47-50, 254-63, 267-70,  
272-75; *HCC* III 6-12, 14-22, 74-80, 84-97  
Moesia Sup. (Viminacium) -- *BMC Thrace* pp. 15-6, 1, 3-7, 10; *Hunter* I  
pp. 406-7, 1-4; *SNGCop Thrace* 136-42; *Gnecchi* I p. 48, 7; II p. 88,  
10 ff.  
Thrace (Deultum) -- *BMC Thrace* p. 113, 16  
Macedonia (Pella) -- *BMC Macedonia* p. 95, 44; *Hunter* I p. 364, 23  
Lycia (Antioch) -- *SNGAul* 4951-60, 4962-8, 8571-9  
Galatia (Eikonion) -- *SNGAul* 5391  
Syria (Antioch) -- *RIC* IV.3 176-205, 219a-221, 226a, 245, 247  
Phoenicia (Berytus) -- *SNGCop Phoenicia* 122-3<sup>10</sup>
30. *d. n. Imp. Caes. M. Ant. Gord. Aug.*  
Inscriptions: Syria -- *ILS* 9416/*IGLS* 2716
31. *Imp. Caes. Gord. Pi. Aug.*  
Coins: Italy (Rome) -- *RIC* IV.3 51-3, 55-8, 60-2, 277-9, 281-3, 285; *HCC* III 23-  
4, 98-100  
Thrace (Deultum) -- *Hunter* I p. 439, 5  
Syria (Antioch) -- *RIC* IV.3 222-3, 226, 228
32. *Imp. Caes. Ant. Gord. Pi. Fel. Aug.*  
Inscriptions: Africa -- *EE* v 310/vii 116/*CIL* VIII 12250  
Numidia -- *CIL* VIII 10387 (= 22429)

<sup>10</sup>No. 122 is worn, and only IMP CAES can clearly be read.

33. *Imp. Caes. M. Ant. Gord. Pi. Fel. Aug.*

- Inscriptions: Baetica -- *CIL* II 2070/*ILER* 1279/*ILPG* 32  
 Britain -- *CIL* VII 445/*ILS* 2620/*RIB* 1091; *CIL* VII 446/*ILS* 2621/*RIB* 1092; *CIL* VII 1149/*RIB* 22; *CIL* VII 1171/*RIB* 2269;<sup>11</sup> *RIB* 2234;<sup>12</sup> *RIB* 2289/*RISC* 164; *RIB* 2294<sup>13</sup>  
 Germania Inf. -- *CIL* XIII 7996  
 Germania Sup. -- *AE* (1888) 80/*ILS* 1188<sup>14</sup>  
 Italy -- *CIL* VI 130/*ILS* 2091; *CIL* VI 2113, 31375;<sup>15</sup> *CIL* IX 2800; *CIL* XI 4352  
 Pannonia Sup. -- *AJug* 586  
 Dalmatia -- *AE* (1912) 130  
 Dacia -- *CIL* III 1433/*IDR* III.2 266; *AE* (1972) 471<sup>16</sup>  
 Thrace -- *CIL* III 12336/*IGRR* I 674/*Syll.*<sup>3</sup> 888/*IGBulg* 2236<sup>17</sup>  
 Bithynia -- *CIL* III 347 (=6996, cf. *EE* v 95)  
 Asia -- *AE* (1937) 253  
 Cappadocia -- *CIL* III 6913, 12176<sup>18</sup>, 12198  
 Lycia -- *DLPI* 90  
 Arabia -- *AE* (1898) 17/*CIL* III 14149.31  
 Egypt -- *AE* (1948) 122<sup>19</sup>

<sup>11</sup>*Imp(eratori) Caes(ari) M(arco) A(ntonio ?) / Gordiano ?*---. This stone may be identical with that listed below, Decius 13.

<sup>12</sup>I have restored *Augustus*.

<sup>13</sup>*Imp(eratori) Caes(ari) Marco / Ant(onio) Gordiano /* ---.

<sup>14</sup>*[...Imp(eratoris) Caes(aris) / M(arci) Antoni Gordiani Pii Felicis Augusti]*.

<sup>15</sup>*Imp(eratori) Caesari / M(arco) Antonio Gordiano / Pio Felici Augusto*---.

<sup>16</sup>*[Imp(eratori) Caes(ari) / M(arco) Ant(onio) Gordian[o] P[ro] F[elici] / Augusto]*---

<sup>17</sup>See also below 35 and 180.

<sup>18</sup>*Imp(eratori) Caes(ari) / Marco Antonio Gordiano Pio Felici Augusto*.

<sup>19</sup>See also 101 below.

Africa -- *AE* (1903) 239/*CIL* VIII 23195; *AE* (1973) 573/*IRT* 896<sup>20</sup>, 942, 947

Numidia -- *CIL* VIII 10695, 18026, 22507

Mauretania Caes. -- *CIL* VIII 10437

Mauretania Ting. -- *AE* (1952) 42/*AE* (1953) 77/*AE* (1957) 201/*LAM* II 357; *AE* (1952) 43/*IAM* II 358<sup>21</sup>

Coins: Lycia (Cremna) -- *SNGAut* 5104

Papyri: *Bureth* p. 113, no. 9 (1)

34. *Imp. Caes. M. Ant. Gord. Pi. Fel. Aug. n.*

Inscriptions: Mauretania Caes. -- *CIL* VIII 9963

35. *d. n. Imp. Caes. M. Ant. Gord. Pi. Fel. Aug.*

Inscriptions: Lusitania -- *CIL* II 110/*IRCP* 380

Thrace -- *CIL* III 12336/*IGRR* I 674/*Syll.*<sup>3</sup> 888/*IGBulg* 2236<sup>22</sup>

Africa -- *AE* (1911) 9/*ILAT* 432

Mauretania Caes. -- *CIL* VIII 21523

Mauretania Ting. -- *CIL* VIII 21818/*ILM* 26/*LAM* II 68

36. *Imp. Caes. M. Ant. Gord. Pi. Fel. Aug. optimus fortissimusque princ. n.*

Inscriptions: Cilicia -- *IC* 79

37. *Imp. Caes. M. Ant. Gord. Fel. Inv. Aug.*

Inscriptions: Galatia -- *CIL* III 14184.52/*RRM* 51a

<sup>20</sup>*Imp(eratori) Caes(ari) M(arco) Ant(onio) Gordian[o] Pio Felic(i) Augusto]*. The inscription can be attributed to Gordian because he and Aviola are mentioned as consuls later in the stone. See below 47.

<sup>21</sup>*Imp. Caes.* is all that is readable on both of the last two inscriptions. See also 47 and 104 below for the dating formulae of these inscriptions.

<sup>22</sup>See also above 33 and below 179.

38. *Imp. Caes. M. Ant. Gord. Pi. Fel. Inv. Aug.*<sup>23</sup>  
 Inscriptions: Italy -- *CIL* VI 32552,<sup>24</sup> 36943  
 Dacia -- *CIL* III 38/*AE* (1971) 364<sup>25</sup>  
 Moesia Sup. -- *CIL* III 8154/*EE* ii 488/*IMS* I 24  
 Bithynia -- *IK* 10,1 15  
 Africa -- *CIL* VIII 23065  
 Numidia -- *AE* (1950) 62; Marcillet-Jaubert 1980, 167 no. 122<sup>6</sup>; *CIL*  
 VIII 2716, 10138
39. *Imp. Caes. M. Ant. Gord. Inv. Pl. Fel. Aug. restitutor orbis*  
 Inscriptions: Africa -- *AE* (1903) 94; *CIL* VIII 20487
40. *Gord. Aug. ... Imp. Caes. M. Ant. Gord. Pi. Fel. Inv. Aug.*  
 Inscriptions: Africa -- *CIL* VIII 1577<sup>27</sup>
41. *d. n. Imp. Caes. M. Ant. Gord. Pi. Fel. Inv. Aug.*  
 Inscriptions: Italy -- *CIL* VI 1096 (cf. 31239a)/*ILS* 504; *CIL* IX 3833/*ERM* 182  
 Mauretania Caes. -- *CIL* VIII 8777/*ILS* 6888
42. *d. n. sanctissimus Imp. M. Ant. Gord. Pi. Fel. Aug. Inv.*  
 Inscriptions: Mauretania Caes. -- *CIL* VIII 8411, 8710, 9233

<sup>23</sup>This formula may be attested also by *ILTG* 483/*CIL* XVII 521; however, the stone is too mutilated to be read properly.

<sup>24</sup>*Pro salute imp(eratoris) Caes(aris) M(arci) Ant(oni) / Gord(iani) Pii Fel(icis) Invicti A]ug(usti)*. Whether to add *Invictus* or not in a case like this is the editor's choice, although inscriptions without it are more common.

<sup>25</sup>This inscription was listed among the *false* in *CIL*, but has been rescued by I. I. Russu, *Acta Mus. Nap.* 3 (1966) 444-5.

<sup>26</sup>I have restored *Felix Augustus* here. Note also that *Invictus* can precede or come after *Pius Felix*, and I have not distinguished between inscriptions where its position differs.

<sup>27</sup>This inscription is fragmentary, and the titulature (aside from *Gordiano Aug.*) is conjectured.

## IV. Latin Titles, Group ■

43. *Gord. cos.*  
 Inscriptions: Noricum -- *CIL* III 11779/*ILS* 4856
44. *d. n. Gord. cos.*  
 Inscriptions: Aquitania -- *CIL* XIII 510/*ILS* 4127
45. *Gord. Aug. cos.*  
 Inscriptions: Italy -- *CIL* VI 2841 (=32547)
46. *d. n. Gord. Aug. cos.*  
 Inscriptions: Hispania -- *EE* ii 322  
 Germania Inf. -- *ILS* 4754  
 Italy -- *CIL* VI 3020
47. *Imp. d. n. Gord. cos.*  
 Inscriptions: Mauretania Ting. -- *AE* (1952) 42/*AE* (1953) 77/*AE* (1957)  
 201/*LAM* II 357<sup>28</sup>  
 Africa -- *IRT* 896/*AE* (1973) 573<sup>29</sup>
48. *Imp. Gord. Aug. cos.*  
 Coins: Phoenicia (Berytus) -- *Hunter* III pp. 241-2, 32-4
49. *Imp. M. Ant. Gord. Aug. cos.*  
 Inscriptions: Moesia Sup. -- *AE* (1966) 338

<sup>28</sup>See also above 33.

<sup>29</sup>See also above 33.



50. *Imp. d. n. Gord. Aug. cos.*  
Inscriptions: Germania Inf. -- *CIL* XIII 8207  
                  Germania Sup. -- *CIL* XIII 7753/*ILS* 2349  
                  Italy -- *CIL* VI 2797 (=32546); *CIL* XIV 461  
                  Noricum -- *CIL* III 4800/*ILS* 4198/*CIMRM* 1438
51. *Imp. d. n. M. Ant. Gord. Aug. cos.*  
Inscriptions: Dacia -- *CIL* III 827
52. *Imp. Caes. M. Ant. Gord. Aug. p. p.*  
Inscriptions: Cappadocia -- *CIL* III 6738
53. *Imp. Caes. M. Ant. Gord. Aug. pont. max. tr. pot. cos. p. p.*  
Coins: Syria (Antioch) -- *RIC* IV.3 168-9
54. *Imp. Caes. M. Ant. Gord. Pi. Fel. Aug. p. p.*  
Inscriptions: Pannonia Inf. -- *CIL* III 10205
55. *Imp. Caes. M. Ant. Gord. Pi. Fel. Aug. princ. iuv. cos. p. p.*  
Inscriptions: Italy -- *CIL* XI 6030
56. *Imp. Caes. M. Ant. Gord. Pi. Fel. Aug. tr. pot. p. p. cos.*  
Inscriptions: Asia -- *AE* (1909) 190
57. *Imp. Caes. M. Ant. Gord. Pi. Fel. Aug. pont. max.*  
Inscriptions: Italy -- *CIL* XI 8018/*ELRA* 14<sup>30</sup>
58. *Imp. Caes. M. Ant. Gord. Pi. Fel. Aug. pont. max. p. p.*  
Inscriptions: Italy -- *AE* (1902) 51/*Inscript. Ital.* X 1, 672/*Alföldy* 1984b, no. 15

<sup>30</sup>[*Im*]*p*(*eratori*) *Caes*(*ari*) / [*M*(*arco*) *A*]*n*(*tonio*) / [*G*o]*r*(*diano*) / [*P*io *F*el]i(*ci*) *A*u]g(ust)o) / [*p*o]n]t(i]f]i]c]i] *max*(*imo*) / [*tr*](*ibunicia*) *p*(*otestate*) (*tertia*) [*im*]*p*(*eratori*) (*tertium*) / *pat*(*ri*)] *p*at]r]i]a]e / *co*(*n*)s(ul]i) *pro*]c]o(n]s(ul]i). This is the restoration given in *ELRA*. The last three lines of the stone appear, however, actually to have read, [...] *III* *V*(?) / [...] *patria* [...] / *c. Forai* (*ELRA* ad loc.) takes what appears to be the Roman numeral five (in line 6) to be the central part of the letter M, and restores the rest as indicated. Still, the last three lines have seemed too questionable for proper restoration, thus I leave the stone here.

59. *Imp. Caes. M. Ant. Gord. Pi. Fel. Aug. pont. max. tr. pot.*  
Inscriptions: Africa -- *AE* (1969/70) 637<sup>31</sup>  
                  Numidia -- *CIL* VIII 22279/*ILAlg* I 3879<sup>32</sup>
60. *Imp. Caes. M. Ant. Gord. Pi. Fel. Aug. pont. max. tr. pot. p. p.*  
Inscriptions: Germania Sup. -- *CIL* XIII 9099/*XVII* 631; *CIL* XIII 9107/*RSO* 216/*CIL* XVII 639
61. *Imp. Caes. M. Ant. Gord. Pi. Fel. Aug. pont. max. tr. pot. procos.*  
Inscriptions: Lugdunensis -- *CIL* XIII 3153
62. *Imp. Caes. M. Ant. Gord. Pi. Fel. Aug. pont. max. tr. pot. procos. p. p.*  
Inscriptions: Pannonia Sup. -- *CIL* III 11327
63. *Imp. Caes. M. Ant. Gord. Pi. Fel. Aug. pont. max. tr. pot. imp. cos.*  
Inscriptions: Hispania -- *CIL* II 3406/*AE* (1917/18) 8/*ILER* 1173/*ILPG* 25
64. *Imp. Caes. M. Ant. Gord. Pi. Fel. Aug. pont. max. tr. pot. cos. p. p.*  
Inscriptions: Italy -- *CIL* IX 1457, 2951; *CIL* XI 1177a  
                  Numidia -- *CIL* VIII 10162 (=22224)
65. *Imp. Caes. M. Ant. Gord. Pi. Fel. Aug. pont. max. tr. pot. cos. p. p...d. n. Aug.*  
Inscriptions: Africa -- *CIL* VIII 25935
66. *Imp. Caes. M. Ant. Gord. Pi. Fel. Aug. pont. max. tr. pot. cos. procos.*  
Inscriptions: Pannonia Sup. -- *CIL* III 4644/*Weber* 1968-71, 129-30 no. 7  
                  Dacia -- *AE* (1972) 472<sup>33</sup>

<sup>31</sup>[*I*]*mp*(*eratori*) *C*[*a*]*es*(*ari*) *M*(*arco*) *A*nto]n]i]o *G*o]r]d]i]a]n]o / [*P*]*io* *F*[*e*]*l*ic]i *A*u]g(ust)o) *po*n]t]i]f]i]c]i] / *max*(*imo*) *tr*(*ibunicia*) *po*t(estate).

<sup>32</sup>The inscription breaks after mention of the tribunician power.

<sup>33</sup>[*Im*]*p*(*eratori*) *Caes*(*ari*) / *M*(*arco*) *Ant*(*onio*)] *G*o]r]d]i]a]n]o *P*(*io*) *F*(*elici*) *A*u]g(ust)o) / *po*n]t]i]f]i]c]i] *max*(*imo*)] / *tr*(*ibunicia*)] *po*t(estate) *c*[*o*]*n*s(ul]i)] / *pro*c]o(n]s(ul]i).

67. *Imp. Caes. M. Ant. Gord. Pi. Fel. Aug. pont. max. tr. pot. p. p. cos. procos.*  
 Inscriptions: Germania Sup. -- *CIL* XIII 9119  
 Pannonia Inf. -- *AE* (1969/70) 522; *CIL* III 3701  
 Pannonia Sup. -- *CIL* III 11332/*IPS* 4  
 Africa -- *IRT* 455
68. *Imp. Caes. M. Ant. Gord. Pi. Fel. Aug. pont. max. tr. pot. cos. procos. p. p. optimus maximusque princ. n.*  
 Inscriptions: Hispania -- *CIL* II 4606
- 68a. *Imp. Caes. M. Ant. Gord. Pi. Fel. Aug. pont. max. tr. pot. p. p. cos. procos. restitutor orbis*  
 Inscriptions: Germania Sup. -- *CIL* XIII 9119/*XVII* 648
69. *Imp. Caes. M. Ant. Gord. Inv. Pi. Fel. Aug. p. p.*  
 Inscriptions: Mauretania Caes. -- *EE* vii 480/*CIL* VIII 20602
70. *Imp. Caes. M. Ant. Gord. Pi. Fel. Inv. Aug. pont. max. tr. pot.*  
 Inscriptions: Dacia -- *CIL* III 37/*AE* (1950) 17,<sup>34</sup> *IMSM* 5
71. *Imp. Caes. M. Ant. Gord. Pi. Fel. Inv. Aug. pont. max. tr. pot. p. p. procos.*  
 Inscriptions: Moesia Inf. -- *CIL* III 7606/*ISM* 1 98a  
 Numidia -- *CIL* VIII 10243
72. *Imp. Caes. M. Ant. Gord. Pi. Fel. Inv. Aug. pont. max. tr. pot. cos. procos.*  
 Inscriptions: Cappadocia -- *RRM* 57(i), 58a, 60c

<sup>34</sup>This inscription was listed among the *falsae* in *CIL*. For the argument that it is genuine, M. Macrea, *Anuarul Institutului de Studii Clasice (Cluj)* 5 (1949) 1-6.

73. *Imp. Caes. M. Ant. Gord. Pi. Fel. Inv. Aug. pont. max. tr. pot. cos. p. p. procos.*  
 Inscriptions: Pannonia Sup. -- *EE* II 910/*CIL* III 11333a<sup>35</sup>  
 Cappadocia -- *AE* (1964) 3  
 Numidia -- *CIL* VIII 22396<sup>36</sup>

## V. Latin Titles, Group C

74. *Imp. Gord. Aug. cos. I*  
 Coins: Phoenicia (Berytus) -- *BMC Phoenicia* pp. 88-9, 241-9; *SNGCop Phoenicia* 124-5
75. *Imp. Caes. M. Ant. Gord. Pi. Fel. Aug. pont. max. tr. pot. I*  
 Inscriptions: Africa -- *IRT* 454
76. *Imp. Gord. Pi. Fel. Aug. pont. max. tr. pot. II cos. p. p.*  
 Coins: Italy (Rome) -- *RIC* IV.3 68, 73, 76, 291; *HCC* III 25
77. *Imp. Caes. M. Ant. Gord. Aug. pont. max. tr. pot. II cos. p. p.*  
 Coins: Italy (Rome) -- *RIC* IV.3 15-33, 37, 43, 46, 50a-c, 264-6, 271, 276; *HCC* III 1-5, 13, 81-3  
 Syria (Antioch) -- *RIC* IV.3 170-5
78. *Imp. Caes. Gord. Pi. Aug. pont. max. tr. pot. II cos. p. p.*  
 Coins: Italy (Rome) -- *RIC* IV.3 54, 59, 280, 284

<sup>35</sup>{*Imp(erator) Caes(ar) / M(arcus) An(tonius)*} *Gordian[us / Pius] Felix I*{*n[ictus A]/ug(ustus) [p(ontifex) m(aximus) ]r[ib(unicia) p(estate) / co(n)s(ul) proco(n)s(ul)]*---

<sup>36</sup>This stone actually has just *pont.*, rather than *pont. max.*

79. *Imp. Caes. M. Ant. Gord. Pi. Fel. Aug. tr. pot. II cos. procos.*  
Inscriptions: Dalmatia -- *CIL* III 13327<sup>37</sup>
80. *Imp. Caes. M. Ant. Gord. Pi. Fel. Aug. pont. max. tr. pot. II cos. p. p.*  
Inscriptions: Alpes -- *CIL* XII 9  
Italy -- *CIL* VI 1089, 37165  
Dalmatia -- *CIL* III 13320  
Dacia -- *CIL* III 1175  
Africa -- *IRT* 937, 939b
81. *Imp. Caes. M. Ant. Gord. Pi. Fel. Aug. pont. max. tr. pot. II cos. procos.*  
Inscriptions: Italy -- *CIL* IX 312
82. *Imp. Caes. M. Ant. Gord. Pi. Fel. Aug. pont. max. tr. pot. II cos. procos. p. p.*  
Inscriptions: Italy -- *CIL* IX 4539;<sup>38</sup> *CIL* XI 5269
83. *Imp. Caes. M. Ant. Gord. Inv. Pi. Fel. Aug. tr. pot. II cos. p. p.*  
Inscriptions: Africa -- *EE* vii 47/*CIL* VIII 11325
84. *Imp. Caes. M. Ant. Gord. Inv. Pi. Fel. Aug. pont. max. tr. pot. II cos.*  
Inscriptions: Numidia -- *EE* vii 650/*CIL* VIII 10290 (=22363)
85. *Imp. Caes. M. Ant. Gord. Pi. Fel. Inv. Aug. pont. max. tr. pot. II cos. p. p.*  
Inscriptions: Narbonensis -- *CIL* XII 5366
86. *Imp. Caes. M. Ant. Gord. Inv. Pi. Fel. Aug. pont. max. tr. pot. II. cos. procos.*  
Inscriptions: Numidia -- *EE* v 1127/*CIL* VIII 10204 (=22314)

<sup>37</sup>[*Imp(erator) C]aes(ar) / [M(arcus) An]tonius / [Gord]ianus / [Piu]s Felix [Aug(ustus)] / [tr(ibunicia) p]ot(estate) II [... co(n)s(ul)] / pr(o)co(n)s(ul).*

<sup>38</sup>I have restored *Imp. Caes. M. Ant.*

87. *Imp. Caes. M. Ant. Gord. Pi. Fel. Inv. Aug. pont. max. tr. pot. II cos. procos. p. p.*  
Inscriptions: Italy -- *CIL* VI 1088 (cf. 36884)/*ILS* 499  
Numidia -- *AE* (1969/70) 693; *CIL* VIII 10298; *EE* v 1135/*CIL* VIII 22371/*ILS* 5869; *EE* v 1136/*CIL* VIII 22372
88. *d. n. Imp. Caes. M. Ant. Gord. Pi. Fel. Aug. pont. max. tr. pot. II cos. p. p.*  
Inscriptions: Africa -- *EE* vii 1210/*CIL* VIII 895 (=12425)/*ILS* 5074
89. *d. n. invictissimus et super omnes fortissimus Imp. Caes. M. Ant. Gord. Pi. Fel. Inv. Aug. pont. max. tr. pot. II cos. procos. p. p.*  
Inscriptions: Italy -- *AE* (1899) 103/*CIL* XIV 4397/*ILS* 2158
90. *Imp. Gord. Pi. Fel. Aug. pont. max. tr. pot. III cos. p. p.*  
Coins: Italy (Rome) -- *RIC* IV.3 69, 72, 74, 77, 80-2, 292, 294-6; *HCC* III 29-31, 105-9; *Gnecchi* I p. 5, 2; II p. 90, 30-1
91. *Imp. Caes. M. Ant. Gord. Aug. pont. max. tr. pot. III cos. p. p.*  
Coins: Syria (Antioch) -- *RIC* IV.3 224<sup>39</sup>
92. *Imp. Caes. M. Ant. Gord. Pi. Fel. Aug. pont. max. tr. pot. III*  
Inscriptions: Numidia -- *AE* (1915) 31
93. *Imp. Caes. M. Ant. Gord. Pi. Fel. Aug. pont. max. tr. pot. III cos. p. p.*  
Inscriptions: Lugdunensis -- *CIL* XIII 9059/*RSS* 32/*CIL* XVII 127<sup>40</sup>  
Africa -- *ILAlg* I 3881

<sup>39</sup>This coin is labeled hybrid by the *RIC* editors because the reverse, though of Gordian III, is "not matched to the right obverse."

<sup>40</sup>*CIL* XVII 129 may also have this titulature, but the stone is now lost, and there are three differing transcriptions if it, which makes deciding on the proper reading impossible.

94. *Imp. Caes. M. Ant. Gord. Pi. Fel. Inv. Aug. pont. max. tr. pot. III cos. p. p. optimus fortissimusque princ.*  
Inscriptions: Italy -- *CIL* VI 1090;<sup>41</sup> *CIL* X 1117<sup>42</sup>
95. *Imp. Caes. M. Ant. Gord. Pi. Fel. Inv. Aug. pont. max. tr. pot. III cos. p. p.*  
Inscriptions: Moesia Inf. -- *AE* (1955) 259/*AE* (1964) 277<sup>43</sup>  
Africa -- *AE* (1917/18) 47
96. *Imp. Caes. M. Ant. Gord. Pi. Fel. Inv. Aug. pont. max. tr. pot. III p. p. cos. procos.*  
Inscriptions: Pannonia Inf. -- *CIL* III 3331, 3520; *AE* (1947) 27/*RIU* IV 1044
97. *Gord. cos. II*  
Inscriptions: Britain -- *CIL* VII 415/*ILS* 2635; *CIL* VII 416
98. *d.n. Gord. cos. II*  
Inscriptions: Aquitania -- *CIL* XIII 518/*ILS* 4128  
Italy -- Hülsen 1902, 244 no. 28
99. *Gord. Aug. cos. II*  
Inscriptions: Italy -- *CIL* VI 2390, 2391, 2392
100. *d. n. Gord. Aug. cos. II*  
Inscriptions: Aquitania -- *IAL* 17/*CIL* XIII 511/*ILS* 4126<sup>44</sup>  
Italy -- *ILS* 2189

<sup>41</sup>[*Imp(eratori) Caesar / M(arco) Antonio Gordiano / Pio Felici Invicto / Augusto / pontif(ici) m(ax)imo tribunic(ia) / potestate*] *II* [*I co(n)s(ul) p(atr) p(atr)iae*] / *optimo fortissimo[que] principi*].

<sup>42</sup>This inscription does not, in fact, include *Invictus*.

<sup>43</sup>[*Imp(erator) Caesar / M(arcus) Antjoni[us] Gordianus / Pius Fe]lix Invic[us] Aug(ustus) / pontif]ex maxim[us] / trib(unicia) pot(estate) III co(n)s(ul) [p(atr) p(atr)iae]*].

<sup>44</sup>See above 21 for the first part of this stone.

101. *Imp. M. Ant. Gord. cos. II*  
Inscriptions: Egypt -- *AE* (1948) 122<sup>45</sup>
102. *Imp. Gord. Aug. cos. II*  
Inscriptions: Italy -- *CIL* VI 16 (cf. 30685); *ILS* 2095
103. *Imp. d. n. Gord. Aug. cos. II*  
Inscriptions: Britain -- *CIL* VII 882/*RIB* 1983/*RISC* 34  
Germania Sup. -- *CIL* XIII 11759/*ILS* 9179b/*RGAI* 341  
Pannonia Inf. -- *RIU* III 869
104. *d. n. Imp. Gord. Pi. Fel. Aug. cos. II*  
Inscriptions: Italy -- *CIL* X 521/*ILS* 6325/*Inscript. Ital.* I 1, 22  
Mauretania Ting. -- *AE* (1952) 43/*LAM* II 358<sup>46</sup>
105. *Imp. Caes. M. Ant. Gord. Aug. cos. II p. p.*  
Coins: Phoenicia (Berytus) -- *BMC Phoenicia* pp. 86-8 nos. 228-40; *Hunter III* p. 241, 31
106. *Imp. Caes. M. Ant. Gord. Pi. Fel. Aug. pont. max. tr. pot. cos. II p. p.*  
Inscriptions: Italy -- *CIL* VI 1093
107. *Imp. Caes. M. Ant. Gord. Pi. Fel. pont. max. tr. pot. cos. II p. p. procos.*  
Inscriptions: Lugdunensis -- *CIL* XIII 8901/*XVII* 429<sup>47</sup>
108. *Imp. Caes. M. Ant. Gord. Pi. Fel. Inv. Aug. p. p. pont. max. tr. pot. cos. II procos.*  
Inscriptions: Moesia Inf. -- *CIL* III 14430/*AE* (1902) 127

<sup>45</sup>See also 33 above.

<sup>46</sup>See also above 33.

<sup>47</sup>Walser (*CIL* ad loc.) restores, *Imp(erator) [Caes(ar) M(arco) An]ton(ia) G[ordiano] / Pio Fel(ici) [Aug(usto) pontif(ici) / max(imo) [tribunicia) pot(estate) VI] / co(n)s(ul) II p(atr) [p(atr)iae) proco(n)s(ul)]*. There is no telling whether the sixth tribunician iteration is or is not here in question. See also below 127.

109. *Imp. Gord. Pi. Fel. Aug. pont. max. tr. pot. III cos. II p. p.*  
 Coins: Italy (Rome) -- *RIC* IV.3 87, 91, 114-5, 119, 137a, 139a, 301, 305; *HCC* III 32-3, 110-11  
 Syria (Antioch) -- *RIC* IV.3 236<sup>48</sup>
110. *Imp. Caes. M. Ant. Gord. Pi. Fel. Aug. pont. max. tr. pot. III cos. II p. p.*  
 Inscriptions: Belgium -- *CIL* XIII 3560/*AE* (1900) 43
111. *Imp. Caes. M. Ant. Gord. Pi. Fel. Aug. pont. max. tr. pot. III imp. II cos. p. p.*  
 Inscriptions: Italy -- *CIL* VI 1091<sup>49</sup>
112. *Imp. Gord. Pi. Fel. Aug. pont. max. tr. pot. IV cos. II p. p.*  
 Coins: Italy (Rome) -- *RIC* IV.3 88, 92, 102, 105, 135, 138-9, 302, 306, 320-1;  
*HCC* III 34-6, 112-6; *Gnecchi* II p. 90, 32 ff.
113. *Imp. Caes. M. Ant. Gord. Pi. Fel. Aug. pont. max. tr. pot. IV cos. II p. p.*  
 Inscriptions: Italy -- *CIL* XI 2634  
 Africa -- *CIL* VIII 26264
114. *Imp. Caes. M. Ant. Gord. Pi. Fel. Aug. pont. max. tr. pot. IV cos. II p. p. procos.*  
 Inscriptions: Dacia -- *CIL* III 1454/*ILS* 7128/*IDR* III,2 80
115. *Imp. Caes. M. Ant. Gord. Pi. Fel. Aug. pont. max. tr. pot. IV cos. II procos. p. p. restitutor orbis*  
 Inscriptions: Italy -- *CIL* VI 1092<sup>50</sup>
116. *Imp. Caes. M. Ant. Gord. Pi. Fel. Inv. Aug. pont. max. tr. pot. IV imp. III cos. II p. p. procos.*  
 Inscriptions: Numidia -- *AE* (1969/70) 701/*ILAlg* II,2 6872

<sup>48</sup>The *RIC* editors say that the reverse of this coin belongs to Philip rather than to Gordian.

<sup>49</sup>*[Imp(erator) Caes(ar) M(arcus) Antonius Gordianu]s Pius Felix [Aug(ustus) / pontif(ex) max(imus) trib(unicia) potest(ate)] III imp(erator) II co(n)s(ul) p(ater) [p(at)riae]] / [---]*

<sup>50</sup>*[Imp(erator) Caes(ari) M(arco) Antonio Gordiano / Pio Felici] Aug(usto) pontif(ici) maximo / [trib(unicia) pot(estate) III co(n)s(uli) II proco(n)s(uli) p(at)ri] p(at)riae] / [r]estitutori orbis.*

117. *Imp. Caes. M. Ant. Gord. Pi. Fel. Aug. pont. max. tr. pot. V*  
 Inscriptions: Africa -- *CIL* VIII 27432
118. *Imp. Gord. Pi. Fel. Aug. pont. max. tr. pot. V cos. II p. p.*  
 Coins: Italy (Rome) -- *RIC* IV.3 89, 93, 103, 106, 303, 307; *HCC* III 37-9, 117-9  
 Syria (Antioch) -- *RIC* IV.3 206
119. *Imp. Caes. M. Ant. Gord. Inv. Aug. pont. max. tr. pot. V cos. II p. p. procos.*  
 Inscriptions: Pannonia Inf. -- *CIL* III 10623
120. *Imp. Caes. M. Ant. Gord. Pi. Fel. Aug. pont. max. tr. pot. V cos. II procos. p. p.*  
 Inscriptions: Italy -- *CIL* V 3112/*ILS* 501; *CIL* X 6954/*ILS* 5876/*Inscript. Ital.* I 1, 242  
 Numidia -- *AE* (1923) 95/*CIL* VIII 8779b (= 17989); *AE* (1923) 96; *AE* (1923) 97/*CIL* VIII 17988; *AE* (1923) 98/*CIL* VIII 8779a (= 17988)
121. *Imp. Caes. M. Ant. Gord. Pi. Fel. Inv. Aug. tr. pot. V cos. II p. p. procos.*  
 Inscriptions: Moesia Sup. -- *AE* (1952) 191
122. *Imp. Caes. M. Ant. Gord. Inv. Pi. Fel. Aug. pont. max. tr. pot. V imp. V cos. II procos. p. p.*  
 Inscriptions: Mauretania Caes. -- Héron de Villefosse 1898, 205
123. *Imp. Caes. M. Ant. Gord. Pi. Fel. Inv. Aug. pont. max. trib. pot. imp. VI cos. II p. p.*  
 Inscriptions: Baetica -- *CIL* II 2072 (= 5505)/*ILER* 6046/*ILPG* 35
124. *d. n. Imp. Caes. M. Ant. Gord. Pi. Fel. Inv. Aug. pont. max. tr. pot. V imp. VI cos. II p. p. procos.*  
 Inscriptions: Numidia -- *CIL* VIII 5701/*ILAlg* II,2 6513
125. *Imp. Caes. M. Ant. Gord. Pi. Fel. Inv. Aug. pont. max. tr. pot. VI(?) cos. p. p.*  
 Inscriptions: Italy -- *CIL* VI 3786 (= 32634a)<sup>51</sup>

<sup>51</sup>*[Imp(erator) Caesari] / M(arco) Ant(onio) Gordiano] / Pio Felici Inv(icto) Aug(usto)] / pontif(ici) max(imo) / trib(unicia) potest(ate) VI / co(n)s(uli) p(at)ri] p(at)riae].* Hülsen restores *tr. pot. VI* because fragment b of this stone records the consuls L. Aemilius Arrianus and C. Cereonius Pappus (coss. A.D. 243).

126. *Imp. Gord. Pi. Fel. Aug. pont. max. tr. pot. VI cos. II p. p.*  
 Coins: Italy (Rome) -- *RIC* IV.3 90, 94, 96, 104, 107, 304, 308; *HCC* III 40, 120-1; *Gneecchi* I p. 5, 3; II p. 90, 26
127. *Imp. Caes. M. Ant. Gord. Pi. Fel. Aug. pont. max. tr. pot. VI cos. II p. p. procos.*<sup>52</sup>  
 Inscriptions: Aquitania -- *AE* (1948) 206/*ILTG* 469/*CIL* XVII 356  
 Lugdunensis -- *CIL* III pp. 894-5 LII/*CIL* XVI 147; *CIL* XIII 1791; *CIL* XIII 8911/*ILTG* 466/*CIL* XVII 354<sup>53</sup>
128. *Imp. Gord. Pi. Fel. Aug. pont. max. tr. pot. VII cos. II p. p.*  
 Coins: Italy (Rome) -- *RIC* IV.3 167a, 339; *HCC* III 122; *Gneecchi* II p. 90, 27  
 Syria (Antioch) -- *RIC* IV.3 207, 248c
129. *Imp. Caes. M. Ant. Gord. Pi. Fel. Aug. pont. max. tr. pot. VII cos. II p. p. procos.*  
 Inscriptions: Dalmatia -- *AE* (1935) 161<sup>54</sup>
130. *Imp. Caes. M. Ant. Gord. Inv. Pi. Fel. Aug. pont. max. tr. pot. p. p. imp. VII cos. procos.*  
 Inscriptions: Mauretania Caes. -- *EE* v 1046 (cf. vii 544)/*CIL* VIII 21559

## VI. Greek Titles, Group A

131. Γορδ.  
 Inscriptions: Italy -- *ILCV* 3995b  
 Papyri: *Bureth* p. 113, no. 1 (2); *P. Oxy.* XLVI 3298, 10 & 38; *BGU* XII 2132, 1

<sup>52</sup>This formula for Gordian may be contained on *CIL* XIII 8933/XVII 383; however, the stone is too fragmentary to be read with certainty. See also above 107.

<sup>53</sup>The reading given is that of *CIL* XVII and *ILTG*.

<sup>54</sup>[*Imp(erator) Caes(ar) M(arcus) Antonius Gordianus Pius Fel(ix) / Aug(ustus) pont(ificis) max(imus) trib(unicia) pot(estate) V[II] co(n)s(ul) II p(ater) p(atris) proco(n)s(ul)*].

132. ΑΥΤ. ΓΟΡΔ.  
 Coins: Palestine (Raphia) -- *BMC Palestine* p. 173, 11  
 Papyri: *Bureth* p. 113, no. 2 (2)
133. Μ. ΑΥΤ. ΓΟΡΔ.  
 Inscriptions: Achaea -- *IG* XII 9, 1237a/Gregory 1979, 264 no. 7  
 Coins: Asia (Dorylaion) -- *SNGAul* 3565  
 Cilicia (Seleucia on the Calycadnos) -- *SNGAul* 5844
134. ΘΕΟΣ ΓΟΡΔ.  
 Inscriptions: Asia -- *AE* (1964) 231/*TAM* V, 1 419  
 Papyri: *P. Ant.* III 191, 9; *P. Laur.* I 13, 11 & 22
135. Μ. ΑΥΤ. ΓΟΡΔ. ὁ κυρ.  
 Papyri: *Bureth* p. 113, no. 3 (1)<sup>55</sup>
136. Μ. ΑΥΤ. ΓΟΡΔ. σωτήρ τῆς οἰκουμένης  
 Inscriptions: Lycia -- *AE* (1899) 171/*IGRR* III 646/*TAM* II, 3 830
137. ΓΟΡΔ. ΚΑΙΣ.  
 Coins: Asia (Miletus) -- *SNGAul* 7937
138. Μ. ΑΥΤ. ΓΟΡΔ. ΚΑΙΣ.  
 Coins: Bithynia (Heraclea Pontica) -- *SNGAul* 418-23, 6960  
 Bithynia (Nicomedia) -- *SNGAul* 810-1  
 Egypt (Alexandria) -- Milne 1933, p. 80; *KAK* 2614-9  
 Papyri: *CPR* VII 12, 8-9
139. Μ. ΑΥΤ. ΓΟΡΔ. ΚΑΙΣ. ὁ κυρ.  
 Papyri: *Bureth* p. 113 no. 4 (8); *P. Oxy.* XLIII 3133, 12-4; *P. Vindob. Sal.* 14, 1-2 & 9; *P. Vindob. Tandem* 11, 54-6; *CPR* VIII 14, 6-8 & 16, 4-6; *Stud. Pal.* XX 73, 1

<sup>55</sup>*Stud. Pal.* XX 73, 1, which *Bureth* lists as attesting this formula, really belongs with 139 below. See P.J. Sijpesteijn, *ZPE* 40 (1980) 137.

140. ὁ μέγιστος καὶ θεϊώτατος Καῖσα. Μ. Αὐτ. Γορδ.  
Inscriptions: Thrace -- *SEG* 28 (1978) 586
141. Μ. Αὐτ. Γορδ. Αὐγ.  
Coins: Moesia Inf. (Marcianopolis) -- *BMC Thrace* pp. 38-9, 81-5, 88; *SNGCop Thrace* 251, 253-4, 257, 259  
Moesia Inf. (Tomi) -- *BMC Thrace* p. 63, 61  
Thrace (Perinthos) -- *BMC Thrace* pp. 159-60, 63-4, 70-1; *Hunter I* p. 403, 29; *SNGCop Thrace* 760  
Asia (Alia) -- *SNGAul* 3387  
Asia (Dokimeion) -- *SNGAul* 3556, 8356  
Asia (Midaion) -- *SNGAul* 3891  
Bithynia (Amastris) -- *SNGAul* 175-6  
Bithynia (Chalcedon) -- *SNGAul* 499-501  
Bithynia (Cios-Prusias ad Mare) -- *SNGAul* 512  
Bithynia (Heraclea Pontica) -- *SNGAul* 424-37, 6961-3  
Bithynia (Julio polis) -- *SNGAul* 6975  
Bithynia (Nicaea) -- *SNGAul* 653-9, 7049-50, 7167-8; *KBM* 66-76  
Bithynia (Nicomedia) -- *SNGAul* 812-26, 7118-21  
Bithynia (Prusias on the Hypios) -- *SNGAul* 909-11  
Bithynia (Tios) -- *SNGAul* 1002-18, 7187
142. Γορδ. Σεβ.  
Inscriptions: Arabia -- *IGRR* III 1303/*MS* 218
143. Αὐτ. Γορδ. Σεβ.  
Coins: Cilicia (Seleucia on the Calycadnos) -- *SNGAul* 5836-43, 8711
144. Μ. Αὐτ. Γορδ. Σεβ.  
Coins: Cilicia (Seleucia on the Calycadnos) -- *SNGAul* 5845  
Egypt (Alexandria) -- Milne 1933, p. 80
145. Θεός Γορδ. Σεβ.  
Papyri: *Bureth* p. 113, no. 8 (1)
146. Καῖσα. Μ. Αὐτ. Γορδ. Σεβ.  
Coins: Achaea (Argos) -- *BMC Peloponnesus* p. 152, 174

147. Αὐτ. Γορδ. Αὐγ. Σεβ.  
Coins: Moesia Inf. (Marcianopolis) -- *BMC Thrace* p. 40, 91
148. Καῖσα. (?) Μ. Αὐτ. Γορδ. Αὐγ. Σεβ.  
Coins: Moesia Inf. (Marcianopolis) -- *BMC Thrace* p. 40, 90<sup>56</sup>
149. Μ. Αὐτ. Γορδ. Εὐσ. Σεβ.  
Inscriptions: Asia -- *IK* 33, 45<sup>57</sup>
150. Μ. Αὐτ. Γορδ. Εὐσ. Εὐτ. Σεβ.  
Papyri: *Bureth* p. 113, no. 5 (2)
151. ὁ κυρ. ἡμῶν Μ. Αὐτ. Γορδ. Εὐσ. Εὐτ. Σεβ.  
Inscriptions: Macedonia -- *AE* (1971) 431<sup>58</sup>  
Thrace -- *AE* (1891) 84/*IGRR* I 672/*IGBulg* 2013
152. Γορδ. Εὐσ. Εὐτ. Σεβ. νέος Ἥλιος  
Inscriptions: Asia -- *IK* 12, 302<sup>59</sup>
153. Αὐτ. Μ. Αὐτ. Γορδ.  
Coins: Moesia Inf. (Nicopolis) -- *BMC Thrace* p. 52, 77  
Macedonia (Koinon B) -- *BMC Macedonia* p. 29, 158  
Asia (Tiberiopolis) -- *SNGAul* 4032, 8457  
Cilicia (Epiphaneia) -- *SNGAul* 5555
154. ὁ θεϊώτατος Αὐτ. Μ. Αὐτ. Γορδ.  
Inscriptions: Moesia Inf. -- *IGRR* I, 1445/*IGBulg* 797

<sup>56</sup> The obverse legend reads, ΚΜΑΝΤΓΟΡΔΙΑΝΟΣΑΥΓΣΕΒ ΤΡΑΝΚΥΛ ΛΕΙΝ.

<sup>57</sup> The stone is broken at the top, cutting off (probably) the first part of Gordian's titulature -- possibly Αὐτοκράτωρ Καῖσαρ.

<sup>58</sup> See also below 201.

<sup>59</sup> This titulature is contained in lines 8-9 of the inscription. See also below 166.

155. Μ. Αυτ. Γορδ. ὁ θεϊότατος Αυτ. ὁ ἐκ θεῶν  
Inscriptions: Galatia -- *AE* (1899) 188/*IGRR* III 235/*RECAM* II 396
156. ὁ κυρ. ἡμῶν Αυτ. Μ. Αυτ. Γορδ.  
Inscriptions: Thrace -- *IGBulg* 1517
157. ὁ θεϊότατος Αυτ. Μ. Αυτ. Γορδ. Ευσ.  
Inscriptions: Thrace -- *SEG* 15 (1958) 447/*IGBulg* 2002
158. Αυτ. Μ. Αυτ. Γορδ. Αυγ.  
Coins: Moesia Inf. (Odessus) -- *BMC Thrace* pp. 139-40, 19-21
159. Αυτ. Μ. Γορδ. Σεβ.  
Inscriptions: Achaea -- *IG* IV 1158/*IG* IV,1 613
160. ὁ κυρ. Αυτ. Μ. Αυτ. Γορδ. Σεβ.  
Inscriptions: Moesia Inf. -- *IGRR* I 623/*ILS* 8851
161. ὁ κυρ. ἡμῶν Αυτ. Μ. Αυτ. Γορδ. Σεβ.  
Inscriptions: Achaea -- *IG* XII,5 666  
Arabia -- *AE* (1907) 67; *SEG* 34 (1984) 1519
162. Αυτ. Μ. Αυτ. Γορδ. Ευσ. Ευτ. Σεβ.  
Inscriptions: Thrace -- *AE* (1965) 345/*IGBulg* 1707  
Asia -- *Miler* p. 54
163. ὁ κυρ. ἡμῶν Αυτ. Μ. Αυτ. Γορδ. Ευσ. Ευτ. Σεβ.  
Papyri: *Bureth* p. 113, no. 7 (1)
164. ὁ μέγιστος καὶ θεϊότατος Αυτ. Μ. Αυτ. Γορδ. Ευσ. Ευτ. Σεβ.  
Inscriptions: Macedonia -- *SEG* 18 (1962) 268/*AE* (1972) 558
165. ὁ μέγιστος καὶ θεϊότατος Αυτ. δεσπότης τῆς οἰκουμένης Μ. Αυτ. Γορδ. Ευσ. Ευτ. Σεβ.  
Inscriptions: Thrace -- *IGRR* I 756/*IGBulg* 1565

166. Αυτ. Μ. Αυτ. Γορδ. Ευσ. Ευτ. Αυτ. Σεβ.  
Inscriptions: Asia -- *IK* 12, 302/*Engelmann & Knibbe* 1978-80, 32 no. 336<sup>60</sup>
167. Γορδ. Αυτ. Καυσ.  
Coins: Thrace (Anchialos) -- *AMNG* II no. 646
168. Αυτ. Καυσ. Μ. Αυτ. Γορδ.  
Inscriptions: Moesia Inf. -- *IGRR* I 581/*IGBulg* 644  
Asia -- *CIG* II 2496/*IGRR* IV 1038/*IG* XIII,3 210; *IK* 24,1 630<sup>61</sup>  
Lycia -- *SEG* 27 (1977) 923  
Coins: Moesia Inf. (Istros) -- *BMC Thrace* p. 27, 19  
Moesia Inf. (Marcianopolis) -- *Hunter* I p. 412, 13  
Moesia Inf. (Nicopolis) -- *BMC Thrace* pp. 52-3, 78-9; *Hunter* I p. 415, 18; *SNGCop Thrace* 290  
Moesia Inf. (Odessus) -- *Hunter* I p. 419, 5; *BMC Thrace* p. 139, 18; *SNGCop Thrace* 682-3  
Moesia Inf. (Tomi) -- *BMC Thrace* pp. 61-3, 50-1, 53, 59-60, 62; *SNGCop Thrace* 300, 302-3  
Thrace (Anchialos) -- *BMC Thrace* p. 86, 20  
Thrace (Hadrianopolis) -- *SNGCop Thrace* 591  
Macedonia (Koinon) -- *AMNG* III 315-20; *SNGCop Macedonia* 1350  
Macedonia (Edessa) -- *BMC Macedonia* p. 40, 25-7; *Hunter* I p. 362, 2-3  
Macedonia (Thessalonica) -- *BMC Macedonia* pp. 124-6, 116-31; *Hunter* I pp. 374-5, 71-6; *SNGCop Macedonia* 426-38  
Achaea (Argos) -- *BMC Peloponnesus* p. 153, 175  
Achaea (Siphnos) -- *BMC Crete & Aegean Islands* p. 122, 12  
Bithynia (Kabeira-Neocaesarea) -- *SNGAul* 110-1, 6764  
Asia (Accilaion) -- *SNGAul* 3363-4  
Asia (Acmonia) -- *SNGAul* 3379  
Asia (Acrasus) -- *SNGAul* 8215  
Asia (Adramytion) -- *SNGAul* 1061

<sup>60</sup> This titulature is contained in lines 3-6 of the stone. See also above 152.

<sup>61</sup> [-ὄνηρ-Αὐτοκράτορος Καίσαρος Μάρκου Ἀντωνίου Γορδιανού-] etc. Obviously, the dedication may not even involve Gordian. Cf. Petzl, *IK* ad loc.



Asia (Alia) -- *SNGAul* 3388-90, 8316  
 Asia (Antioch on the Maeander) -- *SNGAul* 2427-8  
 Asia (Apamea) -- *SNGAul* 8347  
 Asia (Aphrodisias) -- *SNGAul* 2461, 2464  
 Asia (Bruzos) -- *SNGAul* 3527-31  
 Asia (Cibyra) -- *SNGAul* 3748-52  
 Asia (Cyme) -- *SNGAul* 1656  
 Asia (Cyzicus) -- *SNGAul* 1285  
 Asia (Elaea) -- *SNGAul* 1618  
 Asia (Ephesus) -- *SNGAul* 1913, 1936-7, 7882-3  
 Asia (Eucarpeia) -- *SNGAul* 3579  
 Asia (Germe) -- *SNGAul* 1117-8, 1120-3, 7229-30  
 Asia (Hadrianapolis) -- *SNGAul* 3612, 8376  
 Asia (Halicarnassus) -- *SNGAul* 2538  
 Asia (Harpasa) -- *SNGAul* 8094  
 Asia (Kadoi) -- *SNGAul* 8390  
 Asia (Keretapa) -- *SNGAul* 3690  
 Asia (Lysias) -- *SNGAul* 3881-2  
 Asia (Magnesia on the Maeander) -- *SNGAul* 2061  
 Asia (Metropolis) -- *SNGAul* 2069  
 Asia (Mylasa) -- *SNGAul* 2632-3  
 Asia (Okokleia) -- *SNGAul* 3899-3901  
 Asia (Pergamum & Nicomedia) -- *SNGAul* 1427  
 Asia (Philomelion) -- *SNGAul* 3928  
 Asia (Phocaea) -- *SNGAul* 2148  
 Asia (Samos) -- *SNGAul* 2312-5  
 Asia (Sardis) -- *SNGAul* 8261  
 Asia (Sebaste) -- *SNGAul* 3953  
 Asia (Sibidunda) -- *SNGAul* 5329  
 Asia (Smyrna) -- *SNGAul* 2227-30  
 Asia (Smyrna & Tralleis) -- *SNGAul* 2249  
 Asia (Smyrna & Asia) -- *SNGAul* 2250  
 Asia (Synnada) -- *SNGAul* 3990-2  
 Asia (Thyateira) -- *SNGAul* 8279  
 Asia (Trajanopolis) -- *SNGAul* 4040  
 Asia (Tripolis) -- *SNGAul* 3322, 8297  
 Cappadocia (Caesarea) -- *SNGAul* 6526-31

Lycia (Olympos) -- *SNGAul* 4377  
 Lycia (Rhodiapolis) -- *SNGAul* 4449, 8496  
 Cilicia (Anazarbos) -- *SNGAul* 5501  
 Cilicia (Corycus) -- *SNGAul* 5682  
 Cilicia (Irenopolis) -- *SNGAul* 5596  
 Mesopotamia (Nisibis) -- *BMC Arabia* p. 121, 14-5; *SNGCop Palestine* 238-9  
 Mesopotamia (Singara) -- *BMC Arabia* p. 135, 7-13; *SNGCop Palestine* 256-7  
 Palestine (Gaza) -- *BMC Palestine* p. 168, 147  
 Palestine (Nysa-Scythopolis) -- *SNGCop Palestine* 22

169. ὁ θεοφιλέστατος Αυτ. Καισ. Μ. Αυτ. Γορδ.  
 Inscriptions: Asia -- *IGRR* IV 1164
170. ὁ μέγιστος καὶ θεϊώτατος Αυτ. Καισ. Μ. Αυτ. Γορδ.  
 Inscriptions: Thrace -- *AE* (1921) 58/SEG 3.2 (1929) 508/*IGBulg* 2000; *IGRR* I 694/*IGBulg* 2016
171. Αυτ. Καισ. Μ. Αυτ. Γορδ. Ευσ.  
 Coins: Egypt (Alexandria) -- Milne 1933, p. 81; *KAK* 2620 ff.<sup>62</sup>
172. ὁ κυρ. ἡμῶν Αυτ. Καισ. Μ. Αυτ. Γορδ. Ευσ. Ευτ.  
 Papyri: *Bureth* p. 113, no. 7 (1)
173. Αυτ. Καισ. Μ. Αυτ. Γορδ. Αυγ.  
 Coins: Moesia Inf. (Callatis) -- *BMC Thrace* p. 23, 12; *Hunter* I p. 410, 4; *SNGCop Thrace* 186  
 Moesia Inf. (Dionysopolis) -- *BMC Thrace* p. 24, 2-4; *Hunter* I p. 410, 1; *SNGCop Thrace* 189-90  
 Moesia Inf. (Marcianopolis) -- *BMC Thrace* pp. 38-40, 80, 86-7, 89; *SNGCop Thrace* 252, 255-6

<sup>62</sup> The obverse legends of these coins read, ΑΚΜΑΝΓΟΡΔΙΑΝΟΣΕΥΣΕ. Grissen (*KAK* ad loc.) and Milne 1933 take the last four letters to abbreviate Εύσεβής; however, see below 178 where Εύ(σεβής) Σε(βατός) seems to be the proper reading of a number of coins.

- Moesia Inf. (Nicopolis) -- *BMC Thrace* pp. 52-3, 74-6, 80; *Hunter I* pp. 415-6, 17, 19-20; *SNGCop Thrace* 286-9  
 Moesia Inf. (Odessus) -- *SNGCop Thrace* 678-81  
 Moesia Inf. (Tomi) -- *BMC Thrace* pp. 61-2, 52, 54-8, p. 228, 49a; *Hunter I* p. 418, 10-2  
 Thrace (Anchialos) -- *BMC Thrace* p. 86, 19, 21; *AMNG II* nos. 617-45; *SNGCop Thrace* 442-3  
 Thrace (Byzantium) -- *SNGCop Thrace* 527  
 Thrace (Hadrianopolis) -- *BMC Thrace* pp. 119-21, 26-44; *Hunter I* pp. 441-2, 7-14; *SNGCop Thrace* 573-90  
 Thrace (Messembria) -- *BMC Thrace* p. 133, 14  
 Thrace (Perinthos) -- *BMC Thrace* pp. 158-60, 62, 65-8, p. 236, 62a; *Hunter I* p. 403, 28; *SNGCop Thrace* 758-9, 761  
 Asia (Cyzicus) -- *SNGAul* 1283-4, 7383-4  
 Asia (Germe) -- *SNGAul* 1119, 7228  
 Asia (Sardis ?) -- *SNGAul* 3163  
 Lycia (Sagalassos) -- *SNGAul* 5184

## 174. ΑΥΤ. ΚΑΙΩ. ΓΟΡΘ. ΣΕΒ.

Coins: Lycia (Myra) -- *SNGAul* 4371

## 175. ΑΥΤ. ΚΑΙΩ. Μ. ΑΥΤ. ΓΟΡΘ. ΣΕΒ.

Coins: Epirus (Nicopolis) -- *SNGCop Epirus* 82  
 Bithynia (Cabeira-Neocaesarea) -- *SNGAul* 106-9, 6761-3, 6765  
 Bithynia (Trapezus) -- *SNGAul* 140  
 Asia (Apamaea) -- *SNGAul* 3508  
 Asia (Aphrodisias) -- *SNGAul* 2462-5  
 Asia (Hadrianapolis) -- *SNGAul* 8375<sup>63</sup>  
 Asia (Harpasa) -- *SNGAul* 2541  
 Asia (Ilion) -- *SNGAul* 1543  
 Asia (Philomelion) -- *SNGAul* 3927  
 Asia (Tralleis) -- *SNGAul* 3294  
 Cappadocia (Caesarea) -- *SNGAul* 6523-5  
 Lycia (Acalissos) -- *SNGAul* 4269

<sup>63</sup> This coin actually reads, Α Κ Μ ΑΝΤΩ ΓΟΡΔΙΑΝΟΣ Β (- ΣΕΒ?).

- Lycia (Apertae) -- *SNGAul* 4271  
 Lycia (Arneai) -- *SNGAul* 4272  
 Lycia (Arycanda) -- *SNGAul* 4276-7  
 Lycia (Aspendos) -- *SNGAul* 4594-5  
 Lycia (Choma) -- *SNGAul* 8486  
 Lycia (Corydalla) -- *SNGAul* 4295-6  
 Lycia (Myra) -- *SNGAul* 4368-70  
 Lycia (Patara) -- *SNGAul* 4383-7  
 Lycia (Perge) -- *SNGAul* 4696  
 Lycia (Phaselis) -- *SNGAul* 4442-4, 8495  
 Lycia (Phellos) -- *SNGAul* 4445  
 Lycia (Podalia) -- *SNGAul* 4448  
 Lycia (Rhodiapolis) -- *SNGAul* 4450, 8497  
 Lycia (Side) -- *SNGAul* 4829-31, 8542  
 Lycia (Tlos) -- *SNGAul* 4466-9  
 Lycia (Trebenna) -- *SNGAul* 4473  
 Cilicia (Anazarbos) -- *SNGAul* 5502, 8668  
 Cilicia (Epiphaneia) -- *SNGAul* 5554  
 Cilicia (Lyrbe) -- *SNGAul* 5697-5702  
 Cilicia (Mopsos) -- *SNGAul* 5746  
 Syria (Leucas on the Chrysornas) -- *BMC Syria* p. 297, 6-7  
 Mesopotamia (Carchae) -- *BMC Arabia* pp. 89-90, 54-63; *Hunter III* pp. 303-4, 20-4; *SNGCop Palestine* 187-8<sup>64</sup>  
 Mesopotamia (Edessa) -- *BMC Arabia* pp. 111-2, 124-32; *Hunter III* pp. 312-4, 63-7 & 69-80; *SNGCop Palestine* 220-1  
 Mesopotamia (Nisibis) -- *BMC Arabia* p. 121, 11-3; *SNGCop Palestine* 237  
 Mesopotamia (Singara) -- *BMC Arabia* p. 134, 1-6; *Hunter III* p. 320, 1-2; *SNGCop Palestine* 254-5<sup>65</sup>  
 Palestine (Nysa-Scythopolis) -- *BMC Palestine* pp. 76-7, 6-13<sup>66</sup>

<sup>64</sup> Both coins are much worn, and the legends barely readable.

<sup>65</sup> Again, these coins are worn to the point of being nearly illegible.

<sup>66</sup> Once more, the coins are worn and the legends barely legible.

176. Αυτ. Καισ. Μ. Αυτ. Γορδ. Αυγ. Σεβ.  
 Coins: Moesia Inf. (Istros) -- *BMC Thrace* p. 27, 206<sup>7</sup>  
 Moesia Inf. (Marcianopolis) -- *Hunter* I p. 413, 14; *SNGCop Thrace* 260-1  
 Moesia Inf. (Odessus) -- *BMC Thrace* p. 140, 22-3; *SNGCop Thrace* 684-868  
 Moesia Inf. (Tomi) -- *BMC Thrace* p. 63, 63-4  
 Thrace (Anchialos) -- *AMNG* II nos. 747-82a; *SNGCop Thrace* 443-506<sup>69</sup>  
 Thrace (Mesembria) -- *BMC Thrace* pp. 133-4, 15-7; *SNGCop Thrace* 662-3
177. ὁ θεϊότατος καὶ μέγιστος κυρ. ἡμῶν Αυτ. Καισ. Μ. Αυτ. Γορδ. Ευσ. Σεβ.  
 Inscriptions: Thrace -- *IGBulg* 18 = 22bis<sup>70</sup>
178. Αυτ. Καισ. Μ. Αυτ. Γορδ. Ευσ. Σεβ.  
 Inscriptions: Thrace -- *IGBulg* 1337; *AE* (1902) 136/*IGRR* I 725/*IGBulg* 1375  
 Coins:<sup>71</sup> Lycia (Prostanna) -- *SNGAul* 5149, 8619  
 Lycia (Seleucia Sidera) -- *SNGAul* 5236  
 Papyri: *P. Köln* I 55, 11-37<sup>2</sup>

<sup>67</sup> The obverse legend reads, ΑΥΤ Κ Μ ΑΝΤΩ ΓΟΡΔΙΑΝΟ ΣΕ ΑΥ. The division here is mine and intended to clarify my interpretation of this legend.

<sup>68</sup> The obverse legends here read, ΑΥΤ ■ Μ ΑΝΤ ΓΟΡΔΙΑΝΟΣ ΑΥΓ ΣΕΒ / ΤΡΑΝΚΥ/ΛΛΙΝΑ. It may be that we are dealing here with a misspelling of Tranquillina's name (ΣΕΒ rather than ΣΑΒ) and not the epithet Σεβαστός.

■ The coins from Anchialos typify the problem just mentioned (*supra* ■ 68). Some of the coins read clearly Σεβ(αστός) while others have Σεβ(ισ), and it is not clear which is the correct form of the legend. I have listed all as testimonia to the title Σεβαστός, but the following actually read ΣΑΒ: *AMNG* II nos. 648, 652-4, 659, 662-3, 667-9, 675-6 679; *SNGCop Thrace* 449-50.

<sup>70</sup> Ὑπὲρ τῆς [τοῦ θειοτάτου καὶ μεγίστου κυρίου ἡμῶν] / Αὐτοκράτορος Καίσαρος Μ. Ἀντωνίου Γορδιανοῦ Εὐ[σεβ(οῦς) Σεβ(αστοῦ)].

<sup>71</sup> These coins all read, ΑΥΤ ΚΑΙ ΜΑΡ ΑΝΤ ΓΟΡΔΙΑΝΟΣ ΕΥ ΣΕ. But see above 171.

<sup>72</sup> The titulature on this papyrus is heavily damaged and must be restored: [Αὐτοκράτορος] / Καίσαρος Μάρκου Ἀντωνίου Γορδιανοῦ / Εὐτυχοῦς [Σεβαστοῦ]. As the editors note, the emperor might be Elagabalus, not Gordian.

179. Αυτ. Καισ. Μ. Αυτ. Γορδ. Ευσ. Ευσ. Σεβ.  
 Inscriptions: Thrace -- *IGRR* I 724 (= 1477)/*IGBulg* 1069; *IGRR* I 723/*IGBulg* 1384; *IGBulg* 1705; *AE* (1933) 91/*IGBulg* 1706;<sup>73</sup> *CIL* III 12336/*IGRR* I 674/*Syll*<sup>3</sup> 888/*IGBulg* 2236<sup>74</sup>  
 Achaea -- *CIG* 1322/*IG* V, 1 1241; *CIG* 1323/*IG* V, 1 1294  
 Asia -- *AE* (1969/70) 599/Reynolds 1982, 22; Reynolds 1982, 23  
 Syria -- *SGLI* 271<sup>75</sup>  
 Papyri: *Bureth* p. 113 no. 6 (15); *P. Oxy.* XXXVI 2769, 32-3; XLI 2977, 52-4; XLIII 3133, 15-9; XLVII 3365, 7-8 & 84-5; L 3595, 43-4; *P. Mich.* XI 620, 120, 201 & 257; *P. Coll. Youtie* 65, 7-8, 84-5; *P. Mich.* XIV 675, 9 & 31; *CPR* VIII 15, 2-5
180. Αυτ. Καισ. Μ. Αυτ. Γορδ. Ευσ. Ευσ. Σεβ. ὁ θεοφιλέστατος κοσμοκράτωρ  
 Inscriptions: Italy -- *IGRR* I 387/*IG* XIV 926/*IGIP* 5
181. ὁ κυρ. ἡμῶν Αυτ. Καισ. Μ. Αυτ. Γορδ. Ευσ. Ευσ. Σεβ.  
 Inscriptions: Lycia -- *TAM* II 739  
 Papyri: *Bureth* p. 113 no. 7 (18); *O. Leid.* 260, 2-4
182. ὁ κυρ. ἡμῶν ὁ γενναϊότατος Αυτ. Καισ. Μ. Αυτ. Γορδ. Ευσ. Ευσ. Σεβ.  
 Papyri: *P. Vindob. Tandem* 2, 6-7
183. ὁ κυρ. ἡμῶν Ανικ. Αυτ. Καισ. Μ. Αυτ. Γορδ. Ευσ. Ευσ. Σεβ.  
 Inscriptions: Asia -- *IK* 12, 304a
184. ὁ μέγιστος καὶ θεϊότατος κυρ. ἡμῶν Αυτ. Μ. Αυτ. Γορδ. Ευσ. Ευσ. Σεβ.  
 Inscriptions: Achaea -- *AE* (1951) 59/*FD* III.4 274
185. Αυτ. Καισ. Μ. Αυτ. Γορδ. Ευσ. Ευσ. Σεβ. σωτήρ τῆς οἰκουμένης  
 Inscriptions: Lycia -- *CIG* 4342b/*IGRR* III 792

<sup>73</sup> This inscription is almost entirely restored.

<sup>74</sup> See also above 33 and 35.

<sup>75</sup> The stone reads, {Αὐτοκράτορα Καίσαρα Μ. Ἀντωνίου Γορδιανῶν Εὐσεβ[η]---.

186. ὁ γῆς καὶ θαλάσσης καὶ παντὸς τοῦ ἀνθρώπων γένους δεσπότης καὶ σωτὴρ Αυτ. Καισ. Μ. Αυτ. Γορδ. Σεβ. ὁ ἀγαθὸς καὶ Εὐσ. βασιλεὺς  
Inscriptions: Asia -- *SEG* 4.2 (1930) 523/*AE* (1930) 78/*FiE* IV.3 36/*IK* 17,2 4336
187. ὁ γῆς καὶ θαλάσσης καὶ παντὸς τοῦ τῶν ἀνθρώπων γένους δεσπότης Αυτ. Καισ. Μ. Αυτ. Γορδ. Εὐσ. Εὐτ. Σεβ.  
Inscriptions: Asia -- *IK* 12, 303
188. ὁ γῆς καὶ θαλάσσης καὶ παντὸς τοῦ τῶν ἀνθρώπων ἔθνους δεσπότης Αυτ. Καισ. Μ. Αυτ. Γορδ. Εὐσ. Εὐτ. Σεβ. νέος Ἥλιος  
Inscriptions: Asia -- *FiE* I p. 211, no. 2/*IK* 12, 304
189. ὁ θεοειδέστατος βασιλεὺς Αυτ. Καισ. Μ. Αυτ. Γορδ. Εὐσ. Εὐτ. Σεβ.  
Inscriptions: Achaea -- *CIG* 1382/*IG* V,1 572
190. κτιστὴς καὶ σωτὴρ τῆς πόλεως Αυτ. Καισ. Μ. Αυτ. Γορδ. Εὐσ. Εὐτ. Σεβ.  
Papyri: *P. Oxy.* L 3593, 1-4 & 30-3, 3594, 6-7
191. ὁ μέγιστος καὶ θεώτατος Αυτ. Καισ. Μ. Αυτ. Γορδ. Εὐσ. Εὐτ. Σεβ.  
Inscriptions: Moesia Inf. -- *AE* (1902) 115/*IGRR* I 580 (cf. 1422)/*IGBulg* 642  
Thrace -- *IGBulg* 1564  
Macedonia -- *AE* (1972) 559  
Achaea -- *AE* (1928) 53

#### VII. Greek Titles, Group B

192. Αυτ. Καισ. Μ. Αυτ. Γορδ. Σεβ. δημ. εἰς.  
Coins: Syria (Antioch) -- *BMC Syria* p. 211, 494-8; *Hunter III* p. 179, 279-81;  
*SNGCop Syria* 260-1
193. Αυτ. Καισ. Μ. Αυτ. Γορδ. Σεβ. π. π.  
Coins: Cilicia (Soloi-Pompeiopolis) -- *SNGAut* 5892-5  
Cilicia (Tarsus) -- *SNGAut* 6036-55

194. Αυτ. Καισ. Μ. Αυτ. Γορδ. Σεβ. Εὐτ. π. π.  
Inscriptions: Arabia -- *CIG* 4644/*IGRR* III 1323/*IGLS* XIII,1 9057
195. Αυτ. Καισ. Μ. Αυτ. Γορδ. Εὐσ. Εὐτ. Σεβ. υπ. π. π. ὁ εὐεργέτης τῆς οἰκουμένης  
Inscriptions: Italy -- *CIL* VI 31128b/*IGRR* I 133b/*IG* XIV 1066b/*IGUR* 80<sup>76</sup>
196. Αυτ. Καισ. Μ. Αυτ. Γορδ. Εὐσ. Εὐτ. Σεβ. αρχ. μεγ. δημ. εἰς. υπ. π. π.  
Inscriptions: Macedonia -- *AE* (1972) 561a<sup>77</sup>
197. Αυτ. Καισ. Μ. Αυτ. Γορδ. Εὐσ. Εὐτ. Σεβ. αρχ. μεγ. δημ. εἰς. π. π. υπ. αυθυπ.  
Inscriptions: Asia -- *IGRR* IV 269 (=1175)
198. Αυτ. Καισ. Μ. Αυτ. Γορδ. Εὐσ. Εὐτ. Σεβ. αρχ. μεγ. δημ. εἰς. τὸ (?) υπ. τὸ (?) π. π.  
Papyri: *P. Ant.* 191, 12<sup>78</sup>

#### VIII. Greek Titles, Group C

199. ὁ μέγιστος καὶ θεώτατος Αυτ. Καισ. Μ. Αυτ. Γορδ. Εὐσ. Εὐτ. Σεβ. υπ. τὸ α' π. π.  
Inscriptions: Moesia Inf. -- *AE* (1926) 99/*IGBulg* 641
200. Αυτ. Καισ. Μ. Αυτ. Γορδ. Εὐσ. Εὐτ. Σεβ. αρχ. μεγ. δημ. εἰς. τὸ β' υπ. π. π.  
Inscriptions: Macedonia -- *SEG* 34 (1984) 614  
Asia -- Reynolds 1982, 20

<sup>76</sup> The reading given here is that of *CIL*.

<sup>77</sup> Ἀγαθὴ Τύχη. / |Αὐτ[ο]κράτο[ρ]ι| Χ[ρ]ίστ[ο]ς / ρι [M. Ἀντωνίω Γορδι/αὐτῷ |Εὐσεβεῖ Εὐτυχεῖ / Σεβαστῷ ἀρχιε]ρεῖ με/[γίστῳ] δημάρχου / ἑ[ξουσίας τὸ ? ὑπέρ]τ[ῳ] τὸ ? π[ατρι] π[ατριδος].

<sup>78</sup> For the correct reading of this papyrus, Sijpesteijn 1982, 107-8.

201. ὁ θεώτατος καὶ μέγιστος καὶ Ανικ. Αυτ. Καισ. Μ. Αυτ. Γορδ. Ευσ. Ευτ. Σεβ. αρχ. μεγ. δημ. εξ. τὸ γ' υπ. τὸ α' π. π.  
Inscriptions: Macedonia -- *AE* (1971) 43179
202. Αυτ. Γορδ. Σεβ. υπ. τὸ β'  
Inscriptions: Thrace -- *AE* (1975) 768
203. Αυτ. Καισ. Μ. Αυτ. Γορδ. Σεβ. δημ. εξ. υπ. τὸ β'  
Coins: Syria (Antioch) -- *BMC Syria* pp. 211-2, 499-503; *Hunter III* p. 180, 282-4; *SNGCop Syria* 258-9
204. Αυτ. Καισ. Μ. Αυτ. Γορδ. Ευσ. Ευτ. Σεβ. αρχ. μεγ. δημ. εξ. τὸ ς' υπ. τὸ β' π. π. ανθυσ.  
Inscriptions: Asia -- Reynolds 1982, 21

#### IX. Gordian I and Gordian III, Latin Titles, Group A

205. *Imp. Caes. M. Ant. Gord. nepos Pi. Fel. Inv. Aug.*  
Inscriptions: Bithynia -- *EE* v 40/*CIL* III 6894<sup>80</sup>

#### X. Gordian I and Gordian III, Latin Titles, Group B

206. *Imp. Caes. M. Ant. Gord. nepos Pi. Fel. Ant. p. p. trib. pot.*  
Inscriptions: Galatia -- *CIL* III 6749 (= 14184.16)

<sup>79</sup> See also above 151.

<sup>80</sup> Note that this inscription actually reads, *Imp(erator) Caes(ar) / Marcus Anto(n)ius Gordiani / nepos Pius / Fel<i>x</i> Invict(us) / Augustus.*

207. *Imp. Caes. divi Gord. nepos M. Ant. Gord. Pi. Fel. Aug. pont. max. tr. pot. cos. p. p. fortissimus felicissimus*  
Inscriptions: Bithynia -- *TAM IV* 14/*IDB* 50/*RRM I*, 1/Şahin et al. 1983, 47/Polat & Şahin 1985, 100, no. 4; Şahin 1983, 48-9, nos. 1 & 2

#### XI. Gordians I, II and III, Latin Titles, Group A

208. *Imp. Caes. M. Ant. Gord. Pi. Fel. Aug. divorum Gordd. nepos*  
Inscriptions: Mauretania Caes. -- *CIL* VIII 10431
209. *Imp. Caes. M. Ant. Gord. divi Gord. nepos divi Gord. sororis fil. Pi. Fel. Aug.*  
Inscriptions: Africa -- *CIL* VIII 22037
210. *Imp. Caes. M. Ant. Gord. divi M. Ant. Gord. nepos divi M. Ant. Gord. sororis fil. Pi. Fel. invictissimus Aug.*  
Inscriptions: Africa -- *CIL* VIII 10079 (=22061)
211. *Imp. d. n. magnus Inv. Caes. M. Ant. Gord. divi Ant. Gord. nepos divi. Ant. Gord. sororis fil. Pi. Fel. Aug. fortissimus felicissimus princ.*  
Inscriptions: Africa -- *CIL* VIII 907 (=11169)

#### XII. Gordians I, II and III, Latin Titles, Group B

212. *Imp. Caes. M. Ant. Gord. Pi. Fel. Aug. p. p. cos. procos. nepos divorum Gordd.*  
Inscriptions: Mauretania Caes. -- *CIL* VIII 10330/*ILS* 497

213. *Imp. Caes. M. Ant. Gord. Pi. Fel. Aug. p. p. cos. procos. nepos Gordd. Augg. nn. divorum*  
Inscriptions: Numidia -- *EE* ■ 1146/*CIL* VIII 22399<sup>81</sup>
214. *Imp. Caes. M. Ant. Gord. Pi. Fel. Aug. pont. max. tr. pot. cos. p. p. procos. nepos divorum Gordd.*  
Inscriptions: Mauretania Caes. -- *CIL* VIII 10452  
Mauretania Ting. -- *AE* (1912) 175
215. *Imp. Caes. divi M. Ant. Gord. nepos divi Ant. Gord. sororis fil. M. Ant. Gord. Pi. Fel. Aug. fortissimus felicissimus pont. max.*  
Inscriptions: Africa -- *AE* (1895) 71/*CIL* VIII 25371
216. *Imp. Caes. divi M. Ant. Gord. nepos divi Ant. Gord. sororis fil. M. Ant. Gord. Pi. Fel. Aug. fortissimus Fel. Imp. pont. max. tr. pot.*  
Inscriptions: Africa -- *ILS* 5472
217. *Imp. Caes. M. Ant. Gord. divi M. Ant. Gord. nepos divi Ant. Gord. sororis fil. Pi. Fel. Aug. fortissimus felicissimus pont. max. tr. pot. p. p. procos.*  
Inscriptions: Africa -- *CIL* VIII 848/*ILS* 498/*CILB* 356
218. *Imp. Caes. divi Ant. Gord. nepos divi Ant. Gord. sororis fil. Ant. Gord. Pi. Fel. Aug. pont. max. tr. pot. cos. procos.*  
Inscriptions: Africa -- *EE* vii 30/*CIL* VIII 11138
219. *Imp. Caes. M. Ant. Gord. divi Gord. nepos divi Gord. sororis fil. Pi. Fel. Aug. pont. max. tr. pot. cos. procos. p. p.*  
Inscriptions: Africa -- *CIL* VIII 22008
220. *Imp. Caes. M. Ant. Gord. fil. divi Gord. nepos Pi. Fel. Inv. Aug. p. p. tr. pot.*  
Inscriptions: Bithynia -- Cumont 1902, 333 no. 53

<sup>81</sup> [*Imp(eratori) Caes(ari) M(arco) Antonio Gordiano Pio Fel(ici) Aug(usto) p(atri) p(atriciae) co(n)s(uli) proco(n)s(uli) / nepot(i) Gordiano/num Aug(ustorum) n(ostorum) d(i)vorum*]. This is the restoration suggested by Schmidt in *EE*.

221. *Imp. Caes. M. Ant. Gord. Inv. Pi. Fel. Aug. pont. max. tr. pot. cos. p. p. procos. divi Gord. nepos et divi Gord. sororis fil.*  
Inscriptions: Numidia -- *EE* vii 357 & 754/*CIL* VIII 2365 (= 17878)<sup>82</sup>

### XIII. Gordians I, II and III, Latin Titles, Group C

222. *Imp. Caes. M. Ant. Gord. Inv. Pi. Fel. Aug. pont. max. tr. pot. II p. p. cos. procos. nepos divorum Gordd.*  
Inscriptions: Africa -- *AE* (1956) 127a
223. *d. n. Imp. Caes. M. Ant. Gord. Inv. Pi. Fel. Aug. pont. max. tr. pot. II p. p. cos. procos. nepos divorum Gordd.*  
Inscriptions: Mauretania Caes. -- *EE* vii 666/*CIL* VIII 10460 (= 22593)
224. *Imp. Caes. M. Ant. Gord. Inv. Pi. Fel. Aug. pont. max. tr. pot. III p. p. cos. procos. nepos divorum Gordd.*  
Inscriptions: Mauretania Caes. -- *AE* (1973) 653
225. *Imp. Caes. M. Ant. Gord. divi Gord. nepos divi Gord. sororis fil. Pi. Fel. Aug. pont. max. tr. pot. III cos. procos.*  
Inscriptions: Africa -- *CIL* VIII 22026, 22033<sup>83</sup>
226. *Imp. Caes. M. Ant. Gord. divi M. Ant. Gord. nepos divi M. Ant. Gord. sororis fil. Pi. Fel. Aug. pont. max. tr. pot. III cos. procos.*  
Inscriptions: Africa -- *CIL* VIII 22043<sup>84</sup>

<sup>82</sup> [*Imp(eratori) Caes(ari) M(arco) Antonio Go[r]diano Invicto Pio / F[el]lici Aug(usto) pontif(ici) ma[x]imo tribunic(ia) potest(ate) / co[n]s(uli) p(atri) p(atriciae) proco(n)s(uli) divi Go[r]diani nepot(i) et divi / Go[r]dian(i) soror(is) filio*].

<sup>83</sup> The tribunician iteration number is restored to this inscription.

<sup>84</sup> The tribunician iteration number is here restored.

227. *Imp. Caes. M. Ant. Gord. divi M. Ant. Gord. nepos divi M. Ant. Gord. sororis suae fil. Pi. Fel. Aug. fortissimus felicissimus pont. max. tr. pot. III cos. procos.*  
Inscriptions: Africa -- *EE* vii 575/*CIL* VIII 22046<sup>85</sup>
228. *Imp. Caes. M. Ant. Gord. Inv. Pi. Fel. Aug. pont. max. tr. pot. III imp. III p. p. cos. procos. divi Gord. nepos et divi Gord. sororis fil.*  
Inscriptions: Numidia -- *CIL* VIII 4218/*ILS* 500
229. *Imp. Caes. M. Ant. Gord. Inv. Pi. Fel. Aug. pont. max. tr. pot. p. p. cos. II nepos divorum Gordd.*  
Inscriptions: Numidia -- *AE* (1969/70) 708
230. *Imp. Caes. M. Ant. Gord. Inv. Pi. Fel. Aug. pont. max. tr. pot. V cos. II nepos divi M. Ant. Gord. sororis fil. divi M. Ant. Gord. Iunioris fortissimus et super omnes retro principes indulgentissimus*  
Inscriptions: Africa -- *AE* (1942/43) 40/*ILT* 110
231. *Imp. Caes. M. Ant. Gord. Inv. Pi. Fel. Aug. pont. max. tr. pot. VI imp. IV p. p. cos. II procos. nepos divorum Gordd.*  
Inscriptions: Mauretania Caes. -- *AE* (1911) 117
232. *Imp. Caes. M. Ant. Gord. divi Gord. nepos divi Gord. sororis fil. Pi. Fel. Aug. pont. max. tr. pot. cos. III procos. p. p.*  
Inscriptions: Africa -- *EE* v 1097/*CIL* VIII 22019

■ Again, the tribunician iteration is restored.

#### XIV. Gordians I, II and III, Greek Titles, Group A

233. *Αυτ. Καίσ. Μ. Αυτ. Γορδ. Ευσ Ευτ. Ανικ. Θεῶν Γορδδ. υἱωνός Σεβ.*  
Inscriptions: Achaea -- *JG* V,1 1242<sup>86</sup>

<sup>86</sup> The stone reads (lines 2 ff.), Αὐτοκράτορα Καίσαρα Μ. Ἀυτ(ωνίου) Γορδ[ιανὸν Εὐσεβῆ Εὐτυχῆ] Ἀνε[κ]ητον... / Θεῶν Γορδιαῶν υἱωνὸν Σεβ[αστέου].

**Philippus Arabs**

(ca. late February/early March 244 - ca. September 249)

*M(arcus) Iul(ius) Phil(ippus)***I. Literary Testimonia**

Aut. Vict. Caes. 28.1 *Igitur Marcus Iulius Philippus Arabs Thraconites, sumpto in consortium Philippo filio...*

*Epit. de Caes. 28.3 Filius autem eius Gaius Iulius Saturninus, quem potentiae sociaverat...*

Eutrop. 9.3 *Philippi duo, filius ac pater, Gordiano occiso imperium invaserunt...ambo deinde ab exercitu interfecti sunt...inter Divos tamen relati sunt.*

*HA Gord. 31.2-3 Philippus autem, ne a crudelitate nancisci videretur imperium, Romam litteras misit, quibus scripsit Gordianum morbo perisse seque a cunctis militibus electum. nec defuit, ut senatus de his rebus, quas non noverat, falleretur. appellato igitur principe Philippo et Augusto nuncupato Gordianum adulescentem inter deos rettulit.*

Oros. *hist. adv. pag. 7.20.1-2 ...Philippus vicensimus quartus ab Augusto imperator creatus Philippum filium suum consortem regni fecit...*

Zonaras 12.19 *Ἐπαυελθὼν οὖν ὁ Φίλιππος ἐγκρατὴς ἐγένετο τῆς τῶν Ῥωμαίων ἀρχῆς. ἐν δὲ τῇ ἐπανιέναι τὸν υἱὸν Φίλιππου κοινῶν τῆς βασιλείας προσέλετο.*

**II. Philippus Senior, Latin Titles, Group A****1. Phil.**

Coins: Macedonia (Coela) -- *BMC Thrace* p. 192, 8

**2. Iul. Phil. Aug.**

Coins: Macedonia (Coela) -- *BMC Thrace* p. 192, 9

**3. d. n. M. Iul. Phil. Aug.**

Inscriptions: Alpes -- *CIL* XII 10

**3a. Phil. Pi. Aug.**

Coins: Italy (Rome) -- *Gnecchi* I p. 5, 1

**4. d. n. M. Iul. Phil. Pi. Fel. Aug.**

Inscriptions: Hispania -- *CIL* II 6012

**5. d. n. M. Iul. Phil. Pi. Fel. Inv. Aug.**

Inscriptions: Pannonia Inf. -- *CIL* III 10418/AE (1941) 13<sup>1</sup>

**6. Imp. M. Iul. Phil.**

Coins: Macedonia (Coela) -- *BMC Thrace* p. 192, 7  
Asia (Alexandria Troas) -- *SNGAul* 1478

**7. Imp. Phil. Aug.**

Coins: Italy (Rome) -- *RIC* IV.3 8-10, 12-25, 57-67, 90, 93, 95, 104, 105b-106, 111, 114, 166c, 167d, 168d, 184d; *HCC* III 29-39, 41-9, 52-3  
Syria (Antioch) -- *RIC* IV.3 87

**8. Imp. Iul. Phil. Aug.**

Coins: Bithynia (Sinope) -- *SNGAul* 6877

<sup>1</sup>The original *CIL* reading is emended by A. Alföldi, *Archaeologiai Értesítő* 52 (1939) 109 to give this reading.



9. *Imp. M. Iul. Phil. Aug.*  
 Inscriptions: Dalmatia -- *CIL* III 13306<sup>2</sup>  
 Coins: Italy (Rome) -- *RIC* IV.3 26-53, 91, 94, 96-9, 101a-3a, 105a, 106a-13, 155-6, 158-61, 165-6, 167a & b, 168a & b, 169-184c, 185-95; *Gnecchi* III p. 47, 14  
 Dacia ("Provincia Dacia") -- *BMC Thrace* p. 14, 1-6; *Hunter* I p. 405, 1-3; *SNGCop Thrace* 124-8  
 Moesia Sup. (Viminacium) -- *BMC Thrace* pp. 16-7, 18-25; *Hunter* I pp. 407-8, 12, 14-8; *SNGCop Thrace* 149-57  
 Thrace (Deultum) -- *BMCThrace* p. 114, 24-6; *Hunter* I p. 440, 8-9  
 Macedonia (Pella) -- *SNGCop Macedonia* 289  
 Galatia (Antioch) -- *SNGAul* 4972-3  
 Syria (Antioch ?) -- *HCC* III 124; *RIC* IV.3 81-6  
 Palestine (Neapolis) -- *BMC Palestine* p. 64, 118-9, pp. 65-6, 125-8
10. *d. n. Imp. M. Iul. Phil. Aug.*  
 Inscriptions: Dalmatia -- *IEJug* II 161
11. *Imp. M. Iul. Phil. Pi. Fel. Aug.*  
 Coins: Galatia (Antioch) -- *SNGAul* 4969-70  
 Phoenicia (Damascus) -- *Hunter* III p. 219, 7  
 Phoenicia (Ptolemais-Ace) -- *SNGCop Phoenicia* 187  
 Phoenicia (Tyre) -- *BMC Phoenicia* pp. 282-3, 431-5; *SNGCop Phoenicia* 374-6<sup>3</sup>  
 Palestine (Neapolis) -- *BMC Palestine* p. 65, 123

<sup>2</sup>[I]mp(eratori) M(arco) [Iul(io)] / Phil(ippo) Au(gusto)---

<sup>3</sup>No. 376 is, in fact, nearly illegible.

12. *Imp. Caes. M. Iul. Phil.*  
 Inscriptions: Italy -- *Inscript. Ital.* X 1, 673/Alföldy 1984b 16<sup>4</sup>  
 Numidia -- *CIL* VIII 10140  
 Coins: Macedonia (Cassandreia) -- *SNGCop Macedonia* 155  
 Macedonia (Pella) -- *BMC Macedonia* p. 95, 48; *SNGCop Macedonia* 288  
 Phoenicia (Damascus) -- *SNGCop Syria* 425<sup>5</sup>  
 Phoenicia (Heliopolis) -- *Hunter* III p. 221, 6  
 Palestine (Neapolis) -- *Hunter* III p. 279, 8  
 Arabia (Bostra) -- *BMC Arabia* p. 23, 39
13. *Imp. Caes. M. Iul. Phil. Pi. Fel.*  
 Inscriptions: Cappadocia -- *CIL* III 6917  
 Mauretania Caes. -- *CIL* VIII 22613
14. *Imp. Caes. M. Iul. Phil. Aug.*  
 Coins: Italy (Rome) -- *RIC* IV.3 54-5; *Gnecchi* I p. 48, 1 ff.; II p. 94, 1 ff.  
 Galatia (Antioch) -- *SNGAul* 4971  
 Palestine (Caesarea) -- *BMC Palestine* pp. 29-30, 138-43
15. *Imp. Caes. M. Iul. Phil. Pi. Fel. Aug.*  
 Inscriptions: Britain -- *CIL* VII 1172 (= 1173)/*RIB* 2270  
 Dalmatia -- *CIL* III 8285, 10166  
 Mauretania Caes. -- *CIL* VIII 22606  
 Coins: Phoenicia (Damascus) -- *BMC Syria* p. 286, 22-3  
 Phoenicia (Heliopolis) -- *BMC Syria* pp. 292-3, 15-22; *SNGCop Syria* 434-5  
 Palestine (Neapolis) -- *BMC Palestine* p. 63, 116-7, p. 64, 120-2; *SNGCop Palestine* 19

<sup>4</sup>Imp(eratori) Caes(ari) / [M(arco)] Iulio / [Philippo] /---

<sup>5</sup>The coin is badly worn, and only IMP C M IVL is at all legible.

16. *d. n. Imp. Caes. M. Iul. Phil. Pi. Fel. Aug.*  
Inscriptions: Italy -- *CIL* VI 793/XIV 2258/ILS 505<sup>6</sup>
17. *Imp. Caes. M. Iul. Phil. Pi. Fel. Aug. restitutor*  
Inscriptions: Bithynia -- Şahin et al. 1983, 49-50, no. 3
18. *Imp. Caes. M. Iul. Phil. Pi. Fel. Inv. Aug.*  
Inscriptions: Dacia -- Tudor 1975, 128 no. 3<sup>7</sup>  
Phoenicia -- *IGLS* 2674<sup>8</sup>  
Numidia -- *AE* (1941) 48; Marcillet-Jaubert 1980, 169-70 no. 17;  
Salama 1951-52, 237-8 no. 4; *CIL* VIII 10139, 10216, 22222, 22253  
(= 10120), *EE* vii 656/22395, 22533
19. *d. n. Imp. Caes. M. Iul. Phil. Inv. Pi. Fel. Aug.*  
Inscriptions: Mauretania Caes. -- *AE* (1935) 38

### III. Philippus Senior, Latin Titles, Group B

20. *d. n. Phil. Aug. cos.*  
Inscriptions: Dalmatia -- *CIL* III 3161
21. *Imp. Phil. cos.*  
Inscriptions: Italy -- *AE* (1935) 27/ILP 102  
Pannonia Sup. -- *HSE* 31

<sup>6</sup>See below 185.

<sup>7</sup>[--Imp(erator) Caes(ari) M(arco) Iul(ia) Phi(lippo) Pio Fel(ici) Inv(icto) Aug(usto)--

<sup>8</sup>Imp[erato]ri Cae[sari] [M(arco) Iul(ia)] / Phil[ippo] / P[io] Fel(ici) [Invic]to Au[g(usto)--

22. *Imp. M. Iul. Phil. cos.*  
Inscriptions: Thrace -- *AE* (1924) 65<sup>9</sup>
23. *Imp. d. n. Phil. cos.*  
Inscriptions: Dalmatia -- *CIL* III 2706  
Moesia Sup. -- *AE* (1934) 208/IMS IV 131<sup>0</sup>
24. *Imp. Phil. Aug. cos.*  
Inscriptions: Narbonensis -- *CIL* XII 1567/ILS 4140;<sup>11</sup> *AE* (1910) 217/*AE*  
(1924) 26/ILG 518<sup>12</sup>
25. *Imp. d. n. Phil. Aug. cos.*  
Inscriptions: Lugdunensis -- *LAML* I p. 52  
Belgica -- *CIL* XIII 4131
26. *Imp. d. n. M. Iul. Phil. Aug. cos.*  
Inscriptions: Mauretania Ting. -- *AE* (1954) 110/*LAM* II 359<sup>13</sup>
27. *Imp. Iul. Phil. Pi. Fel. Aug. pont. max.*  
Coins: Moesia Sup. (Viminacium) -- *BMC Thrace* p. 16, 17; *Hunter* I p. 407, 13  
Syria (Antioch) -- *RJC* IV.3 72-4
28. *Imp. Caes. M. Iul. Phil. Aug. pont. max. tr. pot. cos. p. p.*  
Coins: Italy (Rome) -- *Gnecchi* II p. 94-5, 4, 5, 9; III p. 47, 15

<sup>9</sup>See also 213 below.

<sup>10</sup>The stone does not, in fact, contain Philip's name; however, it can be dated to A.D. 245 because of the mention of his co-consul, Titianus.

<sup>11</sup>See also 161 below.

<sup>12</sup>See also 171 below.

<sup>13</sup>See also below 179.

29. *Imp. Caes. M. Iul. Phil. Aug. pont. max. tr. pot. cos. p. p. procos.*  
Inscriptions: Dacia – *AE* (1959) 311/*AE* (1960) 350/*OR* 7/*IDR* II 10<sup>14</sup>
30. *Imp. Caes. M. Iul. Phil. Pi. Fel. Aug. pont. max.*  
Coins: Syria (Antioch?) – *RIC* IV.3 69-71; *HCC* III 120-2
31. *Imp. Caes. M. Iul. Phil. Pi. Fel. Aug. pont. max. tr. pot.*  
Inscriptions: Numidia – Gsell 1917, 347 no. 80
32. *Imp. Caes. M. Iul. Phil. Pi. Fel. Aug. pont. max. tr. pot. p. p. cos.*  
Inscriptions: Hispania – *CIL* II 3073
33. *Imp. Caes. M. Iul. Phil. Pi. Fel. Aug. pont. max. tr. pot. p. p. procos.*  
Inscriptions: Sardinia – *CIL* X 7996/*ILS* 5870; *CIL* X 7999, 8009,<sup>15</sup> 8027; Boninu & Stylow 1982, no. 1/*AE* (1984) 444/Sotgiu 1988, B177; *AE* (1977) 345/Boninu & Stylow 1982, no. 8/Sotgiu 1988, add. B92
34. *Imp. Caes. M. Iul. Phil. Pi. Fel. Aug. pont. max. tr. pot. cos. p. p. procos.*  
Inscriptions: Italy – *AE* (1976) 231<sup>16</sup>  
Pannonia Inf. – *AE* (1969/70) 496, 512;<sup>17</sup> *CIL* III 3717
35. *Imp. Caes. M. Iul. Phil. Pi. Fel. Inv. Aug. p. p.*  
Inscriptions: Noricum – Alföldy 1969, 33 no. 45

<sup>14</sup>This inscription was originally attributed to Gordian III (the emperor's name is illegible), but now seems better ascribed to Philip.

<sup>15</sup>I have here restored, *Imp. Caes. M. Iul. Phil. Pi. Fel. Aug.*, based on other milestones from Sardinia. See also Sotgiu 1988, C112.

<sup>16</sup>*Im[peratori] Caesar[is] / M(arco) Iulio Philippo / Pio Felici Aug(usto) / pontif(ici) m(ax)imo trib(unicia) pot(estate) / co(n)s(uli) p(atr) p(atr)iae / proco(n)s(uli)---*

<sup>17</sup>*Im[peratori] Caesar[is] / M(arco) Iulio Philippo / Pio Felici Aug(usto) p[on]t[if]ic[is] m(ax)imo / trib(unicia) pot(estate) / co(n)s(uli) p(atr) p(atr)iae / proco(n)s(uli).* This stone can be assigned to Philip because his wife, Marcia Otacilia, is mentioned on the stone. The restoration is based on *CIL* III 3717.

36. *Imp. Caes. M. Iul. Phil. Pi. Fel. Inv. Aug. Parth. max. tr. pot.*  
Inscriptions: Moesia Sup. – *IMS* VI 198
37. *maximus et super omnes fortissimus Imp. Caes. M. Iul. Phil. Pi. Fel. Inv. Aug. pont. max. p. p.*  
Inscriptions: Moesia Sup. – *CIL* III 1687/*IMS* IV 73
38. *Imp. Caes. M. Iul. Phil. Pi. Fel. Inv. Aug. pont. max. tr. pot.*  
Inscriptions: Pontus – *RRM* I 22a
39. *Imp. Caes. M. Iul. Phil. Pi. Fel. Inv. Aug. pont. max. tr. pot. cos.*  
Inscriptions: Noricum – *CIL* III 5718  
Dacia – *AE* (1944) 39
40. *Imp. Caes. M. Iul. Phil. Inv. Pi. Fel. Aug. pont. max. tr. pot. p. p.*  
Inscriptions: Africa – *AE* (1956) 127b  
Mauretania Caes. – *AE* (1903) 95; *AE* (1921) 16; *EE* v 1158/*CIL* VIII 22590; *EE* vii 674/*CIL* VIII 22621
41. *d. n. Imp. Caes. M. Iul. Phil. Inv. Pi. Fel. Aug. pont. max. tr. pot. p. p.*  
Inscriptions: Mauretania Caes. – *EE* v 1162/*CIL* VIII 22596
42. *Imp. Caes. M. Iul. Phil. Pi. Fel. Inv. Aug. pont. max. tr. pot. p. p. procos.*  
Inscriptions: Noricum – *CIL* III 5730  
Numidia – *CIL* VIII 10241
43. *Imp. Caes. M. Iul. Phil. Inv. Pi. Fel. Aug. pont. max. tr. pot. cos. p. p.*  
Inscriptions: Pannonia Sup. – *EE* ii 909/*CIL* III 11329<sup>18</sup>  
Numidia – *EE* vii 766/*CIL* VIII 17877<sup>19</sup>  
Mauretania Caes. – *CIL* VIII 10453

<sup>18</sup>This inscription includes *et M. Iul.* of Philip Junior's name, but then breaks.

<sup>19</sup>*Im[peratori] Caesar[is] M(arco) Iulio Philippo [Invicto Pio Felici / Aug(usto) pontif(ici)] m(ax)imo trib(unicia) pot(estate) co(n)s(uli) p(atr) p(atr)iae---*

44. *Imp. Caes. M. Iul. Phil. Pi. Fel. Inv. Aug. pont. max. tr. pot. p. p. cos. procos.*  
 Inscriptions: Hispania -- *CIL* II 4608, 6083/*RIT* 86  
 Pannonia Inf. -- *EE* ii 759/*CIL* III 10620<sup>20</sup>  
 Pannonia Sup. -- *CIL* III 11328, 11334 (=4627)  
 Moesia Inf. -- *CIL* III 6172/*IDR* V 152
45. *Imp. Caes. M. Iul. Phil. Pi. Fel. Inv. Aug. Parth. max. pont. max. tr. pot. p. p. procos.*  
 Inscriptions: Pannonia Sup. -- *CIL* III 4634

#### IV. Philippus Senior, Latin Titles, Group C

46. *Imp. Phil. Aug. pont. max. tr. pot. II cos. p. p.*  
 Coins: Italy (Rome) -- *RIC* IV.3 148b
47. *Imp. M. Iul. Phil. Aug. pont. max. tr. pot. II cos. p. p.*  
 Coins: Italy (Rome) -- *RIC* IV.3 1-2, 148a; *HCC* III 1-3, 54-5  
 East (?) -- *RIC* IV.3 88
48. *Imp. Caes. M. Iul. Phil. Pi. Fel. Aug. pont. max. tr. pot. II cos. p. p.*  
 Inscriptions: Hispania -- *EE* iii 39/*CIL* II 5947
49. *Imp. Caes. M. Iul. Phil. Pi. Fel. Aug. pont. max. tr. pot. II cos. p. p. procos.*  
 Inscriptions: Dacia -- *CIL* III 12573/*AE* (1967) 411
50. *Imp. Caes. M. Iul. Phil. Inv. Pi. Fel. pont. max. tr. pot. II*  
 Inscriptions: Mauretania Caes. -- *AE* (1958) 127

<sup>20</sup>[*Imp(erator) C[oes(ar) / [M(arcus) Iul(ius)] Philip/[pus P(ius) F(elix) In]victus / [Aug(ustus) pont(ificex)] max(imus)---*

51. *Imp. Caes. M. Iul. Phil. Pi. Fel. Inv. Aug. pont. Max. tr. pot. II cos. procos.*  
 Inscriptions: Italy -- Uggeri 1977, 126-32 no. 12<sup>1</sup>
52. *Imp. Caes. M. Iul. Phil. Pi. Fel. Inv. Aug. pont. max. tr. pot. II p. p. cos. procos.*  
 Inscriptions: Dacia -- *CIL* III 1379
53. *Imp. Caes. M. Iul. Phil. Pi. Fel. Inv. Aug. pont. max. tr. pot. II cos. p. p. procos.*  
 Inscriptions: Baetica -- Puerta & Stylow 1985, 331 no. 21
54. *Imp. M. Iul. Phil. Aug. pont. max. tr. pot. III cos. p. p.*  
 Coins: Italy (Rome) -- *RIC* IV.3 3, 96,<sup>22</sup> 149;<sup>23</sup> *HCC* III 4-5, 56-7
55. *Imp. Caes. M. Iul. Phil. Pi. Fel. Aug. pont. max. tr. pot. cos. et cos. des. p. p. procos.*  
 Inscriptions: Italy -- *CIL* XI 6325/*IP* 36<sup>24</sup>
56. *Imp. Caes. M. Iul. Phil. Pi. Fel. Aug. pont. max. tr. pot. II p. p. cos. II (?)*  
 Inscriptions: Lusitania -- *CIL* II 188/*EO* 93<sup>25</sup>
57. *Imp. Caes. M. Iul. Phil. Aug. pont. max. tr. pot. III cos. p. p.*  
 Coins: Italy (Rome) -- *Gnecchi* II pp. 94-5, 6, 7

<sup>21</sup>[*Imp(eratori) Caes(ar)i M(arco) Iulio / Philippo] / P(ri)ncipalis / Pontif(ici) max(imus) trib(unicia) / pot(estate) II co(n)s(ul) prae(n)s(ul)is*. The restoration of Philip's name is conjectured but likely. See Uggeri ad loc.

<sup>22</sup>This coin is listed in *RIC* as a hybrid, with a reverse type belonging to Gordian III.

<sup>23</sup>The reverse legend of these coins is misprinted in *RIC*. Cohen, from whom the *RIC* editors took the references, gives the legend without a consular iteration.

<sup>24</sup>This stone was originally attributed to Philip Senior, but has now been turned over to his son. See M. Peachin, "Which Philip?" *ZPE* 73 (1988) 98-100.

<sup>25</sup>The reading of this stone is not secure. Hübner (*CIL* ad loc.) says, *Aut scribendum TRIB POT II P P COS ut sit patris a. 245, aut TRIB POT II P P COS II, ut sui filii a. 248*.

58. *Imp. M. Iul. Phil. Aug. pont. max. tr. pot. III cos. II p. p.*  
Coins: Syria (Antioch) -- *RIC* IV.3 75<sup>26</sup>
59. *Imp. Phil. Aug. pont. max. tr. pot. IV cos. II p. p.*  
Coins: Italy (Rome) -- *RIC* IV.3 5, 150c, 151a; *HCC* III 28, 58  
Syria (Antioch) -- *RIC* IV.3 76a-7
60. *Imp. M. Iul. Phil. Aug. pont. max. tr. pot. IV cos. II p. p.*  
Coins: Italy (Rome) -- *RIC* IV.3 4, 150a & b, 151b; *HCC* III 59-60  
Syria (Antioch) -- *RIC* IV.3 75-6
61. *Imp. Caes. M. Iul. Phil. Aug. pont. max. tr. pot. IV cos. II p. p.*  
Coins: Italy (Rome) -- *Gnecchi* II p. 95, 8
62. *Imp. Phil. Aug. cos. III*  
Coins: Italy (Rome) -- *RIC* IV.3 24-5; *HCC* III 50-1
63. *Imp. M. Iul. Phil. Aug. cos. III*  
Coins: Italy (Rome) -- *RIC* IV.3 157, 162-4; *HCC* III 109-16
64. *Imp. M. Iul. Phil. pont. max. tr. pot. V cos. III p. p.*  
Coins: Italy (Rome) -- *RIC* IV.3 154c
65. *Imp. Phil. Aug. pont. max. tr. pot. V cos. III p. p.*  
Coins: Italy (Rome) -- *RIC* IV.3 6-7, 153c, 154a & b; *HCC* III 40
66. *Imp. M. Iul. Phil. Aug. pont. max. tr. pot. V cos. III p. p.*  
Coins: Italy (Rome) -- *RIC* IV.3 152-3  
Syria (Antioch) -- *RIC* IV.3 77a
67. *Imp. Caes. M. Iul. Phil. Aug. pont. max. tr. pot. V cos. III p. p.*  
Coins: Italy (Rome) -- *RIC* IV.3 11; *Gnecchi* I pp. 5-6, 2

<sup>26</sup>The reverse legend of this coin is problematic. See above p. 64 n. 130.

68. *Imp. Caes. M. Iul. Phil. Pi. Fel. Aug. pont. max. tr. pot. V cos. III p. p. procos.*  
Inscriptions: Dacia -- *IDR* III.2 81
69. *Imp. Phil. Aug. pont. max. tr. pot. VI cos. p. p.*  
Coins: Syria (Antioch) -- *RIC* IV.3 79b
70. *Imp. M. Iul. Phil. Aug. pont. max. tr. pot. VI cos. p. p.*  
Coins: Syria (Antioch ?) -- *RIC* IV.3 78, 79a, 80; *HCC* III 123
71. *Imp. Caes. M. Iul. Phil. Pi. Fel. Aug. pont. max. tr. pot. XV cos. II*  
Inscriptions: Dacia -- *AE* (1914) 113
- V. **Philippus Senior, Greek Titles, Group A**
72. ΦΙΛ.  
Papyri: *Bureth* p. 113, no. 1 (2)
73. Μ. Ιουλ. ΦΙΛ.  
Coins: Asia (Metropolis) -- *SNGAut* 7930
74. ὁ κυρ. ἡμῶν ΦΙΛ.  
Inscriptions: Dacia -- *AE* (1934) 196  
Thrace -- *IGBulg* 1993
75. Μ. Ιουλ. ΦΙΛ. Καισ. ὁ κυρ.  
Papyri: *Bureth* p. 113, no. 2 (4)

76. **Μ. Ιουλ. Φιλ. Αυγ.**  
 Coins: Bithynia (Bithynion-Claudiopolis) -- *SNGAul* 340-1  
 Bithynia (Caesarea-Germanike) -- *SNGAul* 6979  
 Bithynia (Heraclea Pontica) -- *SNGAul* 6964  
 Bithynia (Juliopolis) -- *SNGAul* 474-5, 6976-7  
 Bithynia (Nicaea) -- *SNGAul* 666-80, 7051; *KBM* 81-104  
 Bithynia (Nicomedia) -- *SNGAul* 829-34, 7123  
 Bithynia (Prusa on the Olympos) -- *SNGAul* 882  
 Asia (Cotiaeion) -- *SNGAul* 3786-7  
 Asia (Dorylaion) -- *SNGAul* 3566, 8359
77. **ὁ θεϊότατος Σεβ. Μ. Ιουλ. Φιλ.**  
 Inscriptions: Moesia Inf. -- *IGRR I* 1478/*IDB* 68/*IGBulg* 91127
78. **Αυτ. Μ. Ιουλ. Φιλ.**  
 Coins: Thrace (Messembria) -- *Hunter I* p. 421, 2; *SNGCop Thrace* 664-5  
 Epirus (Nicopolis) -- *BMC Thessaly* p. 108, 42
79. **Αυτ. Μ. Ιουλ. Φιλ. Αυγ.**  
 Coins: Moesia Inf. (Callatis) -- *SNGCop Thrace* 187  
 Moesia Inf. (Tomi) -- *BMC Thrace* p. 64, 65; *SNGCop Thrace* 306  
 Thrace (Bizya) -- *BMC Thrace* pp. 89-91, 8-14  
 Thrace (Bizya & Byzantium) -- *BMC Thrace* p. 92, 1  
 Thrace (Messembria) -- *BMC Thrace* p. 134, 18-9
80. **Αυτ. Μ. Ιουλ. Φιλ. Σεβ.**  
 Coins: Epirus (Nicopolis) -- *SNGCop Epirus* 83
81. **Θεϊότατος Αυγ. Ιουλ. Φιλ. Σεβ.**  
 Inscriptions: Thrace -- *AE* (1913) 175

<sup>27</sup>...των θειοτάτων Σεβ(αστών) / [Μ(άρκου) Ίουλίου Φιλίππου και Ίουλιανῆς Σεουήρου...

82. **ὁ μέγιστος καὶ θεϊότατος Αυτ. Μ. Ιουλ. Φιλ. Σεβ.**  
 Inscriptions: Moesia Inf. -- *IGRR I* 1479/*IDB* 67/*IGBulg* 900  
 Thrace -- *AE* (1938) 139; *SEG* 28 (1978) 589, 590, 591; *IGRR I* 695/*IGBulg* 2032; *SEG* 15 (1958) 458/*IGBulg* 2037
83. **Μ. Ιουλ. Φιλ. ὁ Αυτ. Παρθ. Ἀδιαβ. Σεβ.**  
 Inscriptions: Thrace -- *AE* (1975) 765
84. **ὁ μέγιστος καὶ θεϊότατος Αυτ. Μ. Ιουλ. Φιλ. Ευσ. Ευτ. Σεβ.**  
 Inscriptions: Achaea -- *IG IV* 19
85. **Αυτ. Καίσ. Ιουλ. Φιλ.**  
 Coins: Syria (Nicopolis) -- *BMC Syria* p. 265, 3  
 Palestine (Raphia) -- *BMC Palestine* p. 174, 12-4
86. **Αυτ. Καίσ. Μ. Ιουλ. Φιλ.**  
 Coins: Macedonia (Edessa) -- *BMC Macedonia* p. 40, 28; *SNGCop Macedonia* 172  
 Macedonia (Thessalonica) -- *BMC Macedonia* p. 127, 133-7; *Hunter I* p. 375, 78-9  
 Macedonia (Koinon) -- *AMNG III* 321  
 Asia (Antioch on the Maeander) -- *SNGAul* 2429  
 Asia (Germe) -- *SNGAul* 1125  
 Asia (Hadrianoi) -- *SNGAul* 1143  
 Asia (Hadrianothrai) -- *SNGAul* 1158-9  
 Asia (Hierapolis) -- *SNGAul* 3659  
 Asia (Hierapolis & Sardis) -- *SNGAul* 3666  
 Asia (Hyrcaenis) -- *SNGAul* 2976  
 Asia (Julia-Gordos) -- *SNGAul* 8230  
 Asia (Magnesia on the Maeander) -- *SNGAul* 2062  
 Asia (Metropolis) -- *SNGAul* 3883, 7929  
 Asia (Philadelphia) -- *SNGAul* 8242  
 Asia (Samos) -- *SNGAul* 2319  
 Asia (Smyrna) -- *SNGAul* 2231  
 Asia (Thyateira) -- *SNGAul* 3238  
 Galatia (Ancyra) -- *SNGAul* 3443

87. Αυτ. Καισ. Μ. Ιουλ. Φιλ. Γερμ.  
Inscriptions: Asia -- *IGRR IV* 635
88. Αυτ. Καισ. Μ. Ιουλ. Φιλ. Ευσ.<sup>28</sup>  
Coins: Galatia (Barata) -- *SNGAul* 5382  
Lycia (Perge) -- *SNGAul* 4701, 8516  
Egypt (Alexandria) -- *Milne* 1933, p. 84; *KAK* 2696 ff.
89. Αυτ. Καισ. Μ. Ιουλ. Φιλ. Αυγ.  
Coins: Thrace (Bizya) -- *SNGCop Thrace* 472-4  
Asia (Apamaea) -- *SNGAul* 3510-1, 8348  
Asia (Daidis) -- *SNGAul* 2936  
Asia (Germe) -- *SNGAul* 1124  
Asia (Hadrianeia) -- *SNGAul* 1140  
Asia (Hadrianoi) -- *SNGAul* 7241  
Asia (Themisonion) -- *SNGAul* 4022  
Asia (Tripolis) -- *SNGAul* 8298  
Bithynia (Amastris) -- *SNGAul* 177  
Bithynia (Heraclea Pontica) -- *SNGAul* 442-3  
Bithynia (Tios) -- *SNGAul* 1022-3  
Galatia (Ancyra) -- *SNGAul* 3444
90. Αυτ. Καισ. Ιουλ. Φιλ. Σεβ.  
Coins: Arabia (Philippopolis) -- *SNGCop Palestine* 151
91. Αυτ. Καισ. Μ. Ιουλ. Φιλ. Σεβ.  
Coins: Asia (Apamaea & Ephesos) -- *SNGAul* 3515  
Asia (Apollonia-Mordiaion) -- *SNGAul* 4998  
Asia (Kidyessos) -- *SNGAul* 3761  
Asia (Nysa) -- *SNGAul* 3053  
Asia (Philomelion) -- *SNGAul* 3929  
Asia (Tripolis) -- *SNGAul* 3323

<sup>28</sup>The coins that attest this formula all have the abbreviation ΕΥΣΕ, with the exception of *SNGAul* 4701, where ΕΥΣΕΒ is to be read. I presume that the titulature under which they are here listed is intended on all of these coins.

- Lycia (Aspendos) -- *SNGAul* 4596  
Lycia (Panemoteichos) -- *SNGAul* 5131  
Galatia (Amblada) -- *SNGAul* 4905  
Cappadocia (Laranda) -- *SNGAul* 5400  
Cilicia (Anazarbos) -- *SNGAul* 5504  
Cilicia (Anemurion) -- *SNGAul* 5523  
Cilicia (Celenderis) -- *SNGAul* 5651  
Cilicia (Corykos) -- *SNGAul* 5683-4  
Cilicia (Diocaesarea) -- *SNGAul* 5546-50  
Cilicia (Seleucia on the Calycadnos) -- *SNGAul* 5846-7  
Syria (Antioch) -- *BMC Syria* pp. 212-3, 507-10, pp. 214-5, 524-34;  
*Hunter III* p. 181, 297-301; *SNGCop Syria* 269-75  
Syria (Cyrrhus) -- *BMC Syria* p. 137, 30-3; *SNGCop Syria* 49  
Syria (Hierapolis) -- *Hunter III* p. 140, 32; *SNGCop Syria* 63  
Syria (Laodicea ad Mare) -- *BMC Syria* p. 262, 109-11; *Hunter III* p. 208, 46-7  
Syria (Samosata) -- *BMC Syria* pp. 121-2, 44-52; *Hunter III* pp. 129-30, 30-4  
Syria (Zeugma) -- *BMC Syria* p. 127, 29-32; *Hunter III* p. 132, 15-7; *SNGCop Syria* 32-4  
Mesopotamia (Nisibis) -- *BMC Arabia* pp. 122-3, 17-26; *SNGCop Palestine* 240-3  
Arabia (Philippopolis) -- *BMC Arabia* pp. 42-3, 4-9
92. Αυτ. Καισ. Μ. Ιουλ. Φιλ. Ευσ. Ευτ. Σεβ.  
Inscriptions: Phoenicia -- *IGRR III* 1198  
Papyri: *Bureth* p. 114, no. 1 (3)
93. ὁ κυρ. ἡμῶν Αυτ. Καισ. Μ. Ιουλ. Φιλ. Ευσ. Ευτ. Σεβ.  
Papyri: *Bureth* p. 114, no. 2 (1)
94. Αυτ. Καισ. Μ. Ιουλ. Φιλ. Ευσ. Ευτ. Σεβ. σωτήρ τῆς οἰκουμένης  
Inscriptions: Lycia -- *SEG* 17 (1960) 613
95. ὁ θεώτατος Αυτ. Καισ. Μ. Ιουλ. Φιλ. Ευτ. Ευσ. Σεβ.  
Inscriptions: Thrace -- *AE* (1892) 10/*IGRR I* 757 (= I 1495)/*IGBulg* 1700; *AE* (1965) 345/*IGBulg* 1710

## VI. Philippus Senior, Greek Titles, Group B

96. Αυτ. Καισ. Μ. Ιουλ. Φιλ. Σεβ. δημ. εξ.  
 Coins: Syria (Antioch) -- *BMC Syria* pp. 212-3, 504-10; *Hunter III* p. 180, 285-7;  
*SNGCop Syria* 262
97. Αυτ. Καισ. Ιουλ. Φιλ. Ευσ. Ευσ. Σεβ. π. π.  
 Coins: Cilicia (Tarsus) -- *SNGAul* 6058-63

## VII. Philippus Senior, Greek Titles, Group C

98. Αυτ. Καισ. Μ. Ιουλ. Φιλ. Σεβ. δημ. εξ. υπ. α'  
 Coins: Syria (Antioch) -- *BMC Syria* p. 213, 511; *SNGCop Syria* 263
99. Αυτ. Καισ. Μ. Ιουλ. Φιλ. Σεβ. δημ. εξ. υπ. β'  
 Coins: Syria (Antioch) -- *Hunter III* p. 180, 288-9
100. Αυτ. Καισ. Μ. Ιουλ. Φιλ. Σεβ. δημ. εξ. υπ. γ'  
 Coins: Syria (Antioch) -- *BMC Syria* p. 213, 512-6; *Hunter III* p. 180, 290-1;  
*SNGCop Syria* 264-6
101. Αυτ. Καισ. Μ. Ιουλ. Φιλ. Σεβ. δημ. εξ. υπ. δ'  
 Coins: Syria (Antioch) -- *BMC Syria* p. 214, 517-23; *Hunter III* p. 181, 292-6;  
*SNGCop Syria* 267-9

## VIII. Philippus Junior, Latin Titles, Group A

102. *Iul. Phil. Caes.*  
 Coins: Bithynia (Sinope) -- *SNGAul* 238-9

103. *M. Iul. Phil. Caes.*  
 Coins: Italy (Rome) -- *RIC IV.3* 213-5, 221, 259; *HCC III* 1-3  
 Dacia ("Provincia Dacia") -- *BMC Thrace* p. 14, 7; *SNGCop Thrace* 130  
 Moesia Inf. (Tomi) -- *SNGCop Thrace* 307  
 Moesia Sup. (Viminacium) -- *SNGCop Thrace* 158  
 Thrace (Deultum) -- *BMC Thrace* p. 114, 29-30; *SNGCop Thrace* 550  
 Thrace (Messembria) -- *BMC Thrace* p. 135, 20-3  
 Asia (Alexandria Troas) -- *SNGAul* 7569  
 Syria (Antioch) -- *SNGCop Syria* 276-7  
 Phoenicia (Heliopolis) -- *BMC Syria* p. 294, 26  
 Arabia (Bostra) -- *BMC Arabia* p. 24, 40-3; *Hunter III* p. 229, 5
104. *M. Iul. Phil. Caes. princ. iuv.*  
 Coins: Italy (Rome) -- *RIC IV.3* 216-20, 255-8; *HCC III* 4-10, 12-20
105. *Phil. nob. Caes.*  
 Inscriptions: Dacia -- *AE* (1944) 40  
 Coins: Phoenicia (Ptolemais-Ace) -- *BMC Phoenicia* pp. 136-7, 45-6
106. *M. Iul. Phil. nob. Caes.*  
 Inscriptions: Hispania -- *CIL II* 4621 (cf. *AE* (1952) 124)  
 Cappadocia -- *CIL III* 6947  
 Africa -- *CIL VIII* 25842<sup>29</sup>  
 Numidia -- Marillet-Jaubert 1980, 167 no. 11  
 Coins: Italy (Rome) -- *RIC IV.3* 222, 260-1; *Gnecchi I* p. 49, 1
107. *M. Iul. Phil. nob. Caes. n.*  
 Inscriptions: Dacia -- *AE* (1944) 54
108. *M. Iul. Severus (sic) Phil. nob. Caes. n.*  
 Inscriptions: Dacia -- *AE* (1944) 53/*IMSM* 11

<sup>29</sup>Philip Senior was also included on this inscription originally, however, his titles are now too obscured to be read with any certainty.



109. *d. n. M. Iul. Phil. nob. Caes.*  
Inscriptions: Noricum -- Wurm 1975, 312 nos. d & e
110. *M. Iul. Phil. nob. Caes. princ. iuv.*  
Inscriptions: Narbonensis -- *CIL* XII 4227  
Italy -- *CIL* XI 5644  
Africa -- *CIL* VIII 22127<sup>30</sup>  
Coins: Italy (Rome) -- *RIC* IV.3 256c, 258d; *Gnecchi* II p. 97, 6, 7
111. *M. Iul. Severus (sic) Phil. nob. Caes. nob. princ. iuv.*  
Inscriptions: Dalmatia -- *CIL* III 3049/*ILS* 512
112. *M. Iul. Phil. nob. Caes. Aug.*  
Inscriptions: Noricum -- Wurm 1975, 310 no. 2  
Numidia -- Marcillet-Jaubert 1980, 170 no. 18  
Mauretania Caes. -- *AE* (1892) 117<sup>31</sup>
113. *M. Iul. Phil. nob. Caes. princ. iuv. Aug.*  
Inscriptions: Numidia -- *CIL* VIII 22314a
114. *d. n. M. Iul. Phil. nob. Caes. Pi. Fel. Aug.*  
Inscriptions: Noricum -- *RIS* 258<sup>32</sup>
115. *d. n. M. Iul. Phil. nob. Caes. Pi. Fel. Inv. Aug.*  
Inscriptions: Noricum -- *CIL* III 5719/Wurm 1975, 311-2 no. c
116. *Imp. d. n. M. Iul. Phil. nob. Caes.*  
Inscriptions: Numidia -- Marcillet-Jaubert 1980, 182, no. 38

<sup>30</sup>This stone also contained the titulature of Philip Senior originally. The first half is now, however, lost.

<sup>31</sup>This stone is badly damaged. It also contained titulature for Philip Senior, which cannot now be read.

<sup>32</sup>Weber (*RIS* ad loc.) originally read, ...*P(io) F(etici) I(nvicto) Aug(usto)*. Wurm 1975, 317 n. 14, however, has re-read the stone, and claims that there is no *I(nvicto)*.

117. *Imp. Phil. Aug.*  
Coins: Italy (Rome) -- *RIC* IV.3 223-4, 230-1; *HCC* III 23-7, 31  
Moesia Sup. (Viminacium) -- *BMC Thrace* p. 17, 26
118. *Imp. M. Iul. Phil. Aug.*  
Coins: Italy (Rome) -- *RIC* IV.3 226-7, 229, 263; *HCC* III 21-2, 29-30, 34  
Moesia Sup. (Viminacium) -- *BMC Thrace* p. 17, 27; *SNGCop Thrace* 159-60  
Syria (Antioch) -- *RIC* IV.3 240-4; *HCC* III 39  
Palestine (Neapolis) -- *BMC Palestine* p. 69, 139
119. *Imp. Caes. M. Iul. Phil. fil. d. n.*  
Coins: Palestine (Neapolis) -- *BMC Palestine* pp. 69070, 144-5
120. *Imp. Caes. M. Iul. Phil. Aug.*  
Coins: Italy (Rome) -- *RIC* IV.3 228, 267b; *Gnecchi* I p. 49, 1
121. *Imp. Caes. M. Iul. Phil. Pi. Fel. Aug.*  
Coins: Palestine (Neapolis) -- *BMC Palestine* p. 69, 140-3; *SNGCop Palestine* 20

#### IX. Philippus Junior, Latin Titles, Group C

122. *Imp. M. Iul. Phil. Aug. cos. II*  
Coins: Italy (Rome) -- *RIC* IV.3 225, 265; *HCC* III 33, 35-7
123. *Imp. M. Iul. Phil. Aug. pont. max. tr. pot. IV cos. p. p.*  
Coins: Syria (Antioch) -- *RIC* IV.3 232, 234<sup>33</sup>

<sup>33</sup>Though these coins appear to give Philip Junior the second half of the standard formula, it is more probable that we are dealing with the titles of his father. See *RIC* III.2, 102 and *HCC* III xcii.

124. *Imp. M. Iul. Phil. Aug. pont. max. tr. pot. IV cos. II p. p.*  
 Coins: Italy (Rome) -- *RIC* IV.3 262; *HCC* III 28  
 Syria (Antioch) -- *RIC* IV.3 233
125. *Imp. Caes. M. Iul. Phil. Aug. pont. max. tr. pot. IV cos. II*  
 Coins: Italy (Rome) -- *Grecchi* II p. 96, 1, 2
126. *Imp. Caes. M. Iul. Phil. Aug. pont. max. tr. pot. V cos. II*  
 Coins: Italy (Rome) -- *Grecchi* II p. 96, 3-5
127. *Imp. M. Iul. Phil. Aug. pont. max. tr. pot. VI cos. p. p.*  
 Coins: Syria (Antioch) -- *RIC* IV.3 235-9; *HCC* III 38

#### X. Philippus Junior, Greek Titles, Group A

128. *Ιουλ. Φιλ.*  
 Coins: Bithynia (Cretia-Flaviopolis) -- *SNGAul* 528
129. *Μ. Ιουλ. Φιλ.*  
 Coins: Asia (Daldis) -- *SNGAul* 2937
130. *Ιουλ. Σεουήρος (sic) Φιλ.*  
 Coins: Lycia (Prostana) -- *SNGAul* 5150
131. *Ιουλ. Φιλ. Καίσ.*  
 Coins: Macedonia (Thessalonica) -- *BMC Macedonia* p. 128, 139
132. *Μ. Ιουλ. Φιλ. Καίσ.*  
 Coins: Moesia Inf. (Callatis) -- *BMC Thrace* p. 23, 14  
 Moesia Inf. (Tomi) -- *BMC Thrace* p. 64, 67-8  
 Thrace (Bizya) -- *BMC Thrace* p. 91, 15  
 Thrace (Messembria) -- *SNGCop Thrace* 666-8  
 Macedonia (Sestus) -- *BMC Thrace* p. 200, 19  
 Bithynia (Heraclea Pontica) -- *SNGAul* 444-5, 6965

- Bithynia (Nicaea) -- *SNGAul* 681-5, 7052-3; *KBM* 119-25  
 Bithynia (Nicomedia) -- *SNGAul* 835-45, 7125  
 Pontus (Amisos) -- *SNGAul* 86  
 Asia (Blaundos) -- *SNGAul* 2930  
 Asia (Ephesus) -- *SNGAul* 1914  
 Asia (Hadrianoi) -- *SNGAul* 7242  
 Asia (Hierapolis) -- *SNGAul* 3660-1  
 Asia (Hierapolis & Sardis) -- *SNGAul* 3667  
 Asia (Kotiaecion) -- *SNGAul* 3788  
 Asia (Laodiceia) -- *SNGAul* 3864-5, 8421-2  
 Asia (Laodiceia & Epheus) -- *SNGAul* 3869  
 Asia (Saitta) -- *SNGAul* 3105  
 Asia (Samos) -- *SNGAul* 2320-2  
 Asia (Temenothyrae) -- *SNGAul* 8452-3  
 Galatia (Ancyra) -- *SNGAul* 3445  
 Cappadocia (Laranda) -- *SNGAul* 5401  
 Syria (Antioch) -- *SNGCop Syria* 276-7
133. *Μ. Ιουλ. Σεουήρος (sic) Φιλ. Καίσ.*  
 Coins: Lycia (Andeda) -- *SNGAul* 4912  
 Cilicia (Casae) -- *SNGAul* 5612
134. *Μ. Ιουλ. Φιλ. Αυγ.*  
 Coins: Bithynia (Nicaea) -- *KBM* 128-32
135. *Μ. Ιουλ. Φιλ. Καίσ. Σεβ.*  
 Coins: Asia (Aphrodisias) -- *SNGAul* 2467  
 Asia (Tripolis) -- *SNGAul* 3325  
 Cilicia (Soloï-Pompeiopolis) -- *SNGAul* 5896  
 Egypt (Alexandria) -- Milne 1933, p. 85; *KAK* 2782 ff.
136. *Καίσ. Μ. Ιουλ. Σεουήρος (sic) Φιλ. Σεβ.*  
 Coins: Lycia (Ariassos) -- *SNGAul* 5007  
 Lycia (Perge) -- *SNGAul* 4706-7
137. *Αυτ. Φιλ.*  
 Coins: Achaëa (Troezen) -- *BMC Peloponnesus* p. 168, 25

138. Αυτ. Μ. Ιουλ. Φιλ.  
Coins: Asia (Magnesia on the Maeander) -- *SNGAul* 2064
139. Αυτ. Μ. Ιουλ. Φιλ. Αυγ.  
Coins: Moesia Inf. (Callatis) -- *BMC Thrace* p. 23, 13
140. Αυτ. Καισ. Ιουλ. Φιλ.  
Coins: Asia (Colophon) -- *SNGAul* 2020
141. Αυτ. Καισ. Μ. Ιουλ. Φιλ.  
Coins: Asia (Cibyra) -- *SNGAul* 3753  
Asia (Magnesia on the Maeander) -- *SNGAul* 2063  
Asia (Magnesia on the Sipylus) -- *SNGAul* 3007  
Asia (Temnos) -- *SNGAul* 1679-80  
Galatia (Ancyra) -- *SNGAul* 3446  
Lycia (Sagalassos) -- *SNGAul* 5190-1
142. Αυτ. Καισ. Μ. Ιουλ. Σεουήρος (sic) Φιλ.  
Coins: Lycia (Isinda) -- *SNGAul* 5044, 8596  
Lycia (Silyon) -- *SNGAul* 4886
143. Αυτ. Καισ. Ιουλ. Φιλ. γενναϊότατος  
Papyri: *P. Lond.* III 950, 1-2<sup>34</sup>
144. Αυτ. Καισ. Μ. Ιουλ. Φιλ. Ευσ.  
Coins: Egypt (Alexandria) -- *Milne* 1933, p. 85; *KAK* 2795 ff.
145. Αυτ. Καισ. Μ. Ιουλ. Σεουήρος (sic) Φιλ. Ευτ. (?)  
Coins: Lycia (Perge) -- *SNGAul* 4710

<sup>34</sup>*Burneth* (p. 115, no. 9) lists this papyrus with the formula, [Αὐτοκράτωρ Καίσαρ ?] Μάρκος Ἰουλιὸς Φίλιππος γενναϊότατος Καίσαρ Σεβαστός. The correct reading (sp. Sijpesteijn, 1982, 108) is (lines 1-2): [ἐ]τους ἐ[β]δόμ]ου Αὐτοκράτορος Κέ[σαρος] / Ἰουλιὸς Φίλιππος γενναϊότατος [ ] space. It seems a bit odd that Philip Junior should be mentioned without his father (this is unique in the papyri); however, the presence of γενναϊότατος forces the presumption that the son is intended.

146. Αυτ. Καισ. Μ. Ιουλ. Σεουήρος (sic) Φιλ. Ευτ. Σεβ.  
Coins: Lycia (Magydos) -- *SNGAul* 4643
147. Αυτ. Καισ. Ιουλ. Φιλ. Αυγ.  
Coins: Asia (Hierapolis) -- *SNGAul* 8385
148. Αυτ. Καισ. Μ. Ιουλ. Φιλ. Αυγ.  
Coins: Asia (Miletropolis) -- *SNGAul* 1317
149. Αυτ. Καισ. Μ. Ιουλ. Φιλ. Σεβ.  
Coins: Syria (Antioch) -- *BMC Syria* pp. 219-20, 564-77; *Hunter III* p. 183, 308, 310-7; *SNGCop Syria* 278  
Syria (Cyrrhus) -- *BMC Syria* p. 137, 34; *Hunter III* p. 135, 19  
Syria (Hierapolis) -- *BMC Syria* p. 145, 57-8; *SNGCop Syria* 64  
Syria (Laodicea ad Mare) -- *BMC Syria* p. 263, 112-3; *SNGCop Syria* 367  
Syria (Samosata) -- *BMC Syria* pp. 122-3, 53-66; *Hunter III* p. 130, 35  
Syria (Zeugma) -- *BMC Syria* pp. 128-9, 35-47; *Hunter III* p. 132, 19; *SNGCop Syria* 35  
Mesopotamia (Nisibis) -- *Hunter III* p. 316, 5-8  
Arabia (Philippopolis) -- *BMC Arabia* p. 43, 10; *Hunter III* p. 300, 1
150. Αυτ. Καισ. Μ. Ιουλ. Σεουήρος (sic) Φιλ. Σεβ.  
Coins: Lycia (Perge) -- *SNGAul* 4703-5, 4708-9, 8517-8  
Lycia (Silyon) -- *SNGAul* 4887, 8556

#### XI. Philippus Junior, Greek Titles, Group B

151. Μ. Ιουλ. Φιλ. Καισ. δημ. εξ.  
Coins: Syria (Antioch) -- *BMC Syria* p. 217, 549-50

## XII. Philippus Junior, Greek Titles, Group C

152. ΑΥΤ. ΚΑΙΣ. Μ. ΙΟΥΛ. ΦΙΛ. ΣΕΒ. ΔΗΜ. ΕΞ. ΥΠ. Γ'  
 Coins: Syria (Antioch) -- *BMC Syria* p. 218, 551-6; *Hunter III* p. 183, 308
153. ΑΥΤ. ΚΑΙΣ. Μ. ΙΟΥΛ. ΦΙΛ. ΣΕΒ. ΔΗΜ. ΕΞ. ΥΠ. Δ'  
 Coins: Syria (Antioch) -- *BMC Syria* p. 218, 557-63

## XIII. Philippus Senior and Junior, Latin Titles, Group A

154. *Phill. Augg.*  
 Inscriptions: Italy -- *CIL VI* 1645/*ILS* 2773
155. *dd. nn. Phill. Augg.*  
 Inscriptions: Britain -- *CIL VII* 315/*RIB* 915  
 Dacia -- *AE* (1939) 28/*OR* 82/*IDR II* 327/*Speidel* 1978, 119-22/*Petolescu* 1981, 283-5<sup>35</sup>  
 Arabia -- *AE* (1899) 100/*CIL III* 14149.5/*ILS* 9005
156. *sanctissimi dd. nn. Phill. Augg.*  
 Inscriptions: Italy -- *Inscript. Ital.* X,2 216
157. *Phil. Aug. Phil. nob. Caes.*  
 Inscriptions: Dalmatia -- *AE* (1897) 6; *CIL III* 12685
158. *M. Iul. Phil. Aug. M. Iul. Phil. nob. Caes.*  
 Coins: Italy (Rome) -- *RIC IV.3* 56

<sup>35</sup>The first line of this inscription must be partially restored. *Speidel* (loc. cit.) suggests, *[Salvis dd. nn.]*, whereas the other editors have *[Imp. Caes.]s. dd. nn.* *Speidel's* case is plausible, thus I have adopted his reading. Note also that *Petolescu* (loc. cit.) does not refer to *Speidel's* article.

159. *d. n. Phil. Aug. et Phil. nob. Caes.*  
 Inscriptions: Moesia Sup. -- *CIL III* 8113
160. *M. Iul. Phil. nob. Caes. Phil. Aug. n. fil. princ. iuv.*  
 Inscriptions: Noricum -- *CIL III* 5705/*Wurm* 1975, 312 no. f
161. *Imp. et Caes. Phill. Augg.*  
 Inscriptions: Narbonensis -- *CIL XII* 1567/*ILS* 4140<sup>36</sup>
162. *M. Iul. Phil. Pi. Fel. Aug. et M. Iul. Phil. nob. Caes. n.*  
 Inscriptions: Italy -- *CIL VI* 2830 (=32555)
163. *Imp. dd. nn. M. Iul. Phil. et M. Iul. Phil. nob. Caes.*  
 Inscriptions: Dacia -- *AE* (1960) 356/*IDR V* 124
164. *Imp. dd. nn. M. Iul. Phil. Aug. et M. Iul. Phil. nob. Caes.*  
 Inscriptions: Lugdunensis -- *CIL XIII* 8905/*XVII* 341
165. *M. Iul. Phil. Imp. M. Iul. Phil. Aug. fil. nob. Caes.*  
 Inscriptions: Dalmatia -- *CIL III* 12686
166. *Imp. Gaius (sic) Iul. M. Phil. Pi. Aug. et Iul. Phil. nob. Caes.*  
 Inscriptions: Moesia Inf. -- *AE* (1934) 166/*JSM I* 349
167. *Imp. M. Iul. Phil. Aug. et M. Iul. Phil. nob. Caes.*  
 Inscriptions: Belgica -- *JLTG* 484/*CIL XVII* 522
168. *M. Iul. Phil. nob. Caes. princ. iuv. fil. Imp. M. Iul. Phil. Inv. Aug.*  
 Inscriptions: Dacia -- *CIL III* 1380
169. *Imp. M. Iul. Phil. Pi. Fel. Aug. et M. Iul. Phil. nob. Caes.*  
 Inscriptions: Narbonensis -- *CIL XII* 5531/*RSS* 26/*GA* 110/*CIL XVII* 133

<sup>36</sup>See also 24 above.

170. *dd. nn. Imp. M. Iul. Phil. Pi. Fel. Aug. et M. Iul. Phil. nob. Caes.*  
Inscriptions: Lugdunensis -- *CIL* XIII 8873/XVII 324; *CIL* XIII 8878/XVII 330
171. *dd. nn. Imp. Caes. M. Iul. Phil. Pi. Fel. Aug. et M. Iul. Phil. nob. Caes. Aug. fil.*  
Inscriptions: Narbonensis -- *AE* (1910) 217/*AE* (1924) 26/*ILG* 518<sup>37</sup>
172. *Imp. dd. nn. Phill.*  
Coins: Phoenicia (Damascus) -- *BMC Syria* p. 287, 26
173. *Imp. dd. nn. Phill. Augg.*  
Inscriptions: Africa -- *AE* (1972) 678/*AE* (1985) 849<sup>38</sup>
174. *Imp. Caes. Phill. Augg.*  
Coins: Palestine (Neapolis) -- *BMC Palestine* pp. 66-7, 129-34<sup>39</sup>
175. *Imp. Caes. M. Iul. Phil. M. Iul. Phil. princ. iuv.*  
Inscriptions: Italy -- *CIL* V 2384<sup>40</sup>
176. *Imp. Caes. M. Iul. Phil. et M. Iul. Phil. nob. Caes.*  
Inscriptions: Lugdunensis -- Labrousse 1980, 247
177. *Imp. Caes. M. Iul. Phil. Inv. Aug. et M. Iul. Phil. Caes. n.*  
Inscriptions: Africa -- *AE* (1950) 128/*IRT* 880
178. *Imp. Caes. M. Iul. Phil. Inv. Aug. et M. Iul. Phil. nob. Caes.*  
Inscriptions: Pannonia Sup. -- *CIL* III 4626

<sup>37</sup>Lines 4 ff., [pro salute d(ominum) n(ostorum) Imp(eratoris)] Caes(aris) [M(arci) Iuli / Philippi Pi] Fel(icis) Aug(usti) [et M(arci) Iuli / Philippi nob(ilissimi) Caes(aris)] Aug(usti) [fil(ii)]. See also 24 above.

<sup>38</sup>See also 235 below.

<sup>39</sup>These coins actually read, II MM CC P FILIPPIS AVGG.

<sup>40</sup>*Imp(eratori) Caes(ari) / M(arco) Iulio / Philippo / M(arco) [Iulio Phil] / po... / pr(incipi) iuvent(utis) / FO--*

179. *Imp. Caes. M. Iul. Phil. Pi. Fel. Aug. et M. Iul. Phil. nob. Caes.*  
Inscriptions: Asia -- *AE* (1898) 102/*OGIS* 519/*IGRR* IV 598/*CIL* III 14191/Williams 1986, 8<sup>41</sup>  
Mauretania Ting. -- *AE* (1954) 110/*IAM* II 359<sup>42</sup>
180. *M. Iul. Phil. Caes. nob. fil. Imp. Caes. M. Iul. Phil. Pi. Fel. Aug.*  
Inscriptions: Italy -- *CIL* V 8971/Alföldy 1984a, 247-53 no. 2/Alföldy 1984b, no. 73
181. *M. Iul. Phil. nob. Caes. princ. iuv. fil. Imp. Caes. M. Iul. Phil. Pi. Fel. Aug.*  
Inscriptions: Italy -- *CIL* X 4556
182. *Imp. Caes. M. Iul. Phil. Pi. Fel. Inv. Aug. et M. Iul. Phil. nob. Caes.*  
Inscriptions: Moesia Inf. -- *AE* (1985) 765  
Asia -- *CIL* III 12270/*IMM* 257/*IK* 17,1 3164<sup>43</sup>  
Cappadocia -- *AE* (1888) 182/*CIL* III 6914,<sup>44</sup> 6915, 6942, 6946, 12206
183. *M. Iul. Phil. nob. Caes. fil. Imp. Caes. M. Iul. Phil. Pi. Fel. Inv. Aug.*  
Inscriptions: Baetica -- *AE* (1971) 184

<sup>41</sup>See also below 270. This stone was originally published by J.G.C. Anderson, "A Summar in Phrygia: I" *JHS* 17 (1897) 417-22 no. 20, who read the Latin titulature in line 1 as, *Imp. Caes. M. [Iul. P]hilippus Pius Felix Aug. et [M. Iul. Philippus] n[ost]r[us] b[e]n[e]f[icentissimus] Caes.* In an article discussing this important document, the titles *Pius* and *Felix* were, without explanation, deleted -- A. Schulten, "Libello dei coloni d'un demanio imperiale in Asia" *MDAI(R)* 13 (1898) 232. This reading was then taken up by Dittenberger and is now repeated by Williams, while the *CIL* editors stuck by Anderson's original reading. Although I have seen no photo, the transcriptions in Anderson's article and in the *CIL* clearly indicate that *Pius* and *Felix* must have been included.

<sup>42</sup>See also above 26.

<sup>43</sup>See also below 272.

<sup>44</sup>[I]mp(erator) [Caesar / Marcus Iulius Philippus Pius / Inv]ictu[s] Aug(ustus) / et M[arcus] [Iulius Philippus] / nobilissim[us] / Ca[esar]. Although Mommsen does not here restore *Felix*, it seems likely that the epithet belongs in this inscription.

184. *Imp. Caes. M. Iul. Phil. Pi. Fel. Inv. Aug. perpetuus et M. Iul. Phil. nob. Caes.*  
Inscriptions: Britain – *CIL* VII 1179/*RISC* 165/*RIB* 2284<sup>45</sup>
185. *dd. nn. Imp. Caes. MM. Iull. Phill. Pii. Fell. Augg.*  
Inscriptions: Italy – *CIL* VI 793/*CIL* XIV 2258/*ILS* 505<sup>46</sup>
186. *M. Iul. Phil. nob. Caes. Pi. Fel. Aug. princ. iuv. d. n. Imp. Caes. M. Iul. Phil. Pi. Fel. Aug. d. n. fil.*  
Inscriptions: Africa – *IRT* 48
187. *Imp. Caes. M. Iul. Phil. Pi. Fel. Inv. Aug. et M. Iul. Phil. Pi. Fel. Aug.*  
Inscriptions: Germania Sup. – *CIL* XIII 6562/*RSO* 73<sup>47</sup>
188. *Imp. Caes. M. Iul. Phil. Pi. Fel. Inv. Aug. et Imp. Caes. M. Iul. Phil. Pi. Fel. Inv. Aug.*  
Inscriptions: Germania Inf. – *CIL* XIII 12089/*IALux* 62/*CIL* XVII 542<sup>48</sup>
189. *dd. nn. Imp. Caes. M. Iul. Phil. Inv. Pi. Fel. et Imp. Caes. M. Iul. Phil. Inv. Pi. Fel. Augg.*  
Inscriptions: Mauretania Caes. – *CIL* VIII 8809/*ILS* 5785

#### XIV. Philippus Senior and Junior, Latin Titles, Group B

190. *dd. nn. Phill. Augg. cos.*  
Inscriptions: Italy – *CIL* VI 1624/*CIL* XIV 170/*ILS* 1433

<sup>45</sup>*Perpetuus* is the reading given by *RISC* and *RIB*, but not by *CIL*. Though I have not seen a photo of the stone, I take the more recent publications to be correct.

<sup>46</sup>See above 16.

<sup>47</sup>*RSO* restores the stone thus: *Imp(eratores) Caes(ares) [M(arcus) Iul(ius) Ph(i)l(i)p(pus)] P(ius) F(elix) Invic(tus) Aug(ustus) [et M(arcus) Iul(ius) / Ph(i)l(i)p(pu)s] P(ius) F(elix) [Aug(ustus)]*.

<sup>48</sup>*[I]mp(eratori) Caes(ari) M(arco) [Iul(io) / P]hilippo P[io] Fel(ici) / Invicto Augusto et / Imp(eratori) Caes(ari) M(arco) Iul(io) / Ph(i)l(i)p(po) P[io] / F(el(ici) Invic[ito] Aug(usto)]*.

191. *Imp. M. Iul. Phil. Pi. Fel. Aug. pont. max. tr. pot. cos. p. p. et M. Iul. Phil. Caes.*  
Inscriptions: Germania Sup. – *AE* (1935) 104/*CIL* XVII 653
192. *Imp. Iul. Phil. Pi. Fel. pont. max. tr. pot. cos. p. p. procos. et Imp. Caes. M. Iul. Phil. p. p. (sic) pont. max. tr. pot. cos. p. p. procos.*  
Inscriptions: Sardinia – *AE* (1889) 27/*EE* viii 772
193. *Imp. Caes. M. Iul. Phil. Pi. Fel. pont. max. tr. pot. p. p. procos. et M. Iul. Phil. Iunior*  
Inscriptions: Numidia – *CIL* VIII 22426
194. *Imp. Caes. M. Iul. Phil. Pi. Fel. Inv. pont. max. tr. pot. cos. et M. Iul. Phil. nob. Caes.*  
Inscriptions: Pannonia Sup. – *CIL* III 4631
195. *Imp. Caes. M. Iul. Phil. Pi. Fel. Aug. et M. Iul. Phil. nob. Caes. tr. pot. cos.*  
Inscriptions: Britain – *CIL* VII 1178/*RIB* 2286
196. *Imp. Caes. M. Iul. Phil. Aug. pont. max. tr. pot. cos. p. p. procos. et M. Iul. Phil. nob. Caes.*  
Inscriptions: Pannonia Inf. – *CIL* III 3718
197. *Imp. Caes. M. Iul. Phil. Pi. Fel. Aug. cos. p. p. et M. Iul. Phil. nob. Caes. princ. iuv.*  
Inscriptions: Lugdunensis – *CIL* XIII 8889/*XVII* 308
198. *Imp. Caes. M. Iul. Phil. Pi. Fel. Aug. pont. max. tr. pot. et M. Iul. Phil. nob. Caes.*  
Inscriptions: Pannonia Sup. – *CIL* III 4684/*Weber* 1968-71, 142 no. 20
199. *Imp. Caes. M. Iul. Phil. Pi. Fel. Aug. pont. max. tr. pot. cos. p. p. et M. Iul. Phil. nob. Caes. Augg.*  
Inscriptions: Africa – *CIL* VIII 21952
200. *Imp. Caes. M. Iul. Phil. Pi. Fel. Aug. pont. max. tr. pot. cos. p. p. procos. et M. Iul. Phil. nob. Caes.*  
Inscriptions: Pannonia Inf. – *CIL* III 10627<sup>49</sup>

<sup>49</sup>Walser (*CIL* XVII 590 = XIII 9157) restores this titulature; but the restoration is most insecure.

201. *Imp. Caes. M. Iul. Phil. Pi. Fel. Aug. pont. max. tr. pot. p. p. cos. procos. et M. Iul. Phil. nob. Caes. princ. iuv.*  
 Inscriptions: Sardinia -- *AE* (1890) 87/*EE* viii 743<sup>50</sup>  
 Pannonia Inf. -- *AE* (1969/70) 497  
 Africa -- *AE* (1908) 73<sup>51</sup>
202. *Imp. Caes. M. Iul. Phil. Pi. Fel. Aug. pont. max. tr. pot. cos. p. p. procos. et M. Iul. Phil. nob. Caes. Pi. Fel. Aug. princ. iuv.*  
 Inscriptions: Africa -- *EE* v 1076/*CIL* VIII 21974
203. *Imp. Caes. M. Iul. Phil. Pi. Fel. Aug. pont. max. tr. pot. imp. cos. p. p. procos. et M. Iul. Phil. Aug. fil. nob. Caes.*  
 Inscriptions: Africa -- *CIL* VIII 10022
204. *Imp. Caes. M. Iul. Phil. Pi. Fel. Inv. Aug. pont. max. tr. pot. p. p. et Imp. M. Iul. Phil. nob. Caes.*  
 Inscriptions: Pannonia Sup. -- *CIL* III 5753/Weber 1968-71, 133-4 no. 11<sup>52</sup>
205. *Imp. Caes. M. Iul. Phil. Inv. Pi. Fel. Aug. pont. max. tr. pot. cos. et M. Iul. Phil. nob. Caes. princ. iuv.*  
 Inscriptions: Numidia -- *CIL* VIII 22397/*ILS* 5871<sup>53</sup>

<sup>50</sup>The names of both father and son have been erased; however, the inscription can be dated to their reign because of the mention of P. Aelius Valens as procurator, datable to A.D. 248 (*PIR*<sup>2</sup> A 275).

<sup>51</sup>*Imp(eratoris) Caes(aris) M(arci) [Iul(i) Philippi Pii Felicis Aug(usti) pont(ificis) max(imi) trib(unicia) pot(estate) ? co(n)s(ulis) ? p(atr) p(atris) proco(n)s(ulis) et] / M(arci) Iul(i) Philippi nobil(issimi) Caes(aris) [pr]in[ci]pis iuventutis.*

<sup>52</sup>*[m]p(erator) Caesari] [M(arco) / Iul(io) Philipp(o)] [P(ri) F(elic) / Inv(ict) Aug(usto)] / pont(ifici) max(im)o / trib(unicia) [pot(estate) p(atr) p(atris) e]t / [Imp(eratori) M(arco) Iul(io) Phil(ip)o] / nob(ili)s(simo) Caesari.*

<sup>53</sup>The *CIL* editors restore *tr. pot. II*. Dessau does not attempt to restore the iteration. Since there is no way of knowing what the iteration number should be, I have followed Dessau.

206. *Imp. Caes. M. Iul. Phil. Pi. Fel. Inv. Aug. pont. max. tr. pot. cos. p. p. procos. et M. Iul. Phil.*  
 Inscriptions: Numidia -- *EE* v 1134/*CIL* VIII 22373, 10299
207. *Imp. Caes. M. Iul. Phil. Pi. Fel. Inv. Aug. pont. max. tr. pot. cos. p. p. procos. et M. Iul. Phil. nob. Caes.*  
 Inscriptions: Numidia -- *CIL* VIII 22380
208. *Imp. Caes. M. Iul. Phil. Pi. Fel. Inv. Aug. pont. max. tr. pot. cos. p. p. procos. et M. Iul. Phil. nob. Caes. n. fil. Aug.*  
 Inscriptions: Pannonia Inf. -- *EE* ii 765/*CIL* III 10640
209. *Imp. Caes. M. Iul. Phil. Pi. Fel. Inv. Aug. pont. max. tr. pot. p. p. cos. procos. et M. Iul. Phil. nob. Caes. princ. iuv. fil. Aug. n.*  
 Inscriptions: Pannonia Inf. -- *AE* (1973) 442
210. *Imp. Caes. M. Iul. Phil. Pi. Fel. Inv. Aug. pont. max. tr. pot. cos. p. p. procos. et M. Iul. Phil. nob. Caes. Aug.*  
 Inscriptions: Numidia -- *EE* vii 651/*CIL* VIII 10317 (=22381)
211. *Imp. Caes. M. Iul. Phil. Pi. Fel. Inv. pont. max. tr. pot. cos. procos. p. p. et M. Iul. Phil. nob. Caes. cos. Augg.*  
 Inscriptions: Africa -- *AE* (1973) 561
212. *Imp. Caes. M. Iul. Phil. Pi. Fel. Inv. Aug. pont. max. tr. pot. cos. procos. p. p. et Imp. Caes. M. Iul. Phil. Junior Pi. Fel. Inv. Aug. pont. max. tr. pot. cos. procos. p. p.*  
 Inscriptions: Dacia -- *OR* 450/*IDR* II 500<sup>54</sup>
213. *Imp. Caes. M. Iul. Phil. Pi. Fel. Inv. Aug. pont. max. Parth. max. tr. pot. cos. p. p. procos. et M. Iul. Phil. nob. Caes.*  
 Inscriptions: Pannonia Inf. -- *EE* ii 758/*CIL* III 10619/*ILS* 507; *CIL* III 14354.6

<sup>54</sup>See also below 236.

214. *Imp. Caes. M. Iul. Phil. Pi. Fel. Aug. pont. max. tr. pot. p. p. procos. et M. Iul. Phil. nob. Caes. princ. iuv. fil. d. n. Phil. Aug.*  
Inscriptions: Sardinia -- *CIL X 7997*

#### XV. Philippus Senior and Junior, Latin Titles, Group C

215. *Imp. Caes. M. Iul. Phil. Inv. Pi. Fel. Aug. pont. max. tr. pot. cos. des. p. p. procos. et M. Iul. Phil. nob. Caes. Aug. princ. iuv.*  
Inscriptions: Africa -- *CIL VIII 10049, 10077 (=22057)*
216. *max. et Inv. ac super omnes fortissimus Imp. Caes. M. Iul. Phil. Pi. Fel. Aug. pont. max. Pers. max. tr. pot. cos. des. p. p. procos. et M. Iul. Phil. nob. Caes. princ. iuv.*  
Inscriptions: Italy -- *CIL VI 1097/ILS 506*
217. *Imp. Caes. M. Iul. Phil. Pi. Fel. Aug. pont. max. tr. pot. II et M. Iul. Phil. nob. Caes.*  
Inscriptions: Thrace -- *AE (1924) 65<sup>55</sup>*
218. *Imp. Caes. M. Iul. Phil. Pi. Fel. Aug. tr. pot. II p. p. cos. et M. Iul. Phil. nob. Caes.*  
Inscriptions: Germania Sup -- *CIL XIII 9100/XVII 632;<sup>56</sup> CIL XIII 9108/RSO 217/CIL XVII 640*
219. *Imp. Caes. M. Iul. Phil. Pi. Fel. Aug. pont. max. tr. pot. II cos. p. p. M. Iul. Phil. nob. Caes.*  
Inscriptions: Dacia -- *CIL XVI 149<sup>57</sup>*
220. *Imp. Caes. M. Iul. Phil. Pi. Fel. Aug. pont. max. tr. pot. II cos. p. p. procos. et nob. Caes. fil.*  
Inscriptions: Dacia -- *AE (1891) 78*

<sup>55</sup>The tribunician iteration is here restored. See also 22 above.

<sup>56</sup>The tribunician iteration is restored to this stone.

<sup>57</sup>Again, the tribunician iteration is restored.

221. *Imp. Caes. M. Iul. Phil. Pi. Fel. Aug. pont. max. tr. pot. II cos. p. p. procos. et M. Iul. Phil. nob. Caes. princ. iuv.*  
Inscriptions: Africa -- *EE vii 594/CIL VIII 22089, 10078 (=22059)<sup>58</sup>*
222. *d. n. Phil. Aug. II et Phil. Caes.*  
Papyri: *P. Oxy. IV 720*
223. *Imp. Caes. M. Iul. Phil. Pi. Fel. Aug. Inv. pont. max. tr. pot. II cos. II procos. et M. Iul. Phil. nob. Caes. princ. iuv.*  
Inscriptions: Africa -- *EE vii 605/CIL VIII 22107*
224. *Imp. M. Iul. Phil. Fel. Aug. pont. max. tr. pot. III cos. p. p. et M. Iul. Phil. nob. Caes. princ. iuv.*  
Inscriptions: Italy -- *CIL XI 6107*
225. *Imp. Caes. M. Iul. Phil. Pi. Fel. Aug. pont. max. tr. pot. III cos. p. p. M. Iul. Phil. nob. Caes.*  
Inscriptions: ? (now in Paris) -- *CIL XVI 150*  
Italy -- *CIL XVI 151/Pais 941*
226. *dd. nn. Imp. Caes. M. Iul. Phil. Pi. Fel. Aug. tr. pot. III cos. p. p. et M. Iul. Phil. nob. Caes.*  
Inscriptions: Africa -- *CIL VIII 814 (=12344)/ILS 508*
227. *Imp. Phil. Aug. II et Phil. Caes. coss.*  
Inscriptions: Baetica -- *ILPG 130*
228. *Imp. M. Iul. Phil. Aug. cos. II Imp. M. Iul. Phil. Aug.*  
Coins: Italy (Rome) -- *RJC IV.3 197*
229. *Imp. Phil. Aug. II et Phil. Caes. coss.*  
Inscriptions: Baetica -- *Puerta & Stylow 1985, 330-1*

<sup>58</sup>The tribunician iteration is here restored.



230. *Imp. II Phil. Augg. coss.*  
Inscriptions: Pannonia Sup. -- *CIL* III 14354.19
231. *Imp. Caes. M. Iul. Phil. Pi. Fel. Aug. II et M. Iul. Phil. nob. Caes. cos.*  
Inscriptions: Italy -- *CIL* VI 2134
232. *dd. nn. Imp. Phil. Aug. II et Phil. Caes. cos.*  
Inscriptions: Italy -- *CIL* VI 32414/*ILS* 4930
233. *Imp. Caes. M. Iul. Phil. pont. max. tr. pot. IV cos. II procos. p. p. et M. Iul. Phil. nob. Caes. cos.*  
Inscriptions: Dalmatia -- *CIL* III 10169
234. *Imp. Caes. M. Iul. Phil. Pi. Fel. Aug. pont. max. tr. pot. IV cos. II p. p. procos. et M. Iul. Phil. nob. Caes.*  
Inscriptions: Dalmatia -- *CIL* III 3203
235. *Imp. Phil. III et Phil. II cos.*  
Inscriptions: Africa -- *AE* (1985) 849<sup>59</sup>
236. *Imp. Phil. Aug. III et Imp. Phil. II coss.*  
Inscriptions: Dacia -- *OR* 450/*IDR* II 500<sup>60</sup>
237. *Imp. dd. nn. Phil. Augg. III et iterum cos.*  
Inscriptions: Germania Sup. -- *CIL* XIII 6552/*ILS* 2605/*RJBW* 456/*RSO* 8
238. *Imp. M. Iul. Phil. Pi. Fel. Aug. cos. des. III et Imp. M. Iul. Phil. Pi. Fel. Aug. cos. II des. cos.*  
Inscriptions: Italy -- *CIL* III<sup>2</sup> p. 896 (LIII)/*CIL* X 3335/*CIL* XVI 152<sup>61</sup>

<sup>59</sup>See also 173 above. Also for these two as *II et III coss.*, see *Gnechchi* II p. 99, 16 and p. 100, 2, 3. Further, *Gnechchi* II p. 97, 4 has them as *German. max. Carpp. max. II et II coss.*

<sup>60</sup>See also above 212.

<sup>61</sup>See also below 239.

239. *Imp. Caes. M. Iul. Phil. Pi. Fel. Aug. pont. max. tr. pot. IV cos. III desig. p. p. procos. et Imp. Caes. M. Iul. Phil. Pi. Fel. Aug. pont. max. tr. pot. IV cos. desig. p. p.*  
Inscriptions: Italy -- *CIL* III<sup>2</sup> p. 896 (LIII)/*CIL* X 3335/*CIL* XVI 152<sup>62</sup>
240. *Imp. M. Iul. Phil. Pi. Fel. Aug. III et Imp. M. Iul. Phil. Pi. Fel. Aug. II coss.*  
Inscriptions: Italy -- *CIL* III<sup>2</sup> p. 897 (LIV)/*CIL* V 4056/*CIL* XVI 153<sup>63</sup>
241. *Imp. Caes. M. Iul. Phil. Pi. Fel. Aug. pont. max. tr. pot. V cos. III p. p. procos. Imp. Caes. M. Iul. Phil. Pi. Fel. Aug. pont. max. tr. pot. II cos. II p. p.*  
Inscriptions: Italy -- *CIL* III<sup>2</sup> p. 897 (LIV)/*CIL* V 4056/*CIL* XVI 153<sup>64</sup>
242. *Imp. Caes. M. Iul. Phil. Pi. Fel. Inv. Aug. V procos. tr. pot. p. p. et Imp. Caes. M. Iul. Phil. Pi. Fel. Inv. Aug. II procos. tr. pot. p. p.*  
Inscriptions: Cappadocia -- French 1981, 153 no. 565
243. *Imp. Caes. M. Iul. Phil. Pi. Fel. Aug. pont. max. tr. pot. V (?) cos. III p. p. procos. et Imp. Caes. M. Iul. Phil. Pi. Fel. Aug. fil. d. n. Aug. pont. max. tr. pot. V cos. II p. p. procos.*  
Inscriptions: Sardinia -- *EE* viii 739/*CIL* X 8001/*ILS* 511<sup>65</sup>
244. *Imp. Caes. M. Iul. Phil. Pi. Fel. Inv. Aug. tr. pot. V cos. IV procos. p. p. et M. Iul. Phil. Iunior Imp. cos. procos. princ. iuv. fil. Phil. Aug. restitutores orbis totius*  
Inscriptions: Dacia -- *AE* (1888) 8/*CIL* III 8031/*ILS* 510/*IDR* II 324

<sup>62</sup>See also above 238.

<sup>63</sup>See also 241.

<sup>64</sup>See also above 240.

<sup>65</sup>The iteration numbers given after the title *Augustus* for both Philips are odd. French suggests reading *n(astro)* for both. It may be, however, that these were intended to be tribunician iterations.

<sup>66</sup>The iteration number of Philip Senior's tribunician power comes at the end of line 4 and is damaged. Mommsen says that the numeral appears to be V. See also Dessau's note in *ILS*.

245. *d. n. Imp. Caes. M. Iul. Phil. Pi. Fel. Aug. pont. max. tr. pot. V cos. III procos. p. p. Imp. Caes. M. Iul. Phil. Aug. fil. Pi. Fel. pont. max. tr. pot. II cos. II princ. iuv. Aug.*  
Inscriptions: Numidia – *CIL VIII 8323 (=20139)/ILS 513*

#### XVI. Philippus Senior and Junior, Greek Titles, Group A

246. Φάλλ.  
Papyri: *Bureth p. 114, no. 1 (4); P. Oxy. XLVI 3298, 19*
247. Φάλληπιανοί  
Papyri: *Bureth p. 114, no. 2 (1)*
248. Μαρρ. Ιουλλ.  
Papyri: *Bureth p. 114, no. 5 (3); P. Oxy. XL 2913 iii, 3-4*
249. οί κυρρ. Φάλλ.  
Papyri: *Bureth p. 115, no. 3 (1)*
250. Ιουλλ. Φάλλ. οί κυρρ.  
Papyri: *Bureth p. 114, no. 3 (1)*
251. Φάλλ. Καισσ.  
Papyri: *O. Ont. Mus. II 221, 3-4*
252. ΜΜ. Ιουλλ. Φάλλ. Καισσ. οί κυρρ.  
Papyri: *Bureth p. 114, no. 6 (3); P. Oxy. XLII 3046, 11-3; 3049 A, 9-10; XLIV 3179, 1-2; L 3565, 8-10*

253. οί Σεββ.  
Inscriptions: Arabia – *IGRR III 1363*<sup>67</sup>
254. Ιουλλ. Φάλλ. Σεββ.  
Papyri: *Bureth p. 114, no. 4 (2)*
255. ΓΓ. (sic) Ιουλλ. Φάλλ. Σεββ.  
Coins: Asia (Mylasa) – *SNGAul 2634*
256. οί δεσπόται τῆς οἰκουμένης ΜΜ. Ιουλλ. Φάλλ. Σεββ.  
Inscriptions: Syria – *AE (1908) 274*  
Arabia – *IGRR III 1197*
257. οί κυρρ. Φάλλ. Σεββ.  
Inscriptions: Egypt – *IGRR I 1093/AEIGL 87*  
Papyri: *Bureth p. 115, no. 4 (2)*
258. οί κυρρ. ΜΜ. Ιουλλ. Φάλλ. Σεββ.  
Inscriptions: Arabia – *IGRR III 1196*  
Papyri: *O. Leid. 261, 1-2*
259. οί κυρρ. ἡμῶν Φάλλ. Σεββ.  
Inscriptions: Syria – *SGLI 795*  
Egypt – *CIG 5008; 5010/IGRR I 1330; 5069/OGIS 210*  
Papyri: *Bureth p. 115, no. 5 (5)*
260. οί κυρρ. ἡμῶν Ιουλλ. Φάλλ. Σεββ.  
Papyri: *Bureth p. 115, no. 6 (2); O. Leid. 169, 1-3*
261. ΜΜ. Ιουλλ. Φάλλ. Καισσ. οί κυρρ. Σεββ.  
Papyri: *Bureth p. 114, no. 6 (5); P. Oxy. XLII 3049 B, 12-3*

<sup>67</sup>The stone is dated to year 142. Assuming that this corresponds to the era dating of Bostra, then the date of the inscription is A.D. 246.

262. ὁ επιφ. Καισ. Μ. Ιουλ. Φιλ. υἱὸς τοῦ θειωτάτου Αυτ. Μ. Ιουλ. Φιλ. Ευσ. Ευτ. Σεβ.  
Inscriptions: Asia – *IK* 27, 41
263. ΜΜ. Ιουλλ. Φιλ. Ευσσ. Ευττ. Σεββ.  
Papyri: *Bureth* p. 114, no. 7 (2)
264. ὁ μέγιστος καὶ θειώτατος Αυτ. Μ. Ιουλ. Φιλ. Ευσ. Ευτ. Σεβ. υἱὸς τοῦ μεγίστου καὶ  
θειωτάτου Αυτ. Μ. Ιουλ. Φιλ. Ευσ. Ευτ. Σεβ.  
Inscriptions: Thrace – *AE* (1944) 16/*IGBulg* 1566<sup>68</sup>
265. Αυτ. Καισ. Μ. Ιουλ. Φιλ. καὶ Αυτ. Καισ. Μ. Ιουλ. Φιλ.  
Inscriptions: Thrace – *IGRR* I 758/*IGBulg* 1591<sup>69</sup>
266. Αυτ. Καισ. Μ. Ιουλ. Φιλ. Σεββ.  
Coins: Asia (Stektorion) – *SNGAul* 3961, 8441  
Syria (Antioch) – *BMC Syria* p. 216, 535-8; *Hunter* III p. 182, 302-3
267. οἱ κυρρ. ἡμῶν Αυττ. Καισσ. ΜΜ. Ιουλλ. Φιλ. Σεββ.  
Inscriptions: Syria – *IGRR* III 1093
268. Αυτ. Καισ. Μ. Ιουλ. Φιλ. τοῦ θειωτάτου Αυτ. Καισ. Μ. Ιουλ. Φιλ. Ευσ. Ευτ. Σεβ.  
υἱὸς ὁ νέος Ἡλῖος Ευσ. Ευτ. Σεβ.  
Inscriptions: Moesia Inf. – *AE* (1907) 45/*IDB* 66/*IGRR* I 1480/*IGBulg* 1511<sup>70</sup>

<sup>68</sup>[Τὸν μέγιστον καὶ] θειώτατον Αὐτοκράτορα Μ(άρκου) Ἰούλιον Φιλίππου Εὐσεβῆ Εὐτυχῆ Σεβ(αστῶν)  
υἱὸν τοῦ / μεγίστου καὶ θειωτάτου Αὐτοκράτορος Μ(άρκου) Ἰουλίου Φιλίππου / Εὐσεβοῦς Εὐτυχοῦς  
Σεβ(αστοῦ).

<sup>69</sup>Lines 3 ff., τοῦ [Αὐτοκράτορος] [Καίσαρος / Μ(άρκου) Ἰουλίου] (Φι)λιππου καὶ τοῦ Αὐτοκράτορος /  
Καίσαρος Μ(άρκου) [Ἰουλίου Φιλίππου].

<sup>70</sup>Lines 2 ff., [Αὐτοκράτορα Καίσαρα Μ(άρκου) Ἰούλιον / Φιλίππου τοῦ θειωτάτου Αὐτοκράτορος Καίσαρος  
Μ(άρκου) Ἰουλίου / Φιλίππου Εὐσεβοῦς Εὐτυχοῦς / Σεβ(αστοῦ) καὶ τῆς θεοφιλεστάτης Σεβα(στίης)  
Μαρτίας Ὀτακλίας Σεουφίας / υἱὸν τὸν νέον Ἡλίον Εὐσεβῆ / Εὐτυχῆ Σεβ(αστῶν).

269. Αυτ. Καισ. Μ. Ιουλ. Φιλ. Ευσ. Ευτ. καὶ Μ. Ιουλ. Φιλ. γενναιώτατος Καισ. Σεββ.  
Papyri: *Bureth* p. 114, no. 8 (3);<sup>71</sup> *P. Mich.* XI 609, 39-44
270. Αυτ. Καισ. Μ. Ιουλ. Φιλ. Ευσ. Ευτ. Σεβ. καὶ Μ. Ιουλ. Φιλ. επιφ. Καισ.  
Inscriptions: Asia – *AE* (1898) 102/*OGIS* 519/*IGRR* IV 598/*CIL* III 14191<sup>72</sup>
271. Αυτ. Καισ. Μ. Ιουλ. Φιλ. Ευσ. Ευτ. καὶ Μ. Ιουλ. Φιλ. γενναιώτατος καὶ επιφ. Καισ.  
Σεββ.  
Papyri: *Bureth* p. 114, no. 9 (14);<sup>73</sup> *P. Oxy.* XLII 3047, 40-2; 3049 A, 21-3; L  
3565, 29-35; 3566, 8-12; *P. Wisc.* II 86, 34-6; *P. Laur.* I 4, 7-8; *CPR*  
VIII 17, 4-6
272. Αυτ. Καισ. Μ. Ιουλ. Φιλ. Ευσ. Ευτ. Σεβ. καὶ Μ. Ιουλ. Φιλ. θεοφιλέστατος Καισ.  
Inscriptions: Asia – *CIL* III 12270/*IMM* 257/*IK* 17,1 3164<sup>74</sup>
273. Αυττ. Καισσ. ΜΜ. Ιουλλ. Φιλ. Ευσσ. Ευττ. Σεββ.  
Papyri: *Bureth* p. 115, no. 1 (8); *P. Oxy.* XXXVIII 2854, 33-5; XLIV 3177, 22-5;  
3178, 14-6; *Pap. Lugd. Bat.* XIX 14, 1-3
274. οἱ κυρρ. ἡμῶν Αυττ. Καισσ. ΜΜ. Ιουλλ. Φιλ. Ευσσ. Ευττ. Σεββ.  
Papyri: *Bureth* p. 115, no. 7 (1)
275. Αυττ. Καισσ. ΜΜ. Ιουλλ. Φιλ. Κορρ. μεγγ. Γερμμ. μεγγ. Ευσσ. Ευττ. Σεββ.  
Papyri: *Bureth* p. 115, no. 2 (2)

<sup>71</sup>*Bureth* includes *P. Amh.* 81, 20 under this formula. Sijpesteijn 1984, 76 has demonstrated that the papyrus  
belongs, however, with 267 below.

<sup>72</sup>See also above 179.

<sup>73</sup>According to *Bureth*, *SPP* XX 53, 30 has ὁ ἱερώτατος rather than γενναιώτατος. The reading has been  
corrected by Sijpesteijn 1982, 193.

<sup>74</sup>See also above 182.

276. Αυττ. Καισσ. οί κυρρ. ΜΜ. Ιουλλ. Φύλλ. Καρπι. μεγγ. Γερμμ. μεγγ. Ευσσ. Ευττ. Σεββ.  
Papyri: *Bureth* p. 115, no. 2 (1)
277. Αυττ. Καισσ. ΜΜ. Ιουλλ. Φύλλ. Παρθθ. μεγγ. Γερμμ. μεγγ. Ευσσ. Ευττ. Σεββ.  
Papyri: *Bureth* p. 115, no. 2 (1)

**Traianus Decius**  
(ca. September 249 - ca. early June 251)

*C(aius) Mes(sius) Qu(intus) Trai(anus) Dec(ius)*  
*Qu(intus) Her(ennius) Eir(uscus) Mes(sius) Dec(ius)*<sup>1</sup>  
*C(aius) Val(ens) Host(ilianus) Mes(sius) Qu(intus)*

### I. Literary Testimonia

*Aur. Vict. Caes. 29.1 At Decius, Sirmiensem vico ortus, militiae gradu ad Imperium conspiraverat, laetiorque hostium nece filium Etruscum nomine Caesarem fecit...*

*Ept. de Caes. 29.1-2 Decius e Pannonia inferiore, Bubaliae natus, imperavit menses triginta. Hic Decium filium suum Caesarem fecit...*

*Eutrop. 9.4 Post hos Decius e Pannonia inferiore, Budaliae natus, imperium sumpsit...filium suum Caesarem fecit...cum biennio imperassent ipse et filius, uterque in barbarico interfecti sunt. inter Divos relati.*

*Oros. hist. adv. pag. 7.21.1-3 ...Decius, civilis belli inceptor et repressor, occisis Philippis...invasit imperium...idenque filium suum Caesarem legit...*

### II. Decius, Latin Titles, Group A

1. *d. n. Dec. Aug.*  
Inscriptions: Italy – *CIL IX 4056/ILS 521*

<sup>1</sup>Although it appears not really to have been part of Herennius Etruscus' name, some of the coins from the East and a few of the inscriptions add *C(aius)*.

2. *d. n. Dec. Pi. Fel. Aug.*  
Inscriptions: Pannonia Sup. -- *CIL* III 4011/*AIJug* 478
3. *Imp. Qu. Mes. Dec. Trai.*  
Inscriptions: Dalmatia -- *CIL* III 13309, 13310
4. *Imp. Trai. Dec. Aug.*  
Coins: Italy (Rome) -- *RIC* IV.3 1-9, 42a; *HCC* III 1-4  
Dacia (Provincia Dacia) -- *Hunter* I p. 405, 5  
Moesia Sup. (Viminacium) -- *BMC Thrace* pp. 17-8, 29-31
5. *Imp. Caes. C. Mes.*  
Inscriptions: Britain -- *RIB* 2277<sup>2</sup>
6. *Imp. Caes. Mes. Qu. Trai. Dec.*  
Coins: Asia (Alexandria Troas) -- *SNGAul* 1479
7. *Imp. Caes. C. Mes. Qu. Trai. Dec.*  
Inscriptions: Aquitania -- *CIL* XIII 8939/Besnier 1926, 344 no. 5/*CIL* XVII 376;  
*CIL* V 6780/*Inscript. Ital.* XI.2.4<sup>3</sup>
8. *Imp. Caes. C. Mes. Qu. Trai. Dec. Pi. Fel.*  
Coins: Bithynia (Apameia-Myrleia) -- *SNGAul* 6922<sup>4</sup>

<sup>2</sup>The inscription breaks after *Messius*. One might restore *Qu. Traianus Decius*, but not much else with any certainty.

<sup>3</sup>The inscription breaks after *Decio*.

<sup>4</sup>This coin reads, IMP C C MES Q TRALA DECCIVS P K. As the *SNGAul* editors note, P K must be a mistake, and should be understood as P F.

9. *Imp. Caes. Trai. Dec. Aug.*  
Coins: Italy (Rome) -- *RIC* IV.3 33-43;<sup>5</sup> *HCC* III 21-6  
Galatia (Antioch) -- *SNGAul* 4977  
Syria (Antioch) -- *RIC* IV.3 52a
10. *Imp. Caes. Mes. Qu. Trai. Dec. Aug.*  
Coins: Italy (Rome) -- *RIC* IV.3 10-32, 101g, 111-31; *HCC* III 5-20, 32-57;  
*Gnecchi* II pp. 49 & 101  
Dacia (Provincia Dacia) -- *SNGCop Thrace* 131  
Moesia Sup. (Viminacium) -- *SNGCop Thrace* 161-3  
Syria (Antioch) -- *RIC* IV.3 44-9, 51, 53-4  
Arabia (Bostra) -- *BMC Arabia* p. 25, 44-7<sup>6</sup>
11. *Imp. Caes. C. Mes. Qu. Trai. Dec. Aug.*  
Inscriptions: Britain -- *AE* (1966) 224<sup>7</sup>  
Asia -- Frei-Korunsky 1986, 91 no. 1  
Coins: Italy (Rome) -- *RIC* IV.3 101-10; *HCC* III 27-31  
Galatia (Antioch) -- *SNGAul* 4976  
Palestine (Aelia Capitolina) -- *BMC Palestine* pp. 99-100, 96-102, 153,  
156 ff.; *SNGCop Palestine* 26  
Palestine (Caesarea) -- *BMC Palestine* pp. 30-2, 144-51; *Hunter* III p.  
277, 8; *SNGCop Palestine* 11<sup>8</sup>
12. *Imp. Caes. C. Mes. Qu. Trai. Dec. Aug. n.*  
Inscriptions: Italy -- *CIL* VI 2831 (= 32557)

<sup>5</sup>These coins, as well as various others of Decius, were assigned by Mattingly to the mint at Milan. It is now clear, however, that they belong to the Rome mint. See K.J.J. Elks, "Reattribution of the Milan Coins of Trajan Decius to the Mint of Rome" *NC* 7.12 (1972) 111-5.

<sup>6</sup>Of these coins only no. 46 is entirely legible.

<sup>7</sup>The inscription breaks after *Aug.*

<sup>8</sup>This coin is nearly illegible.

13. *Imp. Caes. d. n. C. Mes. Qu. Trai. Dec.*  
Inscriptions: Britain -- *CIL* VII 1171/*RIB* 2268;<sup>9</sup> *CIL* VII 1181/*RIB* 2278<sup>10</sup>
14. *Imp. Qu. Trai. Dec. Caes. Pi. Fel. Aug.*  
Inscriptions: Britain -- *CIL* VII 1163/*RIB* 2263<sup>11</sup>
15. *Imp. Caes. C. Mes. Qu. Dec. Pi. Fel. Aug.*  
Coins: Moesia Sup. (Viminacium) -- *BMC Thrace* p. 17, 28; *Hunter* I p. 408, 19-20
16. *Imp. Caes. C. Mes. Qu. Trai. Dec. Pi. Fel. Aug.*  
Inscriptions: Britain -- *CIL* VII 1180/*RIB* 2276  
Dalmatia -- *CIL* III 8286, 10048  
Moesia Inf. -- *CIL* III 12515/*ISM* I 322<sup>12</sup>  
Bithynia -- *AE* (1951) 29/*IK* 31, 55; *IK* 10,1 14<sup>13</sup>  
Galatia -- *AE* (1985) 811  
Numidia -- *CIL* VIII 22457, 22541  
Coins: Palestine (Caesarea) -- *BMC Palestine* p. 32, 152, 154
17. *d. n. Imp. Caes. C. Mes. Qu. Trai. Dec. Pi. Fel. Aug.*  
Inscriptions: Mauretania Caes. -- *AE* (1951) 142

<sup>9</sup>*[d(omino)] n(ostro) / Imp(eratori) Caes(air) / G(aio) Mes(s)io Q(uinto) / Decio Traiano--*. See also above, Gordian III 33.

<sup>10</sup>This stone breaks, and I have restored *Qu. Trai. Dec.*

<sup>11</sup>*Imp(eratori) / Q(uinto) Traiano (sic) / Decio / [C(a)e]sa[ri] / P(io) Fel(ici) [---*. This is the restoration given in *RIB*. I have added *Aug(usto)*.

<sup>12</sup>*Imp(eratori) Caes(ar)i [C(aio)] / Messio [Quin]to Traiano / Decio P(io) Fel(ici) Aug(usto)*. Restoration of *Pius Felix Augustus* is my suggestion.

<sup>13</sup>Note that this stone is listed in the section labeled, "Nachträge und Korrekturen zum Band I."

18. *Imp. Caes. C. Qu. Mes. Dec. Trai. Inv. Pi. Fel. Aug.*  
Inscriptions: Germania Inf. -- *AE* (1967) 340/*CIL* XVII 556  
Noricum -- Forlati Tamaro 1956, 3/Grilli 1960, 223-4  
Pannonia Inf. -- Lörincz 1985, 394-6 no. 2<sup>14</sup>
19. *Imp. Caes. d. n. C. Mes. Qu. Dec. Trai. Pi. Fel. Inv. Aug.*  
Inscriptions: Britain -- *CIL* VII 1174/*RIB* 2271
- III. Decius, Latin Titles, Group B
20. *Dec. cos.*  
Inscriptions: Germania Inf. -- *CIL* XIII 7786
21. *Trai. Dec. Aug. cos.*  
Inscriptions: Germania Sup. -- *CIL* XIII 5622/*ILS* 4836
22. *Imp. Caes. C. Mes. Qu. Dec. Trai. Aug. pont. max. tr. pot. cos. procos.*  
Inscriptions: Pannonia Sup. -- *CIL* III 5752/Weber 1968-71, 134-5 no. 12
23. *Imp. Caes. C. Mes. Qu. Trai. Dec. Pi. Fel. Aug. pont. max.*  
Inscriptions: Cappadocia/Galatia -- *AE* (1899) 83/*CIL* III 13544<sup>15</sup>
24. *Imp. Caes. C. Mes. Trai. Qu. Dec. Pi. Fel. Aug. pont. max. tr. pot.*  
Inscriptions:<sup>16</sup>Lugdunensis -- *CIL* XIII 8903/*XVII* 345  
Africa -- *EE* vii 600/*CIL* VIII 22098/*CILB* 472

<sup>14</sup>*[Imp(eratori) Caes(ar)i C(aio) Messio] / Q(uinto) Traiano Decio P(io) Fel(ici) / Invic[t]o Aug(usto)---*.

<sup>15</sup>*Imp(erator) Caes(ar) [C(aio)] M(essius) [Quintus ?] / Traianu[s] D(omi)ni P(ro) F(elix) Aug(usto) P(ater) F(elix) pont[ifex] maximus*. This stone is most poorly executed, both in its cutting and as to the grammar. Still, this seems the likely reading.

<sup>16</sup>Both stones listed here are fragmentary, breaking just after the mention of the tribunician power.

25. *Imp. Caes. C. Mes. Qu. Trai. Dec. Pi. Fel. Aug. pont. max. tr. pot. p. p.*  
Inscriptions: Africa -- *EE* vii 584/*CIL* VIII 22065; *EE* vii 586/*CIL* VIII 22066; *EE* vii 589/*CIL* VIII 22081
26. *Imp. Caes. C. Mes. Qu. Trai. Dec. Pi. Fel. Aug. pont. max. tr. pot. cos. p. p.*  
Inscriptions: Germania Sup. -- *CIL* XVII 609; *CIL* XIII 9090/XVII 617<sup>17</sup>
27. *Imp. Caes. C. Mes. Qu. Trai. Dec. Pi. Fel. Aug. pont. max. procos. tr. pot. cos.*  
Inscriptions: Mauretania Ting. -- *IAM* II 103<sup>18</sup>
28. *Imp. Caes. C. Mes. Qu. Trai. Dec. Pi. Fel. Aug. pont. max. tr. pot. cos. p. p. procos.*  
Inscriptions: Pannonia Sup. -- *CIL* III 4645/Weber 1968-71, 130-1 no. 8; *CIL* III 4651/Weber 1968-71, 139 no. 17  
Numidia -- Salama 1951-52, 229 no. 5
29. *Imp. Caes. C. Mes. Qu. Trai. Pi. Fel. Inv. Aug. p. p. cos.*  
Inscriptions: Moesia Sup. -- *IMS* VI 204
30. *Imp. Caes. C. Mes. Qu. Trai. Dec. Pi. Fel. Inv. Aug. p. p. procos.*  
Inscriptions: Moesia Inf. -- *AE* (1973) 481
31. *Imp. Caes. C. Mes. Qu. Trai. Dec. Pi. Fel. Inv. Aug. pont. max.*  
Inscriptions: Italy -- *CIL* VI 31376<sup>19</sup>
32. *Imp. Caes. C. Mes. Qu. Trai. Dec. Pi. Fel. Inv. Aug. pont. max. tr. pot. p. p. procos.*  
Inscriptions: Germania Sup. -- *CIL* XIII 9101/XVII 633; *CIL* XIII 9109/*RSO* 218/*CIL* XVII 641  
Africa -- *CIL* VIII 21931

<sup>17</sup>The reading given by Walser (*CIL* XVII ad loc.) is, [*Imp(eratori)*] [*Caes(ari)*] [*M(essio) Q(uinto) Traiano*] [*Dec(icio) / Aug(usto) p(ontifici) m(aximo) trib(unicia) / [pot(estate) co(n)s(uli) p(atri) p(atriae)]*].

<sup>18</sup>[*Imp(eratori)*] [*Caes(ari) C(aio) Mes(sio) Q(uinto) Traiano*] [*Decio P(rio) Fel(ici) Aug(usto) p(ontifici) m(aximo) / proco(n)s(uli) / trib(unicia) p(ot(estate) co(n)s(uli))*].

<sup>19</sup>[*Imp(eratori) Caesa(ri) C(aio) Messio Q(uinto) Traiano*] [*Decio Pio Fel(ici) Invicto Aug(usto)*] [*p(ontifici) m(aximo) /*].

33. *Imp. Caes. C. Mes. Qu. Trai. Dec. Pi. Fel. Inv. Aug. pont. max. tr. pot. cos. procos.*  
Inscriptions: Germania Sup. -- *CIL* XIII 9126/XVII 628<sup>20</sup>  
Mauretania Caes. -- *CIL* VIII 10457; *EE* v 1151/*CIL* VIII 22549<sup>21</sup>
34. *Imp. Caes. C. Mes. Qu. Trai. Dec. Pi. Fel. Inv. Aug. pont. max. tr. pot. cos. p. p. procos.*  
Inscriptions: Noricum -- Wurm 1975, 314 ff.  
Pannonia Inf. -- *CIL* III 3723 (= 10631); *EE* ii 766/*CIL* III 10641  
Mauretania Caes. -- *CIL* VIII 10354,<sup>22</sup> 10360<sup>23</sup>
- IV. Decius, Latin Titles, Group C
35. *Imp. Caes. C. Mes. Qu. Trai. Dec. Pi. Fel. Inv. Aug. pont. max. tr. pot. cos. I des. p. p. procos.*  
Inscriptions: Moesia Inf. -- *CIL* III 12351/*ILS* 8922
36. *Imp. Caes. C. Mes. Qu. Trai. Dec. Pi. Fel. Aug. pont. max. tr. pot. cos. des. II p. p.*  
Inscriptions: Italy -- *CIL* III<sup>2</sup> p. 899/XI 373/XVI 154<sup>24</sup>
37. *Imp. Caes. C. Mes. Qu. Trai. Dec. Pi. Fel. Inv. Aug. pont. max. tr. pot. cos. II des. p. p. procos. reparator disciplinae militaris fundator sacrae urbis firmator spei Romanae*  
Inscriptions: Dacia -- *AE* (1891) 46/*IDR* II 639

<sup>20</sup>The *CIL* editors, both old and new, restore lines 3-5 as follows: [*a*]no Decio p[er]fici[us] Invicto [Aug(usto)]. The transcription now given in *CIL* XVII does not show clearly an N as the first readable letter in line 4. Hence, it seems to me more likely that the restoration should be, [*a*]no Decio P[ro]ficio / Fel[ici] Invicto [Aug(usto)].

<sup>21</sup>The tribunician and consular iterations on this stone are not legible.

<sup>22</sup>This stone originally contained the titulature of Herennius Etruscus, but that part of the inscription is no longer to read.

<sup>23</sup>[—] / Qui[n]t[us] De[c]i[us] Traiano / Invicto Pio Fel[ici] [Aug(usto)] / p[ro]ficio m[aximo] trib[un]ic[ia] p[ot]estate p[atri] p[atriae] co[n]s[ul] / proco[n]s[ul].

<sup>24</sup>See also 59 below.

38. *Dec. Aug. cos. II*  
Inscriptions: Italy -- ILS 2190
39. *d. n. C. Mes. Qu. Trai. Dec. Aug. II cos.*  
Inscriptions: Italy -- CIL VI 31849
40. *Imp. Caes. C. Mes. Qu. Trai. Dec. Aug. pont. max. cos. II*  
Inscriptions: Africa -- ILS 4009
41. *Imp. Caes. C. Mes. Qu. Trai. Dec. Pi. Fel. Aug. pont. max. tr. pot. cos. II p. p.*  
Inscriptions: Hispania -- CIL II 4823  
Pannonia Sup. -- CIL III 4010/AlJug 477
42. *Imp. Caes. C. Mes. Qu. Trai. Dec. Pi. Fel. Aug. pont. max. tr. pot. cos. II procos.*  
Inscriptions: Italy -- CIL X 6564<sup>25</sup>
43. *Imp. Caes. C. Mes. Qu. Trai. Dec. Inv. Pi. Fel. Aug. cos. II*  
Inscriptions: Numidia -- CIL VIII 22360
44. *Imp. Caes. C. Mes. Qu. Trai. Dec. Inv. Pi. Fel. Aug. pont. max. tr. pot. cos. II procos.*  
Inscriptions: Numidia -- Salama 1951-52, 236-7 no. 2<sup>26</sup>
45. *Imp. Caes. C. Mes. Qu. Trai. Dec. Inv. Pi. (?) Aug. Fel. pont. max. tr. pot. cos. II p. p.*  
Inscriptions: Hispania -- CIL II 4915<sup>27</sup>

<sup>25</sup>[Imp(erator) Caesar C(aius) Mess(ius) / Quintus Traianus D]ecius Pius [Felix / Aug(ustus) pontifex] max(imus) trib(unicia) pot(estate) / co(n)s(ul) II p[ro]co(n)s(ul)---

<sup>26</sup>Salama suggests that a tribunician iteration (either II or III) may have been included on this stone.

<sup>27</sup>[Imp(erator) Caes(ar) / C(aius)] Mess(ius) Quin[ti]o / Traian[us] De]cio / [In]victo [P]ro [A]ug(usto) Fel(ici) / [p]ontif(ici) m(aximo) trib(unicia) pot(estate) / c[on]s(ul) II p(atr) p(atr)iae.

46. *Imp. Caes. C. Mes. Qu. Trai. Dec. Pi. Fel. Inv. Aug. pont. max. tr. pot. cos. II p. p. procos.*  
Inscriptions: Germania Inf. -- AE (1965) 118/CIL XVII 587  
Numidia -- CIL VIII 10313-4, 10318; Marcillet-Jaubert 1980, 166-7 no. 10
47. *Imp. Caes. C. Mes. Qu. Trai. Dec. Pi. Fel. Aug. pont. max. procos. tr. pot. II cos. II*  
Inscriptions: Mauretania Ting. -- AE (1942-43) 113<sup>28</sup>
48. *Imp. Caes. C. Mes. Qu. Trai. Dec. Pi. Fel. Aug. pont. max. tr. pot. II cos. II p. p.*  
Inscriptions: Italy -- CIL V 8023, 8028  
Dacia -- CIL III 1176/ILS 514
49. *Imp. Caes. C. Mes. Qu. Trai. Dec. Pi. Fel. Inv. Aug. pont. max. p. p. tr. pot. II cos. II procos.*  
Inscriptions: Baetica -- CIL II 1372
50. *Imp. Caes. C. Mes. Qu. Trai. Dec. Pi. Fel. Inv. Aug. pont. max. tr. pot. II cos. II p. p.*  
Inscriptions: Lugdunensis -- CIL XIII 8865/XVII 314  
Noricum -- KRS 325<sup>29</sup>
51. *Imp. Caes. C. Mes. Qu. Trai. Dec. Pi. Fel. Aug. pont. max. tr. pot. III cos. II p. p. procos.*  
Inscriptions: Italy -- CIL V 2068/Alföldy 1984b, no. 154; Alföldy 1984b, no. 63<sup>30</sup>
52. *Imp. Caes. C. Mes. Qu. Trai. Dec. Pi. Fel. Inv. Aug. pont. max. tr. pot. III cos. II procos. p. p.*  
Inscriptions: Alpes -- CIL XII 11

<sup>28</sup>Imp(erator) [Caes(ar)] C(aius) [Mes(sus) / Quintus] [Traianus] / Decio [P]ro [F]el(ici) Aug(usto) p[ro]ntif(ici) m(aximo) / p[ro]co(n)s(ul) / trib(unicia) p[ro]t(estate) II [co(n)s(ul) II].

<sup>29</sup>[Imp(erator) Caes(ar) [C(aius)] Mess(ius) Quin]tus Traianus Decius P[ro]ntif(ici) m(aximo) / [p]roco(n)s(ul) II [co(n)s(ul) II] p[ro]ter p[ro]ter[is].

<sup>30</sup>On this stone the order of the titles *pater patriae* and *proconsul* is reversed.



53. *Imp. Caes. C. Mes. Qu. Trai. Inv. Pi. Fel. Aug. pont. max. tr. pot. III imp. III cos. II p. p.*  
Inscriptions: Hispania -- IRG III 7
54. *Imp. Caes. C. Mes. Qu. Trai. Dec. Pi. Fel. Aug. pont. max. tr. procos. IV (sic) cos. II*  
Inscriptions: Hispania -- CIL II 4833
55. *Imp. Caes. C. Mes. Qu. Trai. Dec. Pi. Fel. Aug. pont. max. tr. pot. procos. IV (sic) cos. II*  
Inscriptions: Hispania -- CIL II 4835
56. *Imp. Caes. C. Mes. Trai. Dec. Inv. Pi. Fel. Aug. pont. max. tr. pot. IV cos. II p. p.*  
Inscriptions: Hispania -- CIL II 6219
57. *Imp. Caes. C. Mes. Qu. Trai. Dec. Inv. Pi. Fel. Aug. pont. max. tr. pot. procos. IV (sic) cos. II p. p.*  
Inscriptions: Hispania -- CIL II 4809, 4813; EE viii p. 468 no. 226
58. *Imp. Caes. Aug. C. Mes. Trai. Dec. Inv. Pi. Fel. Aug. pont. max. tr. pot. cos. II tr. pot. procos. IV (sic) cos. II p. p.*  
Inscriptions: Hispania -- CIL II 4812
59. *Imp. Caes. C. Mes. Qu. Pi. Fel. Aug. pont. max. tr. pot. II cos. des. III p. p.*  
Inscriptions: Italy -- CIL III<sup>2</sup> p. 899/XI 373/XVI 154<sup>31</sup>
60. *Imp. Caes. C. Mes. Qu. Trai. Dec. Pi. Fel. Aug. pont. max. tr. pot. procos. (?) cos. III*  
Inscriptions: Hispania -- CIL II 4836<sup>32</sup>
61. *Imp. Caes. C. Mes. Qu. Trai. Dec. Pi. Fel. Aug. pont. max. tr. pot. cos. III p. p. restitutor sacrorum et libertatis*  
Inscriptions: Italy -- AE (1973) 235

<sup>31</sup>See also above 36.

<sup>32</sup>{*Imp(eratori) Caes(ari) C(a)lo Messio / Quinto Traiano / Decio Pio F(el)ici Aug(usto) / pont(ifici) max(imo) tr(ibunicia) pot(estate) / proco(n)s(uli) ? c(o)n(s)uli*} III f---. The restoration suggested here is similar to CIL II 4835, 55 above.

62. *Imp. Caes. C. Mes. Qu. Trai. Dec. Pi. Fel. Inv. Aug. tr. pot. III pont. max. cos. III p. p. procos.*  
Inscriptions: Hispania -- EE viii p. 477 no. 249<sup>33</sup>

#### V. Decius, Greek Titles, Group A

63. Δεκ.  
Papyri: *P. Oxy.* XLVI 3298, 22
64. ὁ κυρ. ἡμῶν Τραι. Δεκ.  
Inscriptions: Syria -- IGRR III 1185
65. Γ. Μεσ. Κυ. Τραι. Δεκ. Καισ. ὁ κυρ.  
Papyri: *P. Oxy.* XLIV 3180, 1-2
66. Δεκ. Σεβ.  
Papyri: *Bureth* p. 115, no. 1 (1)
67. Τραι. Δεκ. Σεβ.  
Papyri: *Bureth* p. 115, no. 2 (1)
68. Γ. Μεσ. Τραι. Δεκ. Σεβ.  
Papyri: *Bureth* p. 115, no. 3 (1)
69. Γ. Μεσ. Κυ. Τραι. Δεκ. Σεβ.  
Papyri: *Bureth* p. 115, no. 4 (2)
70. ὁ κυρ. ἡμῶν Τραι. Δεκ. Σεβ.  
Papyri: *Bureth* p. 116 (1)

<sup>33</sup>{*Imp(eratori) Caes(ari) C(a)lo Messio / [Q(uito) Traia]no Decio / [P(ri) Fel(ici) Invi]sto Aug(usto) / [tr(ibunicia) pot]estatis (sic) III / [pont(ifici) max(imo) c(o)n(s)uli] III p(at)ri p(at)riaz / [proco(n)s(uli)]---*

71. Αυγ. Δεκ. Σεβ.  
Coins: Mesopotamia (Edessa) -- *BMC Arabia* pp. 117-8, 166-72; *Hunter III* p. 315, 82-3
72. Αυτ. Τραϊ. Δεκ.  
Coins: Asia (Ephesus) -- *SNGAul* 1919
73. ὁ μέγιστος καὶ θεώτατος Αυτ. Γ. Κυ. Τραϊ. Δεκ.  
Inscriptions: Achaea -- *AE* (1899) 4
74. ὁ μέγιστος καὶ θεώτατος Αυτ. Μεσ. Κυ. Τραϊ. Δεκ.  
Inscriptions: Thrace -- *AE* (1932) 28/*IGBulg* 2009
75. Αυτ. Γ. Μεσ. Κυ. Τραϊ. Δεκ. Σεβ.  
Coins: Asia (Apamea) -- *SNGAul* 8349  
Lycia (Baris) -- *SNGAul* 5014
76. Αυτ. Καίσ. Τραϊ. Δεκ.  
Coins: Asia (Antioch on the Maeander) -- *SNGAul* 8058  
Asia (Colophon) -- *SNGAul* 2023  
Asia (Ephesus) -- *SNGAul* 1917-8  
Asia (Hypaipa) -- *SNGAul* 2970-1  
Asia (Kibyra) -- *SNGAul* 3755-6  
Asia (Samos) -- *SNGAul* 2324, 2326
77. Αυτ. Καίσ. Κυ. Τραϊ. Δεκ.  
Coins: Macedonia (Thessalonica) -- *BMC Macedonia* p. 128, 140  
Asia (Lampsacus) -- *SNGAul* 1309  
Cilicia (Kelenderis) -- *SNGAul* 5653
78. Αυτ. Καίσ. Γ. Μεσ. Τραϊ. Δεκ.  
Inscriptions: Asia -- *JGRR* IV 771  
Coins: Lycia (Sagalassos) -- *SNGAul* 5192
79. Αυτ. Καίσ. Γ. Κυ. Τραϊ. Δεκ.  
Coins: Asia (Ephesus) -- *SNGAul* 1916

80. Αυτ. Καίσ. Γ. Μεσ. Κυ. Τραϊ. Δεκ.  
Coins: Asia (Aigai) -- *SNGAul* 1601  
Asia (Colophon) -- *SNGAul* 2022  
Asia (Ephesus) -- *SNGAul* 1915  
Asia (Pergamum) -- *SNGAul* 1419-20  
Asia (Philadelphia) -- *SNGAul* 3085  
Asia (Synnada) -- *SNGAul* 8451  
Egypt (Alexandria) -- *KAK* 2813, 2815, 2817-8  
Papyri: *P. Oxy.* XLII 3071, 19<sup>34</sup>
81. Αυτ. Καίσ. Μεσ. Κυ. Τραϊ. Δεκ. Ευσ.  
Coins: Lycia (Selge) -- *SNGAul* 5315-6
82. Αυτ. Καίσ. Γ. Μεσ. Κυ. Δεκ. Τραϊ. Ευσ.  
Coins: Lycia (Andeda) -- *SNGAul* 8558<sup>35</sup>  
Lycia (Isinda) -- *SNGAul* 5045  
Lycia (Tityassos) -- *SNGAul* 8642  
Egypt (Alexandria) -- *Milne* 1933 p. 90; *KAK* 2808 ff.
83. Αυτ. Καίσ. Τραϊ. Δεκ. Αυγ.  
Coins: Bithynia (Nicomedia) -- *SNGAul* 849  
Bithynia (Tios) -- *SNGAul* 1025-8
84. Αυτ. Καίσ. Γ. Μεσ. Κυ. Τραϊ. Δεκ. Αυγ.  
Coins: Bithynia (Nicaea) -- *SNGAul* 7056;<sup>36</sup> *KBM* 135-6
85. Αυτ. Καίσ. Κυ. Δεκ. Τραϊ. Σεβ.  
Coins: Cilicia (Augusta) -- *SNGAul* 5537

<sup>34</sup>All that is actually preserved of the titulature here is, [Τ]ρανσοῦ Δεκίου. The rest has been restored by the editor.

<sup>35</sup>This coin reads, EY ΣΒ.

<sup>36</sup>AYT is restored to this coin.

86. Αυτ. Καίσ. Γ. Μεσ. Κυ. Δεκ. Τραι. Σεβ.  
 Coins: Asia (Metropolis) -- *SNGAul* 8424  
 Asia (Philomelion) -- *SNGAul* 3930-1  
 Asia (Synnada) -- *SNGAul* 3993  
 Lycia (Attaleia) -- *SNGAul* 4834  
 Cilicia (Lyrbe) -- *SNGAul* 5703  
 Syria (Antioch) -- *SNGCop Syria* 283-4  
 Mesopotamia (Rhesaena) -- *BMC Arabia* pp. 127-32, 10-39; *Hunter III*  
 pp. 317-8, 3-16; *SNGCop Palestine* 245-52
87. Αυτ. Καίσ. Γ. Μεσ. Κυ. Τραι. Δεκ. Σεβ. ὁ γῆς καὶ θαλάσσης καὶ παντὸς ἔθνους  
 ἀνθρώπων δεσπότης ὁ θεοφιλέστατος  
 Inscriptions: Cappadocia -- *AE* (1924) 141/*SEG* 6 (1932) 794/*AE* (1939) 27
88. Αυτ. Καίσ. Τραι. Δεκ. Αυγ. Σεβ.  
 Coins: Bithynia (Kios) -- *SNGAul* 515, 7007  
 Bithynia (Nicaea) -- *SNGAul* 695; *KBM* 133-4  
 Bithynia (Nicomedia) -- *SNGAul* 848, 850-2, 7126-30  
 Bithynia (Prusa on the Olympos) -- *SNGAul* 7156
89. Αυτ. Καίσ. Γ. Μεσ. Κυ. Τραι. Δεκ. Ευσ. Ευτ. Σεβ.  
 Inscriptions: Thrace -- *IGRR* I 788  
 Coins: Asia (Kibyra) -- *SNGAul* 3754  
 Papyri: *Bureth* p. 115, no. 5 (43); *P. Alex.* 505, 9-11; *P. Wisc.* II 87, 20-3

#### VI. Decius, Greek Titles, Group B

90. Αυτ. Καίσ. Γ. Μεσ. Κυ. Τραι. Δεκ. Σεβ. δημ. εξ.  
 Coins: Syria (Antioch) -- *BMC Syria* pp. 220-2, 578-99; *Hunter III* pp. 184-5,  
 318-30; *SNGCop Syria* 281-2
91. Αυτ. Καίσ. Γ. Μεσ. Κυ. Δεκ. Τραι. Σεβ. π. π.  
 Coins: Cilicia (Tarsus) -- *SNGAul* 6065-6

#### VII. Herennius Etruscus, Latin Titles, Group A

92. *C. Mes. Qu. Her. Dec.*  
 Coins: Cappadocia (Comana) -- *SNGAul* 8599
93. *Qu. Her. Etr. Mes. Dec. Caes.*  
 Coins: Moesia Sup. (Viminacium) -- *BMC Thrace* p. 18, 33; *SNGCop Thrace*  
 165  
 Syria (Antioch) -- *RIC IV.3* 156-61
94. *C. Mes. Qu. Her. Etr. Dec. Caes.*  
 Coins: Palestine (Caesarea) -- *BMC Palestine* pp. 35-7, 177 ff.
95. *Qu. Her. Etr. Mes. Dec. Caes.*  
 Coins: Cilicia (Mallos) -- *SNGAul* 5728<sup>37</sup>
- 95a. *Her. Etr. Mes. Dec. nob. Caes.*  
 Coins: Italy (Rome) -- *Gnecchi I* p. 49
96. *Qu. Her. Etr. Mes. Dec. nob. Caes.*  
 Inscriptions: Germania Sup. -- *CIL* XIII 9102/*XVII* 634; *CIL* XIII 9110/*RSO*  
 219/*CIL* XVII 642  
 Coins: Italy (Rome) -- *RIC IV.3* 138-43, 149, 150, 167-73; *HCC* III 1-8, 14-20
97. *Qu. Her. Etr. Mes. Dec. nob. Caes. princ. iuv.*  
 Inscriptions: Hispania -- *CIL* II 3735/*IRV* 14  
 Coins: Italy (Rome) -- *RIC IV.3* 144-8; *HCC* III 9-13, 21-3
98. *Qu. Her. Etr. Mes. Dec. Aug. princ. iuv.*  
 Coins: Italy (Rome) -- *RIC IV.3* 153a

<sup>37</sup>The editors of *SNGAul* call the obverse legend of this coin "sinnlos." However, the index lists the legend as printed here, which seems to coincide with the published photograph.

99. *Imp. Caes. Her. Etr.*  
Inscriptions: Dalmatia -- *CIL* III 13312
100. *Imp. Caes. Qu. Her. Etr. Mes. Dec. Pi. Fel.*  
Coins: Lycia (Kremna) -- *SNGAul* 5113
101. *Imp. Caes. Qu. Her. Etr. Mes. Dec. Aug. princ. iuv.*  
Coins: Italy (Rome) -- *RIC* IV.3 153

#### VIII. Herennius Etruscus, Latin Titles, Group C

102. *Qu. Her. Etr. C. Mes. Dec. nob. Caes. pont. max. tr. pot. II cos. II p. p. procos.*  
Inscriptions: Hispania -- *CIL* II 4953/*RIT* 936<sup>38</sup>

#### IX. Herennius Etruscus, Greek Titles, Group A

103. Γ. Μεσ. Κυ. Επε. Δεκ.  
Coins: Lycia (Andeda) -- *SNGAul* 4913
104. Κυ. Επε. Ετρ. Μεσ. Δεκ.  
Coins: Asia (Pergamum) -- *SNGAul* 1421
105. Γ. Μεσ. Κυ. Ετρ. Δεκ. Καισ.  
Coins: Lycia (Baris) -- *SNGAul* 8588
106. Κυ. Επε. Ετρ. Δεκ. Καισ.  
Coins: Lycia (Selge) -- *SNGAul* 5320

<sup>38</sup>This stone contained originally the titles of both Decius and Herennius Etruscus; however, the upper half has been lost. As Alföldy notes, the titles of Decius and his son are here utterly confused.

107. Κυ. Επε. Ετρ. Μεσ. Δεκ. Καισ.  
Coins: Egypt (Alexandria) -- Milne 1933, p. 90; *KAK* 2826-7
108. Κυ. Επε. Τραυ. Μεσ. Δεκ. Καισ.  
Coins: Lycia (Selge) -- *SNGAul* 5321
109. Γ. Μεσ. Κυ. Επε. Ετρ. Δεκ. Καισ.  
Coins: Bithynia (Nicaea) -- *SNGAul* 7057; *KBM* 139-41
110. Κυ. Ετρ. Τραυ. Δεκ. Σεβ.  
Coins: Asia (Aninetos) -- *SNGAul* 2896
111. Κυ. Επε. Ετρ. Μεσ. Δεκ. Σεβ.  
Coins: Cilicia (Kolybrassos) -- *SNGAul* 5657
112. Γ. Μεσ. Κυ. Επε. Δεκ. Καισ. Σεβ.  
Coins: Lycia (Perge) -- *SNGAul* 4711-2
- X. Herennius Etruscus, Greek Titles, Group B
113. Επε. Ετρ. Μεσ. Κυ. Δεκ. Καισ. δημ. εξ.  
Coins: Syria (Antioch) -- *BMC Syria* pp. 224-5, 610-22; *Hunter III* p. 186, 333-6; *SNGCop Syria* 285-7
- XI. Hostilianus, Latin Titles, Group A
114. *Host. Mes. Qu.*  
Coins: Palestine (Caesarea) -- *SNGCop Palestine* 12
115. *C. Val. Host. Mes. Qu.*  
Coins: Palestine (Aelia Capitolina) -- *BMC Palestine* pp. 101-2, 108-11

116. *Host. Qu. Caes.*  
 Coins: Palestine (Caesarea) – *BMC Palestine* pp. 37-8, 189-98
117. *C. Val. Host. Mes. Qu. Caes.*  
 Coins: Dacia (Provincia Dacia) – *Hunter I* p. 406, 7  
 Moesia Sup. (Viminacium) – *BMC Thrace* p. 18, 34-7; *Hunter I* p. 408, 21-2; *SNGCop Thrace* 166  
 Cilicia (Mallos) – *SNGAul* 5727  
 Syria (Antioch) – *RIC IV.3* 193-201; *HCC III* 15
118. *C. Val. Host. Mes. Qu. Caes. princ. iuv.*  
 Coins: Italy (Rome) – *RIC IV.3* 216b
119. *C. Val. Host. Mes. Qu. nob. Caes.*  
 Inscriptions: Germania Sup. – *CIL XIII* 9097/XVII 600; *AE* (1965) 340/*AE* (1967) 334/*CIL XVII* 603  
 Coins: Italy (Rome) – *RIC IV.3* 174-9, 212-3; *HCC III* 1-3, 7; *Gneccchi II* p. 102
120. *C. Val. Host. Mes. Qu. nob. Caes. princ. iuv.*  
 Inscriptions: Hispania – *CIL II* 3736/*IRV* 15  
 Coins: Italy (Rome) – *RIC IV.3* 180-3, 214-6a, 217-8; *HCC III* 4-6, 8-14; *Gneccchi II* p. 102
121. *C. Val. Host. Mes. Qu. Aug.*  
 Coins: Syria (Antioch) – *RIC IV.3* 202-9
122. *Imp. C. Val. Host. Mes. Qu. Aug.*  
 Coins: Moesia Sup. (Viminacium) – *BMC Thrace* p. 18, 38
123. *Imp. Caes. Mes. Qu. Aug.*  
 Coins: Italy (Rome) – *RIC IV.3* 187-8, 191b<sup>39</sup>

<sup>39</sup>The obverse legends of these coins actually read, IMP C MES QVINTVS AVG. The C, of course, might be an abbreviation of *Caius* rather than *Caesar*.

124. *Imp. Caes. C. Val. Host. Mes. Qu. Aug.*  
 Coins: Italy (Rome) – *RIC IV.3* 186, 190-2, 220-6; *HCC III* p. 254; *Gneccchi III* p. 50
125. *Imp. Caes. C. Val. Host. Mes. Qu. Aug. princ. iuv.*  
 Coins: Italy (Rome) – *HCC IV.3* 189, 219

## XII. Hostilianus, Latin Titles, Group C

126. *C. Val. Host. Mes. Qu. nob. Caes. tr. pot. II princ. iuv. fil.*  
 Inscriptions: Italy – *CIL VI* 1102/*ILS* 520<sup>40</sup>

## XIII. Hostilianus, Greek Titles, Group A

127. ΜΕΘ. ΚΥ. ΚΑΙΩ.  
 Coins: Asia (Metropolis) – *SNGAul* 3884
128. Γ. ΜΕΘ. ΚΥ. ΔΕΚ. ΚΑΙΩ.  
 Coins: Bithynia (Nicaea) – *SNGAul* 697
129. Γ. ΟΥΑΛ. ΜΕΘ. ΚΥ. ΚΑΙΩ.  
 Coins: Bithynia (Nicaea) – *KBM* 142-3

<sup>40</sup>This inscription originally contained the titulature of Trajan Decius as well, though that part of the stone is now lost.

## 130. Γ. Ουαλ. Οοτ. Μεσ. Κυ. Κατω.

- Coins: Bithynia (Nicaea) -- *SNGAul* 696, 698-9, 7058; *KBM* 144  
 Bithynia (Nicomedia) -- *SNGAul* 7131  
 Lycia (Attaleia) -- *SNGAul* 4627  
 Lycia (Selge) -- *SNGAul* 5322  
 Syria (Antioch) -- *BMC Syria* p. 226, 628-9  
 Egypt (Alexandria) -- Milne 1933, p. 90; *KAK* 2828-30

## XIV. Hostilianus, Greek Titles, Group B

## 131. Γ. Ουαλ. Οοτ. Μεσ. Κυ. Κατω. δημ. εξ.

- Coins: Syria (Antioch) -- *BMC Syria* p. 226, 626-7; *Hunter III* p. 187, 338-9

## XV. Decius and Herennius Etruscus, Latin Titles, Group A

132. *Imp. Mes. Dec. et C. Val. Qu. Caess.*

- Coins: Arabia (Bostra) -- *BMC Arabia* p. 26, 48-50

133. *Imp. Caes. C. Mes. Qu. Dec. Pi. Fel. Aug. et C. Mes. Qu. Etr. Caes.*

- Inscriptions: Britain -- *EE* vii 1104/ix 1253a/*RIB* 2273

134. *Qu. Her. Etr. Mes. Dec. nob. Caes. fil. d. n. sanctissimi Trai. Dec. Pi. Fel. Inv. Aug.*

- Inscriptions: Hispania -- *CIL* II 4058

## XVI. Decius and Herennius Etruscus, Latin Titles, Group B

135. *Qu. Her. Etr. Mes. Dec. nob. Caes. princ. iuv. cos. fil. Imp. Caes. Mes. Qu. Trai. Dec. Pi. Fel. Inv. Aug.*

- Inscriptions: Italy -- *CIL* VI 1101/*ILS* 519

136. *Imp. Caes. C. Mes. Qu. Trai. Dec. Pi. Fel. Inv. Aug. pont. max. tr. pot. cos. procos. p. p. et C. Her. Etr. Mes. Dec. nob. Caes. et Herennia Etruscilla coniux d. n. Aug. Imp.*

- Inscriptions: Moesia Sup. -- *IMS* I 175; *IMS* IV 124<sup>41</sup>

## XVII. Decius and Herennius Etruscus, Latin Titles, Group C

137. *Imp. Caes. C. Mes. Qu. Trai. Dec. Pi. Fel. Inv. Aug. pont. max. tr. pot. II cos. II p. p. et C. Mes. Qu. Trai. Her. Etr. Dec. Caes.*

- Inscriptions: Galatia -- *AE* (1900) 150/*CIL* III 14184.25

138. *Imp. Caes. C. Mes. Qu. Trai. Dec. Inv. Pi. Fel. Aug. Dac. max. pont. max. tr. pot. II cos. II p. p. procos. et Q. Her. Etr. Mes. nob. Caes.*

- Inscriptions: Hispania -- *CIL* II 4949

139. *dd. nn. Dec. II (?) cos.*

- Inscriptions: Germania Sup. -- *CIL* XIII 7440<sup>42</sup>

140. *Qu. Her. Etr. Mes. Dec. nob. Caes. princ. iuv. tr. pot. cos. des. fil. Imp. Caes. C. Mes. Qu. Trai. Dec. Inv. Pi. Fel. Aug. pont. max. tr. pot. III cos. II des. III p. p. procos.*

- Inscriptions: Italy -- *CIL* XI 3088 col. i/*ILS* 518<sup>43</sup>

<sup>41</sup>It seems likely that these two inscriptions are really one and the same. See the comments of Petrovič ad *IMS* IV 124.

<sup>42</sup>Lines 4-5 read, ...[*dd n/jn Dec/ro [II ?] / co(n)s(ul)i*].

<sup>43</sup>This stone breaks, thus the tribunician and consular iterations for Decius are restored. See also below 148.

141. *dd. nn. Imp. Dec. Aug. III et Dec. Aug. cos.*  
Inscriptions: Italy -- *CIL* VI 31129
142. *divus Dec. III et divus Her. cos.*  
Inscriptions: Italy -- *CIL* VI 3743 (=31130=36760)

## XVIII. Decius and Herennius Etruscus, Greek Titles, Group A

143. Δεκκ.  
Papyri: *P. Oxy.* XL 2913 ii, 9
144. Αυτ. Καισ. Γ. Μεσ. Κυ. Τραι. Δεκ. Σεβ. Κυ. Ερε. Ετρ. Μεσ. Δεκ. Καισ.  
Coins: Mesopotamia (Rhesaena) -- *BMC Arabia* p. 132, 38-9
145. Γ. Μεσ. Κυ. Τραι. Δεκ. Ευσ. Ευτ. Σεβ. καὶ Κυ. Ερε. Ετρ. Μεσ. Δεκ. ὁ σεβασμώτατος Καισ. Σεββ.  
Papyri: *P. Oxy.* LI 3609, 5-8
146. Αυτ. Καισ. Γ. Μεσ. Κυ. Τραι. Δεκ. Ευσ. Ευτ. Σεβ. καὶ Κυ. Ερε. Ετρ. Μεσ. Δεκ. ὁ σεβασμώτατος Καισ. Σεββ.  
Papyri: *P. Oxy.* LI 3608, 1-7; 3609, 11-5

## XIX. Decius and Herennius Etruscus, Greek Titles, Group C

147. Αυτ. Καισ. Γ. Μεσ. Κυ. Τραι. Δεκ. Ευσ. Ευτ. Σεβ. δημ. ἐξ. τὸ γ' υπ. τὸ β' ἀποδεδειγμένος τὸ τρίτον π. π. αυθιπ. καὶ Κυ. Ερε. Ετρ. Μεσ. Δεκ. αρχ. μεγ. δημ. ἐξ. τὸ πρῶτον υπ. ἀποδεδειγμένος  
Inscriptions: Asia -- Reynolds 1982, no. 25

## XX. Decius and Hostilius, Latin Titles, Group C

148. *C. Val. Host. Mes. Qu. nob. Caes. fil. Imp. Caes. Mes. Qu. Trai. Dec. Inv. Pi. Fel. Aug. pont. max. tr. pot. III cos. II des. III p. p. procos.*  
Inscriptions: Italy -- *CIL* XI 3088 col. ii/*ILS* 518<sup>44</sup>

## XXI. Decius and Hostilius, Greek Titles, Group A

149. ὁ θεοφιλέστατος Καισ. Γ. Ουαλ. Οστ. Μεσ. Κυ. Ευσ. Ευτ. Σεβ. υἱὸς τοῦ κυρ. ἡμῶν Αυτ. Καισ. Γ. Μεσ. Κυ. Τραι. Δεκ. Ευσ. Ευτ. Σεβ.  
Inscriptions: Asia -- *AE* (1890) 130/*IK* 30, 33

## XXII. Decius, Herennius and Hostilius, Latin Titles, Group A

- 149a. *Imp. Caes. Mes. Qu. Trai. Dec. Aug. Q. Her. Etr. Dec. et C. Val. Host.*  
Coins: Italy (Rome) -- *Gnecchi* II p. 101
150. *Imp. Caes. C. Mes. Qu. Trai. Dec. Pi. Fel. Aug. et C. Her. Etr. Qu. Dec. et C. Val. Host. Mes. Qu. nobb. Caess.*  
Inscriptions: Dalmatia -- *CIL* III 13321
151. *Imp. Caes. C. Mes. Qu. Trai. Dec. Pi. Fel. Aug. et Qu. Her. Etr. Mes. Dec. et C. Val. Host. Mes. Qu. nobb. Caess.*  
Inscriptions: Cappadocia -- *CIL* III 12201

<sup>44</sup>See above 140.

152. *Imp. Caes. C. Mes. Qu. Trai. Dec. Pi. Fel. Inv. Aug. Dac. max. Qu. Etr. Dec. et Her. C. Val. Host. Caess. nobb. fill. Aug. n.*  
Inscriptions: Pannonia Sup. -- *AE* (1969/70) 525
153. *d. n. Imp. Caes. C. Mes. Qu. Trai. Dec. Pi. Fel. Aug. et Qu. Her. Etr. Mes. Dec. et C. Val. Host. Mes. Qu. nobb. Caess. princ. iuv. fill. d. n. Trai. Aug.*  
Inscriptions: Sardinia -- *SILS* 385/*AE* (1975) 467/Boninu & Stylow 1982, 45-7 no. 4/Sotgiu 1988, A385;<sup>45</sup> Boninu & Stylow 1982, 47-50 nos. 5 & 6/Sotgiu 1988, B182<sup>46</sup>

## XXIII. Decius, Herennius and Hostilianus, Latin Titles, Group B

154. *Imp. Caes. C. Mes. Qu. Dec. Trai. Pi. Fel. Aug. pont. max. tr. pot. p. p. procos. et Qu. Her. Etr. Mes. Dec. et C. Val. Host. Mes. Qu. nobb. Caess.*  
Inscriptions: Germania Sup. -- *CIL* XIII 9123/*XVII* 624

## XXIV. Decius, Herennius and Hostilianus, Latin Titles, Group C

155. *Imp. Caes. C. Mes. Qu. Trai. Dec. Pi. Fel. Inv. Aug. pont. max. tr. pot. II p. p. et Mess. Dec. et Qu. nobb. Caess. Augg.*  
Inscriptions: Raetia -- *CIL* III 5988/*ILS* 515/*IBR* 453; *CIL* III 5989/*IBR* 455

<sup>45</sup>*[d(omino) n(ostro) Imp(eratori) Caes(ari) C(aio) Messio / Quinto Traiano Decio Pio Fel(ici) / Aug(usto) et Q(uinto) Herennio Etrusco / Messio Decio et C(aio) Val(enti) Hostiliano] / Mess[io Quinto nobilissimis Caesari]bus principibus iu[ven]tibus fil(i)s] / d(omni) n(ostri) Trai[ani] Aug(ust[us]).*

<sup>46</sup>Both of these stones are almost entirely lost. No. 6, with the most text remaining, reads: --- / *nobilissimis [Caesaribus] / principibus iuvenibus] / fili(i)s d(omni) n(ostri) Traiani Aug(usti)*. See also Sotgiu 1988, add. A385.

156. *Imp. Caes. C. Mes. Qu. Trai. Dec. Inv. Pi. Fel. Aug. pont. max. tr. pot. cos. II p. p. procos. et Qu. Her. Etr. Mes. Dec. Caes. et C. Val. Host. Mes. Qu. Caes.*  
Inscriptions: Africa -- *CIL* VIII 10051
157. *Imp. Caes. C. Mes. Qu. Trai. Dec. Pi. Fel. Inv. Aug. pont. max. tr. pot. II cos. II des. III et Qu. Her. Etr. Mes. Dec. nob. Caes. cos. des. et C. Val. Host. Mes. Qu. nob. Caes.*  
Inscriptions: Pannonia Inf. -- *CIL* III 3746/*ILS* 516
158. *Q. Her. Etr. Mes. Dec. nob. Caes. princ. iuv. tr. pot. cos. des. et C. Val. Host. Mes. Qu. nob. Caes. princ. iuv. tr. pot. fil. Imp. Caes. C. Mes. Qu. Trai. Dec. Pi. Fel. Aug. pont. max. tr. pot. II cos. II des. III p. p. procos.*  
Inscriptions: Italy -- *CIL* VI 1100<sup>47</sup>
159. *Imp. Caes. Qu. Mes. C. Trai. Dec. Pi. Fel. Inv. Aug. Dac. max. pont. max. princ. optimus (?) tr. pot. IV p. p. cos. III procos. et Qu. Her. Etr. Mes. Dec. cos. et Qu. Val. Host.*  
Inscriptions: Hispania -- *CIL* II 4958<sup>48</sup>
160. *Imp. Caes. C. Mes. Qu. Trai. Dec. Pi. Fel. Inv. Aug. Dac. max. pont. max. optimus maximusque princ. tr. pot. IV p. p. cos. III procos. et Qu. Her. Etr. Mes. Dec. cos. et C. Val. Host.*  
Inscriptions: Hispania -- *CIL* II 4957/*ILS* 517
161. *Imp. Caes. C. Mes. Qu. Trai. Dec. Pi. Fel. Aug. pont. max. Germ. max. tr. pot. IV cos. III imp. II p. p. procos. et Qu. Her. Etr. Mes. Dec. nob. Caes. et C. Va. Host. Mes. Qu. nob. Caes.*  
Inscriptions: Africa -- *AE* (1942-43) 55

<sup>47</sup>*[Q(uinto) Herennio Etrusco Messio Decio nob(ilissimo) Caes(ari) / principi iuven]tibus trib(unicia) pot(estate) [co(n)s(uli) desig(nato) et / C(aio) Valenti Hostil]iano Messio [Quinto nob(ilissimo) / Caes(ari) principi iu]ventibus [trib(unicia) pot(estate) fil(i)o] / Imp(eratoris) Caes(aris) C(aii) Mess[io] Quinti [Traiani Decii] / Pii Felicis Aug[us]ti pon[tificis] max[imi] n[on] trib(unicia) pot(estate) II / co(n)s(ulis) II des[ig]nat(i) [III pa/tris pa]triae [proco(n)s(ulis)].*

<sup>48</sup>After *pontifex maximus* this stone has P O. I have interpreted this on the basis of the next inscription, no. 160.



## XXV. Decius, Herennius and Hostilianus, Greek Titles, Group A

162. Δεκκ.  
Papyri: *Bureth* p. 116, no. 1 (2)
163. οἱ κυρρ. ἡμῶν Δεκκ. καὶ Κυ. Σεββ.  
Papyri: *Bureth* p. 116, no. 3 (2)
164. οἱ κυρρ. ἡμῶν καὶ θειώτατοι Αυττ. ΓΓ. Μεσσ. Κυ. Τραι. Δεκκ. Σεββ.  
Inscriptions: *Achaea* – *IG XII 5, 667/Syll.*<sup>3</sup> 890
165. Αυτ. Καισ. Γ. Μεσ. Κυ. Τραι. Δεκ. Ευσ. Ευτ. καὶ Κυ. Επε. Ετρ. Μεσ. Δεκ. καὶ Γ.  
Ουαλ. Οστ. Μεσ. Κυ. οἱ σεβασμιώτατοι Καισ. Σεββ.  
Papyri: *Bureth* p. 116, no. 2 (3); *P. Oxy.* XXXVI 2795, 30-8

## XXVI. Herennius and Hostilianus, Latin Titles, Group A

166. *Etr. et Qu. Caess.*  
Coins: *Palestine (Aelia Capitolina)* – *BMC Palestine* p. 101, 107
167. *Qu. Her. Etr. Mes. Dec. et C. Val. Host. Mes. Qu. nobb. Caess.*  
Inscriptions: *Italy* – *CIL VI 36944*<sup>49</sup>

<sup>49</sup>[Q(uinto) Herenni]o Etrusco [Messio Decio et / C(aio) Valenti] Hostilia[no Messio Quinto / nobilissimis Caesaris—.

## XXVII. Herennius and Hostilianus, Greek Titles, Group A

168. Επε. Ετρ. Μεσ. Κυ. Δεκ. Καισ. Γ. Ουαλ. Οστ. Μεσ. Κυ. Καισ.  
Coins: *Syria (Antioch)* – *BMC Syria* p. 225, 625; *Hunter III* p. 187, 337

## XXVIII. Trebonianus Gallus and Hostilianus, Greek Titles, Group A

169. ὁ κυρ. ἡμῶν Γαλ. καὶ Γ. Ουαλ. Οστ. Κυ. Καισ. Σεβ.  
Papyri: *Bureth* p. 116 (1)

**Pacatianus**

(ca. 21 April 248 - 20 April 249)

*Ti(berius) Cl(audius) Mar(inus) Pacat(ianus)*

**I. Literary Testimonia**

Zonaras 12.19 ἐν δὲ Μυσοῖς Μαρίνος τις ταξίαρχος ὦν παρὰ τῶν στρατιωτῶν βασιλεύειν ἤρεθη.

Zosimus 1.20.2 ...καὶ διὰ τοῦτο πρὸς τὸ νεωτερίζειν τραπέντα Ἰωταπιανὸν παρήγαγον εἰς τὴν τῶν ὅλων ἀρχήν, τὰ δὲ Μυσῶν τάγματα καὶ Παιόνων Μαρίνου.

**II. Titles**

1. *Imp. Ti. Cl. Mar. Pacat. Aug.*  
Coins: Moesia Sup. (Viminacium) – *RIC* IV.3 pp. 104-5
2. *Imp. Ti. Cl. Mar. Pacat. Pi. Fel. Aug.*  
Coins: Moesia Sup. (Viminacium) – *RIC* IV.3 pp. 104-5; *HCC* II 1-2

**Jotapianus**

(ca. 248/249)

*M(arcus) Ful(vius ?) Ruf(us ?) Jotap(ianus)*

**I. Literary Testimonia**

vid. sup., Pacatianus

**II. Titles**

*Imp. M. Ful. Ruf. Jotap.*

*Imp. M. Ful. Ruf. Jotap. Aug.*

*Imp. Caes. M. Ful. Ruf. Jotap.*

Coins: East (uncertain) – *RIC* IV.3 p. 105

Silbannacus  
(ca. 248/249)

*M(arcus) Silb(annacus)*

I. Titles

*Imp. M. Silb. Aug.*

Coins: *RIC IV.3 p. 105*<sup>1</sup>

Sponsianus  
(ca. 248/49)

*Spon(sianus)*

I. Titles

*Imp. Spon.*

Coins: *RIC IV.3 p. 106*

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<sup>1</sup>This antoninianus was found in Lorraine, thus was probably minted somewhere in Gaul. Nothing else is known of Silbannacus.

**Trebonianus Gallus**

(ca. early June 251 - late July/early August 253)

*C(aius) Vib(ius) Treb(onianus) Gal(lus)**C(aius) Vib(ius) Afin(ius) Gal(erius) Vel(dumnianus) Volus(ianus)***I. Literary Testimonia**

*Aur. Vict. Caes.* 30.1 *Haec ubi patres comperere, Gallo Hostilianoque Augusta imperia, Volusianum Gallo editum Caesarem decernunt.*

*Eutropius* 9.5 *Max imperatores creati sunt Gallus Hostilianus et Galli filius Volusianus.*

*Oros. hist. adv. pag.* 7.21.4-5 *...Gallus Hostilianus...regnum adeptus vix duobus annis cum Volusiano filio obtinuit.*

*Sync. Chron.* (ed. Dindorf) p. 705, 19-21 και τὰ στρατόπεδα βασιλέα πάλοι τινα γενόμενοι ὑπατον Γάλλον ἀναγορεύουσιν ἕμα Βουλουσιανῶ τῷ Δεκίου παιδί.

*Zonaras* 12.21 Κρατεῖ οὖν ὁ Γάλλος...καὶ τὸν υἱὸν αὐτοῦ τὸν Βουλουσιανὸν ἀπηγόρευσε Καίσαρα.

*Zosimus* 1.24.1 Πανελευθῆτος δὲ εἰς τὴν ἀρχὴν τοῦ Γάλλου, καὶ συναναδείξαντος ἑαυτῷ τὸν παῖδα Οὐλουσιανὸν βασιλέα...

**II. Gallus, Latin Titles, Group A**1. *Gal. Pi. Aug.*

Coins: Italy (Rome) -- *RIC* IV.3 46b, 48b

2. *Imp. Vib. Treb. Gal. Aug.*

Coins: Macedonia (Coela) -- *BMC Thrace* p. 192, 10-1; *Hunter* I p. 386, 1  
Asia (Alexandria Troas) -- *SNGAul* 1480-1

3. *Imp. Caes. Gal. Aug.*

Coins: Italy (Rome) -- *RIC* IV.3 27-9

4. *Imp. Caes. Vib. Treb. Gal. Aug.*

Coins: Moesia Sup. (Viminacium) -- *BMC Thrace* p. 19, 40-2; *SNGCop Thrace* 167-8  
Asia (Alexandria Troas) -- *SNGAul* 7570  
Syria (Damascus) -- *BMC Syria* p. 287-8, 28-31; *SNGCop Syria* 427

5. *Imp. Caes. C. Vib. Treb. Gal. Aug.*

Coins: Italy (Rome) -- *RIC* IV.3 4-26, 30-46a, 47-8a, 49-65, 69-78, 101-28; *HCC* III 2-23, 25-51  
Moesia Sup. (Viminacium) -- *BMC Thrace* p. 19, 39  
Phoenicia (Tyre) -- *BMC Phoenicia* pp. 283-5, 436-44; *SNGCop Phoenicia* 377-8<sup>1</sup>  
Palestine (Neapolis) -- *BMC Palestine* p. 72, 159<sup>2</sup>

6. *Imp. Caes. C. Vib. Treb. Gal. Aug. princ. iuv.*

Coins: Italy (Rome) -- *RIC* IV.3 118-9<sup>3</sup>

<sup>1</sup>Both coins are badly worn. On no. 377, ...VS TREBO GAL... can be read, while the *SNG* editors read on no. 378, ...TREBO GALLVS AVG.

<sup>2</sup>The obverse legend reads, [I]M[P]CGVIBT[---]. Hence, the complete formula is conjectural.

<sup>3</sup>These coins, with *princeps iuventutis* reverse types, are rather odd since Trebonianus Gallus is otherwise not found with this title. I suspect that the coins are hybrids, and that the reverse types belong to Volusian, or some other Caesar.

7. *d. n. Imp. Caes. C. Vib. Treb. Gal. Aug.*  
Inscriptions: Africa -- *CIL VIII 21989/CILB 483*<sup>4</sup>
8. *Imp. Caes. Gal. Pi. Fel. Aug.*  
Coins: Moesia Sup. (Viminacium) -- *BMC Thrace* p. 19, 43; *Hunter I* p. 408, 23-4; *SNGCop Thrace* 169
9. *Imp. Caes. C. Vib. Gal. Pi. Fel. Aug.*  
Coins: Palestine (Caesarea) -- *BMC Palestine* pp. 38-40, 199-212; *SNGCop Palestine* 13
10. *Imp. Caes. C. Vib. Treb. Gal. Pi. Fel. Aug.*  
Inscriptions: Italy -- *CIL XI 6006; AE (1913) 83*  
Dalmatia -- *CIL III 3122*  
Numidia -- *CIL VIII 7022 (= 19420)/ILAlg II 575/AE (1959) 69c*  
Coins: Galatia (Antioch) -- *SNGAut* 8582  
Lycia (Kremna) -- *SNGAut* 5114  
Syria (Antioch) -- *RIC IV.3 79-96; HCC III 52-60*
11. *Imp. Caes. C. Vib. Treb. Gal. Pi. Fel. Aug. n.*  
Inscriptions: Italy -- *CIL XIV 5309.26*
12. *Imp. Caes. C. Vib. Treb. Gal. Pi. Fel. Inv. Aug.*  
Inscriptions: Dalmatia -- *CIL III 12728*  
Numidia -- *CIL VIII 10325*<sup>5</sup>

<sup>4</sup>Gallus' titulature comes at the end of this milestone. Originally, the stone was set up during the reign of two previous emperors who reigned jointly, and whose names have been erased from the stone. The *CIL* editors accept a conjecture that the emperors in question were Philip the Arab and his son. So too *CILB*.

<sup>5</sup>The stone breaks after (lines 4-5), *Invictus Pius Felix / Aug(ustus)*—.

### III. Gallus, Latin Titles, Group B

13. *Imp. Caes. Treb. Gal. Inv. Aug. p. p.*  
Inscriptions: Galatia -- *AE (1985) 814*
14. *Imp. Caes. C. Vib. Treb. Gal. Pi. Fel. Aug. pont. max. tr. pot. cos. p. p.*  
Inscriptions: Noricum -- *CIL III 5729*<sup>6</sup>

### IV. Gallus, Latin Titles, Group C

15. *Imp. Caes. C. Vib. Gal. Pi. Fel. Aug. pont. max. p. p. tr. pot. cos. II*  
Inscriptions: Dalmatia -- *CIL III 12687*
16. *Imp. Caes. C. Vib. Treb. Gal. Pi. Fel. Inv. Aug. pont. max. tr. pot. II cos. p. p. procos.*  
Inscriptions: Hispania -- *ELST I*<sup>7</sup>  
Pannonia Sup -- *CIL III 4720/ILS 523/RIU III 704*
17. *Imp. Caes. C. Vib. Treb. Gal. Aug. pont. max. tr. pot. II cos. II*  
Coins: Italy (Rome) -- *RIC IV.3 98*
18. *Imp. Caes. C. Vib. Treb. Gal. Pi. Fel. Aug. tr. pot. II cos. II p. p.*  
Inscriptions: Italy -- *CIL IX 3916*

<sup>6</sup>{*Imp(erator)*} *Caes(ar)* / [*C(aius)* *Vibius*] *Tre/[bonianus Ga]llus* / [*P(ius)* *F(elix)* *Aug(ustus)* *pont(ificis)*] *max(imus)* / [*trib(unicia)* *pot(estate)* *co(n)s(ul)* *p(ater)* *p(atris)*]—.

<sup>7</sup>{*Imp(eratori)*} *Caes(ari)* / [*C(aio)* *Vibi*] *o Treboniano* / [*Gallo*] *Invicto* *P(io)* *F(elicis)* *Aug(usto)* / [*pon*] *t(ifici)* *max(imo)* / [*trib(unicia)*] *potest(ate)* *II p(atris)* *p(atris)* / *co(n)s(uli)* *proco(n)s(uli)*—.

19. *sanctissimus ac super omnes principes clementissimus Imp. Caes. C. Vib. Treb. Gal. Pi. Fel. Inv. Aug. pont. max. tr. pot. II cos. II p. p. procos.*  
Inscriptions: Pannonia Inf. -- *AE* (1971) 335<sup>8</sup>
20. *Imp. Caes. C. Vib. Treb. Gal. Pi. Fel. Inv. Aug. pont. max. tr. pot. II (vel IV) cos. II p. p. procos.*  
Inscriptions: Hispania -- *AE* (1976) 288<sup>9</sup>
21. *Imp. Caes. C. Vib. Treb. Gal. Aug. pont. max. tr. pot. IV cos. II*  
Coins: Italy (Rome) -- *RIC* IV.3 1-3, 99-100; *HCC* III 1, 24

#### V. Gallus, Greek Titles, Group A

22. Ουιβ. Τρεβ. Γαλ.  
Coins: Bithynia (Amastris) -- *SNGAul* 6817
23. Γ. Ουιβ. Τρεβ. Γαλ.  
Coins: Bithynia (Prusa on the Olympos) -- *SNGAul* 883
24. Τρεβ. Γαλ. ὁ κυρ.  
Papyri: *P. Oxy.* LI 3610, 6<sup>10</sup>
25. Γ. Ουιβ. Τρεβ. Γαλ. Αὐγ.  
Coins: Bithynia (Nicomedia) -- *SNGAul* 855-7, 7132-4

<sup>8</sup>The tribunician iteration is restored to this inscription.

<sup>9</sup>[*Imp(eratori) Caes(ari) C(aio) Vibio / Treboniano Gallo / P(ia) F(elici) Inv(icto) Aug(usto) pont(ifici) / max(im)o trib(unicia) pot(estate) II vel IIII co(n)s(uli) II*] / *p(atri) p(atris) pro[co(n)s(uli)]*. For the rationale behind this restoration see, P. LeRoux, *REA* 71 (1975) 150.

<sup>10</sup>This papyrus is fragmentary, and also contains (l. 7) the beginning of a more complete formula for Gallus: Αὐτοκράτορος Καίσαρος [...].

26. Αὐτ. Τρεβ. Γαλ.  
Coins: Asia (Neapolis) -- *SNGAul* 2642-3
27. Αὐτ. Γ. Ουιβ. Τρεβ. Γαλ. Σεβ.  
Coins: Asia (Apamea) -- *SNGAul* 3513, 8350  
Asia (Apamea & Ephesus) -- *SNGAul* 3516  
Asia (Apamea & Caesarea) -- *SNGAul* 3517
28. Αὐτ. Καίω. Γ. Τρεβ. Γαλ.  
Inscriptions: Achaea -- *IG* XII,5 938
29. Αὐτ. Καίω. Γ. Ουιβ. Τρεβ. Γαλ.  
Coins: Asia (Aizanis) -- *SNGAul* 3360  
Asia (Colophon) -- *SNGAul* 2024  
Asia (Eukarpeia) -- *SNGAul* 3580, 8364  
Lycia (Attaleia) -- *SNGAul* 4628-9  
Lycia (Perge) -- *SNGAul* 4714,<sup>11</sup> 8520  
Lycia (Sagalassos) -- *SNGAul* 5195  
Cilicia (Seleucia on the Kalykadnos) -- *SNGAul* 5848-50  
Palestine (Neapolis) -- *BMC Palestine* pp. 70-1, 148-54
30. Αὐτ. Καίω. Γ. Ουιβ. Τρεβ. Γαλ. Εὐσ.  
Coins: Lycia (Perge) -- *SNGAul* 4713  
Egypt (Alexandria) -- Milne 1933, p. 92; *KAK* 2831-40
31. Αὐτ. Καίω. Γ. Ουιβ. Γαλ. Αὐγ.  
Coins: Byzantium & Nicaea -- *BMC Thrace* p. 108, 1-3  
Bithynia (Nicaea) -- *SNGAul* 700-9, 7059-63; *KBM* 145-64
32. Αὐτ. Καίω. Γαλ. Σεβ.  
Coins: Bithynia (Kabeira-Neocaesaraea) -- *SNGAul* 112, 6766

<sup>11</sup>The legend on this coin is worn, and only the following can still be read: ΑΥ Κ...ΤΡΕ ΓΑΛΛΑΟΝ.

33. Αυτ. Καισ. Γ. Ουιβ. Γαλ. Σεβ.  
Coins: Asia (Kadoi) -- *SNGAul* 3692-3  
Asia (Philomelion) -- *SNGAul* 3932
34. Αυτ. Καισ. Ουιβ. Τρεβ. Γαλ. Σεβ.  
Coins: Syria (Laodicea) -- *BMC Syria* p. 263, 115  
Palestine (Neapolis) -- *BMC Palestine* pp. 71-2, 155-8
35. Αυτ. Καισ. Γ. Ουιβ. Τρεβ. Γαλ. Σεβ.  
Coins: Asia (Blaundos) -- *SNGAul* 8222  
Lycia (Isinda) -- *SNGAul* 5046  
Cilicia (Karallia) -- *SNGAul* 5609  
Cilicia (Kolybrassos) -- *SNGAul* 5658  
Cilicia (Syedra) -- *SNGAul* 5903  
Syria (Antioch) -- *BMC Syria* p. 229, 653-5; *SNGCop Syria* 292  
Syria (Laodicea) -- *BMC Syria* p. 263, 114; *Hunter III* p. 208, 48
36. ὁ τῶν Ῥωμαίων Αυτ. Καισ. Γ. Ουιβ. Τρεβ. Γαλ. Σεβ.  
Inscriptions: Achaea -- *AE* (1974) 614
37. Αυτ. Καισ. Γ. Ουιβ. Γαλ. Σεβ. γῆς καὶ θαλάσσης δεσπότης  
Inscriptions: Asia -- *IGRR* IV 626
38. ὁ κυρ. ἡμῶν ὁ μέγιστος καὶ θεϊότατος Αυτ. Καισ. Γ. Ουιβ. Τρεβ. Γαλ. Ευσ. Ευτ. Σεβ.  
Inscriptions: Achaea -- *AE* (1937) 1/*SEG* 11 (1954) 122/*ICorinth* 116

#### VI. Gallus, Greek Titles, Group B

39. Αυτ. Καισ. Γ. Ουιβ. Τρεβ. Γαλ. π. π.  
Coins: Cilicia (Tarsus) -- *SNGAul* 6072-4
40. Αυτ. Καισ. Γ. Ουιβ. Τρεβ. Γαλ. Ευσ. Ευτ. π. π.  
Coins: Cilicia (Tarsus) -- *SNGAul* 6075

41. Αυτ. Καισ. Γ. Ουιβ. Τρεβ. Γαλ. Σεβ. δημ. εξ.  
Coins: Syria (Antioch) -- *BMC Syria* pp. 226-7, 630-41; *Hunter III* pp. 187-8, 340-50; *SNGCop Syria* 288-90

#### VII. Gallus, Greek Titles, Group C

42. Αυτ. Καισ. Γ. Ουιβ. Τρεβ. Γαλ. Σεβ. δημ. εξ. υπ. τὸ β'  
Coins: Syria (Antioch) -- *BMC Syria* pp. 228-9, 642-52; *Hunter III* p. 188, 351-3; *SNGCop Syria* 291

#### VIII. Volusianus, Latin Titles, Group A

43. *G. Volus.*  
Inscriptions: Italy -- *CIL* VI 31377<sup>12</sup>
44. *Vib. Afin. Volus. Caes.*  
Coins: Macedonia (Coeta) -- *BMC Thrace* p. 193, 12; *SNGCop Thrace* 883
45. *C. Vib. Volus. Caes.*  
Coins: Italy (Rome) -- *RIC* IV.3 131-3, 240, 243
46. *C. Vib. Volus. Caes. princ. iuv.*  
Coins: Italy (Rome) -- *RIC* IV.3 129-30, 134, 241-2; *HCC* III 1
47. *Imp. Gal. Volus. Aug.*  
Coins: Syria (Damascus) -- *BMC Syria* p. 288, 32; *Hunter III* pp. 219-20, 9-10

<sup>12</sup>This stone is just a fragment, with only this much of the text remaining.

48. *Imp. Caes. Volus.*  
Coins: Galatia (Antioch) – *SNGAul* 8584
49. *Imp. Caes. Vib. Afin. Volus.*  
Coins: Asia (Alexandria Troas) – *SNGAul* 1482, 7571
50. *Imp. Caes. Volus. Aug.*  
Inscriptions: Dalmatia – *CIL* III 13307, 13316  
Coins: Italy (Rome) – *RIC* IV.3 165  
Moesia Sup. (Viminacium) – *BMC Thrace* p. 19, 45
51. *Imp. Caes. Vib. Afin. Volus. Aug.*  
Coins: Galatia (Antioch) – *SNGAul* 4978-81, 8583
52. *Imp. Caes. C. Vib. Volus. Aug.*  
Coins: Italy (Rome) – *RIC* IV.3 142-58, 160-4, 166-82, 184-98, 201-13, 246-58, 260-4; *HCC* III 6-23, 28-47  
Dacia (Provincia Dacia) – *Hunter* I p. 406, 8; *SNGCop Thrace* 133-4  
Moesia Sup (Viminacium) – *Hunter* I p. 409, 25-6; *SNGCop Thrace* 170-1  
Syria (Antioch) – *RIC* IV.3 214-23; *HCC* III 50  
Phoenicia (Tyre) – *BMC Phoenicia* pp. 285-6, 445-8; *Hunter* III p. 271, 60; *SNGCop Phoenicia* 379<sup>13</sup>
53. *Imp. Caes. Vib. Afin. Gal. Vel. Volus. Aug.*  
Coins: Syria (Antioch) – *RIC* IV.3 224-39; *HCC* III 48-9
54. *Imp. Caes. C. Vib. Volus. Aug. princ. iuv.*  
Coins: Italy (Rome) – *RIC* IV.3 159, 259
55. *Imp. Caes. Volus. Pi. Fel. Aug.*  
Coins: Palestine (Neapolis) – *BMC Palestine* p. 74, 166-8

<sup>13</sup>All that can be read of the obverse legend is, IMP C G VIB VO.

56. *Imp. Caes. C. Volus. Pi. Fel. Aug.*  
Coins: Palestine (Caesarea) – *BMC Palestine* pp. 40-1, 213-20
57. *Imp. Caes. C. Vib. Afin. Gal. Vel. Volus. Pi. Fel. Aug.*  
Inscriptions: Italy – *CIL* IX 5431<sup>14</sup>  
Africa – *ILAlg* I 2096<sup>15</sup>
58. *Imp. Caes. C. Vib. Afin. Gal. Vel. Volus. Pi. Fel. Inv. Aug.*  
Inscriptions: Noricum – *CIL* III 4741
59. *Imp. Caes. C. Vib. Treb. Vel. Volus. Pi. Fel. Inv. Aug.*  
Inscriptions: Dalmatia – *CIL* III 12729
- IX. Volusianus, Latin Titles, Group B**
60. *Imp. Caes. C. Vib. Afin. Gal. Vel. Volus. Pi. Fel. Aug. pont. max.*  
Inscriptions: Italy – *CIL* XI 4780<sup>16</sup>
61. *Imp. Caes. C. Vib. Afin. Gal. Vel. Volus. Pi. Fel. Aug. cos.*  
Inscriptions: Raetia – *AE* (1954) 117
62. *Imp. Caes. C. Vib. Afin. Volus. Inv. Aug. tr. pot. cas. p. p. procos.*  
Inscriptions: Pannonia Sup. – *HSE* 4/Weber 1968-71, 135-6 no. 13/*AE* (1973) 430

<sup>14</sup>The inscription breaks after *Veldumniano*.

<sup>15</sup>This stone breaks after *Volusiano*.

<sup>16</sup>The stone breaks after *pontifex maximus*. Note below 63 (e.g.) for a similar formula.



## X. Volusianus, Latin Titles, Group C

63. *Imp. Caes. C. Vib. Afin. Gal. Vel. Volus. Pi. Fel. Aug. pont. max. tr. pot. II cos.*  
Inscriptions: Italy -- *CIL* XI 6051
64. *Imp. Caes. C. Vib. Afin. Gal. Vel. Volus. Pi. Fel. Aug. tr. pot. II cos. p. p.*  
Inscriptions: Italy -- *Pais* 743/*ILS* 524
65. *Imp. Caes. C. Vib. Afin. Gal. Vel. Volus. Pi. Fel. Aug. p. p. pont. max. tr. pot. II cos. procos.*  
Inscriptions: Mauretania Ting. -- *CIL* VIII 21829/*ILM* 75/*IAM* II 405
66. *Imp. Caes. C. Vib. Afin. Gal. Vel. Volus. Pi. Fel. Inv. Aug. pont. max. tr. pot. II cos. procos.*  
Inscriptions: Hispania -- *CIL* II 4787
67. *Imp. Caes. C. Vib. Volus. Pi. Fel. Aug. pont. max. p. p. tr. pot. cos. II*  
Inscriptions: Dalmatia -- *CIL* III 12688
68. *Imp. Caes. C. Vib. Volus. Aug. pont. max. tr. pot. IV cos. II*  
Coins: Italy (Rome) -- *RIC* IV.3 138-41; *HCC* III 2-4
69. *Imp. Caes. C. Vib. Volus. Aug. pont. max. tr. pot. IV cos. II p. p.*  
Coins: Italy (Rome) -- *HCC* III 24-6

## XI. Volusianus, Greek Titles, Group A

70. Γ. Ουιβ. Αφιν. Γαλ. Ουολουσ.  
Coins: Bithynia (Cios-Prusias on the Sea) -- *SNGAul* 518
71. Ουιβ. Γαλ. Ουολουσ. Σεβ.  
Coins: Lycia (Baris) -- *SNGAul* 5015

72. Αυτ. Ουιβ. Ουολουσ.  
Coins: Thrace (Maronea) -- *BMC Thrace* p. 131, 90
73. Αυτ. Καισ. Ουολουσ.  
Coins: Asia (Blaundos) -- *SNGAul* 2932  
Asia (Eukarpeia) -- *SNGAul* 3581
74. Αυτ. Καισ. Γαλ. Ουολουσ.  
Coins: Bithynia (Nicaea) -- *SNGAul* 710-1, 7064
75. Αυτ. Καισ. Ουιβ. Σεβιν. Γαλ.  
Coins: Cilicia (Seleucia on the Kalykadnos) -- *SNGAul* 5851
76. Αυτ. Καισ. Ουιβ. Γαλ. Ουολουσ.  
Coins: Bithynia (Nicaea) -- *SNGAul* 712; *KBM* 165-7
77. Αυτ. Γαλ. Ουολουσ. Καισ.  
Coins: Bithynia (Nicaea) -- *KBM* 168
78. Αυτ. Καισ. Ουιβ. Αφιν. Γαλ. Ουολουσ.  
Coins: Asia (Akmoneia) -- *SNGAul* 3380-1
79. Αυτ. Καισ. Γ. Ουιβ. Τρεβ. Ουολουσ.  
Coins: Palestine (Neapolis) -- *BMC Palestine* p. 73, 160-5; *Hunter III* p. 280, 9
80. Αυτ. Καισ. Γ. Αφιν. Γαλ. Ουελ. Ουολουσ.  
Coins: Lycia (Sagalassos) -- *SNGAul* 5196
81. Αυτ. Καισ. Γ. Ουιβ. Γαλ. Ουελ. Ουολουσ.  
Coins: Lycia (Isinda) -- *SNGAul* 5047
82. Αυτ. Καισ. Γ. Ουιβ. Αφιν. Γαλ. Ουολουσ.  
Coins: Lycia (Attaleia) -- *SNGAul* 4630-1  
Lycia (Magydos) -- *SNGAul* 4644  
Cilicia (Anazarbos) -- *SNGAul* 5506

83. Αυτ. Καισ. Γ. Ουιβ. Αφιυ. Γαλ. Ουελ. Ουολουσ.  
Coins: Cilicia (Anemurion) -- *SNGAul* 5524
84. Αυτ. Καισ. Γ. Αφιυ. Γαλ. Ουελ. Ουολουσ. Ευσ.  
Coins: Egypt (Alexandria) -- Milne 1933, p. 92; *KAK* 2841-7
85. Αυτ. Καισ. Γ. Ουιβ. Ουολουσ. Αυγ.  
Coins: Thrace (Byzantium) -- *Hunter I* p. 397, 35
86. Αυτ. Καισ. Γ. Αφιυ. Γαλ. Ουελ. Ουολουσ. Σεβ.  
Coins: Syria (Antioch) -- *BMC Syria* p. 231, 665; *SNGCop Syria* 295

## XII. Volusianus, Greek Titles, Group B

87. Αυτ. Καισ. Γ. Αφιυ. Γαλ. Ουελ. Ουολουσ. Σεβ. δημ. εξ.  
Coins: Syria (Antioch) -- *BMC Syria* p. 230, 658-63; *Hunter III* p. 189, 357-9; *SNGCop Syria* 294

## XIII. Volusianus, Greek Titles, Group C

88. Αυτ. Καισ. Γ. Αφιυ. Γαλ. Ουενδ. Ουολουσ. Σεβ. δημ. εξ. υπ. β.  
Coins: Syria (Antioch) -- *BMC Syria* p. 230, 664

## XIV. Gallus and Volusianus, Latin Titles, Group A

89. *Caess. Gal. et Volus. Fell. Pii*  
Inscriptions: Italy -- *CIL V* 8075

90. *dd. nn. Gal. et Volus. Augg.*  
Inscriptions: Britain -- *CIL VII* 949/*RIB* 2057; *CIL VII* 949a/*RIB* 2058
91. *Imp. Treb. Gal. et Vel. Volus. Augg.*  
Inscriptions: Asia -- Frei-Korursky 1986, 97 no. 2 & 98
92. *Imp. dd. nn. Gal. et Volus. Augg.*  
Inscriptions: Britain -- *CIL VII* 1182/*RIB* 2279  
Numidia -- *AE* (1946) 61/*ILAlg* II 3596
93. *Imp. dd. nn. sanctissimi et piissimi G. Vib. Treb. Gal. Pi. Fel. Inv. Aug. et C. Vib. Afin. Vel. Volus. Pi. Fel. Inv. Aug.*  
Inscriptions: Sardinia -- *AE* (1889) 26/*EE* viii 773/*Sotgiu* 1988, C121; *ILSard* 376/*AE* (1973) 275/*Sotgiu* 1988, A376
- 93a. *Imp. Caes. C. Vib. Treb. Gal. et Imp. Caes. C. Vib. Afin. Gal. Vel.*  
Inscriptions: Belgica -- *CIL XIII* 9039/*XVII* 511<sup>17</sup>
94. *Imp. Caess. C. Vib. Treb. Gal. et C. Vib. Afin. Gal. Vel. Volus.*  
Inscriptions: Aquitania -- *CIL XIII* 8880/*XVII* 329; *ILTG* 485/*CIL XVII* 523<sup>18</sup>
95. *Imp. Caes. dd. Gal. et Volus.*  
Inscriptions: Africa -- *EE* vii 628/*CIL VIII* 22136
96. *Imp. Caess. dd. nn. Gal. et Volus.*  
Inscriptions: Britain -- *AE* (1924) 2/*RIB* 2230
97. *Imp. Caess. Gal. et Volus. Augg.*  
Inscriptions: Britain -- *CIL VII* 1148/*RIB* 2223

<sup>17</sup>{*Imp(eratori) / Caes(ari) C(aio) Vibio*} / *T(reboniano) / G(allo et) / Imp(eratori) / Caes(ari) [C(aio) Vibio] / Affinio Gallo / V(ict)imiano / --*

<sup>18</sup>The inscription breaks after, *Vo[lusiano]--*. Walser (*CIL XVII* ad loc.) suggests restoring also *P(iis) F(elicibus) Aug(ustis)*.

98. *Imp. Caes. C. Vib. Treb. Gal. Aug. Imp. Caes. C. Vib. Volus. Aug.*  
Coins: Italy (Rome) -- *RIC* IV.3 67-8  
Moesia Sup. (Viminacium) -- *BMC Thrace* p. 19, 44
99. *Imp. Caes. dd. nn. C. Vib. Treb. Gal. et C. Vib. Afin. Vel. Volus. Augg.*  
Inscriptions: Germania Inf. -- *AE* (1931) 31
100. *Imp. Caes. C. Vib. Treb. Gal. et C. Vib. Afin. Gal. Vel. Volus. Augg. invictissimi*  
Inscriptions: Numidia -- *CIL* VIII 10252
101. *Imp. Caes. Vib. Gal. et Volus. Augg. Pii*  
Inscriptions: Pannonia Sup. -- *CIL* III 15201/*AIJug* 605
102. *Imp. Caes. C. Vib. Treb. Gal. Pi. Fel. Aug. et C. Vib. Afin. Gal. Vel.*  
Inscriptions: Palestine -- *AE* (1969/70) 629<sup>19</sup>
103. *Imp. Caes. C. Vib. Gal. Aug. et nob. princ. C. Vib. Volus. Pii. felicissimi*  
Inscriptions: Sardinia -- *Campus* 1977, 411-4 no. 1<sup>20</sup>
104. *Imp. Caes. Gal. et Volus. Pii. Fell. Augg.*  
Inscriptions: Narbonensis -- *CIL* XII 5518/XIII 9071/*WRJS* 321/*RSS* 49/*CIL* XVII 659
105. *Imp. Caes. Vib. Gal. et G. Vel. (vel Vib.) Volus. Pii. Fell. Augg.*  
Inscriptions: Britain -- *EE* vii 1105/ix 1253b/*RJB* 2274
106. *Imp. Caes. C. Vib. Gal. et C. Vib. Volus. Pi. Fel. Augg.*  
Inscriptions: Dalmatia -- *IJJug* II 947
107. *Imp. Caes. C. Vib. Treb. Gal. Pi. Fel. Aug. et Imp. Caes. C. Afin. Gal. Vel. Volus. Aug.*  
Inscriptions: Galatia -- *RRM* I 43d, 51c

<sup>19</sup>This inscription is broken after, [Veldum]iano.

<sup>20</sup>This stone is broken after, [f]elici]ss[im]is).

108. *Imp. Caes. C. Vib. Treb. Gal. Pi. Fel. Aug. et Imp. Caes. C. Vib. Afin. Gal. Vel. Volus. Pi. Fel. Aug.*  
Inscriptions: Aquitania -- *CIL* XIII 9008/XVII 394  
Germania Sup. -- *CIL* XIII 9056/*RSS* 28/*CIL* XVII 131<sup>21</sup>  
Italy -- *CIL* XIV 42/*ILS* 526 (= 4141)  
Africa -- *EE* vii 622/*CIL* VIII 22128<sup>22</sup>
109. *Imp. Caes. C. Vib. Treb. Gal. Inv. Pi. Fel. Aug. et C. Vib. Afin. Vel. Volus.*  
Inscriptions: Numidia -- *Salama* 1951/52, 230 no. 6<sup>23</sup>
110. *Imp. Caes. C. Vib. Treb. Gal. Pi. Fel. Inv. Aug. et C. Vib. Afin. Vel. Volus. Aug.*  
Inscriptions: Moesia Sup. -- *AE* (1952) 194/*IMS* IV 127
111. *Imp. Caes. C. Vib. Treb. Gal. Pi. Fel. Inv. Aug. et C. Vib. Afin. Vel. Volus. Aug.*  
Inscriptions: Moesia Sup. -- *AE* (1976) 597
112. *Imp. Caes. C. Vib. Treb. Gal. et Imp. Caes. C. Vib. Vel. Volus. Pii. Fell. Inv. Augg.*  
Inscriptions: Cappadocia -- *AE* (1888) 183/*CIL* III 6919; *CIL* III 12196

#### XV. Gallus and Volusianus, Latin Titles, Group B

113. *dd. nn. Gal. et Volus. coss.*  
Inscriptions: Britain -- *CIL* VII 646/*RJB* 1680
114. *dd. nn. Augg. Gal. et Volus. Augg. coss.*  
Inscriptions: Moesia Sup. -- *AE* (1973) 471/*IMS* II 40b

<sup>21</sup>[Imp(eratori) Caes(ari) C(aio) Vibio / Tre]bonia[no Gal]lo] Pio Filici (sic) [Aug(usto) / et Imp(eratori)] Caes(ari) [C(aio) Vibio / Afin]o Gal]lo Vel[dum]nia[no] [Volu]siano P]io Fi]lci (sic) Aug(usto)].

<sup>22</sup>[Imp(eratori) Caesari / C(aio) Vibio Trebo]riano Gallo Pi]o Felici Aug(usto) ■ / Imp(eratori) Caesari / C(aio) Vibio Afin]o / Gallo Veldu]miano Vo]lusiano Pio / Felici Aug(usto)].

<sup>23</sup>The stone breaks after, Veldu]rmiano Volusiano—.

115. *Imp. dd. nn. Gal. et Volus. Augg. coss.*  
Inscriptions: Germania Inf. -- *CIL* XIII 8015
116. *Imp. dd. nn. Gal. et Volus. Pii. Fell. Augg. coss. pp. pp.*  
Inscriptions: Narbonensis -- *CIL* XIII 9070/RSS 48/*CIL* XVII 662
- 116a. *Imp. Caess. dd. nn. C. Vib. Treb. Gal. et Vib. Afin. Vel. Volus. Augg. pont. max. pp. pp. procoss.*  
Inscriptions: Germania Sup. -- *CIL* XVII 559
117. *Imp. Caes. C. Vib. Treb. Gal. Pi. Fel. Aug. p. p. et Imp. Caes. C. Vib. Afin. Gal. Vel. Volus. Aug. p. p.*  
Inscriptions: Dacia -- *EE* ii 453/*CIL* III 8061
118. *Imp. Caes. C. Vib. Treb. Gal. Pi. Fel. Aug. pont. max. tr. pot. et Imp. Caes. C. Vib. Afin. Gal. Vel. Volus. Pi. Fel. Inv. Aug. pont. max. tr. pot.*  
Inscriptions: Pannonia Inf. -- *EE* li 760/*CIL* III 10624/*ILS* 522
119. *Imp. Caes. C. Vib. Treb. Gal. Inv. Pi. Fel. Aug. et Imp. Caes. C. Vib. Afin. Gal. Vel. Volus. Inv. Pi. Fel. Aug. coss.*  
Inscriptions: Numidia -- *CIL* VIII 10383 (=22465), 22420, 22424
120. *Imp. Caes. C. Vib. Treb. Gal. Inv. Pi. Fel. Aug. p. p. pont. max. tr. pot. procoss. et Imp. Caes. C. Vib. Afin. Gal. Vel. Volus. Inv. Pi. Fel. Aug. p. p. pont. max. tr. pot. procoss.*  
Inscriptions: Africa -- *CIL* VIII 10148
121. *Imp. Caes. C. Vib. Treb. Gal. Inv. Pi. Fel. Aug. pont. max. tr. pot. cos. p. p. procoss. et C. Vib. Gal. Vel. Volus. nob. Caes.*  
Inscriptions: Africa -- *EE* v 1093/*CIL* VIII 21993<sup>24</sup>

<sup>24</sup>The *CIL* editors print (lines 6-9), [his] cos. p. [p. procoss. et / C. Vibius Gallus Volusianus nobilissimus / Caes. cet.]. It will be noted that Gallus and Volusian are more normally given equivalent (or roughly equivalent) titulature. Indeed, Volusian appearing with Gallus and as *nobilissimus Caesar* is rare. However, it is clear that there is not enough room here for *Imp. Caes.* for Volusian, thus it would appear that he must have been given titulature as junior partner.

122. *Imp. Caes. C. Vib. Treb. Gal. Pi. Fel. Inv. Aug. pont. max. tr. pot. cos. p. p. procoss. et Imp. Caes. C. Vib. Afin. Gal. Vel. Volus. Pi. Fel. Inv. Aug. pont. max. tr. pot. cos. p. p. procoss.*  
Inscriptions: Pannonia Sup. -- *CIL* III 11330<sup>25</sup>  
Numidia -- *CIL* VIII 10422<sup>26</sup>

#### XVI. Gallus and Volusianus, Latin Titles, Group C

123. *Imp. Caes. C. Vib. Treb. Gal. Pi. Fel. Aug. pont. max. tr. pot. cos. II des. p. p. procoss. et Imp. Caes. C. Vib. Afin. Gal. Vel. Volus. Pi. Fel. Aug. pont. max. tr. pot. cos. des. p. p. procoss.*  
Inscriptions: Africa -- *CIL* VIII 10046
124. *Imp. Caes. C. Vib. Treb. Gal. Inv. Pi. Fel. Aug. pont. max. tr. pot. cos. des. II p. p. procoss. et Imp. Caes. C. Vib. Afin. Gal. Vel. Volus. Pi. Fel. Aug. pont. max. tr. pot. cos. des. p. p. procoss.*  
Inscriptions: Numidia -- *CIL* VIII 10292<sup>27</sup>
125. *Imp. Caes. C. Vib. Treb. Gal. Inv. Pi. Fel. Aug. pont. max. tr. pot. p. p. cos. II procoss. Imp. Caes. C. Vib. Afin. Vel. Volus. Pi. Fel. Aug.*  
Inscriptions: Numidia -- *CIL* VIII 10320
126. *Imp. Caes. Treb. Gal. iterum et Afin. Volus. Augg. coss.*  
Inscriptions: Mauretania Caes. -- *CIL* VIII 22563

<sup>25</sup>The inscription breaks after, *Vibio Afinto Gallo* [—].

<sup>26</sup>Volusian's titulature is here slightly garbled, but this seems the right interpretation.

<sup>27</sup>The stone breaks after, *C(alus) [Vibius Aff]inius [Gallus]*. The rest is my suggested restoration.

127. *Imp. Caes. C. Vib. Treb. Gal. Pi. Fel. Aug. pont. max. tr. pot. cos. II p. p. et Imp. Caes. C. Vib. Afin. Gal. Vel. Volus. Pi. Fel. Aug. pont. max. tr. pot. cos. p. p.*  
Inscriptions: Narbonensis -- *CIL* XII 5538/RSS 17/GA 40/*CIL* XVII 1432<sup>28</sup>
128. *Imp. Caes. C. Vib. Treb. Gal. Pi. Fel. Aug. pont. max. tr. pot. cos. II procos. p. p. et Imp. Caes. C. Vib. Afin. Gal. Vel. Volus. Pi. Fel. Aug. pont. max. tr. pot. cos. procos. p. p.*  
Inscriptions: Pannonia Sup. -- *CIL* III 11344/Weber 1968-71, 143-4 no. 22<sup>29</sup>
129. *Imp. Caes. C. Vib. Treb. Gal. Inv. Pi. Fel. Aug. iterum et Imp. Caes. C. Vib. Afin. Gal. Vel. Volus. Inv. Pi. Fel. Aug. cos.*  
Inscriptions: Numidia -- *CIL* VIII 10405 (=22515)
130. *Imp. Caes. C. Vib. Treb. Gal. Inv. Pi. Fel. Aug. p. p. tr. pot. cos. II procos. et Imp. Caes. C. Vib. Vel. Volus. Inv. Pi. Fel. Aug. p. p. tr. pot. cos. procos.*  
Inscriptions: Numidia -- *CIL* VIII 10249
131. *Imp. Caes. C. Vib. Treb. Gal. Pi. Fel. Inv. Aug. pont. max. tr. pot. cos. II procos. p. p. et Imp. Caes. C. Vib. Afin. Gal. Vel. Volus. Pi. Fel. Inv. Aug. pont. max. tr. pot. cos. procos. p. p.*  
Inscriptions: Pannonia Sup. -- *CIL* III 4605/Weber 1968-71, 142-3 no. 21<sup>30</sup>
132. *Imp. dd. nn. Gal. II et Volus. Augg. coss.*  
Inscriptions: Germania Sup. -- Galsterer 1981, 228-32 no. 3
133. *dd. nn. Imp. Caes. Treb. Gal. iterum et Afin. Volus. Augg. cos.*  
Inscriptions: Mauretania -- *CIL* VIII 22560

<sup>28</sup>The inscription breaks after, *Volusiano*. I have restored the rest.

<sup>29</sup>The stone breaks after (lines 4-5), *Veld/[u]m[n]ianus (Volusianus—*.

<sup>30</sup>Weber's restoration (loc. cit.) is: *[Imp(erator) Caes(ar) C(aius) Vib(ius) Tre]bo[n]ianus / Gallus P(ius) F(elix) Inv(ictus) Aug(ustus) p(ontifex) m(ax)imus / trib(unicia) pot(estate) co(n)s(ul) II pro[co]n(s)ul / p(ater) p(at)riae / et Imp(erator) Caes(ar) C(aius) Vi]b(ius) Affi[n]ius Gallus Veldu[m]n[i]anus / Volusianus P(ius) F(elix) Aug(ustus) p(ontifex) m(ax)imus / tr(ibun)icia / pot(estate) co(n)s(ul) II proco(n)s(ul) p(ater) p(at)riae—*. First of all, if *Invictus* is properly restored for Gallus, then it should probably be given to Volusian as well. And secondly, I do not think that *cos. II* should be restored to Volusian. Rather, he was *cos. (I)*. In these two ways, the titulature that I here give differs from that proposed by Weber.

134. *Imp. dd. nn. C. Vib. Treb. Gal. et C. Vib. Afin. Gal. Vel. Volus. Invv. princ. pont. max. Augg. nn. II coss. p. p.*  
Inscriptions: Numidia -- *EE* v 1314/*CIL* VIII 10423 (=22524)
135. *Imp. Caes. C. Vib. Gal. Pi. Fel. Aug. pont. max. tr. pot. II p. p. et Imp. Caes. C. Vib. Afin. Gal. Vel. Volus. Pi. Fel. Inv. Aug.*  
Inscriptions: Pannonia Inf. -- *AE* (1953) 12
136. *Imp. Caes. C. Vib. Treb. Gal. Pi. Fel. Aug. pont. max. tr. pot. II cos. procos. p. p. et Imp. Caes. C. Vib. Afin. Gal. Vel. Volus. Pi. Fel. Aug. pont. max. tr. pot. II cos. procos. p. p.*  
Inscriptions: Aquitania -- *CIL* XIII 8885/XVII 336<sup>31</sup>
137. *Imp. Caes. C. Vib. Treb. Gal. Inv. Pi. Fel. Aug. pont. max. tr. pot. p. p. II cos. procos. et C. Vib. Afin. Gal. Vel. Volus. Inv. Pi. Fel. Aug. pont. max. tr. pot. II cos. procos.*  
Inscriptions: Numidia -- *CIL* VIII 10213; *AE* (1936) 135<sup>32</sup>
138. *Imp. Caes. C. Vib. Treb. Gal. Inv. Aug. Pi. Fel. pont. max. tr. pot. III cos. procos. et Imp. Caes. Vib. Afin. Vel. Volus. Inv. Aug. Pi. Fel. pont. max. tr. pot. III (?) cos. procos.*  
Inscriptions: Hispania -- *IRMN* 9<sup>33</sup>
139. *Imp. Caes. C. Vib. Treb. Gal. Pl. Fel. Inv. Aug. pont. max. tr. pot. cos. II procos. et Imp. Caes. C. Vib. Vel. Volus. Aug. pont. max. tr. pot. cos. II*  
Inscriptions: Hispania -- *CIL* II 4859/IRG IV 39

<sup>31</sup>This inscription was very poorly cut, and is printed in *CIL* as follows: *Imper. Caes. / C. Vib. Treb. Gal./to P. F. Aug. P. P. M. Tri. / bis Cos. P. C. P. P. et / Imp. Caes. C. Vib. / Afin. Gallo / Veld. Volusian. / P. P. Aug. P. P. M. Tri. / bis Cos. P. C. P. P.*

<sup>32</sup>The inscription breaks after, *Veldumia/no—*.

<sup>33</sup>*[Imp(eratori) Caes(ar) G(aio) Vibio / [Treb]oniano / [Gallo] Invicto / [Aug(usto) Pi]o Fel(ici) pont(ifici) / [max(imo) trib(unicia) pot(estate) III / [co(n)s(ul) pro]co(n)s(ul) et Imp(eratori) / [Caes(ar) Vi]bio Afinio / [Gallo] Veldumiano / [Volusiano] Invicto / [Aug(usto) Pio] Fel(ici) pont(ifici) / [max(imo) trib(unicia) pot(estate) III ? co(n)s(ul) pro]co(n)s(ul)—*.

140. *Imp. Caes. C. Vib. Treb. Gal. Pi. Fel. Aug. pont. max. tr. pot. cos. II procos. p. p. (?) et Imp. Caes. C. Afri. Gal. Veld. Volus. Pi. Fel. Aug. pont. max. tr. pot. cos. II (?) procos. p. p. (?)*  
 Inscriptions: Hispania -- *AE* (1974) 413/Loriot 1975c/ERZ 13/Otal & Pros 1982, 179-81 no. 4<sup>34</sup>
141. *Imp. Caes. C. Vib. Treb. Gal. Pi. Fel. Aug. pont. max. tr. pot. IV cos. II p. p. procos. et Imp. Caes. C. Vib. Afri. Gal. Vel. Volus. Pi. Fel. Aug. pont. max. tr. pot. IV cos. II p. p. procos.*  
 Inscriptions: Italy -- *CIL* VI 1104 (=31240)/*ILS* 525

## XVII. Gallus and Volusianus, Greek Titles, Group A

142. Γαλ. καὶ Ουολουσι.  
 Papyri: *Bureth* p. 116, no. 1 (1)
143. Ουιβ. Τρεβ. Γαλ. καὶ Ουιβ. Γαλ. Ουολουσι. Σεββ.  
 Inscriptions: Asia -- *IGRR* IV 534
144. οἱ κυρρ. ἡμῶν Γαλ. καὶ Ουολουσι. Σεββ.  
 Papyri: *Bureth* p. 116, no. 2 (1) & p. 117, no. 2 (3)
145. οἱ κυρρ. ἡμῶν Γαλ. καὶ Ουολουσι. Καισα. Σεββ.  
 Papyri: *Bureth* p. 117, no. 3 (1)
146. Τρεβ. Γαλ. καὶ Γ. Ουιβ. Αφρι. Γαλ. Ουελ. Ουολουσι. Ευσσ. Ευττ. Σεββ.  
 Papyri: *P. Oxy.* XLIV 3181, 1-3

<sup>34</sup>Though not the most recent, the best reading of the stone is Loriot's: [*Imp. Caes. / C. Vib(ius) Trebon(ianus) / Gal(ius) <p.> f. / Aug. p. m. tr. <po>{t} / cos. II proc[os. p. p. ?] / et Imp. Caes. / C. [A] <f>in(ius) [Gal(ius)] / Veldun <i>an(ius) / Volusian(ius) <p.> / f. Aug. <p.> m. / [tr. pot. cos. II (?) / procos. p. p. ?]*. As Loriot notes, the second consulate for Volusian is here questionable.

147. οἱ κυρρ. ἡμῶν Γαλ. καὶ Ουολουσι. Ευσσ. Ευττ. Σεββ.  
 Papyri: *Bureth* p. 117, no. 4 (1)
148. Αυττ. Καισα. Γαλ. καὶ Ουολουσι. Σεββ.  
 Coins: Bithynia (Kabeira-Neocaesarea) -- *SNGAul* 113, 6767-8
149. Αυτ. Καισ. Γ. Τρεβ. Γαλ. καὶ Ουολουσι. Σεββ.  
 Coins: Syria (Antioch) -- *BMC Syria* p. 229, 656-7; *Hunter* III p. 189, 356; *SNGCop Syria* 293
150. Αυτ. Καισ. Ουιβ. Τρεβ. Γαλ. Ευσ. Ευτ. Σεβ. καὶ Αυτ. Καισ. Ουιβ. Ουολουσι. Ευσ. Ευτ. Σεβ.  
 Inscriptions: Asia -- *CIG* 3181/*IGRR* IV 1487/*IK* 24,1 822
151. Αυττ. Καισα. Γ. Ουιβ. Τρεβ. Γαλ. καὶ Γ. Ουιβ. Αφρι. Γαλ. Ουελ. Ουολουσι. Ευσσ. Ευττ. Σεββ.  
 Papyri: *Bureth* p. 117, no. 1 (13); *P. Oxy.* XXXI 2567, 28-32; XLII 3053, 1-4; XLVI 3288, 12-4; L 3567, 10-3<sup>35</sup>

<sup>35</sup>This papyrus has Αυτ. and Καισ. in the singular.

**Aemilianus**

(ca. late July - mid-September 253)

*M(arcus) Aem(ilius) Aemil(ianus)***I. Literary Testimonia**

*Aur. Vict. Caes.* 31 *Igitur his Romae morantibus Aemilius Aemilianus summam potestatem corruptis militibus arripuit...Augustum appellavissent.*

*Epit. de Caes.* 31.1 *Sub his etiam Aemilianus in Moesia imperator effectus est.*

Zonaras 12.21 έντεϑθεν ό Αίμιλιανός ύπερφρονήσας τῷ κατορθώματι, μέτεισι τοὺς ὑπ' αὐτὸν στρατιώτας· καὶ Ῥωμαίων αὐτὸν ἀναγορεύουσιν αὐτοκράτορα. ἔς αὐτίκα τὰς δυνάμεις ἀγείρας ἔσπευδε τὴν Ἰταλίαν καταλαβεῖν, ὡς γαῦν εἰς γνῶσιν ἦλθον ταῦτα τῷ Γάλλῳ, κάκεινος ἐτέρωθεν παρασκευασάμενος τῷ Αἰμιλιανῷ ἀντιπαρετάξατο. καὶ συρραγέντων ἀλλήλοισ τῶν στρατευμάτων ἤτηντο οἱ τοῦ Γάλλου...καὶ ἀνελόντες κάκεινον καὶ τὸν παῖδα αὐτοῦ...προστίθενται τῷ Αἰμιλιανῷ, καὶ αὐτοὶ τὴν βασιλείαν αὐτῷ ψφισάμενοι.

**II. Latin Titles, Group A**

1. *Imp. Aemil. Pi. Aug.*  
Coins: uncertain -- *RIC* IV.3 29
2. *Imp. Aemil. Pi. Fel. Aug.*  
Coins: Italy (Rome) -- *RIC* IV.3 1-6, 8-13, 37-42; *HCC* III 8-19, 27  
uncertain -- *RIC* IV.3 27, 57
3. *Imp. M. Aem. Aemil. Pi. Fel. Aug.*  
Coins: uncertain -- *RIC* IV.3 23-6

4. *Imp. M. Aem. Aemil. Inv. Pi. Fel. Aug.*  
Inscriptions: Numidia -- *AE* (1954) 129
5. *Imp. Caes. M. Aem. Aemil. Aug.*  
Coins: Dacia (Provincia Dacia) -- *SNGCop Thrace* 135  
Moesia Sup. (Viminacium) -- *BMC Thrace* p. 20, 47-8; *Hunter I* p. 409, 27; *SNGCop Thrace* 172-3  
Galatia (Antioch) -- *SNGAul* 4982, 8585
6. *Imp. Caes. Aemil. Pi. Fel. Aug.*  
Coins: Italy (Rome) -- *RIC* IV.3 14-5, 19-22, 43-6, 48-54; *HCC* III 3-6, 20-6, 28  
Moesia Sup. (Viminacium) -- *BMC Thrace* p. 20, 46  
uncertain -- *RIC* IV.3 28, 55-6, 60-3
7. *Imp. Caes. M. Aem. Aemil. Pi. Fel. Aug.*  
Inscriptions: Bithynia -- Şahin et al. 1983, 50 no. 4  
Numidia -- *CIL* VIII 10402 (=22508)
8. *Imp. Caes. M. Aem. Aemil. Pi. Fel. Inv. Aug.*  
Inscriptions: Italy -- *CIL* V 530/*Inscript. Ital.* X,4 26/Alföldy 1984b, no. 27

**III. Latin Titles, Group B**

9. *Imp. Aemil. Pi. Fel. Aug. pont. max. tr. pot.*  
Coins: Italy (Rome) -- *RIC* IV.3 36a
10. *Imp. Caes. Aemil. Pi. Fel. Aug. pont. max. tr. pot.*  
Coins: uncertain -- *RIC* IV.3 59<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup>The reverse type of this coin, with the legend P M TR POT S C, is said by the *RIC* editors to belong to Antoninus Pius.

11. *Imp. Caes. Aem. Aemil. Pi. Fel. Aug. pont. max. p. p.*  
Inscriptions: Numidia -- *CIL VIII 22473*
12. *Imp. Caes. M. Aem. Aemil. Pi. Fel. Inv. Aug. pont. max. tr. pot. procos.*  
Inscriptions: Sardinia -- *AE (1939) 140/ILSard 383/Sotgiu 1988, A383*
13. *Imp. Caes. M. Aem. Aemil. Pi. Fel. Inv. Aug. pont. max. tr. pot. p. p. procos.*  
Inscriptions: Sardinia -- *CIL X 8011/ILS 530; AE (1889) 31/EE viii 781a; EE viii 782*
14. *Imp. Caes. M. Aem. Aemil. Pi. Fel. Inv. Aug. pont. max. tr. pot. cos. procos. p. p.*  
Inscriptions: Moesia Sup. -- *CIL III 8270/ILS 529; AE (1910) 175/IMS IV 74; ILJug II 593*  
Numidia -- *AE (1911) 104*

#### IV. Latin Titles, Group C.

15. *Imp. Aemil. Pi. Fel. Aug. pont. max. tr. pot. I p. p.*  
Coins: Italy (Rome) -- *RIC IV.3 7, 7a; HCC III 7*
16. *Imp. Caes. Aemil. Pi. Fel. Aug. pont. max. tr. pot. I p. p.*  
Coins: Italy (Rome) -- *RIC IV.3 16-8, 47; HCC III 1-2*

#### V. Greek Titles, Group A

17. *Αυτ. Καισ. Μ. Αιμ. Αιμιλ. Σεβ.*  
Coins: Bithynia (Amisos) -- *SNGAul 87*  
Asia (Iulia) -- *SNGAul 3680*

18. *Αυτ. Καισ. Μ. Αιμ. Αιμιλ. Ευσ. Ευτ. Σεβ.*  
Coins: Egypt (Alexandria) -- Milne 1933, p. 92; *KAK 2848*  
Papyri: *Bureth p. 117, no. 1 (2)*
19. *ὁ κυρ. ἡμῶν Μ. Αιμ. Αιμιλ. Σεβ.*  
Papyri: *Bureth p. 117, no. 2 (1)*



**Uranus Antoninus**  
(summer - winter 253/54)

*L(ucius) Jul(ius) Aur(ellius) Sul(picius) Sev(enus) Uran(ius) Ant(onianus)*

**I. Latin Titles, Group A**

1. *L. Jul. Aur. Sul. Ant.*  
Coins: Syria (Emesa) -- *RJC IV.3* pp. 205-6
2. *L. Jul. Aur. Sul. Uran. Ant.*  
Coins: Syria (Emesa) -- *RJC IV.3* pp. 205-6

**II. Greek Titles, Group A**

3. *ΑΥΤ. ΣΟΥΛ. ΑΥΤ. ΣΕΒ.*  
Coins: Syria (Emesa) -- *BMC Syria* p. 241, 24; *Hunter III* p. 198, 18

**III. Greek Titles, Group B**

4. *ΑΥΤ. ΚΑΙΣ. ΣΟΥΛ. ΑΥΤ. ΣΕΒ. ΘΗΜ. ΕΞ.*  
Coins: Syria (Antioch) -- *BMC Syria* p. 231, 666  
Syria (Emesa) -- *BMC Syria* p. 240, 22-3; *SNGCop Syria* 313

**Valerianus and Family**  
(mid-September 253 - ca. early September 268)

*C(aius) P(ublius) Lic(inius) Val(erianus)*  
*P(ublius) Lic(inius) Eg(natius) Gall(ienus)*  
*P(ublius) Cor(nelius) Lic(inius) Val(erianus)*  
*P(ublius) Cor(nelius) Lic(inius) Sal(oninus) Val(erianus)*

**I. Literary Testimonia**

*Aur. Vict. Caes. 32.1-3 At milites, qui contracti undique apud Raetias ob instans bellum morabantur, Licinio Valeriano imperium deferunt...eius filium Gallienum senatus Caesarem creat...*

*idem 33.3 His prospere ac supra vota cedentibus more hominum secundis solutior rem Romanam quasi naufragio dedit cum Salonino filio, cui honorem Caesaris contulerat...*

*idem 33.27 Denique Gallienum subacti a Claudio patres, quod eius arbitrio imperium cepisset, Divum dixere.*

*Epl. de Caes. 32.2-3 Hic filium suum Gallienum Augustum fecit Gallienique filium, Cornelium Valerianum, Caesarem.*

*idem 33.1 Gallienus quidem in loco Cornelii filii sui Saloninum, alterum filium, subrogavit...*

*Entrop. 9.7 Hinc Licinius Valerianus, in Raetia et Norico agens, ab exercitu imperator et mox Augustus est factus. Gallienus quoque Romae a senatu Caesar est appellatus.*

*HA Valer. 5.1 Haec sunt digna cognitu de Valeriano...ut post omnes honores et magistratus insigniter gestos imperator fieret, non, ut solet, tumultuario populi concursu, non militum strepitu, sed iure meritorum et quasi ex totius orbis una sententia.*

idem 8.1 *Valerianus iunior...a patre absente Caesar est appellatus, a fratre, ut Caelestinus dicit, Augustus.*

Oros. *hist. adv. pag. 7.22.1 ...duo imperatores ...creati sunt: Valerianus in Raetia ab exercitu Augustus appellatus, Romae autem ■ senatu Gallienus Caesar creatus...*

## II. Valerianus, Latin Titles, Group A

1. *Val. Pi. Fel. Aug.*  
Coins: Lugdunensis (Lugdunum) -- *RIC* V.1 1-5, 12-5, 19-22, 24  
Germania Inf. (Cologne ?) -- *HCC* IV 53-60  
Italy (Rome) -- *RIC* V.1 65
2. *Caes. Lic. Val. Pi. Fel. Inv. Aug.*  
Inscriptions: Germania Sup. -- Jullian 1916, 288
3. *Imp. Lic. Val.*  
Coins: Asia (Alexandria Troas) -- *SNGAul* 1483, 7572
4. *Imp. Val. Aug.*  
Coins: Lugdunensis (Lugdunum) -- *RIC* V.1 8, 11, 25  
Germania Inf. (Cologne ?) -- *HCC* IV 52  
Italy (Rome) -- *RIC* V.1 39-40, 63, 70, 84, 91, 94, 107, 110, 115, 134-5, 138  
Milan/Viminacium (?) -- *RIC* V.1 242, 256; *HCC* IV 64  
Syria (Antioch) -- *RIC* V.1 283, 289
5. *Imp. Lic. Val. Aug.*  
Coins: Asia (Alexandria Troas) -- *SNGAul* 7573
6. *Imp. P. Lic. Val. Aug.*  
Coins: Lugdunensis (Lugdunum) -- *RIC* V.1 23  
Italy (Milan) -- *RIC* V.1 266  
Moesia Sup. (Viminacium) -- *SNGCop Thrace* 174

7. *Imp. Val. Aug. restitutor orbis*  
Coins: Italy (Rome) -- *RIC* V.1 118
8. *Imp. Val. Pi. Aug.*  
Coins: Lugdunensis (Lugdunum) -- *RIC* V.1 10, 16, 18  
Germania Inf. (Cologne ?) -- *HCC* IV 51  
Italy (Milan) -- *RIC* V.1 228-30, 232 ff.  
Milan/Viminacium (?) -- *HCC* IV 62-3
9. *Imp. Val. Pi. Fel. Aug.*  
Coins: Italy (Rome) -- *RIC* V.1 122a, 163  
Italy (Milan) -- *RIC* V.1 246, 250, 252, 258, 260-2, 269-70  
Milan/Viminacium (?) -- *HCC* IV 61  
Syria (Antioch) -- *RIC* V.1 282, 288, 290; *HCC* IV 69
10. *Imp. Caes. P. Lic. Val.*  
Inscriptions: Pannonia Sup. -- *ILJug* II 1083
11. *Imp. Caes. n. Lic. Val.*  
Inscriptions: Africa -- *EE* v 1253/*CIL* VIII 15387
12. *Imp. Caes. P. Lic. Val. Pi. Fel.*  
Coins: Lycia (Kremna) -- *SNGAul* 5115, 8607<sup>1</sup>
13. *Imp. Caes. Val. Aug.*  
Coins: Asia (Parion) -- *SNGAul* 1343

<sup>1</sup>These coins are problematic. For the first, *SNGAul* 5115 gives as the obverse legend, IMP CAES P LICINI VALERIANO P F..OS. On the other hand, the same legend is given as follows by H. von Aulock, *Münzen und Städte Pisidiens*, Teil II (Tübingen 1979) no. 1518 (= *SNGAul* 5115): IMP CAES P LICINI VALERIANO P F AOG. From the published photos, I am unable to discern which reading is correct. The obverse legend of *SNGAul* 8607 is given as, IMP CAES P LICINI VALERIANO P F OS. Again, the coin is damaged and difficult to read from the photo. I suspect, however, that the correct reading in both cases might be COS, though this would be an unusual obverse legend.

14. *Imp. Caes. P. Lic. Val. Aug.*  
 Coins: Lugdunensis (Lugdunum) -- *RIC* V.1 6  
 Italy (Rome) -- *RIC* V.1 30, 33, 35, 37, 41-2, 51-5, 60, 64; *HCC* IV 4-19, 35-41, 48-50  
 Italy (Milan) -- *RIC* V.1 263  
 Bithynia (Apameia-Myrleia) -- *SNGAul* 295  
 Syria (Heliopolis) -- *SNGCop Syria* 438  
 Phoenicia (Berytus) -- *BMC Phoenicia* pp. 90-1, 256-63; *HCC* III p. 242, 36-7  
 Phoenicia (Ptolemais-Ace) -- *BMC Phoenicia* p. 137, 47-92  
 Phoenicia (Tyre) -- *BMC Phoenicia* pp. 286-91, 449-73; *Hunter* III pp. 271-2, 61-5; *SNGCop Phoenicia* 380-1  
 Antioch/Viminacium (?) -- *HCC* IV 65-8  
 East (uncertain) -- *HCC* IV 72
15. *Imp. Caes. P. Lic. Val. Aug. restitutor generis humani*  
 Coins: Moesia Sup. (Viminacium) -- *RIC* V.1 220
16. *Imp. Caes. P. Lic. Val. Aug. restitutor orbis*  
 Coins: Italy (Rome) -- *RIC* V.1 116, 119
17. *Imp. Caes. P. Lic. Val. Aug. restitutor orientis*  
 Coins: Syria (Antioch) -- *RIC* V.1 286
18. *Imp. Caes. P. Lic. Val. Pi. Aug.*  
 Coins: Italy (Rome) -- *RIC* V.1 88, 100
19. *Imp. Caes. Val. Pi. Fel. Aug.*  
 Coins: Italy (Rome) -- *RIC* V.1 59

<sup>2</sup>The obverse legends of all three coins are only partially legible; but by combining the various partial legends, this titulature can be restored to all three.

20. *Imp. Caes. P. Lic. Val. Pi. Fel. Aug.*  
 Inscriptions: Mauretania Ting. -- *IAM* II 121<sup>3</sup>  
 Coins: Italy (Rome) -- *RIC* V.1 31 ff.; *HCC* IV 20-34, 42-5, 47  
 Galatia (Eikonion) -- *SNGAul* 5392  
 Syria (Heliopolis) -- *BMC Syria* p. 294, 27-8; *Hunter* III p. 221, 7;  
*SNGCop Syria* 439-40  
 East (uncertain) -- *HCC* IV 73-4, 76-7
21. *Imp. Caes. P. Lic. Val. Pi. Fel. Aug. restitutor orbis*  
 Coins: Italy (Rome) -- *RIC* V.1 50, 117, 149, 171; *HCC* IV 23, 46
22. *Imp. Caes. P. Lic. Val. Pi. Fel. Aug. restitutor orientis*  
 Coins: East (uncertain) -- *HCC* IV 75
23. *Imp. Caes. P. Lic. Val. Pi. Fel. Inv. Aug.*  
 Inscriptions: Germania Sup. -- *CIL* XIII 9098/XVII 599; *CIL* XIII 12087-8/XVII 601-2
- III. Valerianus, Latin Titles, Group B
24. *Imp. Caes. P. Lic. Val. Pi. Fel. Aug. pont. max. tr. pot.*  
 Inscriptions: Numidia -- *CIL* VIII 22239<sup>4</sup>
25. *Imp. Caes. P. Lic. Val. Pi. Fel. Aug. pont. max. tr. pot. p. p.*  
 Inscriptions: Britain -- *EE* ix 1251/*RJB* 2240

<sup>3</sup>*Pro Salute Imp(eratoris) Caes(aris) P(ublii) Licinii Valeriani / [P]i Felicis Aug(usti).*

<sup>4</sup>The stone breaks after mention of the tribunician power.

26. *Imp. Caes. P. Lic. Val. Inv. Pi. Fel. Aug. pont. max. tr. pot.*  
Inscriptions: Numidia -- *AE* (1926) 375
27. *d. n. Imp. Caes. Val. (sic) Lic. Val. Pi. Fel. Inv. Aug. pont. max. tr. pot. p. p. procos.*  
Inscriptions: Sardinia -- *AE* (1889) 23/*EE* viii 795

#### IV. Valerianus, Latin Titles, Group C

28. *Imp. Val. Aug. Germ. max. tertius*  
Coins: Lugdunensis (Lugdunum) -- *RIC* V.1 9
29. *Imp. Caes. P. Lic. Val. Pi. Aug. Germ. max. tertius*  
Coins: Lugdunensis (Lugdunum) -- *RIC* V.1 9a
30. *Imp. Caes. P. Lic. Val. Aug. pont. max. tr. pot. II cos. p. p.*  
Coins: Italy (Rome) -- *RIC* V.1 27, 140  
Moesia Sup. (Viminacium) -- *RIC* V.1 207
31. *Imp. Caes. P. Lic. Val. Pi. Fel. Aug. pont. max. tr. pot. p. p. cos. II*  
Inscriptions: Dalmatia -- *CIL* III 13823  
Africa -- *CIL* VIII 22082
32. *Fel. Imp. Caes. P. Lic. Val. Pi. Fel. Inv. Aug. pont. max. tr. pot. p. p. cos. II procos.*  
Inscriptions: Moesia Inf. -- *AE* (1957) 340/*NJLM* 4
33. *Imp. Caes. P. Lic. Val. Aug. pont. max. tr. pot. II cos. II p. p.*  
Coins: Italy (Rome) -- *RIC* V.1 141; *HCC* IV 1-3

<sup>5</sup>The stone breaks after mention of the tribunician power.

34. *Imp. Caes. P. Lic. Val. Inv. Aug. pont. max. tr. pot. II cos. II procos. p. p.*  
Inscriptions: Pannonia Inf. -- *AE* (1969/70) 4986
35. *Imp. Caes. P. Lic. Val. Pi. Fel. Inv. Aug. pont. max. cos. II procos. tr. pot. II p. p. restitutor publicae securitatis ac libertatis conservator*  
Inscriptions: Italy -- *CIL* XI 3310/*ILS* 533
36. *Imp. Caes. P. Lic. Val. Pi. Fel. Aug. pont. max. p. p. tr. pot. III cos.*  
Inscriptions: Lusitania -- *CIL* II 1/*ILS* 534/*JRCP* 3
37. *Imp. Caes. P. Lic. Val. Pi. Fel. Aug. pont. max. tr. pot. III cos. p. p. procos.*  
Inscriptions: Pannonia Inf. -- *CIL* III 3255 (cf. 10242)/*AE* (1965) 304/*ILJug* II 1042
38. *Imp. Caes. P. Lic. Val. Pi. Fel. Aug. pont. max. tr. pot. III cos. II p. p.*  
Coins: Italy (Rome) -- *RIC* V.1 28
39. *Imp. Caes. P. Lic. Val. Pi. Fel. Aug. pont. max. tr. pot. III cos. II procos. p. p.*  
Inscriptions: Italy -- *CIL* XI 4567/*ILS* 535
40. *Imp. Caes. P. Lic. Val. Inv. Pi. Fel. Aug. cos. II procos. imp. V p. p. Germ. max. tr. pot. III*  
Inscriptions: Italy -- *CIL* XI 2914
41. *Imp. Caes. P. Lic. Val. Pi. Fel. Aug. pont. max. tr. pot. cos. III p. p.*  
Inscriptions: Dalmatia -- *CIL* III 2863
42. *Imp. Caes. P. Lic. Val. Pi. Fel. Aug. pont. max. tr. pot. III cos. III*  
Coins: Italy (Rome) -- *RIC* V.1 26
43. *Imp. Caes. P. Lic. Val. Aug. pont. max. tr. pot. III cos. III p. p.*  
Coins: Italy (Rome) -- *RIC* V.1 29

<sup>6</sup>*Imp(eratori) Caes(ar) / P(ublio) Lic(i)nio Valeriano / In(v)cto Aug(usto) pontific(i) / [maximo trib(unicia) p]otest(ate) / [II] co(n)s(uli) II proco(n)s(uli) p(atr)i] p(atr)iae et / [P(ublio) Licinio Gallieno Aug(usto)]--. I have included this inscription here because it is impossible to restore Gallienus' titulature with any confidence.*

44. *Imp. Caes. P. Lic. Val. Pi. Fel. Aug. pont. max. tr. pot. III cos. III p. p.*  
Coins: Italy (Rome) -- *RIC* V.1 142b
45. *Imp. Caes. P. Lic. Val. Pi. Fel. Aug. p. p. tr. pot. III cos. III*  
Inscriptions: Narbonensis -- *CIL* XII 5568a/König 1970, 143/*CIL* XVII 181;<sup>7</sup> *CIL* XII 5571/König 1970, 146/*CIL* XVII 184
46. *Imp. Caes. P. Lic. Val. Pi. Fel. Aug. pont. max. tr. pot. IV cos. III p. p.*  
Coins: Italy (Rome) -- *RIC* V.1 142
47. *Imp. Caes. P. Lic. Val. Inv. Pi. Fel. Aug. pont. max. Germ. max. tr. pot. IV cos. III p. p. procos.*  
Inscriptions: Numidia -- *CIL* VIII 2380/König 1981, 1
48. *Imp. Caes. P. Lic. Val. Pi. Fel. Aug. pont. max. tr. pot. V cos. III p. p.*  
Coins: Italy (Rome) -- *RIC* V.1 142a<sup>8</sup>
49. *Imp. Caes. P. Lic. Val. Pi. Fel. Aug. pont. max. tr. pot. V cos. III p. p.*  
Coins: Italy (Rome) -- *RIC* V.1 189
50. *Imp. Caes. P. Lic. Val. Pi. Fel. Inv. Aug. pont. max. tr. pot. V cos. III p. p. procos.*  
Inscriptions: Africa -- *CIL* VIII 1124
51. *Imp. Caes. P. Lic. Val. pont. max. tr. pot. (?) cos. IV p. p. procos.*  
Inscriptions: Baetica -- *AE* (1973) 281<sup>9</sup>
52. *Imp. Val. Aug. pont. max. tr. pot. V cos. IV p. p.*  
Coins: Syria (Antioch) -- *RIC* V.1 277; *HCC* IV 70-1

<sup>7</sup>Most of the text of this stone must be restored, and that is the basis of the accompanying inscription.

<sup>8</sup>This is the reading reported by *Cohen*, no. 165.

<sup>9</sup>[*Imp(erato) Caesar[us] P(ublio) / L(j)cinio Valer[ia]n[o] pontifici / [m]aximo [... / ...] trib[un]ic[ia] [pot(estate)... / ...] co(n)s(uli) III p(at)ri] [p(at)riae] / pro[c]o(n)s(uli)].*

53. *Imp. Val. Pi. Fel. Aug. pont. max. tr. pot. V cos. IV p. p.*  
Coins: Italy (Milan) -- *RIC* V.1 231
54. *Imp. Caes. P. Lic. Val. Pi. Fel. Aug. pont. max. tr. pot. V cos. IV p. p.*  
Coins: Italy (Rome) -- *RIC* V.1 142c,<sup>10</sup> 151
55. *Imp. Caes. P. Lic. Val. Pi. Fel. Inv. Aug. pont. max. tr. pot. VI cos. IV p. p.*  
Inscriptions: Italy -- *CIL* X 5391
56. *Imp. Caes. P. Lic. Val. Pi. Fel. Aug. pont. max. Germ. max. tr. pot. IX cos. IV p. p. procos.*  
Inscriptions: Africa -- *CIL* VIII 12294 (=23877)

#### V. Valerianus, Greek Titles, Group A

57. Π. Λικ. Ουαλ.  
Coins: Achaea (Argos) -- *BMC Peloponnesus* p. 153, 176; *Hunter* II p. 154, 23  
Bithynia (Bithynion-Claudiopolis) -- *SNGAul* 342, 6929  
Bithynia (Nicaea) -- *SNGAul* 713  
Bithynia (Tios) -- *SNGAul* 1029-30, 1033-7, 7188
58. Π. Λικ. Ουαλ. Αυγ.  
Coins: Bithynia (Nicaea) -- *SNGAul* 714, 7076-7  
Bithynia (Nicomedia) -- *SNGAul* 7135-40  
Bithynia (Prusias ad Hypium) -- *SNGAul* 7169  
Bithynia (Tios) -- *SNGAul* 1031-2
59. Γ. Π. Λικ. Ουαλ. Αυγ.  
Coins: Bithynia (Nicaea) -- *SNGAul* 715-7, 7070-5, 7078-9; *KBM* 169-203

<sup>10</sup>Webb records the reverse legend of this coin as reading, TR P V COS III PP. However, he also provides a plate (pl. 1, 3), and there it seems obviously to read, TR P V COS III PP. Hence, I have preferred what I could see in the photograph to what is printed in the catalogue.

60. Ουαλ. Σεβ.  
Inscriptions: Cilicia -- *JRC* 126
61. Π. Λικ. Ουαλ. Σεβ.  
Coins: Thrace (Byzantium) -- *BMC Thrace* p. 106, 101; *Hunter I* p. 398, 36  
Byzantium & Nicaea -- *Hunter I* p. 398, 1-2  
Bithynia (Juliopolis) -- *SNGAul* 476  
Bithynia (Kretia-Flaviopolis) -- *SNGAul* 529-30  
Bithynia (Nicaea) -- *SNGAul* 7065-6, 7068-9; *KBM* 216-24  
Bithynia (Prusias ad Hypium) -- *SNGAul* 912-4  
Galatia (Αλεγυα) -- *SNGAul* 6191
62. Γ. Π. Λικ. Ουαλ. Σεβ.  
Coins: Bithynia (Nicaea) -- *SNGAul* 718-9, 7067; *KBM* 204-15
63. ὁ μέγιστος καὶ θειότατος δεσπότης ἡμῶν Ουαλ. Σεβ.  
Inscriptions: Asia -- Reinach 1893, 175 no. 8<sup>11</sup>
64. Λικ. Ουαλ. Ευσ. Ευτ. Σεβ.  
Inscriptions: Arabia -- *SEG* 7 (1934) 821
65. Αυτ. Π. Λικ. Ουαλ.  
Coins: Asia (Cyme) -- *SNGAul* 1657
66. Αυτ. Καισ. Ουαλ.  
Coins: Cilicia (Anazarbos) -- *SNGAul* 5514-5
67. Αυτ. Καισ. Π. Λικ.  
Papyri: *P. Oxy.* XXXVI 2763, 17-8<sup>12</sup>

<sup>11</sup>The emperor's name, but for the two first letters, has been erased. Valerian seems most likely, as Reinach suggests. There seems to be enough space for Εὐσεβῆς Εὐτυχῆς as well, but in the absence of a photo, I leave the stone as printed by Reinach.

<sup>12</sup>The last two lines read: (ἔτους) α' Αὐτοκρατόρων Καισάρων / Πουπλίου Λικιννίου. Either the scribe forgot to enter Gallienus (which he did in lines 9 and 10 of the papyrus), or he mistakenly gave the plural of Αὐτοκράτωρ and Καισάρ.

68. Αυτ. Καισ. Π. Ουαλ.  
Coins: Cilicia (Antioch on the Kragos) -- *SNGAul* 5514-5  
Macedonia (Thessalonica) -- *SNGCop Macedonia* 441-2  
Lycia (Isinda) -- *SNGAul* 5048
69. Αυτ. Καισ. Λικ. Ουαλ.  
Coins: Asia (Cyzicus) -- *SNGAul* 1286, 7386
70. Αυτ. Καισ. Π. Λικ. Ουαλ.  
Coins: Macedonia (Amphipolis) -- *BMC Macedonia* p. 60, 137-8; *SNGCop Macedonia* 121  
Bithynia (Kabeira-Neocaesarea) -- *SNGAul* 114-5, 6769-70  
Asia (Cyme) -- *SNGAul* 7703  
Asia (Cyzicus) -- *SNGAul* 7387  
Asia (Ephesus) -- *SNGAul* 1921-7, 7886  
Asia (Hierapolis & Sardis) -- *SNGAul* 3668  
Asia (Hypaipa) -- *SNGAul* 2973  
Asia (Kotiaecion) -- *SNGAul* 3790-2  
Asia (Mytilene) -- *SNGAul* 1759-60  
Asia (Nysa) -- *SNGAul* 3054  
Asia (Pergamum) -- *SNGAul* 1422, 7518  
Asia (Pordosilene) -- *SNGAul* 1767  
Asia (Samos) -- *SNGAul* 2328-9, 8031  
Asia (Smyrna) -- *SNGAul* 2233  
Asia (Tabai) -- *SNGAul* 2728, 8168  
Asia (Temenothyrai) -- *SNGAul* 4008  
Asia (Teos) -- *SNGAul* 2271-2  
Asia (Tralleis) -- *SNGAul* 3295-7  
Lycia (Attaleia) -- *SNGAul* 4632  
Lycia (Perge) -- *SNGAul* 4717  
Lycia (Sagalassos) -- *SNGAul* 5197-5200, 8626  
Lycia (Side) -- *SNGAul* 4835-6  
Cilicia (Anemurion) -- *SNGAul* 5526-9

Cilicia (Iotape) -- *SNGAul* 5583  
 Cilicia (Irenopolis) -- *SNGAul* 5597-8  
 Cilicia (Korykos) -- *SNGAul* 5686  
 Cilicia (Lyrbe) -- *SNGAul* 8697  
 Cilicia (Seleucia on the Kalykadnos) -- *SNGAul* 5852

71. Αυτ. Καισ. Π. Λικ. Ουαλ. Ευσ.  
 Coins: Lycia (Perge) -- *SNGAul* 4715<sup>13</sup>  
 Cilicia (Laerte) -- *SNGAul* 5692<sup>14</sup>
72. Αυτ. Καισ. Ουαλ. Σεβ.  
 Coins: Cilicia (Anazarbos) -- *SNGAul* 5511-3  
 Cilicia (Hierapolis Kastabala) -- *SNGAul* 8681  
 Cilicia (Mopsos) -- *SNGAul* 5747
73. Αυτ. Καισ. Π. Λικ. Ουαλ. Σεβ.  
 Inscriptions: Achaea -- *Syll.*<sup>3</sup> 891  
 Coins: Bithynia (Amisos) -- *SNGAul* 88  
 Asia (Apameia) -- *SNGAul* 3514  
 Asia (Hadrianoi) -- *SNGAul* 1144  
 Lycia (Etenna) -- *SNGAul* 8591  
 Lycia (Perge) -- *SNGAul* 4716, 8521  
 Lycia (Selge) -- *SNGAul* 5323  
 Lycia (Side) -- *SNGAul* 4837-9, 8543-4  
 Cilicia (Adana) -- *SNGAul* 5439  
 Cilicia (Aegeai) -- *SNGAul* 5460  
 Cilicia (Anazarbos) -- *SNGAul* 5507-10  
 Cilicia (Augusta) -- *SNGAul* 5538  
 Cilicia (Kasai) -- *SNGAul* 5613  
 Cilicia (Kolybrassos) -- *SNGAul* 5659-61  
 Cilicia (Laerte) -- *SNGAul* 5693

<sup>13</sup>The obverse legend reads, ΑΥ Μ ΠΟΥ ΛΙΚ ΟΥΑΛΕΡΙΑΝΟΝ Ε.

<sup>14</sup>The obverse legend reads, ΑΥ ΚΑΙ Π ΛΙΚ ΟΥΑΛΕΡΙΑΝΟΝ ΕΥ.

Cilicia (Syedra) -- *SNGAul* 5904  
 Syria (Antioch) -- *BMC Syria* p. 232, 667-8; *SNGCop Syria* 296  
 Arabia (Adraa) -- *BMC Arabia* p. 15, 1

74. Αυτ. Καισ. Π. Λικ. Ουαλ. Ευσ. Σεβ.  
 Coins: Lycia (Aspendus) -- *SNGAul* 4597-4601<sup>15</sup>
75. ὁ παυτὸς ἔθνους δεσπότης Αυτ. Καισ. Π. Λικ. Ουαλ. Ευσ. Ευτ.  
 Inscriptions: Asia -- *AE* (1955) 282
76. Αυτ. Καισ. Π. Λικ. Ουαλ. Ευσ. Ευτ. Σεβ.  
 Coins: Egypt (Alexandria) -- Milne 1933, p. 93; *KAK* 2849 ff.<sup>16</sup>

#### VI. Valerianus, Greek Titles, Group B

77. Αυτ. Καισ. Π. Λικ. Ουαλ. Σεβ. π. π.  
 Coins: Cilicia (Tarsus) -- *SNGAul* 6077-8
78. Αυτ. Καισ. Π. Λικ. Ουαλ. Ευσ. Σεβ. π. π.  
 Coins: Cilicia (Tarsus) -- *SNGAul* 6076

<sup>15</sup>The obverse legends of these coins read, ΑΥ ΚΑΙ ΠΟΥ ΛΙ ΟΥΑΛΕΡΙΑΝΟΣ ΕΥ ΣΒ.

<sup>16</sup>These coins actually read, ΕΥΕΥΣ. This was resolved by Milne 1933, loc. cit. and Vogt 1924, 202 as, Εύ(τυχής) Εύσ(εβής). Giussen, *KAK* ad loc., gives the reading here adopted.

## VII. Gallienus, Latin Titles, Group A

79. *conservator orbis*

Coins: Italy (Rome) -- *RIC* V.1 15<sup>17</sup>

80. *Gall. clementissimus princ.*

Inscriptions: Italy -- *CIL* VI 1106/*ILS* 548

81. *d. n. Gall.*

Inscriptions: Italy -- *CIL* VI 3786a (=31379)<sup>18</sup>

82. *Gall. Aug.*

Inscriptions: Italy -- *CIL* V 7245;<sup>19</sup> *CIL* VI 2809 (=32565)

Coins: Germania Inf. (Cologne ?) -- *HCC* IV p. 36, 1-2

Italy (Rome) -- *RIC* V.1 191, 2 ff; *HCC* IV 2, 7-87, 95-144; *Gnecchi* I p. 6, 5 ff., p. 54, 25-6; III p. 53, 40 ff.

Italy (Milan ?) -- *RIC* V.1 314 ff., 443 ff.; *HCC* IV pp. 36-7, 3-19, 151-62, 164-72

Pannonia Inf. (Sirmium ?) -- *HCC* IV 187-8

Pannonia Inf. (Siscia ?) -- *HCC* IV 182-6

Macedonia (Philippi) -- *SNGCop Macedonia* 311

Syria (Antioch) -- *HCC* IV 190-2, 194-7, 199-212

Papyri: *P. Oxy.* XL1 2951, 11-2<sup>20</sup>

<sup>17</sup>For Gallienus, the *RIC* and *HCC* coins that are underlined are those listed in the sections labeled "Solo Reign" (*RIC* V.1 pp. 130 ff., *HCC* IV pp. 38 ff.) as opposed to the joint reign with Valerian.

<sup>18</sup>—*d. n. Gallien.*—.

<sup>19</sup>This stone is almost completely destroyed, and this is all that remains of what must have been a longer and more detailed inscription.

<sup>20</sup>*Augustus* is restored to this papyrus. See also below 144.

83. *Gall. Aug. n.*

Inscriptions: Narbonensis -- *CIL* XII 171

Alpes -- *CIL* V 7879/*ILS* 551

Italy -- *CIL* XIV 5335

Pannonia Inf. -- *AE* (1965) 9

Dacia -- *CIL* III 1550/*IDR* III 132

84. *sanctissimus Gall. Aug. n.*

Inscriptions: Italy -- *CIL* V 3329/*ILS* 544

85. *victoriosissimus Gall. Aug.*

Inscriptions: Italy -- Manzella 1981, 135 no. 12<sup>21</sup>

86. *d. n. Gall. Aug.*

Inscriptions: Italy -- *CIL* X 4557; Alföldy 1984b, no. 149

Pannonia Inf. -- *CIL* III 3228/*ILS* 546

Dalmatia -- *CIL* III 3022

87. *Gall. Aug. Germ.*

Coins: Lugdunensis (Lugdunum) -- *RIC* V.1 52

88. *Gall. Aug. Germ. restitutor Galliarum*

Coins: Lugdunensis (Lugdunum) -- *RIC* V.1 34

89. *P. Lic. Gall. nob. Caes. Aug.*

Inscriptions: Numidia -- *CIL* VIII 10132; *AE* (1967) 584

90. *d. n. Gall. Inv. Aug.*

Inscriptions: Italy -- *CIL* VI 31378a/*ILS* 549; *CIL* X 5828, XI 3092

91. *Inv. Gall. exsuperantissimus Aug. protector imperii Romani omniumque salutis auctor*

Inscriptions: Italy -- *CIL* XIV 5334

<sup>21</sup>The stone is badly damaged, and the reading highly conjectural.



92. *d. n. Gall. Inv. Aug. ac super omnes retro principes fortissimus*  
Inscriptions: Italy -- *CIL* XI 3091
93. *Gall. Pl. Aug.*  
Coins: Italy (Milan ?) -- *RIC* V.1 446, 490, 496, 498, 508b, 536  
Italy (Rome) -- *RIC* V.1 106, 14, 35; *Gneccchi* I p. 7, 10, p. 52, 1
94. *Gall. Pl. Fel. Aug.*  
Coins: Lugdunensis (Lugdunum) -- *RIC* V.1 2 ff.  
Germania Inf. (Cologne ?) -- *HCC* IV 45-8, 52, 54-8  
Italy (Milan ?) -- *RIC* V.1 430, 547, 445, 488, 530a, 533; *HCC* IV 163  
Italy (Rome) -- *RIC* V.1 27 ff., 142, 419; *HCC* IV 5; *Gneccchi* II p. 107, 8;  
III p. 53, 41  
Syria (Antioch ?) -- *HCC* IV 189
95. *Gall. Pl. Fel. Aug. Germ.*  
Coins: Italy (Rome) -- *RIC* V.1 105, 136a, 187, 285, 149
96. *Gall. Pl. Fel. Aug. optimus princ.*  
Coins: East (uncertain) -- *RIC* V.1 659
97. *Gall. Pl. Fel. Aug. restitutor Galliarum*  
Coins: Lugdunensis (Lugdunum) -- *RIC* V.1 29, 33, 35  
Germania Inf. (Cologne ?) -- *HCC* IV 53
98. *d. n. Gall. Pl. Fel. Inv. Aug.*  
Inscriptions: Pannonia Sup. -- *AE* (1936) 53/*CIMRM* 1585/*AIJug* 313
99. *Imp. Gall.*  
Coins: Macedonia (Coela) -- *BMC Thrace* p. 193, 13-6; *Hunter* I p. 386, 2-3;  
*SNGCop Thrace* 884-5
100. *Imp. Lic. Gall.*  
Coins: Asia (Alexandria Troas) -- *SNGAul* 1485-6, 7575-7  
Asia (Parion) -- *SNGAul* 1345, 7449

101. *Imp. Gall. Aug.*  
Inscriptions: Italy -- *AE* (1945) 57  
Coins: Lugdunensis (Lugdunum) -- *RIC* V.1 9 ff.  
Italy (Milan ?) -- *RIC* V.1 304, 373 ff., 442 ff.; *HCC* IV 173-4  
Milan/Viminacium (?) -- *HCC* IV 62-3  
Italy (Rome) -- *RIC* V.1 108, 267, 8 ff.; *HCC* IV 4, 40-1, 4, 88-94, 149-  
50; *Gneccchi* I p. 6, 3 ff., I p. 52, 3-4; II p. 107, 9  
Macedonia (Dium) -- *SNGCop Macedonia* 160  
Asia (Alexandria Troas) -- *SNGAul* 1487  
Asia (Parion) -- *SNGAul* 1346  
Syria (Antioch ?) -- *HCC* IV 66
102. *Imp. Lic. Gall. Aug.*  
Coins: East (uncertain) -- *RIC* V.1 438
103. *Imp. P. Lic. Gall. Aug.*  
Coins: East (uncertain) -- *RIC* V.1 439
104. *d. n. Imp. Gall. Aug.*  
Inscriptions: Italy -- *CIL* X 3836
105. *Imp. Gall. Aug. Germ.*  
Coins: Italy (Milan ?) -- *RIC* V.1 496a, 535  
Italy (Rome) -- *RIC* V.1 103, 196, 269
106. *Imp. Gall. Aug. restitutor Galliarum*  
Coins: Lugdunensis (Lugdunum) -- *RIC* V.1 28, 31
107. *magnus et Inv. Imp. Gall. Germ. Aug.*  
Inscriptions: Italy -- *CIL* V 856/*ILS* 547/*Alföldy* 1984b, no. 74
108. *Imp. P. Lic. Gall. Inv. Aug.*  
Inscriptions: Pannonia Inf. -- *CIL* III 3424/*ILS* 545

109. *Imp. Gall. Pi. Aug.*  
 Coins: Lugdunensis (Lugdunum) -- *RIC* V.1 12, 21, 24, 40, 47  
 Germania Inf. (Cologne ?) -- *HCC* IV 42-3  
 Italy (Milan ?) -- *RIC* V.1 302, 305, 375 ff., 482, 497, 509, 511a, 512, 544, 546  
 Italy (Rome) -- *Gneccchi* III p. 54, 54  
 Milan/Viminacium (?) -- *HCC* IV 60-1  
 Galatia (Antioch) -- *SNGAul* 4984-522
110. *Imp. Gall. Pi. Aug. princ. iuv.*  
 Coins: Lugdunensis (Lugdunum) -- *RIC* V.1 26
111. *Imp. Gall. Pi. Aug. restitutor Galliarum*  
 Coins: Lugdunensis (Lugdunum) -- *RIC* V.1 27, 30  
 Germania Inf. (Cologne ?) -- *HCC* IV 44
112. *Imp. Gall. Pi. Fel. Aug.*  
 Coins: Italy (Milan ?) -- *RIC* V.1 303, 374 ff., 505, 511, 531; *HCC* IV 179-81  
 Milan/Viminacium (?) -- *HCC* IV 59  
 Italy (Rome) -- *RIC* V.1 110-1, 139, 156, 227, 17, 45, 136, 139-41, 147, 190, 218, 382, 384-5, 390, 392 ff.; *HCC* IV 3; *Gneccchi* I p. 6, 2, p. 8, 19, p. 52, 2, 5 ff.; II p. 106, 2 ff.; III p. 52, 37 ff.  
 Syria (Antioch) -- *HCC* IV 65  
 East (uncertain) -- *RIC* V.1 441, 443, 451
113. *Imp. d. n. Gall. Pi. Fel. Aug.*  
 Inscriptions: Africa -- *AE* (1914) 182/*ILAT* 566

<sup>22</sup>These coins display an odd mixture of Greek and Latin, with the obverse legends, IMP GALIHNVS PIVS AYT.

114. *Imp. Gall. Pi. Fel. Aug. Germ.*  
 Coins: Italy (Rome) -- *RIC* V.1 81 ff., 318, 389, 433;<sup>23</sup> *HCC* IV 20-2; *Gneccchi* I p. 52, 8, p. 53, 15; II p. 106, 1 ff.; III p. 53, 45 ff.
115. *Imp. Gall. Pi. Fel. Aug. Germ. max.*  
 Coins: Italy (Milan ?) -- *RIC* V.1 382
116. *Imp. Gall. Pi. Fel. Aug. optimus princ.*  
 Coins: Italy (Rome) -- *RIC* V.1 393; *Gneccchi* III p. 54, 53
117. *Imp. Gall. Pi. Fel. Aug. Germ. restitutor orbis*  
 Coins: Italy (Rome) -- *RIC* V.1 165, 236; *HCC* IV 39
118. *Inv. Imp. Pi. Fel. Gall. Aug.*  
 Inscriptions: Moesia Sup. -- *EE* ii 1057/*CIL* III 8193/*ILS* 550/*IMS* VI 23
119. *magnus et Inv. Imp. Gall. Pi. Fel. Aug.*  
 Inscriptions: Italy -- *CIL* XIV 4058/*ILS* 6224
120. *Imp. Caes. Lic. Gall.*  
 Coins: Asia (Alexandria Troas) -- *SNGAul* 1484, 7574
121. *Imp. Caes. P. Lic. Eg. Gall.*  
 Coins: Galatia (Eikonion) -- *SNGAul* 5393-4
122. *Imp. Caes. P. M. (sic) Lic. Ain. (sic) Gall.*  
 Coins: Galatia (Antioch) -- *SNGAul* 8586
123. *Imp. Caes. P. Lic. Val. (sic) Gall.*  
 Inscriptions: Hispania -- *CIL* ■ 3831/*ELST* 182<sup>24</sup>

<sup>23</sup>Webb (*RIC* V.1 p. 66) indicates that some of these coins read G M rather than GERM. However, he does not always make clear in the catalogue which are which. Hence, I have listed only those that clearly have GERM MAX under that rubric.

<sup>24</sup>The stone is now lost, and the provenance unknown. Three other inscriptions call Gallienus P. Licinius Valerianus Gallicenus (nos. 160, 350, 377). I suspect that this stone comes from the same area.

124. *magnus et Inv. Imp. Caes. P. Lic. Gall.*  
Inscriptions: Italy -- *CIL* V 5030/Alföldy 1984b, 256<sup>25</sup>
125. *Imp. Caes. Gall. Aug.*  
Inscriptions: Italy -- *CIL* VI 1111/König 1981, 8  
Coins: Italy (Rome) -- *RIC* V.1 209, 215, 217, 234, 239, 250, 254, 264, 268, 320, 330; *Gnecchi* I p. 8, 17  
Moesia Sup. (Viminacium) -- *SNGCop Thrace* 175  
Bithynia (Sinope) -- *SNGAul* 240-1
126. *Imp. Caes. P. Lic. Gall. Aug.*  
Inscriptions: Italy -- *CIL* IX 4961  
Coins: Italy (Milan ?) -- *RIC* V.1 288-93, 295, 297-301  
Italy (Rome) -- *RIC* V.1 69-72, 74 ff.; *HCC* IV 2-12, 23-35; *Gnecchi* I p. 53, 16; III p. 53, 39 ff.  
Syria (Heliopolis) -- *BMC Syria* p. 294, 29; *Hunter* III p. 221, 8; *SNGCop Syria* 442.4  
Phoenicia (Berytus) -- *BMC Phoenicia* pp. 91-2, 264-72; *Hunter* III p. 242, 38; *SNGCop Phoenicia* 128-9  
Phoenicia (Ptolemais-Ace) -- *BMC Phoenicia* p. 138, 50<sup>26</sup>  
Phoenicia (Tyre) -- *BMC Phoenicia* pp. 291-5, 474-93; *Hunter* III p. 272, 66  
East (uncertain) -- *HCC* IV 67
127. *Imp. Caes. P. Lic. Eg. Gall. Aug.*  
Inscriptions: Macedonia -- *AE* (1934) 193
128. *Imp. Caes. Gall. Aug. conservator pietatis*  
Coins: Italy (Rome) -- *RIC* V.1 171
129. *Imp. Caes. P. Lic. Gall. Aug. Germ.*  
Coins: Italy (Rome) -- *RIC* V.1 230

<sup>25</sup>*Magnus et Invictus* / [Im]p[eratori] Caes[ar]is / P[ub]l[io] Lic[ini]o / Gallieno (?) / —.

<sup>26</sup>Though the obverse legend of the coin is damaged, this seems the correct reading.

130. *Imp. Caes. P. Lic. Gall. Aug. Germ. max.*  
Coins: Italy (Rome) -- *RIC* V.1 142
131. *Imp. Caes. P. Lic. Gall. Aug. pacator orbis*  
Coins: Italy (Milan ?) -- *RIC* V.1 294  
Viminacium/Antioch (?) -- *HCC* IV 64
132. *Inv. d. n. Imp. Caes. Lic. Gall. Aug.*  
Inscriptions: Africa -- *AE* (1901) 108/*CIL* VIII 24077
133. *d. n. Imp. Caes. P. Lic. Gall. Inv. Pi. Fel. Aug.*  
Inscriptions: Mauretania Caes. -- *AE* (1920) 108
134. *Imp. Caes. P. Lic. Gall. Aug. restitutor generis humani*  
Coins: Italy (Milan ?) -- *RIC* V.1 296
135. *Imp. Caes. P. Lic. Gall. Aug. restitutor orbis*  
Coins: Italy (Rome) -- *RIC* V.1 91, 234
136. *Imp. Caes. P. Lic. Gall. Aug. restitutor orientis*  
Coins: East (uncertain) -- *RIC* V.1 448
137. *Imp. Caes. Gall. Pi. Aug.*  
Coins: Galatia (Antioch) -- *SNGAul* 4986
138. *Imp. Caes. P. Gall. Pi. Fel. Aug.*  
Coins: Italy (Rome) -- *RIC* V.1 138
139. *Imp. Caes. P. Lic. Gall. Pi. Fel. Aug.*  
Inscriptions: Italy -- *CIL* XI 3576, 1177b;<sup>27</sup> Colini 1939, 137 nos. 12-3

<sup>27</sup>*Imp[eratori] Caes[ar]is P[ub]l[io] Lic[ini]o / Gallieno Pio Fel[ic]i Augusto ---.*

- Coins: Lugdunensis (Lugdunum) -- *RIC* V.1 1  
Italy (Rome) -- *RIC* V.1 73, 80 ff., 148; *HCC* IV 14-9, 36-8; *Gnecchi* I p. 53, 21; II p. 106, 3 ff.; III p. 52, 38  
Syria (Heliopolis) -- *BMC Syria* p. 295, 30-1; *SNGCop Syria* 441  
East (uncertain) -- *HCC* IV 68-73
140. *Imp. Caes. P. Lic. Eg. Gall. Pi. Fel. Aug.*  
Inscriptions: Numidia -- *AE* (1971) 508
141. *Imp. Caes. P. Lic. Gall. Pi. Fel. Aug. princ. iuv.*  
Inscriptions: Lugdunensis -- *CIL* XIII 1644/König 1981, 24<sup>28</sup>
142. *Imp. Caes. P. Lic. Gall. Pi. Fel. Aug. restitutor orbis*  
Coins: Italy (Rome) -- *RIC* V.1 164
143. *Imp. Caes. P. Lic. Gall. Germ. max. Pers. max. Pi. Fel. Aug.*  
Papyri: *P. Oxy.* XLI 2951, 16-7<sup>29</sup>
144. *Imp. Caes. P. Lic. Gall. Inv. Pi. Fel. Aug.*  
Inscriptions: Narbonensis -- *CIL* XII 1352/König 1981, 15  
Italy -- *CIL* V 7246  
Africa -- *IRT* 458
145. *Imp. Caes. Gall. Germ. Pi. Fel. Inv. Aug.*  
Inscriptions: Raetia -- *CIL* III 5933/*IBR* 202/*RIBW* 30/König 1981, 25<sup>30</sup>

<sup>28</sup>The inscription breaks after, *principi iu[venantis]*—.

<sup>29</sup>See above 82.

<sup>30</sup>[*Imp[erator] Caes[ar] Gall[enus] / Germanicu[s] P[ius] F[elix] / Invictus Aug[ustus]*]—.

146. *Imp. Caes. P. Lic. Gall. Pi. Fel. Inv. Aug. restitutor orbis*  
Inscriptions: Alpes -- *AE* (1977) 527<sup>31</sup>

#### VIII. Gallienus, Latin Titles, Group B

147. *Gall. Aug. Germ. max. tr. pot.*  
Coins: Italy (Rome) -- *RIC* V.1 200
148. *Imp. Gall. Pi. Fel. Aug. tr. pot. cos. p. p.*  
Coins: Italy (Rome) -- *RIC* V.1 67
149. *victoriosissimus Imp. Gall. Pi. Fel. Inv. Aug. pont. max. Germ. max. Parth. max. p. p. procos...d. n. Gall. Inv. Aug. ac redintegrator coloniae Falisconum*  
Inscriptions: Italy -- *CIL* VI 1108/*CIL* XI 3090a/Manzella 1981, 134 no. 113<sup>2</sup>
150. *rector orbis et d. terrarum ac redintegrator coloniae Falisconum Imp. Gall. Pi. Fel. Inv. Aug. pont. max. Germ. max. Parth. max. p. p. procos...d. n. Gall. Inv. Aug.*  
Inscriptions: Italy -- *CIL* XI 3089
151. *Imp. Caes. P. Lic. Gall. pont. max. tr. pot. procos. p. p.*  
Inscriptions: Numidia -- *CIL* VIII 22275

<sup>31</sup>[*Imp(erator) Caes(ar) P(ublius) Lic(inus) Gallie(nus) / [P]ius Felix Invi(ctus) [August]us / [restituto]r orbis.*

<sup>32</sup>Lines 2 ff. of this stone read, [...*victoriosissimo / [Imp(erator) Gallieno Pio Felici Invicto A]ug(usto) p(ontifici) m(aximo) G[erm(anico) max(imo) Parth(ico) max(imo) p(atr) p(atr)iae] proco(n)s(ul) et Corneliae] Saloni[nae Augustae co(niugi d(omini) n(ostri) Gallieni Invi]cti Aug(usti) / [ac redintegratoris coloniae Falisco]rum.*

152. *Imp. Caes. P. Lic. Gall. Aug. fortissimus princ. Germ. pont. max. tr. pot. (?) imp. (?) cos. (?) p. p. procos.*  
Inscriptions: Numidia -- *AE* (1971) 509<sup>33</sup>
153. *Imp. Caes. Lic. Gall. Pi. Fel. Aug. pont. max.*  
Inscriptions: Italy -- *EE* viii 239<sup>34</sup>
154. *Imp. Caes. P. Lic. Gall. Pi. Fel. Aug. pont. max. tr. pot.*  
Inscriptions: Germania Sup. -- *CIL* XIII 9091/*RGAI* 282/König 1981, 28/*CIL* XVII 616<sup>35</sup>
155. *Imp. Caes. P. Lic. Gall. Pi. Fel. Aug. pont. max. tr. pot. p. p. cos.*  
Inscriptions: Dalmatia -- *CIL* III 1705
156. *Imp. Caes. P. Lic. Eg. Gall. Pi. Inv. Fel. Aug. pont. max. Parth. max.*  
Inscriptions: Africa -- *IRT* 939a<sup>36</sup>
157. *Imp. Caes. P. Lic. Eg. Gall. Inv. Pi. Fel. Aug. pont. max. Germ. max. tr. pot.*  
Inscriptions: Numidia -- *CIL* VIII 22464<sup>37</sup>
158. *Imp. Caes. P. Lic. Gall. Pi. Fel. Inv. Aug. pont. max. tr. pot. p. p. cos. procos.*  
Inscriptions: Germania Sup. -- *CIL* XIII 9086/*RGAI* 281/König 1981, 29/*CIL* XVII 621

<sup>33</sup>*[Imp(eratoris) Caes(aris) P(ubli) Licin(i) Gallieni Aug(usti) / for]tissim(i) princ(ips) Germanic(i) p(ontifici) m(aximi) trib(unicia) p(otestate) ... imp...cos...p.p. procos].*

<sup>34</sup>The stone breaks after, *pontifex maximus*.

<sup>35</sup>*[Imp(eratori) C(ae)l(s)ar(i) P(ublio) L(ici)no / Gall(i)eno P(ia) F(elici) / A(u)g(usto) pon(t)ific(i) / m(aximo) trib(unicia) p(ot)estate]---*. Walser (*CIL* XVII ad loc.) restores also *Inv(ictio)* to the end of line 2.

<sup>36</sup>*imp(eratori) Caes(ar) / P(ublio) Licinio GENA (sic) / Gallenio (sic) / Pio Invict(o) / PIP (sic) Aug(usto) Pio / ANMOX (sic) Par(thico) / [max(imo)---*

<sup>37</sup>The stone breaks after mention of the tribunician power.

159. *Imp. Caes. P. Lic. Val. (sic) Gall. Germ. Inv. Pi. Fel. Aug. pont. max. tr. pot. cos. procos. p. p.*  
Inscriptions: Lusitania -- *ILER* 1189/*HAEPig* 1-3 (1950-52) 468<sup>38</sup>
160. *Imp. Caes. P. Lic. Gall. Pi. Fel. Inv. Aug. Germ. max. Dac. max. pont. max. tr. pot. (?) cos. (?) procos. p. p.*  
Inscriptions: Africa -- *CIL* VIII 1430<sup>39</sup>

#### IX. Gallienus, Latin Titles, Group C

161. *Imp. Caes. P. Lic. Gall. Pi. Fel. Aug. Germ. max. III*  
Coins: Italy (Rome) -- *RIC* V.1 141<sup>40</sup>
162. *Gall. Aug. Germ. V*  
Coins: Lugdunensis (Lugdunum) -- *RIC* V.1 16, 43
163. *Gall. Aug. Germ. V Germ. max. V*  
Coins: Lugdunensis (Lugdunum) -- *RICV*.1 19
164. *Gall. Pi. Fel. Aug. Germ. max. V*  
Coins: Lugdunensis (Lugdunum) -- *RIC* V.1 18, 60  
Germania Inf. (Cologne ?) -- *HCC* IV 49-51  
Italy (Rome) -- *Grecchi* III p. 56, 84

<sup>38</sup>*Imp(erator) is restored here. This stone very likely had Valerian also originally. Three other stones also call Gallienus, P. Licinius Valerianus Gallienus (123, 350, 377). The nomenclature is not correct.*

<sup>39</sup>*[Imp(eratori) Caes(ar) P(ublio) Licinio G(j)allieno {Pio Felici Invicto Augusto / Germanico maximo} Dacico m(aximo) p(ontifici) m(aximo) trib(unicia) p(otestate) ? co(n)s(uli) ? proco(n)s(uli) p(atr) p(atr)ae].*

<sup>40</sup>I have included the several examples with *Germanicus maximus* and an iteration number here, rather than with Group B above, even though they will not be very helpful in determining chronology. They are all listed together at the start of this group (nos.161-5).

165. *Imp. Gall. Pi. Aug. Germ. max. V*  
Coins: Lugdunensis (Lugdunum) -- *RIC* V.1 17
166. *Gall. Aug. pont. max. tr. pot. cos. II*  
Coins: Pannonia Sup. (Siscia) -- *RIC* V.1 548
167. *Imp. Gall. Aug. cos. II*  
Coins: Italy (Rome) -- *RIC* V.1 200
168. *Imp. Gall. Pl. Fel. Aug. cos. II*  
Coins: Italy (Rome) -- *Gnecchi* I p. 7, 15
169. *Imp. Gall. Pi. Fel. Aug. tr. pot. cos. II*  
Coins: Italy (Rome) -- *RIC* V.1 68
170. *Imp. Caes. P. Lic. Gall. Aug. pont. max. tr. pot. II cos. p. p.*  
Coins: Italy (Rome) -- *RIC* V.1 115  
Moesia Sup. (Viminacium) -- *RIC* V.1 287
171. *Imp. Caes. P. Lic. Eg. Gall. Pi. Fel. Inv. Aug. pont. max. tr. pot. II cos. procos. p. p.*  
Inscriptions: Italy -- Sigismondi 1952, 119
172. *Imp. Caes. P. Lic. Gall. Pi. Fel. Aug. pont. max. tr. pot. cos. II p. p.*  
Inscriptions: Italy -- *CIL* V 1762/Alföldy 1984b, 111
173. *Imp. Caes. P. Lic. Eg. Gall. Pi. Fel. Aug. pont. max. tr. pot. (?) p. p. cos. II procos.*  
Inscriptions: Italy -- *CIL* V 8009
174. *Imp. Caes. P. Lic. Gall. Aug. pont. max. tr. pot. II cos. II p. p.*  
Coins: Italy (Rome) -- *RIC* V.1 116

175. *Imp. Gall. Aug. cos. II pont. max. tr. pot. II cos. III p. p.*  
Coins: Italy (Rome) -- *RIC* V.1 65<sup>41</sup>
176. *Imp. Gall. Aug. pont. max. tr. pot. III cos.*  
Coins: Italy (Rome) -- *RIC* V.1 66
177. *Imp. Caes. P. Lic. Eg. Gall. Pi. Fel. Aug. pont. max. tr. pot. III cos. procos. p. p.*  
Inscriptions: Italy -- *CIL* XI 4568/*ILS* 536
178. *Imp. Caes. P. Lic. Eg. Gall. Pi. Fel. Aug. Germ. max. pont. max. tr. pot. III cos. procos. p. p.*  
Inscriptions: Africa -- *CIL* VIII 766 (= 12229)<sup>42</sup>
179. *Imp. Caes. P. Lic. Eg. Gall. Pi. Fel. Aug. pont. max. tr. pot. III cos. II p. p.*  
Inscriptions: Italy -- *CIL* X 5176
180. *Imp. Caes. P. Lic. Gall. Pi. Fel. Aug. pont. max. p. p. tr. pot. III cos. II procos.*  
Inscriptions: Mauretania Ting. -- *ILM* 76/*LAM* II 406
181. *Imp. Caes. P. Lic. Gall. Inv. Pi. Fel. Aug. pont. max. Germ. max. tr. pot. III cos. II p. p. procos.*  
Inscriptions: Numidia -- *CIL* VIII 2381/König 1981, 2<sup>43</sup>
182. *Imp. Caes. P. Lic. Gall. Aug. pont. max. tr. pot. IV cos. II p. p.*  
Coins: Italy (Rome) -- *RIC* V.1 118<sup>44</sup>

<sup>41</sup>As regards the dating formula on this coin, Webb ad loc. notes, "The dating of this coin is blundered, but COS III is clear." Still, his only authority for the coin is *Cohen*, hence there may be an error in the original reading of the legend.

<sup>42</sup>Another inscription from Mauretania Caesarensis (*CIL* VIII 9040) was originally attributed to Aurelian, but seems rather to attest Gallienus (Deininger 1970, 121-4) as *tr. pot. III cos.*

<sup>43</sup>The consular iteration is here restored.

<sup>44</sup>The die-cutters have here made a mistake. The coin should read COS III. Cf. Webb, *RIC* ad loc. and *Cohen* no. 803.

183. *Imp. Caes. P. Lic. Gall. Pi. Fel. Aug. pont. max. tr. pot. IV cos. II procos.*  
Inscriptions: Africa -- *CIL VIII 959* (=12441)
184. *Imp. Caes. P. Lic. Gall. Pi. Fel. Aug. F. (?) cos. III p. p.*  
Inscriptions: Italy -- *CIL X 5804*
185. *Imp. Caes. P. Lic. Gall. Pi. Fel. Aug. pont. max. tr. pot. cos. III procos.*  
Inscriptions: Dacia -- *CIL III 1577* (=8010)/*IDR III 77*
186. *Imp. Caes. Lic. Gall. Pi. Fel. Aug. Germ. max. pont. max. tr. pot. cos. III p. p. procos.*  
Inscriptions: Africa -- *CIL VIII 1018*<sup>45</sup>
187. *Imp. Caes. P. Lic. Gall. Pi. Fel. Aug. imp. VIII cos. III p. p.*  
Inscriptions: Italy -- *ADE 12*
188. *Imp. Caes. P. Lic. Eg. Gall. Aug. tr. pot. III cos. III*  
Inscriptions: Italy -- *CIL IX 2589*
189. *Imp. Caes. P. Lic. Gall. Pi. Fel. Aug. pont. max. tr. pot. III cos. III p. p.*  
Coins: Italy (Rome) -- *RIC V.1 117*
190. *Imp. Gall. Aug. Germ. pont. max. tr. pot. IV cos. III p. p.*  
Coins: Italy (Rome) -- *RIC V.1 120*
191. *Imp. Gall. Pi. Fel. Aug. Germ. pont. max. tr. pot. IV cos. III p. p.*  
Coins: Italy (Rome) -- *RIC V.1 119a*
192. *Imp. Caes. P. Lic. Gall. Pi. Fel. Aug. pont. max. tr. pot. IV cos. III p. p.*  
Coins: Italy (Rome) -- *RIC V.1 119; HCC IV 13*

<sup>45</sup>*Imp(eratori) Caes(ar)i Licinio Gallieno / Pio Felici [Augusto] G[er]m[anico] max[imo] p[ont]if[ic]i max[imo] / trib[un]icia p[ro]t[est]ate co[n]s[ul]i III [patri] patriae proco[n]s[ul]i.*

193. *d. n. Imp. Caes. P. Lic. Gall. Pi. Fel. et Inv. Aug. Dac. max. Germ. max. tr. pot. IV cos. III imp. III p. p. procos.*  
Inscriptions: Baetica -- *CIL II 2200/ILS 552*<sup>46</sup>
194. *Gall. Pi. Fel. Aug. pont. max. tr. pot. V cos. III*  
Coins: Lugdunensis (Lugdunum) -- *RIC V.1 5*
195. *Imp. Gall. Aug. cos. II pont. max. tr. pot. V cos. III p. p.*  
Coins: Italy (Rome) -- *HCC IV 1; Gneccchi I p. 7, 12; III p. 55, 66*<sup>47</sup>
196. *Imp. Gall. Pi. Fel. Aug. Germ. pont. max. tr. pot. V cos. III p. p.*  
Coins: Italy (Rome) -- *RIC V.1 121, 201, 259*
197. *Gall. Aug. pont. max. tr. pot. VII cos.*  
Coins: Italy (Milan?) -- *RIC V.1 309*
198. *Gall. Aug. pont. max. tr. pot. VII cos. p. p.*  
Coins: Italy (Milan?) -- *RIC V.1 18*  
Pannonia Sup (Siscia) -- *RIC V.1 549*
198. *Imp. Gall. Aug. pont. max. tr. pot. VII cos.*  
Coins: Italy (Milan?) -- *RIC V.1 308, 312, 453, 452, 460; HCC IV 175, 177*
199. *Imp. Gall. Aug. Germ. pont. max. tr. pot. VII cos.*  
Coins: Italy (Milan?) -- *HCC IV 176*
200. *Imp. Gall. Pi. Aug. pont. max. tr. pot. VII cos.*  
Coins: Italy (Milan?) -- *RIC V.1 307, 311, 313, 454, 456, 459*

<sup>46</sup>The dating of this stone, as it stands, is impossible. Christol 1975, 817 has suggested the emendation *tr. pot. VII*, which would be compatible with *cos. III*.

<sup>47</sup>Here, obviously, the consular iterations on the obverses of these coins are not in accord with those on the reverses. This poses, however, no problem for chronology. See also below 213.

201. *Imp. Gall. Pi. Aug. Germ. pont. max. tr. pot. VII cos.*  
Coins: Italy (Rome) -- *RIC* V.1 124
202. *Imp. Gall. Pi. Fel. Aug. pont. max. tr. pot. VII cos.*  
Coins: Italy (Milan?) -- *RIC* V.1 306, 310, 455, 458
203. *Imp. Gall. Pi. Fel. Aug. Germ. pont. max. tr. pot. VII cos.*  
Coins: Italy (Milan?) -- *RIC* V.1 461
204. *Gall. Pi. Fel. Aug. pont. max. tr. pot. VII cos. III p. p.*  
Coins: Italy (Rome) -- *RIC* V.1 151
205. *Gall. Pi. Fel. Aug. tr. pot. VIII cos. III*  
Coins: Italy (Rome) -- *RIC* V.1 345
206. *Gall. Aug. cos. IV p. p.*  
Coins: Italy (Rome) -- *RIC* V.1 150; *HCC* IV 6
207. *Imp. Gall. Pi. Fel. Aug. cos. IV*  
Coins: Italy (Rome) -- *RIC* V.1 90<sup>48</sup>
208. *Gall. Pi. Fel. Aug. pont. max. tr. pot. V cos. IV p. p.*  
Coins: Lugdunensis (Lugdunum) -- *RIC* V.1 6<sup>49</sup>  
Italy (Rome) -- *RIC* V.1 122

<sup>48</sup>Webb, ad loc. notes that the CHIII, which appears on the obverse according to *Cohen* (no. 884), is possibly to be read as GM, i.e. *Germanicus maximus*. See the note to the same effect in *Cohen*.

<sup>49</sup>For this reverse legend, see also *RIC* V.1 p. 118, 22. Webb realizes that the tribunician and consular iterations are inconsistent. It should be noted, however, that the reading of this coin goes back to Banduri, hence is not altogether reliable.

209. *Gall. Pi. Fel. Aug. pont. max. tr. pot. VII cos. IV p. p.*<sup>50</sup>  
Coins: Lugdunensis (Lugdunum?) -- *RIC* V.1 7-8  
Italy (Rome?) -- *RIC* V.1 152
210. *d. n. Imp. Caes. Gall. Pi. Fel. Aug. pont. max. Germ. max. tr. pot. VIII cos. IV p. p.*  
*procos.*  
Inscriptions: Africa -- *AE* (1930) 42/*ILT* 652
211. *Gall. Aug. pont. max. tr. pot. IX cos. IV p. p.*  
Coins: Italy (Rome) -- *RIC* V.1 153  
Italy (Milan) -- *RIC* V.1 462
212. *Imp. Gall. Pi. Fel. Aug. pont. max. tr. pot. IX cos. IV p. p.*  
Coins: Italy (Rome) -- *RIC* V.1 19
213. *Imp. Gall. Aug. cos. V pont. max. tr. pot. IX cos. IV p. p.*  
Coins: Italy (Rome) -- *RIC* V.1 4;<sup>51</sup> *Gnecchi* I p. 7, 13
214. *Gall. Aug. pont. max. tr. pot. X cos. IV p. p.*  
Coins: Italy (Rome) -- *RIC* V.1 20, 154
215. *Imp. Caes. P. Lic. Eg. Gall. Germ. Pi. Fel. Aug. pont. max. Germ. max. tr. pot. X cos. IV p. p. procos.*  
Inscriptions: Africa -- *CIL* VIII 26558 (cf. 1505 & 15510)/*ILAT* 530
216. *Imp. Caes. P. Lic. Gall. Germ. Pi. Fel. Aug. p. p. pont. max. tr. pot. X imp. X cos. IV des.*  
*V procos.*  
Inscriptions: Africa -- *CIL* VIII 1487/*ILS* 541

<sup>50</sup>For both nos. 7 and 152, Webb cites *Cohen* nos. 831 and 832. The authority of no. 8 is the Bibliothèque Nationale.

<sup>51</sup>Webb, ad loc. notes that the obverse and reverse consular iterations of this coin are inconsistent, but offers no solution. We are dealing, presumably, with a die-cutter's error. Or it may be that an earlier obverse type was used with a later reverse type. I might add that Webb's authority for this coin (*Cohen* no. 834) reports the obverse as reading COS II. See also above n.



217. *Imp. Gall. Aug. cos. V*  
 Inscriptions: Italy -- *CIL* XIV 5357  
 Cappadocia -- Mitford 1974, 169 no. 5  
 Coins: Italy (Rome) -- *RIC* V.1 114a,<sup>52</sup> 1-2, 5, 135, 381; *HCC* IV 1; *Gneccchi* I p. 6, 1 ff., p. 54, 28; II p. 108, 25; III p. 53, 42
218. *Imp. Gall. Pi. Fel. Aug. cos. V*  
 Coins: Italy (Rome) -- *RIC* V.1 6<sup>53</sup>
219. *Imp. Gall. Pi. Fel. Aug. pont. max. tr. pot. imp. VI cos. V p. p.*  
 Coins: Italy (Rome) -- *RIC* V.1 3; *Gneccchi* I p. 7, 11
- 219a. *Imp. Gall. Pi. Fel. Aug. pont. max. tr. pot. X p. p. cos. V*  
 Coins: Italy (Rome) -- *Gneccchi* II p. 109, 31
220. *Imp. Caes. P. Lic. Eg. Gall. Inv. Pi. Fel. Aug. pont. max. Parth. max. Germ. tr. pot. X cos. V p. p. procos.*  
 Inscriptions: Africa -- *IRT* 956
221. *Gall. Pi. Fel. Aug. pont. max. tr. pot. XII cos. V p. p.*  
 Coins: East (uncertain) -- *RIC* V.1 600
222. *Imp. Caes. P. Lic. Gall. Pi. Fel. Inv. Aug. Germ. Pers. max. pont. max. tr. pot. XII cos. V p. p. procos.*  
 Inscriptions: Africa -- *AE* (1895) 17/*AE* (1902) 46/*CIL* VIII 22765/*ILS* 8923
223. *Imp. Caes. P. Lic. Eg. Gall. Pi. Fel. Aug. Germ. max. Dac. max. Pers. max. pont. max. tr. pot. XII imp. cos. V p. p. procos.*  
 Inscriptions: Africa -- *IRT* 927

<sup>52</sup>This coin is listed in *RIC* as reading COS II. For the corrected reading see, A. Alföldi, *ZfN* 38 (1928) 201.

<sup>53</sup>*Cohen* (no. 1200) reports this coin as reading COS II. Webb, ad loc. claims that this is an error, and corrects to COS V.

224. *Gall. Aug. pont. max. tr. pot. XII cos. VI p. p.*  
 Coins: Italy (Rome) -- *HCC* IV 145; *Gneccchi* III p. 55, 67, 72  
 East (uncertain) -- *RIC* V.1 601
225. *Imp. Caes. P. Lic. Gall. Aug. Germ. pont. max. tr. pot. XIII imp. X cos. VI p. p. procos.*  
 Inscriptions: Africa -- *CIL* VIII 26559/*ILT* 1416<sup>54</sup>
226. *Gall. Aug. pont. max. tr. pot. XIII cos. VI p. p.*  
 Coins: Syria (Antioch ?) -- *HCC* IV 193  
 East (uncertain) -- *RIC* V.1 602
227. *Imp. Caes. P. Lic. Gall. Germ. Pi. Fel. Aug. pont. max. Germ. max. tr. pot. XIII imp. XII cos. VI p. p. procos.*  
 Inscriptions: Africa -- *AE* (1950) 208/*IRT* 456
228. *magnus et Inv. Gall. Aug. cos. VI des. VII*  
 Inscriptions: Italy -- *CIL* IX 1559/*ILS* 542
229. *Imp. Caes. P. Lic. Gall. Pi. Fel. Inv. Germ. max. pont. max. Parth. max. tr. pot. XIV cos. VI des. VII*  
 Inscriptions: Italy -- *CIL* X 4784/*ILS* 543
230. *Imp. Caes. P. Lic. Gall. Pi. Fel. Inv. Aug. Germ. max. Pers. max. pont. max. tr. pot. XIV (?) cos. VI des. VII p. p. procos.*  
 Inscriptions: Italy -- *AE* (1909) 68/*EE* ix 582<sup>55</sup>
231. *Imp. Caes. P. Lic. Gall. Pi. Fel. Aug. d. n. pont. max. tr. pot. XIV cos. VI des. VII p. p. procos.*  
 Inscriptions: Africa -- *IRT* 50

<sup>54</sup>*CIL* prints *tr. pot. XII*, whereas Merlin revises to *tr. pot. XIII*. Manni 1947, 129 prefers the original reading in *CIL*.

<sup>55</sup>[*Imp(erator) Ca(es)ar) P(ublius) Licinius Gallie) / nus Pius F(elix) Invictus Aug(ustus) Germ(anicus) / max(imus) Pers(icus) [max(imus) pont(ificus) max(imus) tr(ibunicia) pot(estate) XIII] / co(n)s(ul) VI des(ignatus) VII... / p(ater) p(atriae) proco(n)s(ul)*]. It is likely that *tr. pot. XIV* should here be restored.

232. *Gall. Aug. pont. max. tr. pot. XV cos. VII*  
 Coins: Italy (Rome) -- *RIC* V.1 155
233. *Gall. Aug. pont. max. tr. pot. XV cos. VII p. p.*  
 Coins: Syria (Antioch?) -- *HCC* IV 128  
 East (uncertain) -- *RIC* V.1 603<sup>56</sup>
234. *Imp. Caes. P. Lic. Gall. Pi. Fel. Aug. pont. max. tr. pot. XV cos. VII p. p. procos.*  
 Inscriptions: Africa -- *AE* (1950) 207/IRT 457
235. *Gall. Aug. pont. max. tr. pot. XVI*  
 Coins: East (uncertain) -- *RIC* V.1 604
236. *Gall. Aug. pont. max. tr. pot. XVI cos. VII*  
 Coins: Italy (Rome) -- *RIC* V.1 156  
 Pannonia Sup. (Siscia) -- *RIC* V.1 550
237. *Imp. Caes. P. Lic. Eg. Gall. Pi. Fel. Inv. Aug. pont. max. tr. pot. XVI cos. VII p. p. procos.*  
 Inscriptions: Numidia -- *CIL* VIII 2571 (= 18057)/*AE* (1974) 723<sup>57</sup>
238. *Imp. Caes. P. Lic. Gall. Pi. Fel. Aug. pont. max. Germ. max. tr. pot. XVI imp. XV cos. VII p. p. procos.*  
 Inscriptions: Africa -- *AE* (1959) 271<sup>58</sup>
239. *Gall. Aug. pont. max. tr. pot. XVII*  
 Coins: Asia (?) -- *RIC* V.1 605

<sup>56</sup>The reverse legend of this coin actually reads, P M T R P X V F P VII C.

<sup>57</sup>[Im]p[erator] [C]aesar P[ublius] Licinius Egnatius Gallienus [Pius Fel]ix Invictus Aug[ustus] pontifex max[imus] trib[unicia] pot[estate] XV[II] co[n]s[ul] VII / [pater pa]triae proco[n]s[ul]. This is the text as restored by H.G. Kolbe, *Röm. Mitt.* 81 (1974) 281-300.

<sup>58</sup>I have restored, *Imp. Caes. P. Lic. Gall. Pi. Fel. Aug. pont. max.*

240. *Gall. Aug. pont. max. tr. pot. XVIII*  
 Coins: Asia (?) -- Alföldi 1967, 174 no. 2

#### X. Gallienus, Greek Titles, Group A

241. Γαλλ.  
 Inscriptions: Egypt -- *CIG* 4839/*OGIS* 717/*IGRR* I 1274/*PD* 69  
 Coins: Achaea (Laconia) -- *BMC Peloponnesus* p. 131, 87  
 Papyri: *Bureth* p. 120, no. 1 (11); *P. Oxy.* XL 2903, 7
242. Λικ. Γαλλ.  
 Coins: Asia (Mostene) -- *SNGAul* 3030
243. Π. Λικ. Γαλλ.  
 Coins: Achaea (Argos) -- *SNGCop Argolis* 107-8  
 Epirus (Nicopolis) -- *BMC Thessaly* p. 108, 44-5  
 Byzantium & Nicaea -- *BMC Thrace* p. 233, 3a  
 Bithynia (Tios) -- *SNGAul* 1043  
 Asia (Tralleis) -- *SNGAul* 3300  
 Cilicia (Irenopolis) -- *SNGAul* 5599-5600
244. Π. Λικ. Εγ. Γαλλ.  
 Coins: Byzantium & Nicaea -- *BMC Thrace* p. 109, 4  
 Bithynia (Nicaea) -- *SNGAul* 724-5; *KBM* 236  
 Bithynia (Prusias ad Hypium) -- *SNGAul* 916
245. ὁ δεσπότης ἡμῶν ἀήττητος Γαλλ.  
 Papyri: *Bureth* p. 121, no. 7 (1)
246. θεός Γαλλ.  
 Papyri: *Bureth* p. 121, no. 11 (1); *P. Oxy.* XXXIV 2711, 8

247. ὁ κυρ. ἡμῶν Γαλλ.  
Papyri: *Bureth* p. 121, no. 1 (1)
248. Γαλλ. Καισ.  
Papyri: *O. Ont. Mus.* II 222, 2
249. Π. Λικ. Γαλλ. Καισ.  
Coins: Asia (Nysa) -- *SNGAul* 3055-6  
Asia (Tralleis) -- *SNGAul* 3298-9, 8289
250. Γαλλ. Αυγ.  
Coins: Achaea (Lacedaemon) -- *SNGCop Phliasia* 618-9
251. Π. Λικ. Γαλλ. Αυγ.  
Coins: Bithynia (Tios) -- *SNGAul* 1044
252. Π. Λικ. Εγ. Γαλλ. Αυγ.  
Coins: Bithynia (Nicomeida) -- *SNGAul* 7142-9
253. Γ. Π. Λικ. Εγ. Γαλλ. Αυγ.  
Coins: Bithynia (Cios) -- *SNGAul* 7008  
Bithynia (Nicaea) -- *SNGAul* 726-30, 7089-91; *KBM* 225-35, 237
254. Γαλλ. Σεβ.  
Inscriptions: Galatia -- *AE* (1899) 187/*IGRR* III 237/*König* 1981, 10/*RECAM* II 403  
Papyri: *Bureth* p. 120, no. 2 (7)
255. Π. Λικ. Γαλλ. Σεβ.  
Coins: Thrace (Byzantium) -- *BMC Thrace* p. 106, 103  
Bithynia (Bithynion-Claudiopolis) -- *SNGAul* 343  
Bithynia (Heraclea Pontica) -- *SNGAul* 449, 451-2, 455-8  
Bithynia (Tios) -- *SNGAul* 1038-42, 1045, 7189

256. Π. Λικ. Εγ. Γαλλ. Σεβ.  
Coins: Thrace (Byzantium) -- *BMC Thrace* p. 106, 102; *SNGCop Thrace* 528-9  
Byzantium & Nicaea -- *Hunter I* p. 399, 3-5  
Bithynia (Cios-Prusias ad Mare) -- *SNGAul* 516-7  
Bithynia (Nicaea) -- *SNGAul* 722-3, 729, 7086-8  
Galatia (Ancyra) -- *SNGAul* 6192-7
257. Γ. Π. Λικ. Γαλλ. Σεβ.  
Coins: Bithynia (Nicaea) -- *SNGAul* 7084; *KBM* 239-45
258. Γ. Π. Λικ. Εγ. Γαλλ. Σεβ.  
Coins: Bithynia (Nicaea) -- *SNGAul* 7085; *KBM* 246-55
259. ὁ Αυκ. δεσπότης ἡμῶν Γαλλ. Σεβ.  
Inscriptions: Thrace -- *AE* (1965) 114/*AE* (1975) 770c
260. ὁ κυρ. ἡμῶν Γαλλ. Σεβ.  
Inscriptions: Syria -- *AE* (1915) 104  
Arabia -- *SGLI* 636; *IGRR* III 1288/*SEG* 16 (1959) 809
261. ὁ κυρ. ἡμῶν Π. Λικ. Γαλλ. Σεβ.  
Inscriptions: Asia -- *IGRR* IV 777/*Robinson* 1927, 31-2 no. 3  
Papyri: *Bureth* p. 121, no. 4 (1)
262. Π. Λικ. Γαλλ. Σεβ. Καισ.  
Coins: Asia (Apollonia ad Rhyndacum) -- *SNGAul* 1066
263. ὁ κυρ. Γαλλ. Καισ. Σεβ.  
Papyri: *Bureth* p. 121, no. 3 (1)
264. Αυτ. Π. Λικ. Γαλλ.  
Inscriptions: Achaea -- *IG* VII 81  
Coins: Asia (Ephesus) -- *SNGAul* 7888

265. Αυτ. Γαλλ. Αυγ.  
 Coins: Macedonia (Thessaly) -- *BMC Thessaly* p. 9, 88  
 Bithynia (Nicaea) -- *SNGAul* 7092
266. Αυτ. Γαλλ. Σεβ.  
 Coins: Thrace (Perinthos) -- *BMC Thrace* p. 160, 75  
 Galatia (Ancyra) -- *SNGAul* 6198
267. Αυτ. Π. Λικ. Γαλλ. Σεβ.  
 Coins: Bithynia (Heraclea Pontica) -- *SNGAul* 453, 6967  
 Cilicia (Adana) -- *SNGAul* 8660  
 Cilicia (Augusta) -- *SNGAul* 5539
268. ὁ κυρ. ἡμῶν Αυτ. Γαλλ. Σεβ.  
 Inscriptions: Arabia -- *AE* (1897) 129/*IGRR* III 1286/*OGIS* 615; *AE* (1900) 160/*IGRR* III 1287/*OGIS* 614; *SEG* 16 (1959) 810
269. ὁ μεγαλοδύρατος κυρ. ἡμῶν ἀήτητος Γαλλ. Σεβ.  
 Papyri: *Bureth* p. 121, no. 8 (2)
270. ὁ μέγιστος καὶ θειώτατος Αυτ. Π. Λικ. Γαλλ. Ευτ. Ευσ. Σεβ. ὁ ἀρχοντος τῆς οἰκουμένης  
 Inscriptions: Thrace -- *IGRR* I 759/*SEG* 15 (1958) 459/*IGBulg* 1567
271. Αυτ. Καυσ. Γαλλ.  
 Coins: Thrace (Serdica) -- *SNGCop Thrace* 805  
 Bithynia (Sebastopolis-Heracleopolis) -- *SNGAul* 136
272. Αυτ. Καυσ. Π. Γαλλ.  
 Coins: Asia (Antioch on the Maeander) -- *SNGAul* 2430-1, 8059  
 Asia (Aphrodisias) -- *SNGAul* 2469, 2471  
 Asia (Apollonia Salbake) -- *SNGAul* 2494  
 Asia (Kotiaieion) -- *SNGAul* 3793, 3795, 8403

273. Αυτ. Καυσ. Π. Λικ. Γαλλ.  
 Inscriptions: Lycia -- *IGRR* III 355  
 Coins: Macedonia (Thessaly) -- *BMC Thessaly* p. 9, 86; *SNGCop Thessaly* 355  
 Bithynia (Amisos) -- *SNGAul* 6751  
 Bithynia (Kabeira-Neocaesarea) -- *SNGAul* 116-8  
 Bithynia (Sebastopolis-Heracleopolis) -- *SNGAul* 134-5, 137, 6778  
 Asia (Aizanis) -- *SNGAul* 3361  
 Asia (Akmoneia) -- *SNGAul* 3382-4, 8315  
 Asia (Aphrodisias) -- *SNGAul* 2468, 2470, 8067  
 Asia (Attuda) -- *SNGAul* 2507  
 Asia (Bageis) -- *SNGAul* 2918  
 Asia (Bargassa) -- *SNGAul* 2512-3  
 Asia (Cyzicus) -- *SNGAul* 1287, 7388  
 Asia (Daldis) -- *SNGAul* 2938  
 Asia (Ephesus) -- *SNGAul* 1928-32, 7887, 7889-90  
 Asia (Eumeneia) -- *SNGAul* 3598  
 Asia (Hierapolis & Smyrna) -- *SNGAul* 3669  
 Asia (Kotiaieion) -- *SNGAul* 3794  
 Asia (Kadoi) -- *SNGAul* 3694-5  
 Asia (Metropolis) -- *SNGAul* 2073  
 Asia (Miletus) -- *SNGAul* 2113  
 Asia (Pergamum & Ephesus) -- *SNGAul* 1425-6  
 Asia (Samos) -- *SNGAul* 2330-3, 8032  
 Asia (Smyrna) -- *SNGAul* 2234-8, 8011-2  
 Asia (Tabai) -- *SNGAul* 2729-32, 8169  
 Asia (Temenothyrai) -- *SNGAul* 4009, 8454  
 Asia (Teos) -- *SNGAul* 2273  
 Asia (Tralleis) -- *SNGAul* 8290  
 Asia (Tripolis) -- *SNGAul* 3326-8  
 Asia/Galatia (Apollonia-Mordiaion) -- *SNGAul* 4999-5000  
 Lycia (Aspendus) -- *SNGAul* 8505  
 Lycia (Perge) -- *SNGAul* 4736-7  
 Lycia (Seleucia Sidera) -- *SNGAul* 5237  
 Cilicia (Korykos) -- *SNGAul* 5688  
 Cilicia (Seleucia on the Kalykadnos) -- *SNGAul* 5853-4

274. Αυτ. Καισ. Π. Λικ. Εγ. Γαλλ.  
 Coins: Macedonia (Amphipolis) -- *BMC Macedonia* p. 60, 140; *SNGCop Macedonia* 122  
 Macedonia (Thessalonica) -- *BMC Macedonia* p. 128, 141; *SNGCop Macedonia* 443-4  
 Macedonia (Thessaly) -- *BMC Thessaly* p. 9, 87  
 Asia (Synnada) -- *SNGAul* 3998  
 Lycia (Side) -- *SNGAul* 4847
275. Αυτ. Καισ. Π. Λικ. Γερ. (sic) Γαλλ.  
 Coins: Macedonia (Thessaly) -- *SNGCop Thessaly* 356<sup>59</sup>
276. Αυτ. Καισ. Π. Λικ. Γαλλ. Ευσ.  
 Coins: Lycia (Pednelissos) -- *SNGAul* 5141
277. Αυτ. Καισ. Π. Λικ. Γαλλ. Εγσ. Εντ. μεγ.  
 Inscriptions: Cappadocia -- *IGRR* III 123
278. Αυτ. Καισ. Π. Λικ. Γαλλ. Αυγ.  
 Coins: Bithynia (Heraclea Pontica) -- *SNGAul* 448, 454, 459-60, 6966  
 Asia (Samos) -- *SNGAul* 2332  
 Asia (Sardis) -- *SNGAul* 8262
279. Αυτ. Καισ. Γαλλ. Σεβ.  
 Coins: Cilicia (Anazarbos) -- *SNGAul* 5516  
 Cilicia (Mopsos) -- *SNGAul* 8705
280. Αυτ. Καισ. Π. Λικ. Γαλλ. Σεβ.  
 Inscriptions: Lycia -- *SEG* 27 (1977) 925  
 Coins: Bithynia (Amastris) -- *SNGAul* 178  
 Bithynia (Heraclea Pontica) -- *SNGAul* 450  
 Asia (Synnada) -- *SNGAul* 3994-7

<sup>59</sup>This is the obverse legend as given by the editors of *SNGCop*. From the photo, however, the readable part of the legend seems to be, Π ΛΙΚ Γ ΓΑΛΛΗ. Probably intended was, Π ΛΙΚ ΕΓ ΓΑΛΛΗΝΟΣ.

- Lycia (Aspendus) -- *SNGAul* 4602-4  
 Lycia (Isinda) -- *SNGAul* 5049  
 Lycia (Magydos) -- *SNGAul* 4645-7, 8512  
 Lycia (Perge) -- *SNGAul* 4718-33  
 Lycia (Side) -- *SNGAul* 4840-6, 8549, 8545  
 Lycia (Silyon) -- *SNGAul* 4888-9  
 Cilicia (Aigeai) -- *SNGAul* 5461  
 Cilicia (Laerte) -- *SNGAul* 5694  
 Cilicia (Syedra) -- *SNGAul* 5905  
 Egypt (Alexandria) -- *KAK* 2904-54
281. Αυτ. Καισ. Π. Λικ. Εγ. Γαλλ. Σεβ.  
 Coins: Lycia (Side) -- *SNGAul* 4848-51, 8546-8
282. ὁ μέγιστος καὶ θεώτατος Αυτ. Καισ. Π. Γαλλ. Σεβ.  
 Inscriptions: Achaea -- *AE* (1928) 54
283. Αυτ. Καισ. Π. Λικ. Γαλλ. Ευσ. Σεβ.  
 Inscriptions: Lycia -- *AE* (1915) 51/Rosenberg 1920, 319-21  
 Coins: Lycia (Perge) -- *SNGAul* 4734-5  
 Lycia (Isinda) -- *SNGAul* 5050
284. Αυτ. Καισ. Π. Λικ. Γαλλ. Ευσ. Εντ. Σεβ.  
 Inscriptions: Achaea -- *Syll.*<sup>3</sup> 892  
 Papyri: *Bureth* p. 120, no. 4 (2)
285. Αυτ. Καισ. Π. Λικ. Ουαλ. Γαλλ. Ευσ. Εντ. Σεβ.  
 Coins: Egypt (Alexandria) -- *Milne* 1933, p. 93; *KAK* 2880<sup>60</sup>
286. ὁ μέγιστος καὶ θεώτατος Αυτ. Καισ. Π. Λικ. Γαλλ. Ευσ. Σεβ.  
 Inscriptions: Thrace -- *IGBulg* 883

<sup>60</sup>The coins have ΕΥΕΥΣ, interpreted as Εὐ(τυχής) Εὐσ(εβής) by *Milne* (ad loc.) and *Vogt* 1924, 202. The resolution here is that suggested by *Geissen*, *KAK* (ad loc.).

287. Αυτ. Καισ. Π. Λικ. Γαλλ. Γερμ. μεγ. Ευσ. Ευτ. Σεβ.  
Papyri: *Bureth* p. 120, no. 5 (19);<sup>61</sup> *P. Oxy.* XXXI 2568, 24-8; 2569, 32-5; 2586, 52-5; XLII 3054, 1-2; XLVI 3293, 23-6; *P. Köln* I 52, 42-5, 88-90; 53, 22;<sup>62</sup> *P. Oxy. Hels.* 25, 14, 15 & 48
288. Αυτ. Καισ. Π. Λικ. Γαλλ. Γερμ. μεγ. Περσ. μεγ. Ευσ. Ευτ. Σεβ.  
Papyri: *Bureth* p. 120, no. 6 (35); *P. Oxy.* XLIII 3114, 22-7; *P. Coll. Youtie* 68, 36-8
289. Αυτ. Καισ. Π. Λικ. Γαλλ. Γερμ. μεγ. Παρθ. μεγ. Ευσ. Ευτ. Σεβ.  
Papyri: *Bureth* p. 120, no. 6 (1)
290. ὁ κυρ. ἡμῶν Αυτ. Καισ. Π. Λικ. Γαλλ. Γερμ. μεγ. Ευσ. Ευτ. Σεβ.  
Papyri: *P. Oxy. Hels.* 25, 39-40

#### XI. Gallienus, Greek Titles, Group B

291. Αυτ. Καισ. Π. Εγ. Γαλλ. Σεβ. π. π.  
Coins: Cilicia (Tarsus) -- *SNGAul* 6079-80

<sup>61</sup>*Bureth* p. 120, no. 3 records *P. Lond.* 1275 as containing the formula given under 280 above. The papyrus has been re-examined by Sijpesteijn 1962, 108-9, who has shown that it belongs here.

<sup>62</sup>The titulature here is mostly restored, and as the editors note, might originally have been shorter.

#### XII. Gallienus, Greek Titles, Group C

292. Αυτ. Καισ. Π. Λικ. Γαλλ. Ευσ. Ευτ. Σεβ. αρχ. μεγ. Γερμ. μεγ. δημ. εφ. τὸ ἰδ' υπ. τὸ ζ' ἀποδεδειγμένος τὸ ζ' π. π.  
Inscriptions: Achaea -- *SEG* 26 (1976/77) 129<sup>63</sup>

#### XII. Valerianus II, Latin Titles, Group A

- 292a. *Val. Caes.*  
Coins: Germania Inf. (Cologne ?) -- *HCC* IV 8-10  
Lugdunensis (Lugdunum) -- *RIC* V.1 1-4, 6<sup>64</sup>  
Italy (Rome) -- *RIC* V.1 17
293. *Cor. Val. Caes.*  
Coins: Italy (Rome) -- *RIC* V.1 16
294. *Cor. Lic. Val. Caes.*  
Coins: Italy (Rome) -- *RIC* V.1 15
295. *P. Lic. Val. Caes.*  
Coins: Italy (Rome) -- *RIC* V.1 13, 19; *HCC* IV 1-3

<sup>63</sup>[Αὐτ]οκρ[άτωρ Καίσαρ Π]ούπ[λιος Λικίνιος Γαλληνός Εὐσεβῆς Εὐτυχῆς Σεβαστός ἀρχιερεὺς] / μέγισ[τος] Γερμανικὸς μέγιστος δημοκράτης ἐξουσίας τὸ ἰδ' ὑπα[ί]τος τὸ ζ' ἀποδεδειγμένος / τὸ ζ' πατ[ὴρ] πατρίδος.

<sup>64</sup>The reverse of this coin, with the legend RESTITV GALLIAR, belongs to Gallienus.

296. *P. Cor. Lic. Val. Caes.*  
 Inscriptions: Italy -- *CIL* XI 6326/IP 37  
 Coins: Italy (Rome) -- *RIC* V.1 21<sup>65</sup>  
 Syria (Antioch) -- *RIC* V.1 48, 53-4; *HCC* IV 11-2
297. *divus Val. Caes.*  
 Inscriptions: Italy -- *CIL* IX 5682  
 Coins: Germania Inf. (Cologne ?) -- *HCC* IV p. 337  
 Lugdunensis (Lugdunum) -- *RIC* V.1 7-10  
 Italy (Rome) -- *RIC* V.1 24, 27-8, 31, 35, 41-3; *HCC* IV p. 32, 1-6;  
*Gnechchi* II p. 111, 1; III p. 61, 7
298. *Val. Caes. princ. iuv.*  
 Coins: Lugdunensis (Lugdunum) -- *RIC* V.1 5
299. *P. Lic. Val. Caes. princ. iuv.*  
 Coins: Italy (Rome) -- *RIC* V.1 39
300. *P. Lic. Cor. Val. Caes. princ. iuv.*  
 Coins: Syria (Antioch) -- *RIC* V.1 45, 50-1
301. *Val. nob. Caes.*  
 Coins: Syria (Antioch) -- *RIC* V.1 46-7, 52  
 East (uncertain) -- *HCC* IV 13
302. *Lic. Val. nob. Caes.*  
 Coins: Italy (Rome) -- *RIC* V.1 26
303. *P. Lic. Val. nob. Caes.*  
 Inscriptions: Italy -- *CIL* X 335/*Inscript. Ital.* III,1 131

<sup>65</sup>The obverse legend reads, C P L VALERIANVS CAES.

304. *P. Lic. Cor. Val. nob. Caes.*  
 Inscriptions: Italy -- *CIL* X 4558, XI 3578, XIV 4401  
 Africa -- *AE* (1931) 1/IRT 460  
 Coins: Italy (Rome) -- *RIC* V.1 12, 14, 18, 20, 22,<sup>66</sup> 25, 33, 36; *HCC* IV 4-5, 7;  
*Gnechchi* I p. 56, 1
305. *d. n. Cor. Val. nob. Caes.*  
 Inscriptions: Noricum -- *CIL* III 5739/*RIS* 371
306. *Val. nob. Caes. princ. iuv.*  
 Coins: Syria (Antioch) -- *RIC* V.1 44, 49  
 East (uncertain) -- *HCC* IV 14-6
307. *P. Cor. Lic. Val. nob. Caes. princ. iuv.*  
 Coins: Italy (Rome) -- *RIC* V.1 11, 23, 29-30, 34, 37-8, 40; *HCC* IV 6
308. *P. Cor. Lic. Val. nob. Caes. Aug.*  
 Inscriptions: Numidia -- *CIL* VIII 2382/König 1981, 3; *CIL* VIII 2383/König 1981, 4
309. *Imp. P. Lic. Cor. Val. nob. Caes. princ. iuv.*  
 Inscriptions: Pannonia Sup. -- *CIL* III 4646/Weber 1968-71, 131-2 no. 9
310. *Imp. Caes. P. Lic. Cor. Val. nob. Caes. princ. iuv.*  
 Inscriptions: Pannonia Sup. -- *CIL* III 4647/Weber 1968-71, 132-3 no. 10; *CIL* III  
 4652/*ILS* 555/Weber 1968-71, 140-1 no. 19

#### XIV. Valerianus II, Greek Titles, Group A

311. *Π. Κορ. Ουαλ.*  
 Coins: Asia (Temenothyrai) -- *SNGAul* 4010

<sup>66</sup>The reverse of this coin belongs to Gallienus, and has tribunician and consular iterations.

312. Π. Λικ. Κορ. Ουαλ.  
Coins: Lycia (Perge) -- *SNGAul* 4751-2
313. ὁ κυρ. ἡμῶν Ουαλ. νέος Σεβ.  
Inscriptions: Lycia -- *IGRR* III 481/*ILS* 8870
314. Π. Λικ. Κορ. Ουαλ. Ευτ. (?) Σεβ.  
Coins: Lycia (Attaleia) -- *SNGAul* 4633-467
315. Καισ. Π. Κορ. Ουαλ.  
Coins: Asia (Bageis) -- *SNGAul* 8220
316. Π. Λικ. Κορ. Ουαλ. Καισ.  
Coins: Bithynia (Nicaea) -- *SNGAul* 7097  
Bithynia (Prusa on the Olympus) -- *SNGAul* 884, 7157  
Lycia (Magydos) -- *SNGAul* 8513
317. Π. Λικ. Κορ. Ουαλ. ὁ ἐπιφ. Καισ.  
Inscriptions: Cappadocia -- *IGRR* III 122
318. ὁ θεοφιλέστατος Καισ. Π. Κορ. Ουαλ. νέος  
Inscriptions: Thrace -- *SEG* 19 (1963) 452/*AE* (1966) 378/*SEG* 24 (1969) 647
319. Π. Λικ. Κορ. Ουαλ. Καισ. Σεβ.  
Coins: Lycia (Aspendus) -- *SNGAul* 4607-10, 8507  
Lycia (Magydos) -- *SNGAul* 4648  
Cilicia (Kolybrassos) -- *SNGAul* 5663-5  
Egypt (Alexandria) -- Milne 1933, p. 93; *KAK* 2991-3000
320. Λικ. Ουαλ. Ευσ. Ευτ. Σεβ.  
Inscriptions: Arabia -- *AE* (1931) 80

<sup>67</sup>These coins actually read, ΕΥ ΣΕ.

321. Αυτ. Καισ. Κορ. Ουαλ. ἐπιφ. Καισ. Ευσ. Ευτ. Σεβ.  
Inscriptions: Lycia -- *IGRR* III 572/*TAM* II 734

#### XV. Saloninus, Latin Titles, Group A

322. *Sal. Val. Caes.*  
Coins: Ludgunensis (Lugdunum) -- *RIC* V.1 2, 4, 6, 8-9, 13, 15  
Germania Inf. (Cologne ?) -- *HCC* IV 8  
Italy (Rome) -- *RIC* V.1 16; *Gnecchi* I p. 8, 1
323. *P. Cor. Sal. Val. Caes.*  
Coins: Ludgunensis (Lugdunum) -- *RIC* V.1 7  
Syria (Antioch) -- *RIC* V.1 35; *HCC* IV 11
324. *Sal. Val. Caes. princ. iuv.*  
Coins: Milan/Viminacium ? -- *HCC* IV 9-10  
Lugdunensis (Lugdunum) -- *RIC* V.1 3, 5, 10-2  
Italy (Rome) -- *RIC* V.1 20, 30-1
325. *Sal. Val. nob. Caes.*  
Coins: Italy (Rome) -- *Gnecchi* III p. 61, 10  
Syria (Antioch) -- *RIC* V.1 36-7  
East (uncertain) -- *HCC* IV 12-3
326. *Lic. Cor. Sal. Val. nob. Caes.*  
Inscriptions: Italy -- *CIL* X 4575  
Coins: Italy (Rome) -- *RIC* V.1 17, 21-6, 29; *Gnecchi* I p. 56, 1-2; II p. 111, 2
327. *P. Cor. Sal. nob. Caes.*  
Inscriptions: Italy -- *CIL* IX 3151
328. *P. Lic. Cor. Sal. nob. Caes.*  
Inscriptions: Italy -- *CIL* IX 5683/*ILS* 558



329. *P. Lic. Sal. Val. nob. Caes.*  
Inscriptions: Italy -- *CIL IX 2952*
330. *P. Lic. Cor. Sal. Val. nob. Caes.*  
Inscriptions: Italy -- *AE (1934) 161/AE (1971) 23/König 1981, 11*
331. *d. n. P. Lic. Cor. Sal. Val. nob. Caes.*  
Inscriptions: Alpes -- *CIL XII 57/König 1981, 17*
332. *Lic. Cor. Sal. Val. nob. Caes. princ. iuv.*  
Coins: Italy (Rome) -- *RIC V.1 19, 27-8, 32-4; HCC IV 1-7; Gneecchi II p. 111, 3; III p. 61, 5 ff.*
333. *P. Lic. Cor. Sal. Val. nob. Caes. princ. iuv.*  
Inscriptions: Italy -- *CIL XI 3093*  
Coins: Italy (Rome) -- *RIC V.1 18*
334. *P. Lic. Cor. Sal. Caes. Aug.*  
Inscriptions: Sardinia -- *EE viii 751<sup>68</sup>*
335. *Imp. Sal. Val. Aug.*  
Coins: Ludgunensis (Lugdunum) -- *RIC V.1 1, 14*

#### XVI. Saloninus, Greek Titles, Group A

336. Σαλ. Ουαλ.  
Coins: Bithynia (Tios) -- *SNGAul 1046, 1048-9*

<sup>68</sup>---] P[ublio] L[icinio] / Cornelio Salonin[no...]/ Caes[ari] Augustus [sic].

337. Σαλ. Ουαλ. Καισ.  
Coins: Bithynia (Heraclea Pontica) -- *SNGAul 463-4*  
Bithynia (Tios) -- *SNGAul 1047*
338. Π. Λικ. Σαλ. Ουαλ. Σεβ.  
Coins: Lycia (Perge) -- *SNGAul 4753-7*
339. Π. Λικ. Κορ. Σαλ. Ουαλ. Καισ. Σεβ.  
Coins: Egypt (Alexandria) -- *Milne 1933, p. 93; KAK 3001-10*
340. Αυτ. Καισ. Σαλ. Ουαλ.  
Coins: Asia (Temenothyrai) -- *SNGAul 4011*

#### XVII. Valerianus and Gallienus, Latin Titles, Group A

341. *Val. Gall.*  
Inscriptions: Germania Inf. -- *CIL XIII 8261<sup>69</sup>*
342. *Augg. Val. Gall.*  
Inscriptions: Britain -- *AE (1936) 86/RIB 2042*
343. *dd. nn. Val. et Gall. Augg.*  
Inscriptions: Hispania -- *CIL II 4762*  
Numidia -- *CIL VIII 2482/ILS 531; CIL VIII 4219/ILS 6849*
344. *dd. nn. Imp. P. Lic. Val. Aug. et P. Lic. Gall. Caes. Aug.*  
Inscriptions: Numidia -- *CIL VIII 22517*
345. *Imp. dd. nn. P. Lic. Val. et P. Lic. Gall. Invv. Pii. Fell. Augg.*  
Inscriptions: Numidia -- *AE (1954) 130*

<sup>69</sup>This inscription reads, C[olonia] C[laudia] A[ra] A[grippinensis] Valeriana Galliena.

346. *Imp. Caes. Lic. Val. Aug. et Imp. Caes. Lic. Gall. Aug.*  
Inscriptions: Galatia -- *CIL* III 246/RRM 139a
347. *Imp. Caes. P. Lic. Val. Aug. et P. Lic. Gall. Aug.*  
Inscriptions: Numidia -- *CIL* VIII 10126
348. *Imp. Caes. P. Lic. Val. Pi. Fel. Aug. et P. Lic. Gall. nob. Caes.*  
Inscriptions: Numidia -- *CIL* VIII 10141 (= 22215)
349. *Imp. Caes. Val. et Gall. Augg.*  
Inscriptions: Lugdunensis -- *CIL* XIII 8911a/AE (1929) 57/AE (1948) 204/ILTG 467/König 1981, 21/*CIL* XVII 355; *CIL* XIII 8912/AE (1929) 58/AE (1948) 205/ILTG 468/König 1981, 22/*CIL* XVII 357
350. *Imp. Caes. P. Lic. Val. Aug. et Imp. Caes. P. Lic. Gall. Val. (sic) Aug.*  
Inscriptions: Aquitania -- *CIL* XIII 8890/König 1981, 23/*CIL* XVII 30770
351. *Imp. Caes. P. Lic. Val. et Lic. Gall. Inv. Augg.*  
Inscriptions: Numidia -- Marcillet-Jaubert 1980, 183 no. 39
352. *Imp. Caes. P. Lic. Val. Pi. Fel. Aug. et Imp. Caes. P. Lic. Gall. Pi. Fel. Aug.*  
Inscriptions: Galatia -- RRM I 35b, 44a
353. *Imp. Caes. P. Lic. Val. et P. Lic. Gall. Pii. Fell. Augg.*  
Inscriptions: Germania Sup. -- *CIL* XIII 9103/ILS 532/RGAI 275/König 1981, 27/*CIL* XVII 635
354. *Imp. Caes. P. Lic. Val. Pi. Fel. Inv. Aug. et P. Lic. Gall. Aug.*  
Inscriptions: Germania Sup. -- *CIL* XIII 9111/RGAI 276/RSO 220/König 1981, 26/*CIL* XVII 643

<sup>70</sup>Three other stones call Gallienus, P. Licinius Valerianus Gallienus -- nos. 123, 160 and 377.

## XVIII. Valerianus and Gallienus, Latin Titles, Group B

355. *dd. nn. Val. Aug. et Gall. Aug. cos.*  
Inscriptions: Italy -- *CIL* VI 2135
356. *Imp. Caes. P. Lic. Val. pont. max. tr. pot. cos. et P. Lic. Gall. Aug.*  
Inscriptions: Dalmatia -- *CIL* III 14333.8
357. *Imp. Caes. P. Lic. Val. pont. max. tr. pot. cos. et Imp. Caes. Lic. P. Gall. Pi. Fel. Aug. pont. max. tr. pot. procos.*  
Inscriptions: Sardinia -- AE (1889) 29/EE viii 774
358. *Imp. Caes. P. Lic. Val. Pi. Fel. Aug. tr. pot. cos. procos. et Lic. Gall. Aug.*  
Inscriptions: Pannonia Sup. -- *CIL* III 4653/Weber 1968-71, 139-40 no. 18
359. *Imp. Caes. P. Lic. Val. Pi. Fel. Aug. pont. max. tr. pot. cos. et Imp. Caes. P. Lic. Gall. Aug.*  
Inscriptions: Dalmatia -- *CIL* III 14333.9
360. *d. n. Imp. Caes. P. Lic. Gall. Pi. Fel. Aug. pont. max. tr. pot. cos. p. p. procos. fil. d. n. Imp. Caes. P. Lic. Val. Pi. Fel. Aug.*  
Inscriptions: Africa -- *CIL* VIII 16327<sup>1</sup>
361. *Imp. Caes. P. Lic. Val. Pi. Fel. Aug. pont. max. tr. pot. cos. procos. et Imp. Caes. P. Lic. Eg. Gall. Pi. Fel. Aug. pont. max. tr. pot. cos. procos.*  
Inscriptions: Sardinia -- *ILSard* 389/Sotgiu 1988, A389

<sup>71</sup>[d(omino) n(ostro) Imp(eratori) Caes(ari) / P(ublio) Licinio Gallieno Pio / Felici Aug(usto) pont(ifici) max(imo) trib(unicia)] / pot(estate) [co(n)s(uli) p(atri) p(atriciae) proco(n)s(uli)] / filio domini nostri / Imp(eratori) Caes(ari) P(ubli) Licini Vale(riani) Pii Felicis Aug(usti).

362. *Imp. Caes. P. Lic. Val. Pi. Fel. Aug. pont. max. tr. pot. cos. procos. et Imp. Caes. P. Lic. Gall. Val. Pi. Fel. Aug. pont. max. tr. pot. cos. procos.*  
Inscriptions: Sardinia -- Boninu & Stylow 1982, 33-7 no. 2/AE (1984) 445/Sotgiu 1988, B178
363. *Imp. Caes. P. Lic. Val. Pi. Fel. Aug. pont. max. tr. pot. cos. p. p. procos. et Imp. Caes. P. Lic. Eg. Gall. Pi. Fel. Aug. p. p. pont. max. tr. pot. cos. procos.*  
Inscriptions: Sardinia -- CIL X 8033
364. *Imp. Caes. P. Lic. Val. Inv. Pi. Fel. Aug. p. p. et Imp. Caes. P. Lic. Gall. Inv. Pi. Fel. Aug. p. p.*  
Inscriptions: Numidia -- EE v 1125/CIL VIII 22226
365. *Imp. Caes. P. Lic. Val. Pi. Fel. Inv. Aug. pont. max. p. p. procos. et Imp. Caes. P. Lic. Gall. Pi. Fel. Inv. Aug. pont. max. p. p. procos.*  
Inscriptions: Numidia -- CIL VIII 10122<sup>72</sup>
366. *Imp. Caes. P. Lic. Val. Inv. Pi. Fel. Aug. pont. max. tr. pot. p. p. procos. et Imp. Caes. P. Lic. Gall. Inv. Pi. Fel. Aug. pont. max. tr. pot. p. p.*  
Inscriptions: Numidia -- CIL VIII 10300
367. *Imp. Caes. P. Lic. Gall. Pi. Fel. Inv. Aug. pont. max. tr. pot. cos. procos. Imp. Caes. Pi. Lic. Val. Pi. Fel. Aug. pont. max. tr. pot. cos. procos. fil.*  
Inscriptions: Baetica -- CIL II 2199/König 1981, 13
368. *Imp. Caes. P. Lic. Val. Pi. Fel. Inv. Aug. pont. max. tr. pot. p. p. cos. procos. et Imp. Caes. P. Lic. Gall. Pi. Fel. Inv. Aug.*  
Inscriptions: Moesia Sup. -- CIL III 8268/IMS IV 123

<sup>72</sup>The inscription breaks after (line 5), [*et Imp(eratori) Caes(ari) P(ublio) Licin*]---, but might be restored similarly to CIL VIII 10300 (366).

369. *Imp. Caes. P. Lic. Val. Inv. Pi. Fel. Aug. pont. max. tr. pot. p. p. cos. procos. et Imp. Caes. P. Lic. Gall. Pi. Fel. Inv. Aug. pont. max. tr. pot. cos. procos.*  
Inscriptions: Hispania -- ERZ 42/IRMN 10/Otal & Pros 1982, 192-3 no. 14<sup>73</sup>

#### XIX. Valerianus & Gallienus, Latin Titles, Group C

370. *Imp. Val. Aug. II et Gall. Aug. cos.*  
Inscriptions: Italy -- CIL III<sup>3</sup> p. 2004/CIL XVI 155/Pais 957/ILS 2010<sup>74</sup>
371. *Imp. Caes. P. Lic. Val. Aug. II et Imp. Caes. P. Lic. Eg. Gall. Aug.*  
Inscriptions: Asia -- CIL III 6094 (=14202)/IK 17,1 3162<sup>75</sup>
372. *Imp. Caes. P. Lic. Val. Pi. Fel. Aug. pont. max. tr. pot. cos. II p. p. et Imp. Caes. P. Lic. Eg. Gall. Pi. Fel. Aug. pont. max. tr. pot. cos.*  
Inscriptions: Italy -- CIL XIV 4400<sup>76</sup>
373. *Imp. Caes. P. Lic. Val. Pi. Fel. Aug. pont. max. tr. pot. cos. II p. p. pater d. n. Imp. Caes. P. Lic. Gall. Pi. Fel.*  
Inscriptions: Africa -- EE vii 579/CIL VIII 22051<sup>77</sup>

<sup>73</sup>I have adopted the reading of this stone given in IRMN.

<sup>74</sup>See also 374 and 375 below.

<sup>75</sup>See also below 394.

<sup>76</sup>[*Imp(eratori) Caes(ari) P(ublio) Licin*]nio V[ate]riano P[ro] F[el]ici [Aug(usto) / pontif(ici) max(imo) tribun(icia) pote]st[ate] co(n)s[ul]i II p[at]ri [p(at]riae) / et Imp(eratori) Caes(ari) P(ublio) Licinio Egnat]io Gall[ie]no / P[ro] F[el]ici Aug(usto) pontif(ici) Max(imo) tribun(icia) po]te[st]ate co(n)s[ul]i---.

<sup>77</sup>The stone breaks after, *Galieni Pii Fel(ici) f*---

374. *Imp. Caes. P. Lic. Val. Pi. Fel. Aug. pont. max. tr. pot. II Imp. Caes. P. Lic. Eg. Gall. Pi. Fel. Aug. pont. max. tr. pot.*  
Inscriptions: Italy -- *CIL III*<sup>3</sup> p. 2004/*CIL XVI 155/Pais 957/ILS 2010 (intus)*<sup>78</sup>
375. *Imp. Caes. P. Lic. Val. Pi. Fel. Aug. pont. max. tr. pot. II cos. II et Imp. Caes. P. Lic. Eg. Gall. Pi. Fel. Aug. pont. max. tr. pot. II cos.*  
Inscriptions: Italy -- *CIL III*<sup>3</sup> p. 2004/*CIL XVI 155/Pais 957/ILS 2010 (extrinsecus)*<sup>79</sup>
376. *Imp. Caes. P. Lic. Val. Pi. Fel. Aug. pont. max. tr. pot. II cos. II p. p. procos. et P. Lic. Gall. Pi. Fel. Aug. pont. max. tr. pot. cos. procos.*  
Inscriptions: Africa -- *CIL VIII 22580*
377. *Imp. Caes. P. Lic. Val. Pi. Fel. Aug. pont. max. tr. pot. cos. II p. p. procos. Inv. Imp. Caes. P. Lic. p. p. Val. (sic) Gall. Inv. Pi. Fel. Aug. pont. max. tr. pot. cos. II p. p. procos.*  
Inscriptions: Hispania -- *AE (1982) 576/ENAR 135/IRPL 325*<sup>80</sup>
378. *Imp. Caes. P. Lic. Val. Pi. Fel. Aug. pont. max. tr. pot. II cos. II p. p. procos. et P. Lic. Gall. Pi. Fel. Aug. pont. max. tr. pot. II cos. II procos.*  
Inscriptions: Mauretania Caes. -- *AE (1899) 6*
379. *Imp. Caes. P. Lic. Val. Pi. Fel. Aug. pont. max. tr. pot. III cos. II p. p. procos. et Imp. Caes. P. Lic. Gall. verus Pi. Fel. Aug. pont. max. tr. pot. (?) cos. (?) p. p. procos.*  
Inscriptions: Baetica -- *CIL II 4691/König 1981, 14*<sup>81</sup>

<sup>78</sup>See also 370 and 375. The interior of this diploma is illegible after, ...*Imp(erator) Caes(ar) P(ublius) Lic(inius)*—. I have restored the rest based on the titulature of Valerian that is legible and on the *extrinsecus* of the diploma.

<sup>79</sup>See 370 and 374 above.

<sup>80</sup>Diego Santos (*IRPL ad loc.*) assumes that *cos II<I>* is the proper reading for Valerian's consulates, and thus dates the stone to A.D. 255. Three other inscriptions call Gallienus, P. Licinius Valerianus Gallienus -- nos. 123, 160, 350.

<sup>81</sup>The inscription breaks after, *Gallienus verus (sic) Pius*. I have restored the rest.

380. *Val. III et Gall. II cos.*  
Inscriptions: Germania Sup. -- *CIL XIII 6780/RGAI 2128/König 1981, 30*<sup>82</sup>
381. *Imp. Lic. Val. Aug. IV Lic. Gall. Aug. III cos.*  
Inscriptions: Italy -- *CIL IX 1681/ILS 7219*
382. *Imp. Caes. P. Lic. Val. Inv. Pi. Fel. Aug. pont. max. Germ. max. tr. pot. IV p. p. cos. IV procos. pater d. n. Gall. Aug.*  
Inscriptions: Numidia -- *CIL VIII 20155*
- XX. Valerianus and Gallienus, Greek Titles, Group A**
383. Πούβλιου  
Papyri: *Bureth* p. 118, no. 1 (1)<sup>83</sup>
384. Ουαλ. και Γαλλ. Καισο. οΙ κυρρ.  
Papyri: *P. Oxy. XLIII 3109, 25*
385. Ουαλ. και Γαλλ. Σεββ.  
Inscriptions: Egypt -- *AEGL 9289, 9358*  
Papyri: *Bureth* p. 117, no. 2 (11); *P. Oxy. XLII 3035, 6*
386. Γαλλ. Ουαλ. Π. Λυκκ. Σεββ.  
Coins: Lycia (Adada) -- *SNGAul 4902*

<sup>82</sup>[--*Vale}riano III et G{allieno II / cos.*].

<sup>83</sup>*Bureth* assigned this document to Valerian, Gallienus and Valerian II. Since it dates to year three, however, only Valerian and Gallienus are in question. See Rea 1984a, 1130.

387. οἱ κυρρ. ἡμῶν Ουαλ. καὶ Γαλλ. Σεββ.  
Papyri: *Bureth* p. 118, no. 1 (13); *P. Lond.* III 1284a<sup>84</sup>
388. οἱ κυρρ. ἡμῶν Ουαλ. καὶ Γαλλ. Ευσσ. Ενττ. Σεββ.  
Papyri: *Bureth* p. 118, no. 2 (1)
389. οἱ κυρρ. ἡμῶν Π. Λικ. Ουαλ. καὶ Γαλλ. Καισσ. Σεββ. Ευσσ. Ενττ.  
Papyri: *P. Oxy.* XXXVI 2763, 8-10
390. Αυττ. Ουαλ. Γαλλ. Σεββ.  
Coins: Bithynia (Nicaea) – *SNGAul* 7080-2; *KBM* 260-1  
Bithynia (Nicomedia) – *SNGAul* 858
391. οἱ κυρρ. ἡμῶν Αυττ. Ουαλ. καὶ Γαλλ. Σεββ.  
Inscriptions: Asia – *CIG* 3206//*IGRR* IV 1419
392. Αυττ. Π. Λικ. Ουαλ. καὶ Γαλλ. Ανικκ. Σεββ.  
Inscriptions: Thrace – *SEG* 28 (1978) 592
393. Αυτ. Καισ. Π. Λικ. Ουαλ. Αυτ. Καισ. Π. Λικ. Γαλλ.  
Coins: Asia (Temenothyrai & Sebaste) – *SNGAul* 4012
394. Αυτ. Καισ. Π. Λικ. Ουαλ. Ευσ. Εντ. Σεβ. καὶ Αυτ. Καισ. Π. Λικ. Γαλλ. Ευσ. Εντ. Σεβ.  
Inscriptions: Asia – *CIL* III 6094 (= 14202)/*IK*, 17, 1 3162<sup>85</sup>
395. Αυτ. Καισ. Π. Λικ. Ουαλ. Ευσ. Εντ. Σεβ. καὶ Αυτ. Καισ. Π. Λικ. Ουαλ. Γαλλ. Ευσ. Εντ. Σεβ.  
Papyri: *P. Oxy.* LI 3611, 1-4

<sup>84</sup>*Bureth* p. 117, no. 1 listed *P. Lond.* 1284a with the formula, Οὐαλεριανὸς καὶ Γαλλεινός. Sijpesteijn 1982, 108 shows that the document has this formula instead.

<sup>85</sup>See also above 371.

396. Αυττ. Καισσ. Π. Λικ. Ουαλ. καὶ Π. Λικ. Ουαλ. Γαλλ. Ευσσ. Ενττ. Σεββ.  
Papyri: *Bureth* p. 117, no. 3 (9); *P. Oxy.* XXXIV 2714, 22-5; Sijpesteijn 1985, 73 no. 1
397. οἱ γῆς καὶ θαλάσσης καὶ παντὸς ἀνθρώπων ἔθνους Αυττ. Καισσ. Π. Λικ. Ουαλ. καὶ Π. Λικ. Ουαλ. Γαλλ. Ευσσ. Ενττ. Σεββ.  
Papyri: *P. Oxy.* XLVII 3366, 40-3/*P. Coll. Youtie* 66, 40-3<sup>86</sup>
398. οἱ γῆς καὶ θαλάσσης δεσπότης Αυττ. Καισσ. Π. Λικ. Ουαλ. καὶ Π. Λικ. Ουαλ. Γαλλ. Ευσσ. Ενττ. Σεββ.  
Papyri: *P. Oxy.* XLVII 3366, 1-4/*P. Coll. Youtie* 66, 1-4

#### XXI. Valerianus and Gallienus, Greek Titles, Group C

399. οἱ κυρρ. ἡμῶν Ουαλ. τὸ γ' καὶ Γαλλ. τὸ β' Σεββ. υππ.  
Inscriptions: Asia – *AE* (1957) 19/*SEG* 17 (1960) 528
400. ὁ κυρ. ἡμῶν Αυτ. Καισ. Π. Λικ. Εγ. Γαλλ. Ευσ. Εντ. Σεβ. Γερμ. αρχ. μεγ. δημ. εξ. τὸ δ' αυτ. τὸ β' υπ. τὸ β' π. π. αυθυπ...ὁ κυρ. ἡμῶν Ουαλ. Σεβ.  
Inscriptions: Lycia – *AE* (1966) 460/*AE* (1968) 500/*SK* 183<sup>87</sup>

#### XXII. Valerianus, Gallienus and Valerianus II, Latin Titles, Group A

401. *P. Lic. Cor. Val. nob. Caes. Aug. P. Lic. Gall. Aug. fil. P. Lic. Val. nep.*  
Inscriptions: Africa – *CIL* VIII 26110

<sup>86</sup>The titular formula is mostly restored here, but seems correct. See also the following (398) formula.

<sup>87</sup>The tribunician and *imperator* iterations are restored.

402. *nobb. princ. nn. Val. et Gall. et Val. Caes. Augg.*  
Inscriptions: Numidia -- *AE* (1950) 63
403. *dd. nn. Val. et Gall. Augg. et Val. nob. Caes.*  
Inscriptions: Dacia -- *CIL* III 875/*ILS* 4345
404. *dd. nn. Val. et Gall. et Val. nob. Caes. Pii. Fell. Augg.*  
Inscriptions: Britain -- *EE* ix 1224/*RISC* 33/*RIB* 913
405. *Imp. Val. et Gall. Augg. et Val. nob. Caes.*  
Inscriptions: Britain -- *CIL* VII 107/*ILS* 537/*RIB* 334/*König* 1981, 19
406. *P. Cor. Lic. Val. nob. Caes. Imp. P. Lic. Val. Aug. nep. Imp. P. Lic. Gall. fil.*  
Inscriptions: Mauretania Ting. -- *ILAT* 615/*ILM* 77/*IAM* II 407
407. *Imp. dd. nn. P. Lic. Val. et P. Lic. Eg. Gall. Pii. Fell. Augg. et P. Cor. Lic. Val. nob. Caes.*  
Inscriptions: Numidia -- *EE* v 1128/*CIL* VIII 22302
408. *Imp. Caes. P. Lic. Val. Pi. Fel. Aug. et P. Lic. Gall. Aug. et P. Lic. Cor. Val. nob. Caes. Aug.*  
Inscriptions: Africa -- *ILAlg* I 2047
409. *Imp. Caes. P. Lic. Val. et P. Lic. Gall. Pii. Fell. Augg. et P. Cor. Lic. nob. Caes.*  
Inscriptions: Africa -- *AE* (1917-8) 17/*ILAT* 356/*CILB* 91
410. *P. Cor. Lic. Val. nob. Caes. princ. iuv. fil. Imp. Caes. P. Lic. Eg. Gall. Pi. Fel. Aug. nep. Imp. Caes. P. Lic. Val. Pi. Fel.*  
Inscriptions: Italy -- *CIL* XI 5958
411. *Imp. Caes. P. Lic. Val. Pi. Fel. Inv. Aug. et Imp. Caes. P. Lic. Gall. Pi. Fel. Inv. Aug. et P. Lic. Eg. Cor. Val. Caes. Pi. Fel. Inv. Aug.*  
Inscriptions: Moesia Inf. -- *CIL* III 7608/*IDR* V 100
412. *P. Cor. Lic. Val. nob. Caes. princ. iuv. nep. et fil. dd. nn. Val. et Gall. Augg.*  
Inscriptions: Alpes -- *CIL* XII 12/*ILS* 553/*König* 1981, 16

## XXIII. Valerianus, Gallienus and Valerianus II, Latin Titles, Group C

413. *dd. nn. Imp. Caes. P. Lic. Val. Inv. Aug. p. p. (sic) pont. max. Germ. max. tr. pot. cos. III p. p. Imp. Caes. Lic. Gall. Pi. Fel. Inv. Aug. pont. max. Germ. max. tr. pot. cos. III p. p. procos. IV (sic) P. Lic. Val. Caes. princ. iuv.*  
Inscriptions: Sardinia -- *CIL* X 8028
414. *dd. nn. Imp. Caes. P. Lic. Val. Pi. Fel. Inv. Aug. pont. max. Germ. max. tr. pot. V cos. III p. p. et Imp. Caes. P. Lic. Eg. Gall. Pi. Fel. Inv. Aug. pont. max. Germ. max. tr. pot. IV cos. III p. p. et P. Cor. Eg. Val. nob. Caes. princ. iuv.*  
Inscriptions: Sardinia -- *AE* (1889) 37/*EE* viii 770/*ILS* 538<sup>88</sup>
415. *Imp. Caes. P. Lic. Val. Pi. Fel. Inv. Aug. pont. max. tr. pot. (?) cos. IV et Imp. Caes. P. Lic. Eg. Gall. Pi. Fel. Aug. pont. max. tr. pot. (?) cos. III et P. Lic. Cor. Val. nob. Caes.*  
Inscriptions: Africa -- *AE* (1951) 38<sup>89</sup>
416. *Imp. P. Lic. Val. Pi. Fel. Aug. pont. max. tr. pot. V cos. IV procos. imp. III p. p. et P. Lic. Gall. Pi. Fel. Aug. pont. max. tr. pot. V cos. III Germ. p. p. et P. Lic. Val. nob. Caes. princ. iuv.*  
Inscriptions: Pannonia Sup. -- *AIJug* 600/*ILJug* I 361<sup>90</sup>

<sup>88</sup>I print the text as given by Dessau. Another fragmentary stone from Sardinia (*EE* viii 797) probably belongs here. However, it is so mutilated that it cannot be restored with any confidence.

<sup>89</sup>{*Imp(eratoris) Caes(aris) P(ubli) Licini Valeriani Pii Felicis*} *Invicti Aug(usti) [pont(ificis) max(imi) / trib(unicia) pot(estate) ? co(n)s(ulis) III et Imp(eratoris) Caes(aris) P(ubli)] Licini Eg(natij) Gallieni Pii / Felicis Aug(usti) pont(ificis) max(imi) trib(unicia) pot(estate) c(o)n(s)ul(is) III et P(ubli) Licini [Cornelii ? / Valeriani nobilissimi Caes(aris)]}.*

<sup>90</sup>This inscription was copied in 1801 and all that remains is that copy. Therefore, the reading is very uncertain. I give the text proposed by Christol 1975, 817 no. 69.

## XXIV. Valerianus, Gallienus and Valerianus II, Greek Titles, Group A

417. Ουαλλ. καὶ Γαλλ.  
Papyri: *Bureth* p. 118, no. 2 (1)
418. Ουαλλ. Γαλλ. Σεββ.  
Papyri: *SB* 7290, 4-7<sup>91</sup>
419. Ουαλ. καὶ Γαλλ. καὶ Κορ. Ουαλ. Σεββ.  
Papyri: *Bureth* p. 118, no. 4 (1)
420. οἱ κυρρ. ἡμῶν Ουαλλ. καὶ Γαλλ. Σεββ.  
Papyri: *Bureth* p. 119, no. 3 (4)
421. οἱ κυρρ. ἡμῶν Ουαλ. καὶ Γαλλ. καὶ Κορ. Ουαλ. Σεββ.  
Papyri: *Bureth* p. 119, no. 5 (2)<sup>92</sup>
422. Αὐττ. Ουαλ. Γαλλ. Ουαλ.  
Coins: Bithynia (Nicomedia) – *SNGAul* 859, 7141
423. οἱ θεϊότατοι Αὐττ. Π. Λικ. Ουαλ. καὶ Γαλλ. καὶ Ουαλ. νέος Καίσ.  
Inscriptions: Moesia Inf. – *IGBulg* 834
424. Αὐττ. Ουαλ. Γαλλ. Ουαλ. Σεββ.  
Coins: Bithynia (Nicaea) – *SNGAul* 720
425. οἱ κυρρ. ἡμῶν Αὐττ. Ουαλ. καὶ Γαλλ. καὶ Ουαλ. ἐπιφ. Καίσ. Σεββ.  
Inscriptions: Arabia – *SEG* 16 (1959) 807, 808

<sup>91</sup>This papyrus is dated to 25 June 257, thus Valerian II is the other Valerian here. See *Bureth* p. 118, no. 3.

<sup>92</sup>*P. Lips.* 3,II,3 and *P. Strab.* 6,II,15, because they date to year four, belong to Valerian II.

426. Αὐττ. Ουαλ. Γαλλ. Ουαλ. Καίσ. Σεββ.  
Coins: Bithynia (Nicaea) – *SNGAul* 721, 7083; *KBM* 262  
Bithynia (Nicomedia) – *SNGAul* 860
427. Αὐττ. Καίσ. Π. Αἰλιός (sic) Λικ. Ουαλ. καὶ Γαλλ. Σεββ. καὶ ὁ θεοφύλεστος Καίσ.  
Κορ. Ουαλ.  
Inscriptions: Moesia Inf. – *AE* (1969/70) 573/*SEG* 24 (1969) 969/*IGBulg* 251
428. Αὐττ. Καίσ. Π. Λικ. Ουαλ. καὶ Π. Λικ. Ουαλ. Γαλλ. Εὐσσ. Εὐττ. καὶ Π. Λικ. Κορ.  
Ουαλ. ὁ ἱερώτατος Καίσ. Σεββ.  
Papyri: *Bureth* p. 118, no. 6 (3)
429. Αὐτ. Καὶ Π. Λικ. Ουαλ. Εὐσ. Εὐτ. Σεβ. καὶ Αὐτ. Καίσ. Π. Λικ. Γαλλ. Εὐσ. Εὐτ. Σεβ.  
καὶ Π. Λικ. Κορ. Ουαλ. ὁ ἐπιφ. Καίσ.  
Inscriptions: Asia – *CIG* 3182/*CIL* III 412/*IGRR* IV 1404/*IK* 24,1 604<sup>93</sup>
430. Αὐττ. Καίσ. Π. Λικ. Ουαλ. καὶ Π. Λικ. Ουαλ. Γαλλ. Γερμμ. μεγγ. Εὐσσ. Εὐττ. καὶ  
Π. Λικ. Κορ. ὁ ἐπιφ. Καίσ. Σεββ.  
Papyri: *Bureth* p. 118, no. 8 (1)<sup>94</sup>

<sup>93</sup>According to Mommsen (*CIL* ad loc.), the junior emperor here is Saloninus. The more likely candidate, however, is the elder brother, Valerian II. Cf. Petzl, *IK* ad loc. Also, the restorations given here are those offered in *CIG*, which seem to fit the stone. In line 9, there does not at all seem to be room enough for Εὐσεβής for Gallienus. In line 10, while there would appear to be space for more than just Κορυήλιος, the remainder of the lacuna appears to be of a size to allow only two or three letters. Petzl (*IK* ad loc.) prefers to restore, Εὐσεβής in line 9, and Κ[ορυήλιος Οὐαλεριανός] in line 10, arguing that these are necessary and that the letters will have been cut smaller so as to fit.

<sup>94</sup>*Bureth* lists under this formula two papyri: *P. Lond.* 953 and 211. Since the former dates to Phamenoth of year five, the Caesar in question is Valerian II. However, the latter dates to year seven, hence the Caesar is Saloninus.

431. Αυττ. Καισ. Π. Λικ. Ουαλ. και Π. Λικ. Ουαλ. Γαλλ. Γερμ. μεγγ. Ευσσ. Ευττ. και Π. Λικ. Κορ. Ουαλ. ὁ επιφ. Καισ. Σεββ.  
Papyri: *Bureth* p. 119, no. 1 (4);<sup>95</sup> *P. Oxy.* XLIII 3111, 15-7; XLIV 3182, 11-6

## XXV. Valerianus, Gallienus and Valerianus II, Greek Titles, Group C

432. Αυτ. Καισ. Π. Λικ. Ουαλ. Ευσ. Ευτ. Σεβ. αρχ. μεγ. Γερμ. μεγ. δημ. εξ. τὸ ζ' υπ. τὸ δ' π. π. αυθυπ. και Αυτ. Καισ. Π. Λικ. Γαλλ. Ευσ. Ευτ. Σεβ. αρχ. μεγ. Γερμ. μεγ. δημ. εξ. τὸ ζ' υπ. τὸ γ' π. π. αυθυπ. και Π. Λικ. Ουαλ. επιφ. Καισ.  
Inscriptions: Lycia -- *IGRR III 643/TAM II 784/AE* (1929) 29/*SEG 6* (1932) 759

## XXVI. Valerianus, Gallienus and Saloninus, Latin Titles, Group A

433. *d. n. P. Cor. Lic. Sal. Val. nob. Caes. princ. iuv. fil. d. n. Imp. P. Lic. Eg. Gall. Pi. Fel. Aug. Inv. nep. d. n. Imp. P. Lic. Val.*  
Inscriptions: Sardinia -- *AE* (1971) 124/*Sotgiu* 1988, B21
434. *Imp. Caes. P. Lic. Val. Pi. Fel. Aug. et Imp. Caes. P. Lic. Gall. Pi. Fel. Aug. et Lic. Cor. Sal. Val. nob. Caes.*  
Inscriptions: Syria -- *CIL III 184/IGRR III 1020/ILS 540/OGIS 262/IGLS 4028*
435. *Sal. nob. Caes. princ. iuv. Imp. Caes. P. Lic. Gall. Pi. Fel. Inv. Aug. fil. Imp. Caes. Val. Pi. Fel. Inv. Aug. nep.*  
Inscriptions: Italy -- *CIL X 6221*

<sup>95</sup>For the corrected dating (to year four rather than year two) of *CPR* 176 and *P. Oxy.* X 1277, see *Rea* 1984a, 1126-8.

## XXVII. Valerianus, Gallienus and Saloninus, Latin Titles, Group C

436. *Imp. Caes. P. Lic. Val. Pi. Fel. Aug. pont. max. Germ. max. tr. pot. VII cos. IV p. p. procos. et Imp. Caes. P. Lic. Gall. Germ. Pi. Fel. Aug. pont. max. tr. pot. VII cos. III p. p. procos. et P. Cor. Sal. Val. nob. Caes.*  
Inscriptions: Italy -- *CIL XI 826/ILS 539/König* 1981, 7

## XXVIII. Valerianus, Gallienus and Saloninus, Greek Titles, Group A

437. Ουαλλ. και Γαλλ. Σεββ.  
Papyri: *SB* 776, 6-7;<sup>96</sup> *P. Mich.* XI 614, 7;<sup>97</sup> 615, 32
438. οἱ κυρρ. ἡμῶν Ουαλλ. και Γαλλ. Σεβ.  
Papyri: *P. Hamb.* 20, 20-1<sup>98</sup>
439. οἱ κυρρ. ἡμῶν Ουαλ. και Γαλλ. και Κορ. Σαλ. Σεββ.  
Papyri: *Bureth* p. 119, no. 6 (1)
440. Ουαλ. και Γαλλ. και Κορ. Σαλ. Ουαλ. Καισ. οἱ κυρρ. Σεββ.  
Papyri: *Bureth* p. 118, no. 5 (1)

<sup>96</sup>See *Bureth* p. 118, no. 3. This papyrus dates to ■ September 259, hence Saloninus is the second Valerian in question.

<sup>97</sup>This papyrus does not date to year three, but to year six. See *Rea* 1984a, 1130.

<sup>98</sup>See *Rea* 1984a, 1133 for the correct reading and dating of this papyrus.



441. οἱ κυρρ. ἡμῶν Οὐαλλ. καὶ Γαλλ. Εὐσο. Εὐττ. Σεββ.  
Papyri: *Bureth* p. 119, no. 4 (3)<sup>99</sup>
442. Αὐττ. Καίσο. Π. Λικ. Οὐαλ. καὶ Π. Λικ. Οὐαλ. Γαλλ. Γερμμ. μεγγ. καὶ Π. Λικ. Κορ. Σαλ. ὁ ἐπιφ. Καίσο. Σεββ.  
Papyri: *P. Mich.* XI 615, 11-4<sup>100</sup>
443. Αὐττ. Καίσο. Π. Λικ. Οὐαλ. καὶ Π. Λικ. Οὐαλ. Γαλλ. Γερμμ. μεγγ. Εὐσο. Εὐττ. καὶ Π. Λικ. Κορ. ὁ ἐπιφ. Καίσο. Σεββ.  
Papyri: *Bureth* p. 118, no. 8 (1)<sup>101</sup>
444. Αὐττ. Καίσο. Π. Λικ. Οὐαλ. καὶ Π. Λικ. Οὐαλ. Γαλλ. Γερμμ. μεγγ. Εὐσο. Εὐττ. καὶ Π. Κορ. Σαλ. Οὐαλ. ὁ ἐπιφ. Καίσο. Σεββ.  
Papyri: *Bureth* p. 118, no. 9 (1)
445. Αὐττ. Καίσο. Π. Λικ. Οὐαλ. καὶ Π. Λικ. Οὐαλ. Γαλλ. Γερμμ. μεγγ. Εὐσο. Εὐττ. καὶ Π. Λικ. Κορ. Οὐαλ. ὁ ἐπιφ. Καίσο. Σεββ.  
Papyri: *P. Wisc.* I 7, 40-7<sup>102</sup>
446. Αὐττ. Καίσο. Π. Λικ. Οὐαλ. καὶ Π. Λικ. Οὐαλ. Γαλλ. Γερμμ. μεγγ. Εὐσο. Εὐττ. καὶ Π. Λικ. Κορ. Σαλ. Οὐαλ. ὁ ἐπιφ. Καίσο. Σεββ.  
Papyri: *Bureth* p. 118, no. 7 (6); *P. Oxy.* XXXI 2560, 23-6; XLIII 3134, 12-6; *Pap. Lugd. Bat.* XVII 7, 11-3<sup>103</sup>

<sup>99</sup>Though *Bureth* dates *O. Bodl.* 1637 to year two, it would appear to date later. See Rea 1984a, 1131.

<sup>100</sup>One would expect *Εὐσο. Εὐττ.* after *Γερμμ. μεγγ.* However, there appears not to be space enough on the papyrus to accommodate the fuller reading. Thus, Shelton's reading looks right, though unique.

<sup>101</sup>*Bureth* lists two papyri with this formula. Only the second (*P. Lond.* 211) belongs to Saloninus, and this because it dates to year seven.

<sup>102</sup>Saloninus must be the Caesar in question, since the papyrus is dated to year seven.

<sup>103</sup>This papyrus is badly damaged. Both the year and much of Saloninus' name must be restored, thus the Caesar in question could be Valerian II.

#### XXXIX. Valerianus, Gallienus, Valerianus II and Saloninus, Latin Titles, Group A

447. *Imp. Caes. P. Lic. Val. et P. Lic. Gall. et P. Cor. Val. Pii. Augg. et Cor. Sal. Val iun. nobb. Caess. et Augg.*  
Inscriptions: Asia -- *CIL* III 6956 (=12215)/*MAMA* VIII 8/König 1981, 6
448. *divus Caes. P. Cor. Lic. Val. nep. Imp. Caes. P. Lic. Val. Aug. fil. Imp. Caes. P. Lic. Gall. Aug. frater P. Cor. Lic. Sal. nob. Caes. Aug.*  
Inscriptions: Mauretania Caes. -- *CIL* VIII 8473/*ILS* 557/König 1981, 5

#### XXX. Gallienus and Valerianus II, Latin Titles, Group A

449. *Imp. Caes. P. Lic. Val. Pi. Fel. nob. Caes. fil. Gall. Aug. n.*  
Inscriptions: Syria -- *CIL* III 130
450. *P. Lic. Cor. Val. nob. Caes. fil. Imp. Caes. P. Lic. Eg. Gall. Pi. Fel. Inv. Aug.*  
Inscriptions: Dacia -- *EE* iv 190/*CIL* III 7971/*ILS* 554/*IDR* III.2 82

#### XXXI. Gallienus and Valerianus II, Greek Titles, Group A

451. Π. Λικ. Κορ. Οὐαλ. υἱὸς τοῦ Σεβ. Γαλλ.  
Inscriptions: Asia -- *AE* (1974) 624/*IK* 28,1 13
452. ὁ ὀσιώτατος καὶ θειότατος Καίσο. Π. Λικ. Εγ. Οὐαλ. Εὐσ. Εὐτ. Σεβ. Αὐτ. Καίσο. Π. Λικ. Γαλλ. υἱός  
Inscriptions: Achaea -- *CIG* 1621/*IG* VII 3105

453. ὁ κυρ. ἡμῶν θεϊότατος Αυτ. Π. Λικ. Εγ. Γαλλ. Ευσ. Ευτ. Σεβ...ὁ θεοφιλέστατος  
καὶ θεοφιλέστατος Καισ. ὁ κυρ. ἡμῶν Π. Λικ. Ουαλ. νέος Ευσ. Ευτ. Σεβ.  
Inscriptions: Bithynia – *AE* (1939) 25
454. Αυτ. Καισ. Π. Λικ. Γαλλ. Ευσ. Ευτ. Σεβ. Ουαλ. Σεβ. υἱός  
Inscriptions: Thrace – *IGRR* I 696/*IGBulg* 1911

## XXXII. Gallienus and Saloninus, Latin Titles, Group A

455. *P. Cor. Sal. Val. nob. Caes. princ. iuv. fil. Imp. Gall. Aug.*  
Inscriptions: Italy – *CIL* XI 5380/*ILS* 559/König 1981, 12/*ELRA* 15
456. *Imp. Caes. P. Lic. Gall. Pi. Fel. Aug. et P. Lic. Cor. Sal. nob. Caes.*  
Inscriptions: Germania Sup. – *CIL* XIII 5203/*RGAI* 279/*WRIS* 155/König 1981,  
33<sup>104</sup>
457. *Imp. Caes. P. Lic. Gall. Pi. Fel. Aug. et P. Lic. Cor. Sal. Val. nob. Caes.*  
Inscriptions: Bithynia – Şahin et al. 1983, 50-1 no. 5

## XXXIII. Gallienus and Saloninus, Greek Titles, Group A

458. ὁ θεοφιλέστατος Καισ. Κορ. Σαλ. Ουαλ. Σεβ. υἱός τοῦ κυρ. ἡμῶν Γαλλ. Σεβ.  
Inscriptions: Cappadocia – *CIL* III 6957/*IGRR* IV 776

<sup>104</sup>{*Imp(erator) Caesar P(ublius) Lic(inius) Gallienus Pius Felix [Augu]stus ■ P(ublius) Lic(inius) Cornelius Saloninus nobil(issimus) Caesar.*

## XXXIV. Gallienus, Valerianus II and Saloninus, Latin Titles, Group A

459. *divus Caes. P. Cor. Lic. Val. fil. Imp. Caes. P. Lic. Eg. Gall. Pi. Fel. Aug. frater P. Lic. Sal. nob. Caes.*  
Inscriptions: Sicily – *CIL* X 7479/*ILMP* 70<sup>105</sup>

<sup>105</sup>{*Divo Caesari / P(ublio) Cornelio Licinio Valeriano / filio Imp(eratoris) Caes(aris) P(ubli) Lic(ini) Egnati / Gallieni Pii Fel(ici) Aug(usti) / fratri P(ubli) Licin(i) Salo(ni)ni nob(ilitissimi) / Caes(aris)–.*

Regalianus  
(ca. June - fall 260)

*Pub(lius) Cor(nelius) Reg(alianus)*

## I. Literary Testimonia

*HA trig. tyr. 10.1 Regalianus denique in Illyrico ducatum gerens imperator est factus auctoribus imperii Moesis...*

## II. Latin Titles, Group A

1. *Imp. Caes. Pub. Cor. Reg. Aug.*  
Coins: Pannonia Sup. (Carnuntum ?) -- *RIC* V.2 pp. 586-7; *HCC* IV p. 68

Macrianus and Quietus  
(ca. early September 260 - summer/fall 261)

*T(itus) Ful(vius) Jun(ius) Mac(rianus)*  
*T(itus) Ful(vius) Jun(ius) Qu(ietus)*

## I. Literary Testimonia

*HA Gall. 1.2-4 Gallieno igitur et Volusiano consulibus Macri<a>nus et Ballista in unum coeunt, exercitus reliquias convocant et, cum Romanum in oriente nutaret imperium, quem facerent imperatorem requirunt, Gallieno iam negligenter se agente, ut eius ne mentio quidem apud exercitum fieret. placuit denique, ut Macri<a>num cum filiis suis imperatores dicerent ac rem p. de{fensandam} capesserent...*

*HA trig. tyr. 12.1 ff. Capto Valeriano...cum Gallienum contemnendum Ballista praefectus Valeriani et Macrianus primus du<cu>m intellegerent, quaerentibus etiam militibus principem unum in locum concesserunt quaerente<s>, quid faciendum esset. tuncque constitit Gallieno longe posito, Aureolo usurpante imperium debere aliquem principem fieri, et quidem optimum, ne quispiam tyrannus existeret...factus est igitur cum Macriano et Quieto duobus filiis cunctis militibus volentibus imperator ac statim contra Gallienum venire coepit...*

*HA trig. tyr. 14.1 Hic (i.e. Quietus), ut diximus, Macriani filius fuit. cum patre et fratre Ballistae iudicio imperator est factus.*

Zonaras 12.24 Καὶ ἄλλος δὲ τῷ Γαλιῆμῳ κεκλιητο πόλεμος παρὰ Μακρίνου, ὃς δύο ἔχων υἱοὺς Μακριανοῦ καὶ Κίουτου, τυραννίδι ἐπικεχείρηκε. καὶ αὐτὸς μὲν, ὅτι θάτερον πεπρωτο τῶν σκελῶν, οὐκ ἐνέδου τὴν στολὴν τὴν βασιλείων, τοῖς δ' υἱοῖς αὐτὴν περιέλαβε. καὶ οἱ ἐν τῇ Ἀσίᾳ ἀσμένως αὐτὸν προσεδέξατο.

## II. Macrianus, Latin Titles, Group A

1. *Imp. Caes. Ful. Mac. Pl. Fel. Aug.*  
 Coins: Syria (Antioch) -- *RIC* V.2 pp. 580-1; *HCC* IV pp. 66-7<sup>1</sup>

## III. Macrianus, Greek Titles, Group A

2. Τ. Φουλ. Μακ. Αυγ.  
 Coins: Bithynia (Heraclea Pontica) -- *SNGAul* 465
3. Τ. Φουλ. Ιουλ. Μακ. Σεβ.  
 Coins: Bithynia (Nicaea) -- *SNGAul* 733-4; *KBM* 263
4. Αυτ. Φουλ. Ιου. Μακ. Σεβ.  
 Coins: Byzantium & Nicaea -- *BMC Thrace* p. 109, 5-6<sup>2</sup>  
 Egypt (Alexandria) -- Milne 1933, p. 97
5. Αυτ. Καισ. Τ. Φουλ. Ιου. Μακ. Ευσ. Σεβ.  
 Coins: Egypt (Alexandria) -- *KAK* 3011-2
6. ὁ γῆς καὶ θαλάσσης καὶ παντὸς ἀνθρώπων γένους δεσπότης Αυτ. Καισ. Τ. Φουλ.  
 Ιου. Μακ. Σεβ.  
 Inscriptions: Bithynia -- *CIG* 3710/*IGRR* III 27

<sup>1</sup>Coins of Macrianus may also have been minted at Emesa. See *HCC* IV pp. lxiv-lxv.

<sup>2</sup>The obverse legend of no. 5 reads, Α ΦΟΥΛ ΙΟΥ ΜΑΚΡΙΑΝΟΣ ΣΕ. No. 6 is damaged, but may have the same legend.

## IV. Quietus, Latin Titles, Group A

7. *Imp. Caes. Ful. Qu. Pl. Fel. Aug.*  
 Coins: Syria (Antioch) -- *RIC* V.2 pp. 582-3; *HCC* IV p. 67

## V. Quietus, Greek Titles, Group A

8. Αυτ. Καισ. Τ. Φουλ. Ιου. Κυ. Ευσ. Σεβ.  
 Coins: Egypt (Alexandria) -- *KAK* 3013-4

## VI. Macrianus and Quietus, Greek Titles, Group A

9. οἱ κυρρ. ἡμῶν Τ. Φουλ. Ιου. Μακ. καὶ Τ. Φουλ. Ιου. Κυ.  
 Papyri: *P. Oxy.* XLIX 3476, 7-8
10. Μακ. καὶ Κυ. Σεββ.  
 Inscriptions: Egypt -- *AE* (1896) 132/*IGRR* I 1181/*PdD* 90<sup>3</sup>  
 Papyri: *Bureth* p. 119, no. 1 (2)
11. οἱ κυρρ. ἡμῶν Μακ. καὶ Κυ. Σεββ.  
 Papyri: *Bureth* p. 119, no. 3 (10); *Pap. Lugd. Bat.* XIX 15, 1-2
12. οἱ κυρρ. ἡμῶν Μακ. καὶ Κυ. Καισ. Σεββ.  
 Papyri: *Bureth* p. 120, no. 1 (1)

<sup>3</sup>The reading is that given in *PdD*.

13. οἱ κυρρ. ἡμῶν Μακ. καὶ Κυ. Ευσσ. Ενττ. Σεββ.  
Papyri: *Bureth* p. 120, no. 2 (1)
14. Αυττ. Καισα. Τ. Φουλ. Ιουν. Μακ. καὶ Τ. Φουλ. Ιουν. Κυ. Ευσσ. Ενττ. Σεββ.  
Papyri: *Bureth* p. 119, no. 2 (7); *P. Oxy.* XLIX 3476, 12-3; L 3597, 37-9; *P. Coll. Youtie* 67, 47-9; *P. Ups. Frid.* 5, 30-4

#### VII. Macrianus and Quietus, Greek Titles, Group C

15. κυρρ. ἡμῶν Αυττ. Μακ. τὸ β' καὶ Κυ. τὸ β' (?) υππ.  
Papyri: *P. Oxy.* XXXIV 2710, 8-9<sup>4</sup>

<sup>4</sup>The editors suggest the second consulate for Quietus as well.

#### Aureolus

(ca. April/May - late September 268)

#### I. Literary Testimonia

*Aur. Vict. Caes.* 33.17-8 *Namque Aureolus, cum per Raetias legionibus praeeset, excitus, uti mos est, socordia tam ignavi ducis sumpto imperio Romam contendebat.*

*Epit. de Caes.* 32.5 ...*Mediolani Aureolus dominatum invasere.*

*HA trig. tyr.* 11.1 *Hic quoque [in] Illyricanos exercitus regens in contemptu Gallieni, ut omnes eo tempore, coactus a militibus sumpsit imperium.*

Zonaras 12.25 Αὔθις δὲ ἑτέρα κατὰ τοῦ Γαλιήμου ἐπαυάστασις γέγονεν, ἣν Αὔριολος συνεστήσατο...

Zosimus 1.38.1 ἐν ταύτῃ δὲ ἐπανάσταντων αὐτῷ Μέμορός τε τοῦ Μαυρουσίου καὶ Αὔριόλου...Αὔριολος δὲ ἄλλοτρίως πρὸς τὸν βασιλέα διετέλεσεν ἔχων.

#### II. Latin Titles, Group A

- Imp. Aureolus Aug.*  
Coins: Italy (Milan) -- *RIC* V.2 p. 589
- Imp. Caes. Aureolus Aug.*  
Coins: Italy (Milan) -- *RIC* V.2 p. 589

**Claudius II**

(early September 268 - mid-August 270)

*M(arcus) Aur(elius) Claud(ius)***I. Literary Testimonia**

*Aur. Vict. Caes.* 33.28 *Nam cum profluvio sanguinis vulnere tam gravi mortem sibi (i.e. Gallieno) adesse intelligeret, insignia imperii ad Claudium destinaverat...*

*Epit. de Caes.* 34.2 *Hic Claudius Gallieni morientis sententia imperator designatur...*

*Eutrop.* 9.11.1 *...Claudiusque ei successit a militibus electus, a senatu appellatus Augustus.*

*Oros. hist. adv. pag.* 7.23.1 *...Claudius...voluntate senatus sumpsit imperium...*

*Zonaras* 12.26 *Τοῦ μέντοι Γαλήνου ἀνηρημένου Κλαύδιος ἀνερρήθη Καίσαρ.*

*Zosimus* 1.41.1 *Τῶν δὲ στρατιωτῶν κελεύσει τῶν ἡγουμένων ἡσυχασάντων, Κλαύδιος τὴν τῶν ἄλων ἡγεμονίαν παραλαμβάνει...*

**II. Latin Titles, Group A**1. *divus Claud.*

Inscriptions: Sicily -- *CIL X 7281/ILMP 23*

Numidia -- *EE vii 767/CIL VIII 17880*

Coins: Italy (Milan) -- *RIC V.1 257, 261; HCC IV p. 81*  
 Italy (Rome) -- *RIC V.1 262 ff.; HCC IV pp. 80-1*  
 Gaul (?) -- *RIC V.1 256*

2. *divus Claud. Goth.*

Coins: Italy (Milan) -- *RIC V.1 264*  
 Italy (Rome) -- *RIC V.1 263*

3. *Claud. Aug.*

Coins: Italy (Rome) -- *RIC V.1 93*  
 Asia (Cyzicus) -- *RIC V.1 232, 240*

4. *Claud. Pi. Fel. Aug.*

Coins: Italy (Milan) -- *RIC V.1 166*

5. *d. n. Inv. Aug. Claud. Pi. Fel. Aug.*

Inscriptions: Numidia -- *CIL VIII 10182 (=22300)*

6. *Imp. Claud.*

Coins: Italy (Rome) -- *RIC V.1 59*

6a. *divus Claud. optimus Imp.*

Coins: Italy (Rome) -- *RIC V.1 292 ff.*

7. *Imp. Claud. Aug.*

Coins: Italy (Milan) -- *RIC V.1 136, 147*  
 Italy (Rome) -- *RIC V.1 2 ff.; HCC IV 27-37, 40-50*  
 Pannonia Sup. (Siscia) -- *RIC V.1 176, 181 ff.; HCC IV 67-72*  
 Asia (Cyzicus) -- *RIC V.1 239, 244, 249*  
 Syria (Antioch) -- *RIC V.1 199 ff.*

8. *Imp. Claud. Pi. Aug.*

Coins: Gaul (?) -- *RIC V.1 260*

9. *Imp. Claud. Pi. Fel. Aug.*

Coins: Italy (Milan) -- *RIC V.1 131 ff.; HCC IV 51-65*  
 Italy (Rome) -- *RIC V.1 39, 42, 44, 82, 117, 119, 128*  
 Asia (Cyzicus) -- *RIC V.1 230, 234, 238, 247-8, 252, 254*  
 Asia (Ephesus/Cyzicus ?) -- *HCC IV 86-7*  
 Syria (Antioch) -- *RIC V.1 223*

10. *Imp. Caes. Claud.*  
 Coins: Pannonia Sup. (Siscia) -- *RIC* V.1 180, 190  
 Galatia (Antioch) -- *SNGAul* 4987, 8587
11. *Imp. Claud. Caes. restitutor orbis*  
 Coins: Pannonia Sup. (Siscia) -- *RIC* V.1 188<sup>1</sup>
12. *Imp. Caes. M. Aur. Claud. Pi.*  
 Inscriptions: Italy -- *AE* (1959) 279
13. *Imp. Caes. M. Aur. Claud. Pi. Fel. Inv.*  
 Inscriptions: Pannonia Inf. -- *CIL* III 3702
14. *Imp. Caes. Claud. Aug.*  
 Coins: Italy (Milan) -- *RIC* V.1 146, 169; *Gnecchi* III p. 63, 9 ff.  
 Italy (Rome) -- *RIC* V.1 5 ff.; *HCC* IV 1-26  
 Pannonia Sup. (Siscia) -- *RIC* V.1 178, 184  
 Syria (Antioch) -- *RIC* V.1 197 ff.; *HCC* IV 73-84
15. *Imp. Caes. M. Aur. Claud. Aug.*  
 Coins: Asia (Cyzius) -- *RIC* V.1 227 ff.; *HCC* IV 88  
 Asia (Ephesus/Cyzius ?) -- *HCC* IV 85
16. *Imp. Caes. M. Aur. Claud. divus Aug.*  
 Inscriptions: Numidia -- *CIL* VIII 10373 (=22494)
17. *Imp. Caes. Claud. Aug. Inv. Aug.*  
 Coins: Italy (Rome) -- *RIC* V.1 50
18. *Imp. Claud. Caes. Aug. restitutor orbis*  
 Coins: Pannonia Sup. (Siscia) -- *RIC* V.1 189

<sup>1</sup>The coin is best read as [OR]BIS, although Cohen conjectured [PIETAT]IS. See also Webb's note, *RIC* V.1 p. 227.

19. *Imp. Caes. Claud. Pi. Fel. Aug.*  
 Coins: Italy (Milan) -- *RIC* V.1 130 ff.; *Gnecchi* II p. 112, 1 ff.; III p. 63, 8 ff.  
 Italy (Rome) -- *RIC* V.1 118, 127
20. *Imp. Caes. M. Claud. Pi. Fel. Aug.*  
 Inscriptions: Dalmatia -- *CIL* III 13322
21. *Imp. Caes. M. Aur. Claud. Pi. Fel. Aug.*  
 Inscriptions: Italy -- *CIL* V 7685/Pais 976/*Inscript. Ital.* IX,1 41a  
 Dalmatia -- *CIL* III 15105<sup>2</sup>  
 Africa -- *CIL* VIII 26265<sup>3</sup>  
 Mauretania Caes. -- *CIL* VIII 22615  
 Coins: Italy (Milan) -- *Gnecchi* I p. 9, 1  
 Italy (Rome) -- *RIC* V.1 1
22. *Imp. Caes. M. Aur. Claud. Pi. Fel. Inv. Aug.*  
 Inscriptions: Italy -- *CIL* V 4869/Alföldy 1984b, no. 274/*Inscript. Ital.* X,5 1031  
 Numidia -- *AE* (1909) 15/*ILS* 9073/*ILAlg* II 8; *CIL* VIII 4413,  
 10130, 10146, 10384 (=22466)
23. *Imp. Caes. M. Aur. Val. (sic) Claud. Pi. Fel. Inv. Aug.*  
 Inscriptions: Britain -- *EE* ix 1374/*RJB* 2246/*König* 1981, 63<sup>4</sup>

### III. Latin Titles, Group B

24. *d. n. Claud. Aug....d. n. Inv. Claud. Aug. cos.*  
 Inscriptions: Pannonia Sup. -- *CIL* III 4289/*RIU* II 385

<sup>2</sup>The inscription breaks after *Aug.*

<sup>3</sup>The inscription breaks after *Aug.*

<sup>4</sup>*Imp(eratori) [C(aesari) M(arco)] / Aur(elio) [Val(erio)] / Cl(audio)---*

25. *Imp. Caes. M. Aur. Claud. Pi. Fel. Aug. p. p. pont. max. tr. pot. cos. p. p.*  
Inscriptions: Africa -- *EE* vii 576/*CIL* VIII 22052
26. *Imp. Caes. M. Aur. Claud. Pi. Fel. Aug. pont. max. tr. pot. cos. procos.*  
Inscriptions: Pannonia Sup. -- *CIL* III 11333b
27. *Imp. Caes. M. Aur. Claud. Pi. Fel. Aug. p. p. pont. max. tr. pot. cos. procos.*  
Inscriptions: Mauretania Ting. -- *ILAT* 616/*ILM* 78/*LAM* II 408
28. *Imp. Caes. M. Aur. Claud. Pi. Fel. Inv. Aug. pont. max.*  
Inscriptions: Dalmatia -- *CIL* III 13323
29. *Imp. Caes. M. Aur. Claud. Pi. Fel. Inv. Aug. pont. max. tr. pot.*  
Inscriptions: Noricum -- *ILJug* II 1196  
Numidia -- *CIL* VIII 5330/*ILAlg* I 245; *CIL* VIII 5331/*ILAlg* I 246
30. *Imp. Caes. M. Aur. Claud. Pi. Fel. Inv. Aug. pont. max. tr. pot. p. p. procos.*  
Inscriptions: Numidia -- *AE* (1936) 58
31. *d. n. Imp. Caes. M. Aur. Claud. Pi. Fel. Inv. 'is' (is duobus) pont. max. tr. pot. p. p. procos.*  
Inscriptions: Sardinia -- Boninu & Stylow 1982, 37-44 no. 3/*AE* (1984) 446/Sotgiu 1988, B179
32. *Imp. Caes. M. Aur. Claud. Pi. Fel. Inv. Aug. pont. max. tr. pot. cos. procos.*  
Inscriptions: Mauretania Ting. -- *LAM* II 104<sup>5</sup>
33. *Imp. Caes. M. Aur. Claud. Pi. Fel. Inv. Aug. pont. max. tr. pot. cos. p. p. procos.*  
Inscriptions: Hispania -- *CIL* II 3737/*IRV* 16/König 1981, 66  
Alpes -- *AE* (1898) 149/*AE* (1913) 14/*ILG* 9/König 1981, 71  
Noricum -- *RIS* 7  
Numidia -- *EE* v 1129/*CIL* VIII 22315

<sup>5</sup>The first two lines of this stone read, *Imp(eratori) Caes(ari) / M(arco) Aur(elio) C(laudio)*. Thus, it is possible that this stone belongs really to Carus or Carinus. Still, Claudius seems the more likely candidate. Cf. *LAM* ad loc.

34. *d. n. M. Aur. Claud. Inv. Pi. Fel. Imp. cos. pont. max. tr. pot. p. p. procos.*  
Inscriptions: Hispania -- *CIL* II 3833/*ELST* 19/König 1981, 67

#### IV. Latin Titles, Group C

35. *M. Aur. Claud. Goth. Aug. Germ. max. pont. max. tr. pot. imp. II*  
Inscriptions: Hispania -- *EE* ix 318<sup>6</sup>
36. *Imp. Caes. M. Aur. Claud. max. Pi. Fel. Inv. Aug. pont. max. imp. II cos. tr. pot. p. p. procos.*  
Inscriptions: Sardinia -- *AE* (1890) 88/*EE* viii 745/Sotgiu 1988, C118
37. *divus Claud. pont. max. tr. pot. II cos. p. p.*  
Coins: Italy (Rome) -- *RIC* V.1 285
38. *Imp. Claud. Aug. pont. max. tr. pot. II cos. p. p.*  
Coins: Italy (Rome) -- *RIC* V.1 11-2; *HCC* IV 38-9
39. *Imp. Caes. Claud. Aug. pont. max. tr. pot. II cos. p. p.*  
Coins: Italy (Rome) -- *RIC* V.1 10
- 39a. *Imp. Caes. Claud. Pi. Fel. Aug. pont. max. tr. pot. II cos. p. p.*  
Coins: Italy (Milan) -- *Gnecchi* II p. 113, 7
40. *Imp. Caes. M. Aur. Claud. Pi. Fel. Aug. pont. max. tr. pot. II cos.*  
Inscriptions: Italy -- *CIL* XI 1179

<sup>6</sup>The stone reads, *M(arco) Aur(elio) Claudio Gae(thico) Aug(usto) Germ(anico) / max(imo) pon(tifici) max(imo) tri(b(unicia) pote...s imp(eratori) II s.* Hübner (*EE* ad loc.) notes that *Gae(thico)* is equivalent to *Gothico*, but that it does not belong where it stands in the titular formula, and that it never appears elsewhere with *Germanicus maximus*. Thus, he suggests that it is a mistake for *P(ia) F(elicis) Invicto*. Boninu & Stylow 1982, 42 n. 38 think the suggestion unlikely.



41. *Imp. Caes. M. Aur. Claud. Pi. Fel. Inv. Aug. pont. max. tr. pot. II cos. procos.*  
Inscriptions: Mauretania Caes. – *AE* (1934) 43/*AE* (1942/43) 114<sup>7</sup>
42. *Imp. Caes. M. Aur. Claud. Pi. Fel. Inv. Aug. pont. max. tr. pot. II procos. p. p.*  
Inscriptions: Hispania – *CIL* II 4879/*IRR* 59/König 1981, 69/*ERR* 74<sup>8</sup>
43. *Imp. Caes. M. Aur. Claud. Pi. Fel. Inv. Aug. Germ. max. pont. max. tr. pot. II cos. p. p. procos.*  
Inscriptions: Narbonensis – *CIL* XII 2228/*ILS* 569/König 1981, 72
44. *Imp. Caes. M. Aur. Claud. Pi. Fel. Aug. pont. max. tr. pot. cos. II procos. p. p. maximusque princ. n.*  
Inscriptions: Hispania – *CIL* II 4505/*ILS* 568/*IRB* 24/König 1981, 70
45. *Imp. Caes. M. Aur. Claud. Pi. Fel. Inv. Aug. pont. max. tr. pot. cos. II p. p. procos.*  
Inscriptions: Hispania – *CIL* II 3619/*JR* 2/König 1981, 65  
Numidia – Lèpelley 1981, 191-2 no. 7
46. *Imp. Caes. M. Aur. Val. (?) Claud. Pi. Fel. Aug. pont. max. tr. pot. II cos. II procos.*  
Inscriptions: Africa – *AE* (1894) 54/*CIL* VIII 23972<sup>9</sup>
47. *Imp. Caes. M. Aur. Claud. Inv. Pi. Fel. Aug. p. p. pont. max. tr. pot. II cos. II procos.*  
Inscriptions: Numidia – *ILAlg* II 24<sup>10</sup>
48. *Imp. Caes. M. Aur. Claud. Pi. Fel. Inv. Aug. pont. max. tr. pot. III cos.*  
Inscriptions: Baetica – *CIL* II 1672/König 1981, 64

<sup>7</sup>The tribunician iteration is here restored.

<sup>8</sup>It is not clear whether this stone belongs to Claudius, or to Tacitus (45). The stone reads, *Imp(eratori) C[ae]s(ari) Marco [---] / Claudio [---] / [---] / [---] / pont(ifici) m[ax]imo / trib(unicia) po[te]st(ate) / II proc(onsuli) [---]*.

<sup>9</sup>The first line of this stone reads, *Imp(eratori) Caes(ari) M(arco) Aur(elio) V(alerio) ?*.

<sup>10</sup>*Imp(eratori) Cae[us]s(ari) M(arco) Au[re]lio Claudio In[ui]cto Pi[o] Fel[ici] A[ug]usto) p(atr) p(atr)iae po[nt]ifici / max(imo) t[ri]b(unicia) potest(ate) II co(n)s(uli) II*.

49. *Imp. Caes. M. Aur. Claud. Germ. Pi. Fel. Inv. Aug. pont. max. tr. pot. III cos. procos. p. p.*  
Inscriptions: Pannonia Inf. – *CIL* III 3521/*ILS* 570
50. *Imp. Caes. M. Aur. Claud. Pi. Aug. Fel. pont. max. Goth. max. tr. pot. III cos. II p. p. procos.*  
Inscriptions: Narbonensis – *AE* (1890) 153/*ILG* 651/König 1970, 121/König 1981, 73/*CIL* XVII 159
51. *Imp. Caes. M. Aur. Claud. Pi. Fel. Aug. pont. max. Goth. max. Parth. max. tr. pot. III cos. II p. p. procos.*  
Inscriptions: Numidia – *CIL* VIII 4876/*ILS* 571/*ILAlg* I 1268
52. *Imp. Caes. M. Aur. Claud. Inv. Pi. Fel. pont. max. tr. pot. III cos. II procos.*  
Inscriptions: Hispania – *CIL* II 3834 (= 6019)/*ELST* 21/König 1981, 68
53. *Imp. Caes. M. Aur. Claud. Pi. Fel. Inv. Aug. pont. max. Goth. max. tr. pot. III cos. II p. p. procos. (?)*  
Inscriptions: Narbonensis – *CIL* XII 5511/König 1970, 111/König 1981, 74/*CIL* XVII 149<sup>11</sup>
54. *Claud. Pi. Aug. Inv. cos. III*  
Coins: Pannonia Sup. (Siscia) – *RIC* V.1 177<sup>12</sup>
55. *Imp. Caes. M. Aur. Claud. Aug. cos. III*  
Inscriptions: Numidia – Marcillet-Jaubert 1980, 181 no. 35<sup>13</sup>

<sup>11</sup>*Imp(eratori) Caes(ari) M(arco) Aurelio Claudio / Pio Fel(ici) Inv(icto) Augusto) pont(ifici) / max(imo) Germanico / m[ax]imo Got[th]ico max(imo) / trib(unicia) pot(estate) III co(n)s(uli) II / p(atr) p(atr)iae / [proc(onsuli) ?] / ---*. I might note that Vitucci 1952, 134 n. 3 suggests restoring Probus rather than Claudius to this stone. See also Walser (*CIL* XVII ad loc.). The restoration of *Germanicus maximus* here also seems questionable. The stone is now lost, with little text having been transmitted. One other stone from Narbonensis (above 43) has the title, which is otherwise rare.

<sup>12</sup>Webb ad loc., remarks that COS III here is a blunder. He claims that the coin is of "rough workmanship."

<sup>13</sup>Marcillet-Jaubert ad loc., suggests that the III refers to mileage, rather than to consular iterations.

## V. Greek Titles, Group A

56. Κλαυδ.  
Papyri: *Bureth* p. 121, no. 1 (4); *P. Oxy.* XL 2929, 2
57. Κλαυδ. Σεβ.  
Papyri: *Bureth* p. 121, no. 2 (2)
58. ὁ κυρ. ἡμῶν Κλαυδ. Σεβ.  
Papyri: *Bureth* p. 122, no. 1 (1); *P. Turner* 37, 27-8
59. Κλαυδ. Καισ. Σεβ.  
Papyri: *Bureth* p. 121, no. 3 (1)
60. ὁ κυρ. ἡμῶν Κλαυδ. Καισ. Σεβ.  
Papyri: *Bureth* p. 122, no. 2 (2)
61. Αυτ. Καισ. Μ. Αυρ. Κλαυδ.  
Coins: Lycia (Prostanna) -- *SNGAul* 5151-2  
Lycia (Sagalassos) -- *SNGAul* 5202-24, 8628-30, 8632  
Lycia (Seleucia Sidera) -- *SNGAul* 5238-40, 8633
62. Αυγ. Αυτ. Μ. Αυρ. Κλαυδ. Καισ.  
Inscriptions: Achaea -- *CIG* 1622/*IG* VIII 2502
63. Αυτ. Καισ. Κλαυδ. Σεβ.  
Coins: Egypt (Alexandria) -- *Milne* 1933, p. 100; *KAK* 3015-48
64. Αυτ. Καισ. Μ. Αυρ. Κλαυδ. Σεβ.  
Inscriptions: Cyrene -- *AE* (1919) 94/*Oliverio* p. 102 no. 68/*AE* (1934) 257/*SEG* 9 (1944) 9  
Coins: Lycia (Sagalassos) -- *SNGAul* 8631  
Lycia (Selge) -- *SNGAul* 5325  
Papyri: *Bureth* p. 121, no. 4 (1)

65. ὁ κυρ. ἡμῶν μέγιστος καὶ θεϊότατος Αυτ. Καισ. Μ. Αυρ. Κλαυδ. Σεβ.  
Inscriptions: Achaea -- *IG* VII 82
66. Αυτ. Καισ. Μ. Αυρ. Κλαυδ. Ευσ. Εὐτ. Σεβ.  
Inscriptions: Achaea -- *SEG* 11.2 (1954) 769  
Papyri: *Bureth* p. 121, no. 5 (5); *P. Oxy.* XL 2892i, 16-8; 2892ii, 15-8; 2893i, 18-21; 2894ii, 24-8; 2894iii, 22-5; 2895i, 14-7; 2895ii, 23-5; 2896, 10-2; 2901, 10-3; 2913ii, 18-20; 2913iii, 14-8; 2914i, 22-5; 2914ii, 8-11
67. Αυτ. Καισ. Μ. Αυρ. Κλαυδ. Γερμ. μεγ. Ευσ. Εὐτ. Σεβ.  
Papyri: *P. Oxy.* XLIX 3477, 18-20

## VI. Greek Titles, Group C

68. Αυτ. Καισ. Μ. Αυρ. Κλαυδ. Ευσ. Εὐτ. Σεβ. δημ. εἰς τὸ β' αὐθιπ. π. π.  
Inscriptions: Bithynia -- *CIG* 3748/*IGRR* III 40
69. Αυτ. Καισ. Μ. Αυρ. Κλαυδ. Ευσ. Εὐτ. Σεβ. αρχ. μεγ. δημ. εἰς τὸ β' υπ. π. π. αὐθιπ.  
Inscriptions: Bithynia -- *CIG* 3747/*Syll.*<sup>3</sup> 895/*IGRR* III 39

## Quintillus

(ca. late August - mid-September 270)

*M(arcus) Aur(elius) Claud(ius) Quint(illus)*

## I. Literary Testimonia

Eutrop. 9.12 *Quintillus post eum, Claudii frater, consensu militum imperator electus est...*

Oros. *hist. adv. pag. 7.23.2 Claudio mortuo Quintillus frater eius ab exercitu imperator electus...*

Zonaras 12.26 ἐν δὲ τῷ Σιρμίῳ διατρίβων ὁ Κλαύδιος ἐνόησεν, καὶ συγκαλέσας τὸ λογιμώτατον τοῦ στρατεύματος περὶ βασιλείας διελέχθη αὐτοῖς, καὶ τὸν Αὔρηλιανὸν ἔξιον τῆς βασιλείας εἶπε τυγχάνειν. εἰσι δ' οἱ λέγουσιν ὅτι καὶ αὐτὴν βασιλέα ἀνείπεν αὐτόν. ἔνιοι δὲ λέγουσιν τὴν σύγκλητον ἐν Ῥώμῃ μαθοῦσαν τοῦ Κλαυδίου τὸν θάνατον, Κυρτυλιανὸν τὸν ἀδελφὸν ἐκείνου διὰ τὸν πρὸς Κλαυδίῳ πόθον ἀξιώσαι τῆς βασιλείας, τὸ δὲ στρατιωτικὸν ἀναγαρεῖσαι τὸν Αὔρηλιανόν.

## II. Latin Titles, Group A

1. *divus Quinti.*  
Coins: Italy (Rome) -- *RIC* V.1 151
2. *Quint. Aug.*  
Coins: Italy (Rome) -- *RIC* V.1 41

3. *Imp. Quint.*  
Coins: Italy (Rome) -- *RIC* V.1 12
4. *Imp. Quint. Aug.*  
Coins: Italy (Milan) -- *RIC* V.1 44 ff.; *HCC* IV 23-8  
Italy (Rome) -- *RIC* V.1 40, 42-3
5. *Imp. Claud. Quint. Aug.*  
Coins: Italy (Rome) -- *RIC* V.1 11, 34
6. *Imp. Aur. Claud. Quint. Aug.*  
Coins: Italy (Rome) -- *RIC* V.1 14
7. *Imp. Quint. Aug. Inv.*  
Coins: Italy (Milan) -- *RIC* V.1 56
8. *Imp. Caes. M. Aur. Quint. Aug.*  
Coins: Italy (Rome) -- *RIC* V.1 32, 36
9. *Imp. Quint. Pl. Fel. Aug.*  
Coins: Asia (Cyzicus) -- *RIC* V.1 82-7
10. *Imp. Caes. M. Claud. Quint. Aug.*  
Coins: Italy (Rome) -- *RIC* V.1 30
11. *Imp. Caes. M. Aur. Claud. Quint. Aug.*  
Coins: Italy (Rome) -- *RIC* V.1 1 ff.; *HCC* IV 1-22  
Pannonia Sup. (Siscia) -- *RIC* V.1 64 ff.; *HCC* IV 29-30
- 11a. *Imp. Caes. M. Aur. Claud. Quint. Pl. Fel. Aug.*  
Coins: Italy (Milan) -- *Grecchi* II p. 113, 1

<sup>1</sup>Webb (ad loc.) suggests that the coin is an irregular Gallic issue.

## III. Latin Titles, Group B

12. *d. n. Imp. Caes. M. Quint. Fel. Inv. pont. max. tr. pot.*  
Inscriptions: Sardinia -- *JLSard* 237/Sotgiu 1988, A237
13. *Imp. Caes. M. Aur. Claud. Quint. Aug. pont. max. tr. pot. cos. p. p.*  
Coins: Italy (Rome) -- *RIC* V.1 5
14. *Imp. Caes. M. Aur. Claud. Quint. Inv. Pl. Fel. Aug. pont. max. tr. pot. p. p.*  
Inscriptions: Mauretania Caes. -- *EE* vii 670/*CIL* VIII 22598/*ILS* 573

## IV. Greek Titles, Group A

15. *Αυτ. Καίσ. Μ. Αυρ. Κλαυδ. Κουιντ. Σεβ.*  
Coins: Egypt (Alexandria) -- Milne 1933, p. 102; *KAK* 3049-50

## Aurelianus

(mid to late August 270 - mid-September/early December 275)

*L(ucius) Dom(itius) Aur(elianus)*

## I. Literary Testimonia

*HA Aurelian.* 17.5 ...*consensu omnium legionum factus est imperator.*

*idem* 30.4-5 *Pacato igitur oriente in Europam Aurelianus redit victor atque illic Carporum copias adflixit et, cum illum Carpicum senatus absentem vocasset, mandasse[!] ioco fertur: "superest p. c., ut me etiam Carpiscum vocetis." carp[!]isc[!]um enim genus calciamenti esse satis notum est. <quod> cognomen [quod] deforme videbatur, cum et Gothicus et Sarmaticus et Armenicus et Parthicus et Adiabenicus iam ille di[s]ceretur.*

## II. Latin Titles, Group A

1. *Dom. Aur.*  
Inscriptions: Dalmatia -- *CIL* III 13314
2. *deus Aur.*  
Inscriptions: Hispania -- *CIL* II 3832/*ELST* 22  
Italy -- *CIL* XI 556  
Numidia -- *CIL* VIII 4877/*ILS* 585
3. *L. Dom. Aur. deus*  
Inscriptions: Hispania -- *AE* (1938) 24/*IRV* 17

4. *divus Aur.*  
Inscriptions: Numidia -- *EE* vii 358/*CIL* VIII 17881  
Sardinia -- Sotgiu 1988, B96
5. *Aur. Aug.*  
Inscriptions: Bithynia -- *CIL* III 327/*ILS* 2775/*TAM* IV 137  
Coins: Italy (Milan) -- *RIC* V.1 125, 135, 148; *HCC* IV 47-9  
Italy (Rome) -- *RIC* V.1 66  
Pannonia Sup. (Siscia) -- *RIC* V.1 248, 250  
Thrace (Serdica) -- *RIC* V.1 261, 273, 277  
Asia (Cyzicus) -- *RIC* V.1 362, 365
6. *d. n. Aur. Aug.*  
Inscriptions: Numidia -- *CIL* VIII 2626
7. *divus Aur. Aug.*  
Inscriptions: Africa -- *CIL* VIII 25820/*CILB* 198  
Numidia -- *CIL* VIII 10961 (=22295)
8. *Aur. Aug. n.*  
Inscriptions: Italy -- *CIL* XI 6309/*IP* 20
9. *Aur. Aug. restitutor orbis*  
Coins: Thrace (Serdica) -- *RIC* V.1 290
10. *Aur. Aug. restitutor orientis*  
Coins: Syria (Antioch) -- *RIC* V.1 375
11. *deus et d. natus Aur. Aug. restitutor orbis*  
Coins: Thrace (Serdica) -- *RIC* V.1 306
12. *d. n. Aur. Inv. Aug.*  
Inscriptions: Italy -- *CIL* V 29/*Inscript. Ital.* X,1 43; *CIL* IX 2327, 2099, 6308/*ILS* 583/*IP* 19  
Mauretania Ting. -- *ILAT* 617/*ILM* 79/*IAM* II 409

13. *Aur. Pi. Aug. restitutor orbis*  
Coins: Thrace (Serdica) -- *RIC* V.1 299
14. *d. n. L. Dom. Aur. Inv. Aug.*  
Inscriptions: Italy -- *CIL* X 222/*ILS* 586
15. *pacatissimus L. Dom. Aur. Pi. Fel. Aug. n.*  
Inscriptions: Numidia -- *EE* vii 611/*CIL* VIII 22175
16. *d. n. L. Dom. Aur. Pi. Fel. Inv. Aug.*  
Inscriptions: Numidia -- *CIL* VIII 2665/*ILS* 584
17. *d. n. L. Dom. Aur. Pi. Fel. Inv. Aug. Germ. max. Goth. max.*  
Inscriptions: Moesia Inf. -- *CIL* III 12517<sup>1</sup>
18. *Imp. Aur.*  
Inscriptions: Moesia Inf. -- *AE* (1891) 50/*CIL* III 12456<sup>2</sup>
19. *Imp. L. Dom. Aur.*  
Inscriptions: Africa -- *CIL* VIII 22010
20. *d. n. Imp. Aur.*  
Inscriptions: Italy -- *CIL* V 3330/*Alföldy* 1984b, 200<sup>3</sup>

<sup>1</sup>[d(omino) n(ostro) / L(ucio)] Dom[us] Aure[li]ano Pio Felic[i] / I[n]victo Aug[us]to / Germanico max[imo] / [Got]hico max[imo] / {—.

<sup>2</sup>The *AE* editors restore *dominus noster* to this stone; however, the *CIL* editors, rightly, do not.

<sup>3</sup>*Ulpiae Sever[is]/nae Aug[ustae] co[n]i[ug]i / d(omino) n(ostri) Imp[er]atoris Aure[li]ani*---. It is possible that *Aug[usti]* was also here included.

21. *Imp. Aur. Aug.*  
 Coins: Lugdunensis (Lugdunum) -- *RIC* V.1 1, 5  
 Italy (Milan/Ticinum) -- *RIC* V.1 94, 96  
 Italy (Milan) -- *RIC* V.1 101ff.; *HCC* IV 34-45, 50-1  
 Italy (Rome) -- *RIC* V.1 42 ff.; *HCC* IV 4-7, 9-16, 18-34  
 Pannonia Sup. (Siscia) -- *RIC* V.1 156 ff.; *HCC* IV 69-84; *Gnecchi* I p. 9,  
 4; III p. 64, 4 ff.  
 Thrace (Serdica) -- *RIC* V.1 260 ff.; *HCC* IV 99  
 Syria (Antioch) -- *RIC* V.1 379, 382, 385, 388  
 unknown -- *RIC* V.1 391 ff.
22. *d. n. Imp. L. Dom. Aur. Aug.*  
 Inscriptions: Mauretania Caes. -- *CIL* VIII 10450
23. *Imp. Aur. Aug. pacator orbis*  
 Coins: Lugdunensis (Lugdunum) -- *RIC* V.1 4, 7
24. *Imp. Aur. Aug. restitutor exerciti*  
 Coins: Asia (Cyzicus) -- *RIC* V.1 366; *HCC* IV 105-7
25. *Imp. Aur. Aug. restitutor genis*  
 Coins: Phoenicia (Tripolis) -- *RIC* V.1 401
26. *Imp. Aur. Aug. restitutor orbis*  
 Coins: Italy (Milan) -- *RIC* V.1 139  
 Italy (Rome) -- *RIC* V.1 53; *HCC* IV 8  
 Thrace (Serdica) -- *RIC* V.1 289  
 Asia (Cyzicus) -- *RIC* V.1 348-9, 369; *HCC* IV 108  
 Phoenicia (Tripolis) -- *RIC* V.1 399, 403
27. *Imp. Aur. Aug. restitutor orientis*  
 Coins: Italy (Milan) -- *RIC* V.1 140-1; *HCC* IV 46, 52-4  
 Pannonia Sup. (Siscia) -- *RIC* V.1 233-4  
 Asia (Cyzicus) -- *RIC* V.1 350-1; *HCC* IV 101  
 Phoenicia (Tripolis) -- *RIC* V.1 404

28. *Imp. Aur. Aug. restitutor saeculi*  
 Coins: Italy (Rome) -- *RIC* V.1 52  
 Pannonia Sup. (Siscia) -- *RIC* V.1 235
29. *Imp. deus et d. Aur. Aug. restitutor orbis*  
 Coins: Thrace (Serdica) -- *RIC* V.1 305
30. *Imp. Aur. Inv. Aug. restitutor orbis*  
 Coins: Thrace (Serdica) -- *RIC* V.1 302-3
31. *Imp. Aur. Pi. Aug.*  
 Coins: Pannonia Sup. (Siscia) -- *RIC* V.1 253  
 Thrace (Serdica) -- *RIC* V.1 264, 281, 310, 315
32. *Imp. Aur. Pi. Aug. restitutor orbis*  
 Coins: Thrace (Serdica) -- *RIC* V.1 298, 304
33. *pacatissimus Imp. Dom. Aur. Pi. Fel. invictissimus*  
 Inscriptions: Africa -- *EE* vii 602/*CIL* VIII 22103
34. *Imp. Aur. Pi. Fel. Aug.*  
 Coins: Italy (Rome) -- *RIC* V.1 77-8; *Gnecchi* II p. 113, 1 ff.  
 Thrace (Serdica) -- *RIC* V.1 262
35. *Imp. d. n. L. Dom. Aur. Pi. Fel. Aug.*  
 Inscriptions: Numidia -- *CIL* VIII 10180
36. *magnus et Inv. d. n. Imp. L. Dom. Aur. Pi. Fel. Aug.*  
 Inscriptions: Italy -- *CIL* VI 1114
37. *Imp. Aur. Pi. Fel. Aug. restitutor orbis*  
 Coins: Thrace (Serdica) -- *RIC* V.1 297

38. *Imp. L. Dom. Aur. Inv. Pi. Fel. Aug.*  
Inscriptions: Numidia -- Carcopino & Focillon 1904, 215 no. 42<sup>4</sup>
39. *pacatissimus Imp. L. Dom. Aur. Pi. Fel. Inv. Aug. n.*  
Inscriptions: Africa -- *EE* vii 607/*CIL* VIII 22113; *EE* v 1098/*EE* vii 597/*CIL* VIII 10088 (=22096)
40. *perpetuus Imp. L. Dom. Aur. Pi. Fel. Inv. Aug.*  
Inscriptions: Numidia -- *CIL* VIII 22209/*ILAlg* I 3877
41. *perpetuus Imp. L. Dom. Aur. Pi. Fel. Inv. Aug. n.*  
Inscriptions: Africa -- *CIL* VIII 22067; *EE* vii 618/*CIL* VIII 22120; *EE* vii 625/*CIL* VIII 22132  
Numidia -- *EE* vii 623/*CIL* VIII 22178; *CIL* VIII 10154 (=22244), 22241
42. *Imp. Caes. Dom. Aur.* -  
Inscriptions: Dalmatia -- *CIL* III 13317 (=14020)<sup>5</sup>
43. *Imp. Caes. L. Dom. Aur.*  
Inscriptions:<sup>6</sup> Britain -- *EE* ix p. 633/*CIL* VII 1152/*RIB* 2227/König 1981, 130  
Italy -- *CIL* XI 2636  
Numidia -- Salama 1951/52, 230 no. 7  
Coins: Lycia (Cremna) -- *SNGAul* 5116-22, 8608-10
44. *d. n. Imp. Caes. Dom. Aur.*  
Inscriptions: Sardinia -- *AE* (1889) 176/*EE* viii 747<sup>7</sup>

<sup>4</sup>[*Imp(eratori) L(ucio) Domitio Aureliano Inuictio Pio Felici August(o)*].

<sup>5</sup>[*Imp(eratori) Caesar<i> D(omi)nitio / {Aureliano}---*].

<sup>6</sup>All of the following inscriptions break after all or part of the name Aurelianus.

<sup>7</sup>The stone is broken after, [*Aurelianus*].

45. *Imp. Caes. L. Dom. Aur. Pi.*  
Inscriptions: Africa -- *CIL* VIII 23924<sup>8</sup>
46. *Imp. Caes. Aur. Aug.*  
Coins: Italy (Milan/Ticinum) -- *RIC* V.1 86, 90, 93, 98-100  
Italy (Milan) -- *RIC* V.1 150; *HCC* IV 55-8  
Italy (Rome) -- *RIC* V.1 14 ff.  
Italy (Ticinum) -- *RIC* V.1 151-4; *HCC* IV 59-68  
Pannonia Sup. (Siscia) -- *RIC* V.1 166 ff.; *HCC* IV 85-96  
Thrace (Serdica) -- *RIC* V.1 259 ff.  
Asia (Cyzicus) -- *RIC* V.1 323, 353, 356, 363  
Syria (Antioch) -- *RIC* V.1 371 ff.; *HCC* IV 110  
Phoenicia (Tripolis) -- *RIC* V.1 390; *HCC* IV 116-8
47. *Imp. Caes. Dom. Aur. Aug.*  
Coins: Italy (Milan/Ticinum) -- *RIC* VI 87, 91-2, 95, 97  
Italy (Rome) -- *RIC* V.1 13, 27  
Pannonia Sup. (Siscia) -- *RIC* V.1 165, 190, 197, 202, 214  
Thrace (Serdica) -- *RIC* V.1 258, 266, 268, 271-2  
Asia (Cyzicus) -- *RIC* V.1 327-9, 331, 339  
uncertain -- *HCC* IV 119-20
48. *Imp. Caes. L. Dom. Aur. Aug.*  
Coins: Italy (Rome) -- *RIC* V.1 10 ff.; *HCC* IV 2  
Pannonia Sup. (Siscia) -- *RIC* V.1 155 ff.; *Gnecchi* I p. 9, 3  
Asia (Cyzicus) -- *RIC* V.1 330
49. *Imp. Caes. Aur. Aug. pacator orbis*  
Coins: Lugdunensis (Lugdunum) -- *RIC* V.1 6
50. *Imp. Caes. L. Dom. Aur. Aug. restitutor gentis*  
Coins: Phoenicia (Tripolis) -- *RIC* V.1 400, 402

<sup>8</sup>[*Pro sal(ute) Imp(eratoris) Caes(aris) L(ucii) Domitii Aureliani Pii---*].

51. *Imp. Caes. Aur. Aug. restitutor orbis*  
 Coins: Thrace (Serdica) -- *RIC* V.1 288; *HCC* IV 100  
 Asia (Cyzicus) -- *RIC* V.1 347, 367-8  
 Syria (Antioch) -- *HCC* IV 111-5  
 Phoenicia (Tripolis) -- *RIC* V.1 389
52. *Imp. Caes. L. Dom. Aur. Aug. restitutor orbis*  
 Coins: Thrace (Serdica) -- *RIC* V.1 294, 287
53. *Imp. Caes. Aur. Aug. restitutor orientis*  
 Coins: Syria (Antioch) -- *RIC* V.1 374; *HCC* IV 109
54. *d. n. Imp. Caes. L. Dom. Aur. Inv. Aug.*  
 Inscriptions: Hispania -- *AE* (1930) 150/*RIT* 879
55. *Imp. Caes. Aur. Inv. Aug. restitutor orbis*  
 Coins: Thrace (Serdica) -- *RIC* V.1 301
56. *Imp. Caes. Aur. Pi. Aug.*  
 Coins: Thrace (Serdica) -- *RIC* V.1 263, 309
57. *Imp. Caes. Aur. Pi. Aug. restitutor orbis*  
 Coins: Thrace (Serdica) -- *RIC* V.1 296
58. *Imp. Caes. L. Dom. Aur. Pi. Aug. restitutor orbis*  
 Coins: Thrace (Serdica) -- *RIC* V.1 292
59. *Imp. Caes. Aur. Inv. Pi. Aug. restitutor orbis*  
 Coins: Thrace (Serdica) -- *RIC* V.1 300
60. *Imp. Caes. Aur. Pi. Fel. Aug.*  
 Coins: Thrace (Serdica) -- *RIC* V.1 285-6

<sup>9</sup>*dominae* [sanc]tissimae / [U]lpiae Severinae Piusimae / Aug(ustae) [coniugi d(omini) n(ostri)] / Imp(eratoris) Caes(aris) [L(ucii) Domitii Aureli]ani In]v[icti] [Aug(usti)].

61. *Imp. Caes. L. Dom. Aur. Pi. Fel. Aug.*  
 Inscriptions: Britain -- *RIB* 2309/König 1981, 131; Hassal & Tomlin 1984, 337-41 no. 12  
 Africa -- *ILAlg* I 3891  
 Numidia -- *CIL* VIII 10374/*ILS* 5855; *CIL* VIII 22448  
 Mauretania Ting. -- *AE* (1934) 44/*LAM* II 106  
 Coins: Italy (Milan) -- *RIC* V.1 130  
 Italy (Rome) -- *RIC* V.1 8-9, 15, 31; *HCC* IV 1; *Gnecchi* I p. 9, 1-2  
 Pannonia Sup. (Siscia) -- *RIC* V.1 160, 163, 179, 182, 226  
 Thrace (Serdica) -- *RIC* V.1 280, 311, 314
62. *d. n. Imp. Caes. L. C. (sic) Dom. Aur. Pi. Fel. Aug.*  
 Inscriptions: Africa -- *AE* (1894) 59/*CIL* VIII 23114
63. *Imp. Caes. Aur. Pi. Fel. Aug. restitutor orbis*  
 Coins: Thrace (Serdica) -- *RIC* V.1 295
64. *Imp. Caes. L. Dom. Aur. Pi. Fel. Aug. restitutor orbis*  
 Coins: Thrace (Serdica) -- *RIC* V.1 291, 293
65. *d. Imp. Caes. L. Dom. Aur. Pi. Fel. victoriosus Aug.*  
 Inscriptions: Italy -- *CIL* XI 1214
66. *perpetuus Imp. Caes. L. Dom. Aur. Pi. Fel. Aug.*  
 Inscriptions: Africa -- *CIL* VIII 10076 (=22058)  
 Numidia -- *CIL* VIII 10133
67. *Imp. Caes. L. Dom. Aur. Pi. Fel. Inv. Aug.*  
 Inscriptions: Baetica -- *CIL* II 2201/König 1981, 118  
 Italy -- *CIL* VI 1113  
 Galatia -- *EE* v 80/*CIL* III 6902  
 Syria -- *CIL* III 313b  
 Numidia -- *CIL* VIII 10134, 10147; Marcillet-Jaubert 1980, 181 no. 34  
 Mauretania Caes. -- *AE* (1929) 137  
 Mauretania Ting. -- *AE* (1949) 35



68. *Aug. n. Imp. Caes. divus Aur. Pi. Fel. Inv.*  
Inscriptions: Africa -- *EE* v 1319/vii 46/*CIL* VIII 11318
69. *d. n. Imp. Caes. L. Dom. Aur. Inv. Pi. Fel. Aug.*  
Inscriptions: Galatia -- *CIL* III 14184/*RRM* I 43c  
Mauretania Caes. -- *CIL* VIII 10443
70. *sanctissimus et super omnes principes victoriosissimus Imp. Caes. L. Dom. Aur. Pi. Fel. Inv. Aug.*  
Inscriptions: Italy -- *CIL* XI 3878

### III. Latin Titles, Group B

71. *Aur. Aug. cos.*  
Coins: Pannonia Sup. (Siscia) -- *Gnecchi* III p. 64, 5-8  
Thrace (Serdica) -- *RIC* V.1 319-22
72. *Aur. Aug. pont. max. tr. pot. cos. p. p.*  
Coins: Pannonia Sup. (Siscia) -- *RIC* V.1 159
73. *Aur. Pi. Fel. Inv. Aug. pont. max. Germ. max.*  
Inscriptions: Asia -- Robinson 1926, 227 no. 55
74. *Imp. Aur. Aug. cos. princ. Aug.*  
Coins: Lugdunensis (Lugdunum) -- *RIC* V.1 3
75. *Imp. Aur. Aug. pont. max. tr. pot. p. p. cos.*  
Coins: Asia (Cyzicus) -- *RIC* V.1 324-5
76. *d. n. Imp. L. Dom. Aur. Pi. Fel. Inv. Aug. pont. max. tr. pot.*  
Inscriptions: Sardinia -- *AE* (1889) 22/*EE* viii 796

77. *perpetuus Imp. L. Dom. Aur. Pi. Fel. Aug. pont. max. tr. pot. cos. p. p. procos.*  
Inscriptions: Germania Sup. -- *CIL* XIII 9139/*RGAI* 287/König 1981, 136/*CIL* XVII 562
78. *perpetuus gloriosissimus indulgentissimus Imp. restitutor orbis Dom. Aur. Pi. Fel. Aug. pont. max. tr. pot. cos. p. p. procos.*  
Inscriptions: Numidia -- *CIL* VIII 22361
79. *perpetuus victoriosissimus indulgentissimus Imp. restitutor orbis L. Dom. Aur. Pi. Fel. Aug. pont. max. tr. pot.*  
Inscriptions: Numidia -- Marcillet-Jaubert 1980, 184 no. 40;<sup>10</sup> *CIL* VIII 10205  
Mauretania Caes. -- *CIL* VIII 20537
80. *Imp. Caes. L. Dom. Aur. Pi. Fel. Inv. pont. max. Germ. max. Parth. max.*  
Inscriptions: Mauretania Ting. -- *IAM* II 105<sup>11</sup>
81. *Imp. Caes. L. Dom. Aur. Pi. Fel. Inv. pont. max. tr. pot.*  
Inscriptions: Baetica -- *CIL* II 4732/König 1981 119<sup>12</sup>
82. *Imp. Caes. Aur. Aug. cos. princ. Aug.*  
Coins: Lugdunensis (Lugdunum) -- *RIC* V.1 2
83. *Imp. Caes. L. Dom. Aur. Aug. pont. max. tr. pot. cos.*  
Coins: Pannonia Sup (Siscia) -- *RIC* V.1 157
84. *Imp. Caes. L. Dom. Aur. Pi. Fel. Aug. p. p. cos.*  
Inscriptions: Italy -- *CIL* XI 3579

<sup>10</sup>The stone breaks after, *Pio Felici Augusto*. The restoration is based on *CIL* VIII 10217. The other inscriptions listed here are also fragmentary, and I have restored them to belong here.

<sup>11</sup>{*Imp(eratori)*} *Caes(ari)* / *L(ucia) Domit(ia) Aureliana* / *Pio Fel(ici) Invi(cto) / pont(ifici) max(imo)* / *German(ico) max(imo)* / ...*P(ian)thico max(imo)*...

<sup>12</sup>This stone is broken after mentioning the tribunician power.

85. *Imp. Caes. L. Dom. Aur. Pi. Fel. Aug. pont. max. tr. pot.*  
Inscriptions: Arabia -- *CIL* III 14149, 18<sup>13</sup>
86. *Imp. Caes. L. Dom. Aur. Pi. Fel. Aug. pont. max. tr. pot. p. p.*  
Inscriptions: Italy -- *CIL* XI 1180
87. *Imp. Caes. L. Dom. Aur. Pi. Fel. Aug. pont. max. tr. pot. p. p. cos.*  
Inscriptions: Africa -- *CIL* VIII 21985  
Coins: Pannonia Sup. (Siscia) -- *RIC* V.1 158
88. *Imp. Caes. L. Dom. Aur. Pi. Fel. Aug. d. n. pont. max. tr. pot. p. p. cos.*  
Inscriptions: Africa -- *IRT* 52
89. *Imp. Caes. L. Dom. Aur. Pi. Fel. Aug. pont. max. tr. pot. p. p. procos.*  
Inscriptions: Africa -- *EE* v 559/*CIL* VIII 15450
90. *Imp. Caes. L. Dom. Aur. Pi. Fel. Aug. pont. max. tr. pot. cos. p. p. procos.*  
Inscriptions: Noricum -- *AE* (1953) 129
91. *Imp. Caes. Dom. Aur. Pi. Fel. Aug. pont. max. Goth. max. tr. pot. cos. p. p. procos.*  
Inscriptions: Africa -- *AE* (1905) 116/*CIL* VIII 23066
92. *Imp. Caes. L. Dom. Aur. Pi. Fel. Inv. Aug. pont. max. Germ. max.*  
Inscriptions: Asia -- Waldmann 1981, 95 no. 1
93. *Imp. Caes. L. Dom. Aur. Pi. Fel. Inv. Aug. pont. max. Germ. max. Goth. max.*  
Inscriptions: Narbonensis -- *CIL* XII 5553/König 1970, 126/König 1981, 126/*CIL* XVII 164  
Alpes -- *CIL* XII 58/König 1981, 121  
Arabia -- *AE* (1896) 137

<sup>13</sup>The stone breaks after mention of the tribunician power.

94. *d. n. Imp. Caes. L. Dom. Aur. Pi. Fel. Inv. Aug. pont. max. Arab. max. Pers. max. Imp. Orientis* (sic)  
Inscriptions: Phoenicia -- *AE* (1936) 129<sup>14</sup>
95. *Imp. Caes. Dom. Aur. Pi. Fel. Inv. Aug. pont. max. tr. pot. p. p.*  
Inscriptions: Moesia Inf. -- *CIL* III 14460
96. *Imp. Caes. L. Dom. Aur. Pi. Fel. Inv. Aug. pont. max. tr. pot. cos.*  
Inscriptions: Sardinia -- *EE* viii 775<sup>15</sup>
97. *d. n. Imp. Caes. L. Dom. Aur. Inv. Pi. Fel. Aug. pont. max. tr. pot. cos. p. p. procos.*  
Inscriptions: Mauretania Caes. -- *CIL* VIII 22564
98. *Imp. Caes. L. Dom. Aur. Pi. Fel. Inv. Aug. pont. max. tr. pot. p. p. cos. procos. fortissimus princ.*  
Inscriptions: Italy -- *CIL* V 4320/*Inscript. Ital.* X,5 104<sup>16</sup>
99. *Imp. Caes. L. Dom. Aur. Pi. Fel. Aug. Inv. pont. max. tr. pot. cos. p. p. princ. iuv.*  
Inscriptions: Italy -- *CIL* IX 5577/*ILS* 575
100. *Imp. Caes. L. Dom. Aur. Pi. Fel. Inv. Aug. pont. max. Germ. max. tr. pot. cos. et procos. p. p.*  
Inscriptions: Italy -- *CIL* XI 4178
101. *pacator ■ restitutor orbis Imp. Caes. L. Dom. Aur. Pi. Fel. Inv. Aug. Germ. max. Goth. max. Carp. max. Pers. max. pont. max.*  
Inscriptions: Narbonensis -- *CIL* XII 5561/König 1970, 134/König 1981, 128/*CIL* XVII 172

<sup>14</sup>On this stone, Kettenhofen 1986, 139.

<sup>15</sup>*EE* viii 787 possibly belongs here; however, it is much damaged and cannot be restored with certainty.

<sup>16</sup>*Imp(eratori) [Caes(ari)] / L(ucto) Do[mitio] / Aur[eliano] Pio Fefic(i) Invic]/to Au[gusto] p(ontifici) m(aximo) vib(unicia)] / pot(estate) p(atr) p(atr)ae [co(n)s(ul) proco(n)s(ul)] / M(arcus) Au[relius] ? -] / Rufi[-] / P P NEC[-?] / fortissimo principi.*

102. *d. n. Imp. Caes. L. Dom. Aur. Pi. Fel. incomparabilis ac Inv. semper Aug. pont. max. Germ. max. Brit. max. Goth. Sarm. max. reparator conservator patriae procos.*  
Inscriptions: Thrace -- *CIL* III 12333/König 1981, 116;<sup>17</sup> *CIL* III 13715/König 1981, 117

#### IV. Latin Titles, Group C

103. *Aur. Aug. (itenum) cos.*  
Inscriptions: Italy -- *ELS* 22
104. *Imp. Caes. L. Dom. Aur. Pi. Fel. Aug. pont. max. Germ. max. II cos. p. p. procos.*  
Inscriptions: Moesia Inf. -- *CIL* III 6238 (= 14459)
105. *Imp. Caes. L. Dom. Aur. Inv. Pi. Fel. Aug. pont. max. tr. pot. II*  
Inscriptions: Africa -- *IRT* 953
106. *Imp. Caes. L. Dom. Aur. Pi. Fel. Aug. tr. pot. III cos. p. p. procos. pont. max. Parth. max. Goth. max. Germ. max. Carp. max. restitutor patriae*  
Inscriptions: Moesia Inf. -- *CIL* III 7586/*ILS* 8925<sup>18</sup>
107. *Imp. Caes. L. Dom. Aur. Pi. Fel. Aug. pont. max. tr. pot. p. p. II cos. procos.*  
Inscriptions: Lusitania -- *AE* (1897) 49/*AE* (1900) 31/*EE* ix 1/*IRCP* 4
108. *Imp. Caes. L. Dom. Aur. Pi. Fel. Aug. pont. max. Germ. max. Goth. max. tr. pot. p. p. cos. II*  
Inscriptions: Africa -- *AE* (1969/70) 646

<sup>17</sup>This stone may well not really attest Aurelian. See Kettenhofen 1986, 140-1.

<sup>18</sup>Another inscription (*CIL* VIII 9040) is attributed to Aurelian by Mommsen, and has *tr. pot. III cos.* Deininger 1970, 121-4 has demonstrated, however, that this is really an inscription of Gallienus.

- 108a. *Imp. Caes. L. Dom. Aur. Pi. Fel. Inv. Aug. Parth. max. tr. pot. p. p. cos. II procos.*  
Inscriptions: Hispania -- *CIL* II 4459/*IRCL* 22
109. *Imp. Caes. L. Dom. Aur. Pi. Fel. Aug. pont. max. Germ. max. Goth. max. tr. pot. III cos. II procos. p. p.*  
Inscriptions: Africa -- *CIL* VIII 10017
110. *perpetuus victoriosissimus (sic) indulgentissimus Imp. L. Dom. Aur. Pi. Fel. Aug. pont. max. tr. pot. V cos. II p. p.*  
Inscriptions: Numidia -- *CIL* VIII 10177
111. *perpetuus victoriosissimus indulgentissimus Imp. restitutor orbis L. Dom. Aur. Pi. Fel. Aug. pont. max. tr. pot. V cos. II p. p. procos.*  
Inscriptions: Numidia -- *CIL* VIII 10217/*ILS* 578
112. *perpetuus gloriosissimus indulgentissimus Imp. restitutor orbis L. Dom. Aur. Pi. Fel. Inv. Aug. pont. max. tr. pot. V cos. II p. p. tr. pot.*  
Inscriptions: Numidia -- *CIL* VIII 22449
113. *Imp. Caes. L. Dom. Aur. Pi. Fel. Aug. pont. max. Germ. max. Goth. max. Parth. max. tr. pot. V (?) p. p. cos. II procos. indulgentissimus invictissimus princ.*  
Inscriptions: Narbonensis -- *CIL* XII 2673<sup>19</sup>
114. *Imp. Caes. Aur. Aug. pont. max. tr. pot. VI cos. II p. p.*  
Coins: Pannonia Sup. (Siscia) -- *RIC* V.1 185
115. *Imp. Caes. Aur. Aug. pont. max. tr. pot. VII cos. II p. p.*  
Coins: Italy (Rome) -- *RIC* V.1 16; *HCC* IV 17  
Pannonia Sup. (Siscia) -- *RIC* V.1 186

<sup>19</sup>[*Imp(eratori) Caes(ari) / L(ucio) Dom(itio) / Aureliano / P(ri)mo Fel(ici) Aug(usto) p(ontifici) m(aximo) / Gem(anico) max(im)o / Goth(ico) [max(im)o] / Parth(ico) max(im)o / ...?] tribunicia pot(estate) [V ?] / imp(eratori) co(n)s(uli) II / DDAL (= [u]d[u]l[gentissimus]?) invictiss(im)o / princ(ipi).*

116. *Imp. Caes. Aur. Pi. Fel. Aug. pont. max. Germ. max. Goth. max. Parth. max. Carp. max. indulgentissimus invictissimus princ. restitutor libertatis cos. II des. III procos.*  
Inscriptions: Narbonensis – de Kisch 1980, 343-4<sup>20</sup>
117. *Imp. Caes. L. Dom. Aur. Pi. Fel. Inv. Aug. pont. max. Goth. max. Germ. max. Parth. max. Carp. max. tr. pot. V cos. II des. III imp. III p. p. procos. restitutor orbis fortissimus et victoriosissimus princ.*  
Inscriptions: Italy – CIL VI 1112
118. *perpetuus Imp. Inv. Imp. fortissimus Imp. L. Dom. Aur. Pi. Fel. Aug. Germ. max. Carp. max. cos. III p. p. procos.*  
Inscriptions: Africa – IRT 943
119. *d. n. Aur. Aug. III cos.*  
Inscriptions: Italy – CIL VI 30976
120. *Imp. Caes. L. Dom. Aur. Pi. Fel. Aug. pont. max. tr. pot. cos. III p. p.*  
Inscriptions: Aquitania – CIL XIII 8868/König 1981, 132/CIL XVII 319
121. *perpetuus Imp. Caes. L. Dom. Aur. Inv. Pi. Fel. Aug. cos. III*  
Inscriptions: Africa – CIL VIII 22011
122. *Imp. Caes. L. Dom. Aur. Pi. Fel. Inv. Aug. Arab. max. Goth. max. Carp. max. tr. pot. III cos. III procos. III princ. n.*  
Inscriptions: Hispania – CIL II 4506/ILS 576/IRB 25/König 1981, 120

<sup>20</sup>All of the titles from *indulgentissimus* through *libertatis* are resolved from the abbreviation, IIPRL.

123. *Imp. Caes. L. Dom. Aur. Pi. Fel. Inv. Aug. pont. max. Germ. max. Goth. max. Carp. max. procos. V imp. III cos. p. p.*  
Inscriptions: Narbonensis – CIL XII 5548/ILS 582/König 1970, 120/König 1981, 125/CIL XVII 158<sup>21</sup>
124. *restitutor orbis Imp. Caes. L. Dom. Aur. Pi. Fel. Inv. Aug. pont. max. Germ. max. Goth. max. Parth. max. tr. pot. IV cos. III p. p. procos.*  
Inscriptions: Narbonensis – CIL XII 5456/ILS 577/König 1970, 31/König 1981, 123/CIL XVII 31
125. *Imp. Caes. L. Dom. Aur. max. Germ. tr. pot. V cos. III p. p.*  
Inscriptions: Lugdunensis – CIL XIII 8904/König 1981, 133/CIL XVII 351<sup>22</sup>
126. *magnus Aug. princ. max. Imp. fortissimus conservator orbis L. Dom. Aur. Pi. Fel. pont. max. tr. pot. V p. p. cos. III procos. Goth. max. Palmyr. max. Germ. max.*  
Inscriptions: Italy – CIL V 4319/ILS 579
127. *Imp. Caes. L. Dom. Aur. Pi. Fel. Aug. pont. max. Germ. max. Goth. max. Carp. max. Pers. max. tr. pot. V imp. cos. III indulgentissimus invictissimus princ. restitutor Galliarum*  
Inscriptions: Narbonensis – CIL XII 2673 (=5571a)/König 1970, 270/König 1981, 129/CIL XVII 184a<sup>23</sup>

<sup>21</sup>The chronological indications given by this stone (lines 10-1) are problematic: PRO V INP / III COS. Hirschfeld (CIL XII ad loc.) tentatively accepted a resolution suggested by Wilmanns, *pr. fiju[ve]n. [tribunicia] p[otestate]*. On the other hand, E. Grogg, RE V 1388 suggested, *P[er]f[er]r[is] max. tr[ibun.] p. III cos. I* have taken the stone more literally, assuming the V to be an *imperator* iteration, and the III to be a consular iteration. See now also Walser (CIL XVII ■ loc.).

<sup>22</sup>This stone is very poorly inscribed, with a number of orthographic mistakes.

<sup>23</sup>*[Imp(eratori) Caes(ar) ] / L(ucio) Dom(itio) / Aureliano / P(ater) F(elici) Aug(usto) p(ontifici) m(aximo) / Germ(anico) m(aximo) / Goth(ico) m(aximo) / Car(pico) m(aximo) Pers(ico) / m(aximo)] tr(ibunicia) pot(estate) / [V] imp(eratori) co(n)tr(uli) II I / [in]dulgentissimo invictissimo / pri(nc)ipi] restitutor[um] / Galliarum].*

128. *perpetuus Imp. Caes. L. Dom. Aur. Pi. Fel. Aug. pont. max. tr. pot. VI cos. III p. p. procos.*  
Inscriptions: Numidia – *CIL VIII 5143/ILS 580/ILAlg I 868*
129. *Imp. Caes. L. Dom. Aur. Pi. Fel. Inv. Aug. pont. max. tr. pot. VI cos. III p. p. procos. restitutor orbis*  
Inscriptions: Narbonensis – *ILG 645/König 1970, 79/König 1981, 122/CIL XVII 79<sup>24</sup>*
130. *magnus et Inv. Imp. Caes. L. Dom. Aur. Pi. Fel. Inv. Aug. pont. max. tr. pot. VI cos. III p. p. procos.*  
Inscriptions: Lugdunensis – *CIL XIII 8997/König 1981, 135/CIL XVII 404<sup>25</sup>*
131. *Imp. Caes. Dom. Aur. Pi. Fel. Aug. pont. max. Parth. max. p. p. tr. pot. VI cos. III*  
Inscriptions: Lusitania – *IRCP 149<sup>26</sup>*
132. *Imp. Caes. L. Dom. Aur. Pi. Fel. Inv. Aug. pont. max. Germ. max. Goth. max. Carp. max. Parth. max. tr. pot. VI (?) cos. III (?) p. p. procos. pacator et restitutor orbis*  
Inscriptions: Narbonensis – *CIL XII 5549/König 1970, 122/König 1981, 127/CIL XVII 160<sup>27</sup>*

<sup>24</sup>*CIL XII 5509/XVII 150* may also have the combination *tr. pot. VI cos. III* for Aurelian, but the stone is very fragmentary, and has been attributed to Commodus, Gallienus, Aurelian and Postumus. See also below, Postumus 59a.

<sup>25</sup>The tribunician iteration is here restored.

<sup>26</sup>The stone is reconstructed from a number of fragments, and thus the reading is conjectural, *Imp(erator) Caesar Domitius Aurelianus / P[ri]us Felix Augustus p[ro]n[ost]ifex / m[ax]imus Parthicus maximus pat[er] [patriae] trib[un]icia pot[estate] VI consul III.*

<sup>27</sup>*Imp(erator) Caesar L[ucius] Domitius / Aurelianus P[rius] Felix Invictus / Augustus p[ro]n[ost]ifex m[ax]imus Germanicus maximus / Gothicus maximus Carp[anicus] maximus / Parthicus maximus trib[un]icia pot[estate] VI ? co[n]sul / III ? p[ater] [patriae] proco[n]sul pacator et / restitutor orbis.*

133. *Imp. Caes. L. Dom. Aur. Pi. Fel. Inv. Aug. pont. max. p. p. tr. pot. VII cos. III Germ. max. Goth. max. Parth. max. Dac. max. Carp. max. imp.*  
Inscriptions: Lugdunensis – *CIL XIII 8973/ILS 581/König 1981, 134/CIL XVII 498<sup>28</sup>*

#### V. Greek Titles, Group A

134. Aup.  
Papyri: *Bureth p. 122, no. 1 (7)*
135. Aup. ὁ ἐν θεοῖς  
Papyri: *P. Oxy. LI 3613, 5*
136. Aup. ὁ κυρ.  
Papyri: *P. Ups. Fried. 7, 7*
137. Λ. Δομ. Aup. Σεβ.  
Inscriptions: Asia – *MAMA IX 1*
138. ὁ κυρ. ἡμῶν Aup. Σεβ.  
Papyri: *Bureth p. 123, no. 4 (7);<sup>29</sup> P. Oxy. LI 3612, 9; P. Stras. 671, 19*
139. Aup. Καίσ. ὁ κυρ. Σεβ.  
Papyri: *P. Mich. XIV 676, 19-20*

<sup>28</sup>The stone breaks after, *Imp(eratori)*—.

<sup>29</sup>*P. Oslo 144, 4*, which *Bureth p. 122 no. 2* lists with the formula *Aup. Σεβ.*, really belongs here. See Sijpesteijn 1982, 194.

140. ὁ κυρ. ἡμῶν Αυτ. Αυρ. Σεβ.  
Inscriptions: Arabia -- *SEG* 16 (1959) 814/*AE* (1922) 130  
Papyri: *Bureth* p. 123, no. 5 (3)
141. ὁ μέγιστος καὶ θεϊότατος Αυτ. Λ. Δομ. Αυρ. Ευσ. Ευτ. Σεβ.  
Inscriptions: Thrace -- *SEG* 28 (1978) 578
142. Αυτ. Καισ. Λ. Δομ. Αυρ. Σεβ.  
Coins: Lycia (Perge) -- *SNGAul* 4758  
Lycia (Side) -- *SNGAul* 4864  
Lycia (Selge) -- *SNGAul* 5326  
Egypt (Alexandria) -- Milne 1933, p. 103; *KAK* 3051-2, 3066-3101
143. ὁ κυρ. ἡμῶν Αυτ. Καισ. Λ. Δομ. Αυρ. Σεβ.  
Inscriptions: Asia -- *AE* (1900) 145
144. ὁ μέγιστος Καισ. Σεβ. κυρ. ἡμέτερος ἀήτητος Αυτ. Καισ. Λ. Δομ. Αυρ. Σεβ.  
Inscriptions: Achaea -- *JG* IV 709
145. Αυτ. Καισ. Λ. Δομ. Αυρ. Ευσ. Ευτ. Σεβ.  
Inscriptions: Achaea -- *AE* (1971) 444/*SEG* 25 (1971) 423  
Asia -- *CIL* III 472/*CIG* 3179/*IGRR* IV 1482/*SEG* 26 (1976/77) 1298/*IK* 24,1 815b  
Cyprus -- *AE* (1953) 174  
Papyri: *Bureth* p. 122, no. 3 (1)
146. Αυτ. Καισ. Λ. Δομ. Αυρ. Γωθ. μεγ. Ευσ. Ευτ. Σεβ.  
Papyri: *Bureth* p. 123, no. 1 (1); *P. Oxy.* XL 2902, 17-9; 2903, 16-8; *P. Mich.* XIV 676, 23-4
147. Αυτ. Καισ. Λ. Δομ. Αυρ. Γωθ. μεγ. Ευσ. Ευτ. Ανικ. Σεβ.  
Papyri: *Bureth* p. 123, no. 1 (3);<sup>30</sup> *P. Ups. Frid.* 6, 17-9

<sup>30</sup>On this formula see, Sijpesteijn 1984, 77 n. 38.

148. Αυτ. Καισ. Λ. Δομ. Αυρ. Γωθ. μεγ. Καρπ. μεγ. Ευσ. Ευτ. Σεβ.  
Papyri: *Bureth* p. 123, no. 2 (3); *P. Oxy.* XLIX 3498, 38-40
149. Αυτ. Καισ. Λ. Δομ. Αυρ. Γερμ. μεγ. Περσ. μεγ. Γωθ. μεγ. Καρπ. μεγ. Ευσ. Ευτ. Σεβ.  
Papyri: *Bureth* p. 123, no. 3 (3)
150. ὁ γῆς καὶ θαλάσσης καὶ πάσης οἰκουμένης δεσπότης Αυτ. Καισ. Λ. Δομ. Αυρ. Ευσ. Ευτ. Σεβ.  
Inscriptions: Moesia Inf. -- *IGRR* I 591/*IGBulg* 734

#### VI. Greek Titles, Group B

151. Αυτ. Καισ. Λ. Δομ. Αυρ. Ευσ. Ευτ. Ανικ. Σεβ. αρχ. μεγ. Γερμ. μεγ. Γωθ. μεγ. δημ. εἰς. Αυτ. π. π. υτ.  
Inscriptions: Cyprus -- *CIL* III 219/*IGRR* III 968

#### VII. Aurelianus and Vaballathus, Latin Titles, Group A

152. *Imp. Caes. Aur. Aug. Vab. VCRIMDR*  
Coins: Syria (Antioch) -- *RIC* V.1 381; *HCC* IV p. 142<sup>31</sup>

<sup>31</sup>The legend should probably be read as, *V(ir) C(larissimus) R(ex) IM(perator) D(omi) R(omanorum)*. On this, U. Wilcken, *ZfN* 15 (1887) 330-2 and Webb, *RIC* V.1 p. 260. Gallazzi, *NAC* 4 (1975) 257 argues, however, that *V(ir) C(onsularis)* is here to be understood.

## VIII. Aurelianus and Vaballathus, Greek Titles, Group A

153. Αὐρ. καὶ Ἀθην.  
Coins: Egypt (Alexandria) -- Milne 1933, p. 103; *KAK* 3057
154. οἱ κυρρ. ἡμῶν Αὐρ. Σεβ. καὶ Οὐαβ. Ἀθην.  
Papyri: *Bureth* p. 122, no. 3 (1)
155. οἱ κυρρ. ἡμῶν Αὐρ. καὶ βασιλεὺς Ἀθην. Σεββ.  
Papyri: *Bureth* p. 122, no. 2 (1)<sup>32</sup>
156. οἱ κυρρ. ἡμῶν Αὐρ. Σεβ. καὶ Οὐαβ. Ἀθην. στρατηγός Ῥωμαίων  
Papyri: *Bureth* p. 122, no. 3 (1)
157. οἱ κυρρ. ἡμῶν Αὐρ. Σεβ. καὶ Οὐαβ. Ἀθην. ὁ λαμπρότατος βασιλεὺς Αὐτ. στρατηγός Ῥωμαίων  
Papyri: *P. Oxy.* XLVII 3367 ii, 5-6/*P. Coll. Youtie* 69, 5-6<sup>33</sup>
158. ὁ κυρ. ἡμῶν Αὐρ. Σεβ. καὶ ὁ κυρ. Σεπτ. Οὐαβ. Ἀθην. ὁ λαμπρότατος βασιλεὺς Αὐτ. στρατηγός Ῥωμαίων  
Papyri: *Bureth* p. 122, no. 4 (1)

## IX. Aurelianus and Vaballathus, Greek Titles, Group B

159. Αὐρ. Ιουλ. Αὐρ. Σεπτ. Οὐαβ. Ἀθην. υπ. Αὐτ. στρατηγός Ῥωμαίων  
Coins: Egypt (Alexandria) -- Milne 1933, pp. 103-4

<sup>32</sup>P.J. Sijpesteijn, *ZPE* 40 (1980) 137-8 suggests that the writer of *O. Mich.* III 1006 meant Β(αβαλλάθου) rather than Β(ασιλείως).

<sup>33</sup>The first part of this formula is restored (col. ii, l. 5), [τῶν κυρίων ἡμῶν Αὐρηλιανοῦ Σεβαστοῦ καὶ]...

160. Αὐτ. Καίσαρ. Λ. Δομ. Αὐρ. Σεβ. Ιουλ. Αὐρ. Σεπτ. Οὐαβ. Ἀθην. υπ. Αὐτ. στρατηγός Ῥωμαίων  
Coins: Egypt (Alexandria) -- *KAK* 3053-6, 3058-63
161. Αὐτ. Καίσαρ. Λ. Δομ. Αὐρ. Εὐσ. Εὐτ. Σεβ. καὶ Ιουλ. Αὐρ. Σεπτ. Οὐαβ. Ἀθην. ὁ λαμπρότατος βασιλεὺς υπ. Αὐτ. στρατηγός Ῥωμαίων  
Papyri: *Bureth* p. 122, no. 1 (3);<sup>34</sup> *P. Oxy.* XL 2898, 23-8; 2904, 15-23; 2906 i, 21-6; 2908 ii, 20-5; 2908 iii, 29-33; 2916, 12-3; 2921, 6-11; 2922, 1-5; 2936, 25-8; XLVI 3294, 14-9;<sup>35</sup> XLVII 3367 i, 14-6; 3367 ii, 14-5/*P. Coll. Youtie* 69, 14-5
162. ὁ κυρ. ἡμῶν Λ. Δομ. Αὐρ. Σεβ. καὶ ὁ κυρ. ἡμῶν Σεπτ. Οὐαβ. Ἀθην. ὁ λαμπρότατος βασιλεὺς υπ. Αὐτ. στρατηγός Ῥωμαίων  
Papyri: *Bureth* p. 122, no. 5 (1)

## X. Aurelianus, Zenobia and Vaballathus, Greek Titles, Group B

163. Αὐτ. Καίσαρ. Λ. Δομ. Αὐρ. αρχ. μεγ. υπ. αυθυπ. π. π. Ανεικ. Σεβ. καὶ Σεπτ. Ζηνοβ. Σεβ. μήτηρ τοῦ δεσπότης ἀπετήρευ ἡμῶν Αὐτ. Οὐαβ. Ἀθην.  
Inscriptions: Syria -- *CIG* 4503b/*IGRR* III 1027 (= 1065)/*OGIS* 647<sup>36</sup>

<sup>34</sup>See Sijpesteijn 1982, 193-4 on the reading of these papyri.

<sup>35</sup>This papyrus breaks after (l. 19), [Ἀθη]μῶν τοῦ λαμπρότατου].

<sup>36</sup>This inscription is restored in *CIG* and *IGRR* with Claudius II as the emperor. This seems unlikely. As can be seen above, we have coins and papyri that associate Vaballathus and Aurelianus. There is no such evidence for Claudius and the Palmyrene usurpers being thus associated. I have therefore chosen to restore Aurelianus's name to this stone. [Αὐτοκράτορι Καίσαρι / Λ(ουκίῳ) Δομ(ετίῳ) Αὐρηλιανῶ / ἀρχιερεῖ μεγίστῳ [ὑ]π[ε]ρ[ε] / ἀυθυπέτῳ πατρὶ πατρίδος] / Ἀνεκίτῳ Σεβαστῶ / καὶ Σεπτίμῳ Ζηνοβίῳ...

**Domitianus**  
(ca. 271 ?)

**I. Literary Testimonia**

Zos. 1.49.2 κατά τούτου του χρόνου εις ἔννοιαν ἦλθεν νεωτερισμοῦ Σεπτίμιος τε καὶ Οὐρβανὸς καὶ Δομιτιανός...

**II. Latin Titles, Group A**

1. *Imp. Caes. Domitianus Pi. Fel. Aug.*  
Coins: Gaul (?) -- *RJĈ* V.2 p. 590

**Zenobia and Vaballathus**  
(Winter 271 - Summer 272)

*Sept(imia) Zenob(ia)*  
*L(ucius) Iul(ius) Aur(elius) Sept(imius) Vab(allathus) Athen(odorus)*

**I. Literary Testimonia**

*HA trig. tyr. 30.2 ...post Odenatum maritum imperiali sagulo perfuso per umeros, habitu <Di>donis ornata, diademate etiam accepto, nomine filiorum Herenniani et Timolai diutius, quam femineus sexus patiebatur, imperavit.*

*HA Aurelian. 38.1 hoc quoque ad rem pertinere arbitror Vabalati filii nomine Zenobia <m>, non Timolai et Herenniani, imperium tenuisse quod tenuit.*

**II. Zenobia, Latin Titles, Group A<sup>1</sup>**

1. *Zenob. Aug.*  
Coins: Syria (Antioch) -- *RIC* V.2 p. 584

<sup>1</sup>For the Palmyrene inscriptions, J.B. Chabot, *Choix d'inscriptions de Palmyre* (Paris 1922) 56-8. I do not list these here. See also above under Aurelian.



## III. Zenobia, Greek Titles, Group A

2. Σεπτ. Ζηνοβ. ἡ λαμπροτάτη Ευσ. βασίλισσα ἡ δέσποινα  
Inscriptions: Syria -- *IGRR* III 1030/*ILS* 8807/*OGIS* 648
3. Σεπτ. Ζηνοβ. Σεβ.  
Coins: Egypt (Alexandria) -- Milne 1933, p. 104; *KAK* 3065

## IV. Vaballathus, Latin Titles, Group A

4. *Imp. Caes. Vab. Aug.*  
Coins: Syria (Antioch) -- *RIC* V.2 p. 585
5. *Imp. Caes. L. Iul. Aur. Sept. Vab. Athen. Pers. max. Arab. max. Adiaben. max. Pi. Fel. Inv. Aug.*  
Inscriptions: Arabia -- *AE* (1904) 60/*ILS* 8924

## V. Vaballathus, Greek Titles, Group A

6. Αυτ. Καισ. Ουαβ. Αθην. Σεβ.  
Coins: Egypt (Alexandria) -- Milne 1933, p. 104; *KAK* 3064

## VI. Vaballathus and Zenobia, Greek Titles, Group A

7. βασίλισσα καὶ βασιλεὺς  
Inscriptions: Egypt -- *EE* iv 33/*CIL* III 6583/*IGRR* I 1315<sup>2</sup>
8. Σεπτ. Ζην. ἡ λαμπροτάτη βασίλισσα μήτηρ τοῦ βασιλέως Σεπτ. Αθην.  
Inscriptions: Syria -- *IGRR* III 1028/*OGIS* 649

VII. Zenobia and Antiochus<sup>3</sup>

9. Ζηνοβ. βασίλισσα μήτηρ τοῦ βασιλέως Σεπτ. Ἀντίοχου  
Inscriptions: Syria -- *IGRR* III 1029
10. Σεπτ. Σηνοβ. ἡ λαμπροτάτη βασίλισσα μήτηρ τοῦ βασιλέως Σεπτ. Αθην.  
Inscriptions: Syria -- *OGIS* 650

<sup>2</sup>Mommsen (*CIL* ad loc.) says that the queen and king here are "sine dubio" Zenobia and Vaballathus, which opinion is accepted by Cagnat (*IGRR* ad loc.).

<sup>3</sup>For the revolt of Antiochus (after the defeat of Zenobia apparently) see Zos. 1.60.61 ff., *HA Aurelian*. 31, Pol. Silv. (ed. Mommsen) p. 521. Also *PIR*<sup>2</sup> A 745. Dittenberger (ad *OGIS* 650) may well be right in suggesting that Antiochus falsely claimed Zenobia as mother. See also *OGIS* 651.

## Tacitus

(mid-September/early December 275 - ca. June 276)

*M(arcus) Cl(audius) Tac(itus)*

## I Literary Testimonia

Aur. Vict. *Caes.* 36.1 *Igitur tandem senatus mense circiter post Aureliani interitum sexto Tacitum e consularibus, mitem sane virum, imperatorem creat, cunctis fere laetioribus, quod militari ferocia legendi ius principis proceres recepissent.*

HA *Aurelian.* 41.4 ...*Aurelius Tacitus, primae sententiae senator, ita loquutus est (hic autem est qui post Aurelianum sententia omnium imperator est appellatus)...<sup>1</sup>*

idem 41.14 *probata sententia est Taciti. atamen cum iterum atque iterum mitteretur, ex senatus consulto, quod in Taciti vita dicemus, Tacitus factus est imperator.*

Zonaras 12.28 τὸ στρατιωτικὸν δὲ αὐτὸν ἀνηγόρευσε καὶ ἀπόντα· ἐν Καμπανίᾳ γὰρ τότε διέτριβεν. ἐνθα δεδεγμένος τὸ ψήφισμα, εἰς Ῥώμην εἰσῆλασε μετὰ σχήματος Ἰδιωτικοῦ, καὶ γνώμη τῆς συγκλήτου τε καὶ τοῦ δήμου τὴν στολὴν περιεβάλετο τὴν βασιλείον.

## II Latin Titles, Group A

1. *M. Cl. Tac. Pi. Aug.*  
Coins: Italy (Rome) -- *RIC* V.1 85
2. *M. Cl. Tac. Pi. Fel. Aug. conservator militum*  
Coins: Gaul (?) -- *RIC* V.1 17
3. *Imp. Cl. Tac. Aug.*  
Coins: Gaul (?) -- *RIC* V.1 5 ff.; *HCC* IV 21-2, 25-9  
Italy (Rome) -- *RIC* V.1 100  
Italy (Ticinum) -- *RIC* V.1 137, 157-8
4. *Imp. Cl. Tac. Aug. restitutor orbis*  
Coins: Gaul (?) -- *RIC* V.1 55
5. *Imp. Tac. Inv. Aug.*  
Coins: Thrace (Serdica) -- *RIC* V.1 203
6. *Imp. Cl. Tac. Pi. Fel. Aug.*  
Coins: Gaul (?) -- *RIC* V.1 15, 31, 40  
Italy (Rome) -- *RIC* V.1 76
7. *fortissimus Imp. et pacator orbis M. Cl. Tac. Pi. Fel. Aug.*  
Inscriptions: Africa -- *CIL* VIII 10072; *EE* vii 590/*CIL* VIII 22083/*ILS* 589; *EE* vii 615/*CIL* VIII 22106;<sup>2</sup> *EE* vii 619/*CIL* VIII 22122
8. *Imp. Caes. M. Cl. Tac.*  
Inscriptions: Mauretania Caes. -- *AE* (1942-43) 73<sup>3</sup>

<sup>2</sup>*CIL* VIII 22083 and 22106 give (mistakenly I believe) *pacator urbis*. The emendation to the proper reading is mine.

<sup>3</sup>*Imp(eratori) Caes(ar) / M(arco) Claudio Tacito / ... / ...pio... / ...mp... / maximo... / ...o/—*. Due to the lack of other Mauretania inscriptions for Tacitus, I can see no way of restoring this one properly. Thus I have left it.

<sup>1</sup>The parenthetical remark looks very much like a gloss that has slipped into the text.

9. *Imp. Caes. Tac. Aug.*  
Inscriptions: Italy -- *CIL* VI 2021 (=2173)  
Coins: Italy (Rome) -- *RIC* V.1 96  
Syria (Antioch) -- *RIC* V.1 212
10. *Imp. Caes. Cl. Tac. Aug.*  
Coins: Gaul (?) -- *RIC* V.1 4 ff.; *HCC* IV 35-8
11. *Imp. Caes. M. Cl. Tac. Aug.*  
Coins: Gaul (?) -- *RIC* V.1 3 ff.; *HCC* IV 33-4  
Italy (Rome) -- *RIC* V.1 71 ff.; *HCC* IV 3-17; *Gnecchi* II p. 114, 3 ff.; III p. 66, 13 ff.  
Italy (Ticinum) -- *RIC* V.1 112 ff.; *HCC* IV 43-6, 48-61  
Pannonia Sup. (Siscia) -- *RIC* V.1 175 ff.  
Thrace (Serdica) -- *RIC* V.1 190 ff.  
Asia (Cyzicus) -- *HCC* IV 68  
Syria (Antioch) -- *RIC* V.1 210-1; *HCC* IV 69-71  
Siscia/Ticinum (?) -- *HCC* IV 62-3
12. *Imp. Caes. M. Cl. Tac. Aug. conservator militum*  
Coins: Italy (Ticinum) -- *RIC* V.1 133-4; *HCC* IV 47  
Thrace (Serdica) -- *RIC* V.1 193; *HCC* IV 67
13. *Imp. Caes. Tac. Inv. Aug.*  
Coins: Thrace (Serdica) -- *RIC* V.1 197, 202
14. *Imp. Caes. M. Cl. Tac. Inv. Aug. conservator militum*  
Coins: Thrace (Serdica) -- *RIC* V.1 194
15. *Imp. Caes. M. Cl. Tac. Pi. Aug.*  
Coins: Italy (Rome) -- *RIC* V.1 74; *Gnecchi* I p. 9, 1  
Italy (Ticinum) -- *RIC* V.1 111 ff.; *HCC* IV 39-42  
Pannonia Sup. (Siscia) -- *RIC* V.1 174, 176, 180, 185, 186, 188; *HCC* IV 64-5

16. *Imp. Caes. M. Cl. Tac. Pi. Aug. conservator militum*  
Coins: Thrace (Serdica) -- *RIC* V.1 192
17. *Imp. Caes. M. Cl. Tac. Fel. Aug.*  
Coins: Italy (Ticinum) -- *RIC* V.1 119
18. *Imp. Caes. Cl. Tac. Pi. Fel. Aug.*  
Inscriptions: Italy -- *CIL* IX 2328<sup>4</sup>
19. *Imp. Caes. M. Cl. Tac. Pi. Fel. Aug.*  
Inscriptions: Bithynia -- Şahin et al. 1983, 52 no. 7  
Numidia -- *CIL* VIII 22474, 22509; Marillet-Jaubert 1979, 67-9  
Coins: Gaul (?) -- *RIC* V.1 2 ff.; *HCC* IV 18-20, 23-4, 30-2  
Italy (Rome) -- *RIC* V.1 72-3, 99, 104-6, 109; *Gnecchi* II p. 114, 1 ff.; III p. 66, 12 ff.  
Italy (Ticinum) -- *RIC* V.1 171, 173  
Pannonia Sup. (Siscia) -- *RIC* V.1 177
20. *Imp. Caes. M. Cl. Tac. Pi. Fel. Aug. conservator militum*  
Coins: Gaul (?) -- *RIC* V.1 16  
Thrace (Serdica) -- *RIC* V.1 191
21. *clementissimus Imp. Caes. M. Cl. Tac. Pi. Fel. Aug.*  
Inscriptions: Lugdunensis -- *CIL* XIII 9002/XVII 390<sup>5</sup>
22. *fortissimus Imp. Caes. M. Cl. Tac. Pi. Fel. Aug.*  
Inscriptions: Africa -- *CIL* VIII 22093<sup>6</sup>

<sup>4</sup>The inscription breaks after, *Felici Aug(usto)*.

<sup>5</sup>The stone breaks after, *Pio Fel(ici) Aug(usto)*—.

<sup>6</sup>For [tissimo] / Imp(eratori) Ca[es]ari M(arco) Cl(audio) Tac(i) / to [Pio Felici Aug(usto)]—.

23. *pacatissimus Imp. Caes. M. Cl. Tac. Pi. Fel. Aug. n.*  
Inscriptions: Africa -- *EE* v 1086/vii 612; *EE* vii 613/*CIL* VIII 10089 (=22177)/*ILS* 590
24. *invictissimus et pius Imp. Caes. M. Cl. Tac. Pi. Fel. Aug. n.*  
Inscriptions: Africa -- *EE* vii 629/*CIL* VIII 22137
25. *Imp. Caes. Tac. Inv. Pi. Fel. Aug.*  
Coins: Thrace (Serdica) -- *RJC* V.1 196
26. *Imp. Caes. M. Cl. Tac. Pi. Fel. Inv. Aug.*  
Inscriptions: Britain -- *EE* iii 117/*ILS* 588/*RIB* 2262  
Aquitania -- *CIL* XIII 8923/*XVII* 488  
Pannonia Inf. -- *AE* (1974) 529  
Dalmatia -- *CIL* III 13313  
Moesia Inf. -- *CIL* III 14207.36/*IGRR* I 1442/*IGBulg* 252b<sup>7</sup>  
Bithynia -- Şahin et al. 1983, 51-2 no. 6  
Coins: Thrace (Serdica) -- *RJC* V.1 200
27. *Imp. Caes. M. Cl. Tac. Pi. Fel. Inv. Aug. n.*  
Inscriptions: Dalmatia -- *CIL* III 3204

### III. Latin Titles, Group B

28. *Tac. cos.*  
Inscriptions: Germania Sup. -- *CIL* XIII 6733
29. *M. Cl. Tac. cos.*  
Inscriptions: Numidia -- *EE* v 843

<sup>7</sup>I have restored *Augustus* to this inscription.

30. *Imp. Caes. M. Cl. Tac. Pi. Inv. pont. max. tr. pot. p. p.*  
Inscriptions: Lusitania -- *AE* (1961) 250, (1965) 107
31. *Imp. Caes. M. Cl. Tac. Aug. pont. max. tr. pot. cos.*  
Coins: Italy (Rome) -- *RJC* V.1 70; *HCC* IV 1
32. *Imp. Caes. Cl. Tac. Inv. Aug. tr. pot. cos.*  
Inscriptions: Lusitania -- *FC* 102
33. *Imp. Caes. M. Cl. Tac. Inv. Aug. pont. max. tr. pot. cos. procos.*  
Inscriptions: Germania Sup. -- *CIL* XIII 9076/*RSS* 45/*CIL* XVII 594
34. *Imp. Caes. Cl. Tac. Inv. Aug. pont. max. tr. pot. cos. p. p. procos.*  
Inscriptions: Hispania -- *CIL* II 4830
35. *Imp. Caes. M. Cl. Tac. Pi. Fel. Aug. pont. max.*  
Inscriptions: Africa -- *AE* (1902) 150/*CIL* VIII 25836/*ILS* 8926/*CILB* 389<sup>8</sup>
36. *Imp. Caes. M. Cl. Tac. Pi. Fel. Aug. pont. max. p. p. tr. pot.*  
Inscriptions: Aquitania -- *CIL* XIII 8950/*XVII* 386<sup>9</sup>
37. *Imp. Caes. Cl. Tac. Pi. Fel. Inv. Aug. pont. max. tr. pot.*  
Inscriptions: Pannonia Sup. -- *CIL* III 11328<sup>10</sup>
38. *Imp. Caes. M. Cl. Tac. Pi. Fel. Inv. Aug. pont. max. tr. pot.*  
Inscriptions: Lusitania -- *CIL* II 4959 (=6197)
39. *Imp. Caes. M. Cl. Tac. Inv. Pi. Fel. Aug. pont. max. tr. pot. p. p.*  
Inscriptions: Numidia -- Salama 1951-52, 231 no. 8

<sup>8</sup>The inscription is damaged after, *pont(ificis) max(im)*, and thus the rest of the titulature is lost.

<sup>9</sup>*[Imp(eratori) Coes(ari) / M(arco) Claudio Taci] / to [P(io)] F(elici) Aug(usto) / p(ontifci) m(aximo) p(atri) [p(atricae)] tr(ibunicia) / po[st]est[ate]---*

<sup>10</sup>The inscription breaks after mention of the tribunician power.

40. *Imp. Caes. M. Cl. Tac. Pi. Fel. Inv. Aug. pont. max. tr. pot. p. p. procos.*  
Inscriptions: Lusitania -- *CIL* II 4638<sup>11</sup>
41. *clementissimus Imp. Caes. M. Cl. Tac. Pi. Fel. Inv. Aug. pont. max. tr. pot. p. p. cos.*  
Inscriptions: Lugdunensis -- *CIL* XIII 9001/XVII 389

#### IV. Latin Titles, Group C

42. *Imp. Caes. Cl. Tac. Pi. Fel. Inv. Aug. pont. max. tr. pot. procos. IV*  
Inscriptions: Hispania -- *ILER* 6058
43. *Imp. Caes. M. Cl. Tac. Pi. Fel. Inv. Aug. p. p. II cos.*  
Inscriptions: Lusitania -- *IRCP* 666a<sup>12</sup>
44. *Imp. Caes. M. Cl. Tac. Pi. Fel. Aug. pont. max. tr. pot. II cos.*  
Inscriptions: Africa -- *AE* (1926) 137/*IRT* 926
45. *Imp. Caes. M. Cl. Tac. Pi. Fel. Inv. Aug. pont. max. tr. pot. II procos.*  
Inscriptions: Hispania -- *CIL* II 4879/*IRR* 59/König 1981, 69/*ERR* 74<sup>13</sup>
46. *Imp. Caes. M. Cl. Tac. Pi. Fel. Inv. Aug. pont. max. tr. pot. II cos. p. p.*  
Inscriptions: Lusitania -- *CIL* II 4635/*IRCP* 665
47. *Imp. Caes. Cl. Tac. Pi. Fel. Inv. Aug. pont. max. tr. pot. II cos. procos.*  
Inscriptions: Lusitania -- *CIL* II 4636/*IRCP* 666

<sup>11</sup>Rather than AVG, this inscription has VC. It is, of course, possible that *v(ir) c(larissimus)* is intended; however, it seems more likely that there has been a mistake, either in the cutting or the reading of the stone. Therefore, I print *Aug.*

<sup>12</sup>The iteration is almost certainly intended as referring to the tribunician power. See *IRCP* ad loc.

<sup>13</sup>It is not clear whether this stone belongs to Claudius II or to Tacitus. See above Claudius 42.

48. *Imp. Caes. M. Cl. Tac. Inv. Pi. Fel. Aug. pont. max. tr. pot. II cos. p. p. procos.*  
Inscriptions: Numidia -- *CIL* VIII 22450<sup>14</sup>
49. *Imp. Cl. Tac. Aug. pont. max. tr. pot. cos. des. II*  
Inscriptions: Gaul (?) -- *RIC* V.1 1
50. *clementissimus Imp. Cl. Tac. Inv. Pi. Fel. Aug. pont. max. tr. pot. cos. II procos. p. p.*  
Inscriptions: Lugdunensis -- *AE* (1968) 309/*CIL* XVII 481
51. *Imp. Caes. M. Cl. Tac. Inv. Pi. Fel. Aug. pont. max. p. p. tr. pot. cos. II*  
Inscriptions: Aquitania -- *CIL* XIII 8928/XVII 433
52. *Imp. Caes. M. Cl. Tac. Inv. Pi. Fel. Aug. pont. max. tr. pot. cos. II p. p. procos.*  
Inscriptions: Numidia -- *CIL* VIII 22430
53. *Imp. Caes. M. Cl. Tac. Pi. Fel. Inv. Aug. pont. max. p. p. tr. pot. II cos. II procos.*  
Inscriptions: Asia -- *AE* (1924) 70/*FiE* III, 110-1 no. 20/*IK* 17,1 3020
54. *verae libertatis auctor Imp. Caes. M. Cl. Tac. Pi. Fel. Aug. pont. max. Goth. max. tr. pot. II cos. II p. p. procos.*  
Inscriptions: Narbonensis -- *CIL* XII 5563/*ILS* 591/*CIL* XVII 174
55. *Imp. Caes. M. Cl. Tac. Aug. cos. III*  
Coins: Italy (Ticinum) -- *RIC* V.1 120
56. *Imp. Caes. M. Cl. Tac. Pi. Aug. cos. III*  
Coins: Italy (Ticinum) -- *RIC* V.1 121

<sup>14</sup>The stone does not properly have *pont. max.* It reads (lines 3-4), ...*P. F. Aug. / ma. trib. p...*

## V. Greek Titles, Group A

57. Τακ.  
Inscriptions: Lycia -- *SEG* 34 (1984) 1306
58. ὁ κυρ. ἡμῶν Μ. ΚΑ. Τακ.  
Papyri: *Bureth* p. 123, no. 4 (2)
59. Τακ. Σεβ.  
Coins: Lycia (Perge) -- *SNGAul* 8530<sup>15</sup>
60. ὁ κυρ. ἡμῶν Τακ. Σεβ.  
Papyri: *Bureth* p. 123, no. 3 (1)
61. ὁ κυρ. ἡμῶν ΚΑ. Τακ. Σεβ.  
Papyri: *Bureth* p. 123, no. 5 (2)
62. ΚΑ. Καισ. ὁ κυρ. Σεβ.  
Papyri: *Bureth* p. 123, no. 1 (1)
63. ὁ κυρ. ἡμῶν Αυτ. Τακ. Σεβ.  
Papyri: *P. Oxy.* XLIII 3116, 9-10
64. Αυτ. Καισ. ΚΑ. Τακ. Σεβ.  
Coins: Egypt (Alexandria) -- *Milne* 1933, p. 107; *KAK* 3110-20
65. Αυτ. Καισ. Μ. ΚΑ. Τακ. Ευσ. Ευτ. Σεβ.  
Inscriptions: Asia -- *CIL* III 7190/*IGRR* IV 1163, 1165  
Coins: Lycia (Perge) -- *SNGAul* 4759, 8530<sup>16</sup>  
Papyri: *Bureth* p. 123, no. 2 (3)

<sup>15</sup>This is the reverse legend of the coin. For the obverse, see below 65.

<sup>16</sup>This is the obverse legend of the coin. For the reverse, see above 59.

## Florianus

(ca. June - August 276)

*M(arcus) Ann(ius) Flor(ianus)*

## I. Literary Testimonia

*Aur. Vict., Caes.* 36.2 ...*Florianus...nullo senatus seu militum consulto imperium invaserat.*

*HA Tac.* 14.1 *Hic frater Taciti[s] germanu <s> fuit, qui post fratrem arripuit imperium, non senatus auctoritate sed suo motu, quasi hereditarium esse <t> imperium, cum sciret adiuratum esse in senatu Tacitum, ut, cum mori c <o> episset, non liberos suos sed optimum aliquem principem faceret.*

Zonaras 12.29 Καὶ τοῦτου σφαγέντος δύο κατὰ ταύτων ἀνερρήθησαν βασιλεῖς, Πρόβος μὲν ἐν τῇ ἑβρα παρά τῶν στρατιωτῶν, ἐν δὲ Ῥώμῃ παρά τῆς συγκλήτου Φλωριανός.

Zosimus 1.64.1 Ἐντεῦθεν εἰς ἐμφύλιον κατέστη τὰ πράγματα ταραχὴν, τῶν μὲν κατὰ τὴν ἑβρα βασιλέα Πρόβον ἐλομένων, τῶν δὲ κατὰ τὴν Ῥώμην Φλωριανόν.

## II. Latin Titles, Group A

1. *Flor. Aug.*  
Coins: Italy (Rome) -- *RIC* V.1 20, 23, 49; *HCC* IV 1
2. *Imp. Flor. Aug.*  
Coins: Asia (Cyzicus) -- *RIC* V.1 116-7  
Cyzicus/Ticinum (?) -- *HCC* IV 20

3. *Imp. Ann. Flor. Aug.*  
Coins: Italy (Ticinum) -- *RIC* V.1 63, 70, 88
4. *Imp. M. Ann. Flor. Aug.*  
Coins: Italy (Ticinum) -- *RIC* V.1 59 ff.; *HCC* IV 18
5. *Imp. Ann. Flor. Aug. princ. iuv.*  
Coins: Italy (Ticinum) -- *RIC* V.1 80
6. *Imp. M. Ann. Flor. Pi. Aug.*  
Coins: Italy (Ticinum) -- *RIC* V.1 91
7. *Imp. Caes. Flor. Aug.*  
Coins: Italy (Rome) -- *RIC* V.1 18 ff.; *HCC* IV 2-8  
Pannonia Sup. (Siscia) -- *RIC* V.1 97, 109  
Asia (Cyzius) -- *RIC* V.1 115
8. *Imp. Caes. Ann. Flor. Aug.*  
Coins: Italy (Ticinum) -- *RIC* V.1 67, 71, 78, 85, 89
9. *Imp. Caes. M. Ann. Flor. Aug.*  
Coins: Lugdunensis (Lugdunum) -- *RIC* V.1 1 ff.  
Italy (Rome) -- *RIC* V.1 19 ff.; *Gnecchi* II p. 115, 1-2  
Italy (Ticinum) -- *RIC* V.1 58 ff.  
Pannonia Sup. (Siscia) -- *RIC* V.1 106-8  
Thrace (Serdica) -- *RIC* V.1 111-2; *HCC* IV 21  
Gaul (?) -- *HCC* IV 12  
Cyzius/Ticinum (?) -- *HCC* IV 19
10. *Imp. Caes. M. Ann. Flor. Aug. princ. iuv.*  
Coins: Italy (Ticinum) -- *RIC* V.1 79, 81

11. *Imp. Caes. M. Ann. Flor. Pi. Aug.*  
Coins: Italy (Rome) -- *Gnecchi* II p. 115, 3  
Italy (Ticinum) -- *RIC* V.1 57 ff.; *HCC* IV 13-7  
Pannonia Sup. (Siscia) -- *RIC* V.1 98 ff.  
Thrace (Serdica) -- *RIC* V.1 110
12. *Imp. Caes. Flor. Pi. Fel. Aug.*  
Coins: Italy (Rome) -- *RIC* V.1 28
13. *Imp. Caes. M. Ann. Flor. Pi. Fel. Aug.*  
Inscriptions: Britain -- *RIB* 2275, 2280  
Dalmatia -- *CIL* III 10061 (= 14019)/Degrassi 1942, 194-5 no. 5/*ILJug* I 267  
Coins: Lugdunensis (Lugdunum) -- *RIC* V.1 2 ff.  
Gaul -- *HCC* IV 9-11
14. *Imp. Caes. M. Ann. Flor. Pi. Fel. Aug. restitutor saeculi*  
Coins: Italy (Rome) -- *Gnecchi* II p. 115, 4
15. *Imp. Caes. M. Ann. Flor. Pi. Fel. Inv. Aug.*  
Inscriptions: Britain -- *EE* ix p. 634/*CIL* VII 1156/*ILS* 592/*RIB* 2235
- III. Latin Titles, Group B
16. *Imp. Caes. M. Ann. Flor. Pi. Fel. Aug. p. p.*  
Inscriptions: Achaea? -- *IG* V,2 p. 5, 132/*SEG* 35 (1985) 375
17. *Imp. Caes. M. Ann. Flor. Aug. pont. max. tr. pot. cos.*  
Inscriptions: Dalmatia -- *CIL* III 15086
18. *Imp. Caes. M. Ann. Flor. Pi. Fel. Inv. Aug. pont. max. tr. pot. p. p. procos.*  
Inscriptions: Germania Inf. -- *CIL* XIII 9155/*RSK* 185/*CIL* XVII 580  
Pannonia Inf. -- *AE* (1969/70) 495

19. *d. orbis et pacis Imp. Caes. M. Ann. Flor. Pi. Fel. Inv. Aug. pont. max. tr. pot. p. p. procos.*  
Inscriptions: Aquitania -- *CIL* XIII 8895/XVII 369
20. *magnus et Inv. Imp. Caes. M. Ann. Flor. Pi. Fel. Inv. Aug. pont. max. tr. pot. cos. p. p. procos.*  
Inscriptions: Baetica -- *CIL* II 1115/*ILS* 593

#### IV. Latin Titles, Group C

21. *Imp. Caes. M. Ann. Flor. Pi. Fel. Aug. pont. max. fortissimus atque indulgentissimus princ. restitutor orbis trib. pot. cos. II p. p. procos.*  
Inscriptions: Numidia -- *AE* (1960) 104

#### V. Greek Titles, Group A

22. *Aut. Καισ. Μ. Ανν. Φλωρ. Σεβ.*  
Inscriptions: Achaea -- *IG* V,1 449

#### Probus

(ca. June 276 - September/9 December 282)

*M(arcus) Aur(elius) Prob(us)*

#### I. Literary Testimonia

*Aur. Vict. Caes. 37.1-2 Qui uno mense aut altero vix retentata dominatione apud Tarsum ab suis interficitur, postquam Probum in Illyrico factum acceperat...*

*HA Tac. 14.2-4 denique vix duobus mensibus imperium tenuit (Tacitus) et occisus est Tarsi a militibus, qui Probum audierant imperare, quem omnis exercitus legerat; tantus autem Probus fuit in[te]re militari, ut illum senatus optaret, miles eligeret, ipse p. R. adclamationibus peteret.*

*HA Prob. 10.1 Cum igitur his tot tantis virtutibus eniteret, Tacito absumpto fataliter ac Floriano imperium arripiente omnis orientalis exercitus eundem imperatorem fecerunt.*

*idem 12.8 "...decerno igitur, p. c., votis omnium concinentibus nomen imperatorum, nomen Caesareanum, nomen Augustum, addo proconsulare imperium, patris patriae reverentiam, pontificatum maximum, ius tertiae relationis, tribuniciam potestatem."*

Zosimus (vid. sup., Florianus)

Zonaras (vid. sup., Florianus)



## II. Latin Titles, Group A

1. *divus Prob.*  
Inscriptions: Italy -- Barbieri 1964, 41
2. *Prob. Aug.*  
Coins: Lugdunensis (Lugdunum) -- *RIC* V.2 18 ff.  
Italy (Rome) -- *RIC* V.1 147 ff.; *HCC* IV 6-9, 71; *Gnecchi* II p. 117, 15  
Italy (Ticinum) -- *RIC* V.2 308 ff.; *HCC* IV 114-25, 140-1, 144, 146-51,  
155, 158-70, 174  
Pannonia Sup. (Siscia) -- *RIC* V.2 620 ff.; *HCC* IV 246  
Thrace (Serdica) -- *RIC* V.2 837, 872, 879  
Asia (Cyzicus) -- *RIC* V.2 899, 904; *HCC* IV 311-2
3. *Aur. Prob. Aug.*  
Coins: Italy (Rome) -- *RIC* V.2 267
4. *Prob. Aug. restitutor saeculi*  
Coins: Italy (Ticinum) -- *RIC* V.2 405-6
5. *fortissimus ac piissimus d. n. Prob. Aug.*  
Inscriptions: Africa -- *CIL* VIII 26560/*ILS* 8927
6. *Prob. Inv. Aug.*  
Coins: Italy (Ticinum) -- *RIC* V.2 353, 368, 377, 389, 431, 438 ff.; *HCC* IV 113
7. *deus et d. Prob. Inv. Aug.*  
Coins: Thrace (Serdica) -- *RIC* V.2 885
8. *Prob. Pi. Aug.*  
Coins: Italy (Rome) -- *RIC* V.2 148, 188, 265-6, 278, 285; *HCC* IV 70
9. *Prob. Inv. Pi. Aug.*  
Coins: Italy (Rome) -- *Gnecchi* II p. 118, 30

10. *Prob. Pi. Fel. Aug.*  
Coins: Italy (Rome) -- *RIC* V.2 158 ff.; *HCC* IV 44, 55-66, 74  
Pannonia Sup. (Siscia) -- *RIC* V.2 630, 637, 640
11. *bonus et Inv. Prob. Pi. Fel. Aug.*  
Coins: Thrace (Serdica) -- *HCC* IV 294
12. *M. Aur. Prob. Pi. Fel. Inv. Aug.*  
Inscriptions: Britain -- *EE* vii 1109/*RIB* 2300  
Asia -- *MAMA* I 18 bis
13. *Imp. Prob. Aug.*  
Coins: Lugdunensis (Lugdunum) -- *RIC* V.2 67, 94, 109; *Gnecchi* I p. 9, 1; II p.  
115, 1 ff.  
Italy (Rome) -- *RIC* V.2 134 ff.; *HCC* IV 3, 15-32, 40-3, 53-4, 69  
Italy (Ticinum) -- *RIC* V.2 574  
Pannonia Sup. (Siscia) -- *RIC* V.2 580, 597, 628, 690, 815; *HCC* IV 229  
Asia (Cyzicus) -- *RIC* V.2 895, 897
14. *Imp. Prob. Aug. princ. iuv.*  
Coins: Asia (Cyzicus) -- *RIC* V.2 892
15. *Imp. Prob. Aug. victoriosus semper*  
Coins: Italy (Rome) -- *HCC* IV 39
16. *Imp. deus et d. Prob. Aug.*  
Coins: Thrace (Serdica) -- *RIC* V.2 841
17. *perpetuus Imp. Prob. Aug.*  
Coins: Thrace (Serdica) -- *RIC* V.2 874
18. *Imp. Prob. Inv. Aug.*  
Coins: Italy (Ticinum) -- *RIC* V.2 324  
Pannonia Sup. (Siscia) -- *RIC* V.2 622-3, 657, 679, 684, 686 ff.; *HCC* IV  
286-9

19. *Imp. Prob. Inv. Aug. restitutor Illyrici*  
Coins: Pannonia Sup. (Siscia) -- *RIC* V.2 730
20. *Imp. Prob. Pi. Aug.*  
Coins: Italy (Rome) -- *RIC* V.2 144, 256, 277; *Gneccchi* II p. 116, 3 ff.
21. *Imp. M. Aur. Prob. Pi. Aug.*  
Coins: Thrace (Serdica) -- *RIC* V.2 883
22. *perpetuus Imp. Prob. Pi. Aug.*  
Coins: Thrace (Serdica) -- *RIC* V.2 843
23. *Imp. Prob. Pi. Fel. Aug.*  
Coins: Lugdunensis (Lugdunum) -- *RIC* V.2 33, 43, 61, 72, 113; *Gneccchi* II p. 116, 4 ff.  
Italy (Rome) -- *RIC* V.2 133 ff.; *HCC* IV 33, 35-8, 46-52  
Italy (Ticinum) -- *RIC* V.2 334, 382, 423  
Pannonia Sup. (Siscia) -- *RIC* V.2 584 ff.; *HCC* IV 227-8, 250-60  
Thrace (Serdica) -- *RIC* V.2 866
24. *Imp. M. Aur. Prob. Pi. Fel. Aug.*  
Coins: Pannonia Sup. (Siscia) -- *RIC* V.2 808
25. *Imp. Prob. Pi. Fel. Aug. pacator orbis*  
Coins: Italy (Rome) -- *RIC* V.2 136
26. *Imp. Prob. Pi. Fel. Aug. restitutor orbis*  
Coins: Pannonia Sup. (Siscia) -- *RIC* V.2 734  
Thrace (Serdica) -- *RIC* V.2 852
27. *Imp. Prob. Pi. Fel. Aug. victoriosus semper*  
Coins: Italy (Rome) -- *RIC* V.2 143, 224

28. *Imp. Caes. Prob. Aug.*  
Coins: Lugdunensis (Lugdunum) -- *RIC* V.2 34, 66, 108, 130  
Italy (Rome) -- *RIC* V.2 156 ff.; *HCC* IV 34, 45; *Gneccchi* III p. 67, 48  
Italy (Ticinum) -- *RIC* V.2 335 ff.; *HCC* IV 145, 156-7, 177-81  
Pannonia Sup. (Siscia) -- *RIC* V.2 627 ff.; *HCC* IV 249  
Thrace (Serdica) -- *RIC* V.2 846
29. *Imp. Caes. M. Aur. Prob. Aug.*  
Inscriptions: Mauretania Caes. -- *AE* (1921) 23/*ILAT* 610/*ILM* 47/*LAM* II 361  
Coins: Lugdunensis (Lugdunum) -- *RIC* V.2 3 ff.; *HCC* IV 75-80, 92  
Italy (Rome) -- *RIC* V.2 140 ff.; *HCC* IV 5; *Gneccchi* I p. 10, 5; III p. 67, 46  
Italy (Ticinum) -- *RIC* V.2 307 ff.; *HCC* IV 100-1, 103-10, 112, 139, 172-3  
Pannonia Sup. (Siscia) -- *RIC* V.2 582 ff.; *HCC* IV 185-7, 211-4, 243-5, 275-84  
Thrace (Serdica) -- *RIC* V.2 827 ff.; *HCC* IV 292-3, 296-8, 303-4, 308-9  
Asia (Cyzicus) -- *RIC* V.2 890 ff.; *HCC* IV 324-5  
Syria (Antioch) -- *RIC* V.2 915-9, 921, 923; *HCC* IV 340-3  
Phoenicia (Tripolis) -- *RIC* V.2 928; *HCC* IV 349-51
30. *Imp. Caes. Prob. Aug. restitutor orbis*  
Coins: Thrace (Serdica) -- *RIC* V.2 853
31. *Imp. Caes. Prob. Aug. restitutor saeculi*  
Coins: Italy (Rome) -- *RIC* V.2 253  
Italy (Ticinum) -- *RIC* V.2 310
32. *Imp. Caes. M. Aur. Prob. Aug. princ. iuv.*  
Coins: Italy (Ticinum) -- *RIC* V.2 318
33. *Imp. Caes. M. Aur. Prob. Aug. restitutor orbis*  
Coins: Pannonia Sup. (Siscia) -- *RIC* V.2 732  
Thrace (Serdica) -- *RIC* V.2 856
34. *Imp. Caes. M. Aur. Prob. Aug. restitutor saeculi*  
Coins: Italy (Ticinum) -- *RIC* V.2 401-4; *HCC* IV 111

35. *Imp. Caes. M. Aur. Prob. Aug. restitutor urbis*  
Coins: Phoenicia (Tripolis) -- *RIC* V.2 926<sup>1</sup>
36. *bonus Imp. Caes. Prob. Aug.*  
Coins: Thrace (Serdica) -- *RIC* V.2 850
37. *perpetuus Imp. Caes. Prob. Aug.*  
Coins: Thrace (Serdica) -- *RIC* V.2 842, 869, 884
38. *perpetuus Imp. Caes. M. Aur. Prob. Aug.*  
Coins: Thrace (Serdica) -- *RIC* V.2 849
39. *Imp. Caes. Prob. Inv. Aug.*  
Coins: Pannonia Sup. (Siscia) -- *RIC* V.2 596, 759; *Gnecchi* I p. 10, 3; II p. 119, 40; III p. 68, 54  
Thrace (Serdica) -- *RIC* V.2 823, 825, 848
40. *Imp. Caes. M. Prob. Inv. Aug.*  
Coins: Pannonia Sup. (Siscia) -- *RIC* V.2 678, 683; *HCC* IV 285
41. *Imp. Caes. M. Aur. Prob. Inv. Aug.*  
Coins: Thrace (Serdica) -- *RIC* V.2 882
42. *perpetuus Imp. Caes. Prob. Inv. Aug. restitutor orbis*  
Coins: Thrace (Serdica) -- *RIC* V.2 859
43. *Imp. Caes. Prob. Pi. Aug.*  
Coins: Italy (Ticinum) -- *RIC* V.2 538; *HCC* IV 143  
Pannonia Sup. (Siscia) -- *RIC* V.2 648, 662

<sup>1</sup>The title intended for the reverse legend here may have been *restitutor orbis*.

44. *Imp. Caes. M. Aur. Prob. Pi. Aug.*  
Coins: Lugdunensis (Lugdunum) -- *RIC* V.2 62, 92; *Gnecchi* I p. 10, 4; II p. 116, 7 ff.; III p. 67, 51 ff.  
Italy (Rome) -- *RIC* V.2 135, 167, 197, 239, 294, 301; *HCC* IV 2, 72-3  
Italy (Ticinum) -- *RIC* V.2 309, 338, 346, 390, 440, 455  
Pannonia Sup. (Siscia) -- *RIC* V.2 585, 587, 595, 621, 629 ff.; *HCC* IV 203-8, 239-42  
Thrace (Serdica) -- *RIC* V.2 833, 839, 860, 864-5, 873, 876, 880, 888; *HCC* IV 302, 307  
Syria (Antioch) -- *RIC* V.2 924
45. *Imp. Caes. Prob. Pi. Aug. restitutor orbis*  
Coins: Pannonia Sup. (Siscia) -- *RIC* V.2 735  
Thrace (Serdica) -- *RIC* V.2 855
46. *Imp. Caes. M. Aur. Prob. Pi. Aug. restitutor orbis*  
Coins: Pannonia Sup. (Siscia) -- *HCC* IV 268  
Thrace (Serdica) -- *RIC* V.2 854, 857
47. *Imp. Caes. Prob. Inv. Pi. Aug.*  
Coins: Thrace (Serdica) -- *RIC* V.2 847
48. *Imp. Caes. M. Prob. Inv. Pi. Aug.*  
Coins: Pannonia Sup. (Siscia) -- *RIC* V.2 677
49. *Imp. Caes. M. Aur. Prob. Pi. Inv. Aug. n.*  
Inscriptions: Mauretania Ting. -- *AE* (1920) 44/*ILAT* 609/*ILM* 46/*IAM* II 360<sup>2</sup>

<sup>2</sup>See also 62 below. And for the proper reading of the stone, G. Di Vita-Evrard, *ZPE* 68 (1987) 195.

50. *Imp. Caes. Prob. Pi. Fel. Aug.*  
 Coins: Lugdunensis (Lugdunum) -- *RIC* V.2 7 ff.; *HCC* IV 82-91, 93-6  
 Italy (Rome) -- *RIC* V.2 163, 192, 198, 212, 233, 263, 273, 281, 289, 291;  
*HCC* IV 68; *Gnechchi* II p. 118, 26-7  
 Italy (Ticinum) -- *RIC* V.2 321 ff.; *HCC* IV 126-37, 142, 152-4, 175-6  
 Pannonia Sup. (Siscia) -- *RIC* V.2 583 ff.; *HCC* IV 215-26, 247-8  
 Thrace (Serdica) -- *RIC* V.2 832, 863
51. *Imp. Caes. M. Aur. Prob. Pi. Fel. Aug.*  
 Inscriptions: Achaea -- *IG* V,2 p. 5, 135  
 Galatia -- *CIL* III 14184.35  
 Africa -- *CIL* VIII 1329,<sup>3</sup> 10068, 14891 (=1353, cf. *EE* v 538); *AE*  
 (1892) 18/*CIL* VIII 23400  
 Coins: Lugdunensis (Lugdunum) -- *RIC* V.2 2 ff.; *HCC* IV 81  
 Italy (Rome) -- *RIC* V.1 137, 160, 182, 190, 204, 210, 226, 234, 271, 299;  
*HCC* IV 1, 10-4; *Gnechchi* I p. 9, 2, p. 10, 6-8  
 Italy (Ticinum) -- *RIC* V.2 306 ff.; *HCC* IV 102, 138, 171  
 Pannonia Sup. (Siscia) -- *RIC* V.2 581 ff.; *HCC* IV 183-4, 188-202, 230-  
 8, 272-4  
 Thrace (Serdica) -- *RIC* V.2 826, 836, 844, 861, 870-1, 875, 877, 886;  
*HCC* IV 295, 299-301, 305-6  
 Asia (Cyzicus) -- *RIC* V.2 900-1, 903, 906-7, 911-3; *HCC* IV 310, 313-23,  
 326  
 Syria (Antioch) -- *RIC* V.2 920, 922; *HCC* IV 327-31, 344-7  
 Phoenicia (Tripolis) -- *RIC* V.2 927; *HCC* IV 348, 352-6
52. *Imp. Caes. Prob. Pi. Fel. Aug. pacator orbis*  
 Coins: Pannonia Sup. (Siscia) -- *RIC* V.2 591
53. *Imp. Caes. Prob. Pi. Fel. Aug. restitutor orbis*  
 Coins: Pannonia Sup. (Siscia) -- *RIC* V.2 733; *HCC* IV 262-7, 269  
 Thrace (Serdica) -- *RIC* V.2 851

<sup>3</sup>The stone reads in *CIL* (line 2), [pro salute Imp(eratoris)] Caes(aris) M(arci) Aurelii Probi Pi(i) [Inv(icti) Aug(usti)]. It seems to me, however, that *Felix* is a more likely restoration than *Invictus*.

54. *Imp. Caes. M. Aur. Prob. Pi. Fel. Aug. restitutor exerciti*  
 Coins: Asia (Cyzicus) -- *RIC* V.2 909
55. *Imp. Caes. M. Aur. Prob. Pi. Fel. Aug. restitutor orbis*  
 Coins: Pannonia Sup. (Siscia) -- *RIC* V.2 731, 736; *HCC* IV 261, 270-1, 290-1  
 Asia (Cyzicus) -- *RIC* V.2 910  
 Syria (Antioch) -- *RIC* V.2 925; *HCC* IV 332-9
56. *Imp. Caes. M. Aur. Prob. Pi. Fel. Aug. restitutor saeculi*  
 Coins: Italy (Ticinum) -- *RIC* V.2 400
- 56a. *Imp. Caes. Prob. Inv. Pi. Fel. Aug.*  
 Coins: Thrace (Serdica) ? -- *Gnechchi* II p. 119, 32-3
57. *Imp. Caes. M. Aur. Prob. Pi. Fel. Inv. Aug.*  
 Inscriptions: Baetica -- *CIL* II 2071/*ILPG* 33, 34  
 Italy -- *CIL* XI 4354  
 Dalmatia -- *CIL* III 6433  
 Numidia -- *CIL* VIII 10281  
 Coins: Thrace (Serdica) -- *RIC* V.2 840, 867, 881
58. *Imp. Caes. M. Aur. Prob. Pi. Fel. Inv. Aug. restitutor orbis*  
 Coins: Thrace (Serdica) -- *RIC* V.2 858
59. *bonus Imp. Caes. Prob. Pi. Fel. Inv. Aug.*  
 Coins: Thrace (Serdica) -- *RIC* V.2 868
60. *Imp. clementissimus Pi. Fel. princ. fortissimus nob. Caes. verus Goth. verusque Germ. M. Aur. Prob. semper Inv.*  
 Inscriptions: Hispania -- *AE* (1923) 102/*ILER* 1204/*FLEL* 100/*IRPL* 69<sup>4</sup>

<sup>4</sup>[Imperatori cle[m]en[tissimo] / Pio Felici] principi [forti/ssimo] nobilissimo Caesa[ri] / ve[ro] Gothico veroque Ger/[manic]o M(arco) Aur(elia) Probo semper Invicto. This is the reading of Rabanal Alonso (*FLEL* ad loc.), and seems the most likely.

## III. Latin Titles, Group B

61. *Prob. cos.*  
Inscriptions: Moesia Sup. -- *IMS* I 10
62. *d. n. Prob. Aug. cos.*  
Inscriptions: Mauretania Ting. -- *AE* (1920) 44/*ILAT* 609/*ILM* 46/*LAM* II 360<sup>5</sup>
63. *Imp. Prob. Aug. pont. max. tr. pot. cos. p. p.*  
Coins: Italy (Rome) -- *RIC* V.2 244; *Gnecchi* III p. 71, 92  
Pannonia Sup. (Siscia) -- *RIC* V.2 608
64. *Imp. Caes. M. Aur. Prob. Aug. imp.*  
Inscriptions: Hispania -- *EE* viii 232/*CIL* II 4822<sup>6</sup>
65. *Imp. Caes. Prob. Aug. cos.*  
Coins: Italy (Ticinum) -- *RIC* V.2 320
66. *Imp. Caes. M. Aur. Prob. Aug. tr. pot. cos. p. p.*  
Coins: Lugdunensis (Lugdunum) -- *RIC* V.2 1
67. *Imp. Caes. M. Aur. Prob. Aug. pont. max. tr. pot. cos. p. p.*  
Coins: Pannonia Sup. (Siscia) -- *RIC* V.2 607
68. *Imp. Caes. M. Aur. Prob. Inv. Aug. tr. pot.*  
Inscriptions: Numidia -- *Marcillet-Jaubert* 1980, 175 no. 25
69. *Imp. Caes. M. Aur. Prob. Pi. Aug. pont. max. tr. pot. cos. p. p.*  
Coins: Pannonia Sup. (Siscia) -- *RIC* V.2 609

<sup>5</sup>See also 49 above.<sup>6</sup>Of this inscription Hübner says (*CIL* ad loc.), *Vix putaverim Probi fuisse, sed potius Carini, ut n. 4829*. Though impossible to say with certainty, the first inclination seems me the more likely still.

70. *Imp. Caes. M. Aur. Prob. Pi. Fel. Aug. pont. max. tr. pot.*  
Inscriptions: Africa -- *EE* vii 591/*CIL* VIII 22084<sup>7</sup>
71. *Imp. Caes. M. Aur. Prob. Pi. Fel. Aug. pont. max. tr. pot. p. p. procos.*  
Inscriptions: Hispania -- *CIL* II 4881/*IRR* 1/*ERR* 75
72. *Imp. Caes. Prob. Pi. Fel. Aug. pont. max. tr. pot. cos. p. p.*  
Coins: Pannonia Sup. (Siscia) -- *RIC* V.2 610
73. *Imp. Caes. M. Aur. Prob. Pi. Fel. Aug. pont. max. tr. pot. cos. p. p.*  
Coins: Italy (Rome) -- *RIC* V.2 132  
Pannonia Sup. (Siscia) -- *RIC* V.2 606
74. *Imp. Caes. M. Aur. Prob. Pi. Fel. Aug. Goth. pont. max. tr. pot. cos.*  
Inscriptions: Italy -- *CIL* XI 1178b/*ILS* 594
75. *Imp. Caes. M. Aur. Prob. Pi. Fel. Aug. pont. max. tr. pot. cos. p. p. procos.*  
Inscriptions: Hispania -- *AE* (1932) 83/*RIT* 88  
Mauretania Ting. -- *ILAT* 618/*ILM* 80/*LAM* II 410
76. *Imp. Caes. M. Aur. Prob. Inv. Pi. pont. max.*  
Inscriptions: Numidia -- *CIL* VIII 22308<sup>8</sup>
77. *Imp. Caes. M. Aur. Prob. Pi. Fel. Inv. Aug. cos. d. n.*  
Inscriptions: Italy -- *CIL* IX 2329
78. *Imp. Caes. M. Aur. Prob. Inv. Pi. Fel. Aug. pont. max. p. p. procos.*  
Inscriptions: Numidia -- *CIL* VIII 22317

<sup>7</sup>This stone breaks after mention of the tribunician power.<sup>8</sup>[*Imp(eratori) Ca(es)ari) M(arco) A(urelio) Probo / [Invic]to Pio po[ntif]fici ma[xi]mo [...] / [...]xim[us]*—

79. *Imp. Caes. M. Aur. Prob. Pi. Fel. Inv. Aug. pont. max.*  
Inscriptions: Lusitania -- IRCP 668<sup>9</sup>
80. *Imp. Caes. M. Aur. Prob. Pi. Fel. Inv. Aug. pont. max. tr. pot. procos.*  
Inscriptions: Hispania -- CIL II 4507/IRB 26<sup>10</sup>
81. *Imp. Caes. M. Aur. Prob. Inv. Pi. Fel. Aug. pont. max. tr. pot. p. p. procos.*  
Inscriptions: Numidia -- CIL VIII 22440, 22510, 22512
82. *Imp. Caes. M. Aur. Prob. Pi. Fel. Inv. Aug. pont. max. tr. pot. cos. procos.*  
Inscriptions: Baetica -- CIL II 1116
83. *Imp. Caes. M. Aur. Prob. Pi. Fel. Inv. Aug. pont. max. tr. pot. p. p. cos. procos.*  
Inscriptions: Hispania -- AE (1971) 203/IRMN 11
84. *conservator dignitatis et libertatis Imp. Caes. M. Aur. Prob. Pi. Fel. Inv. Aug. pont. max. tr. pot.*  
Inscriptions: Africa -- CIL VIII 2656<sup>11</sup>

#### IV. Latin Titles, Group C

85. *Imp. Caes. Aur. Prob. Aug. Adiab. p. p. II procos.*  
Inscriptions: Africa -- CIL VIII 21950<sup>12</sup>

<sup>9</sup>The stone breaks after, [A]u[g(usto)] p[ontifici] m[aximo] / [---]

<sup>10</sup>The emperor's name has been erased from this stone, and the first remaining word of the text is *Invicto*. But as Hübner noted (CIL ad loc.), *Fuit fontasse Cari Probive, certe unius alicuius imperatorum saeculi tertii exeuntis, cuius memoria damnata erat.*

<sup>11</sup>The stone breaks after mention of the tribunician power.

<sup>12</sup>The stone, as published, reads, *Imp. Cesare[m] / Aurelio Pro[]bo Aug. IIM (?) / Adia[...]<sup>b</sup>[...]/nico p. p. bis / procos.*

86. *Imp. Caes. M. Aur. Prob. Pi. Fel. Inv. Aug. pont. max. tr. pot. II cos. p. p. procos.*  
Inscriptions: Dalmatia -- CIL III 8707
87. *Imp. Caes. M. Aur. Prob. Pi. Fel. Aug. pont. max. tr. pot. III*  
Inscriptions: Africa -- CIL VIII 10085 (=22074)/CILB 532<sup>13</sup>
88. *Imp. Caes. M. Aur. Prob. Pi. Fel. Aug. pont. max. tr. pot. III cos. p. p. procos.*  
Inscriptions: Africa -- EE vii 693/CIL VIII 11172/ILS 595/CILB 74
89. *Imp. Prob. iterum cos.*  
Inscriptions: Britain -- EE ix p. 612/CIL VII 1021/RIB 1255
- 89a. *Imp. Prob. Aug. cos. II*  
Coins: Italy (Ticinum) ? -- Gneccchi III p. 67, 49
90. *Imp. Caes. Prob. Aug. cos. II*  
Coins: Italy (Ticinum) -- RIC V.2 337 ff.; HCC IV 97
91. *Imp. Caes. Prob. Aug. pont. max. tr. pot. cos. II p. p.*  
Coins: Italy (Rome) -- RIC V.2 245
92. *Imp. Caes. M. Aur. Prob. Aug. pont. max. tr. pot. cos. II p. p.*  
Coins: Pannonia Sup. (Siscia) -- RIC V.2 612; HCC IV 209-10
93. *Imp. Caes. M. Aur. Prob. Inv. Aug. pont. max. tr. pot. cos. II p. p.*  
Coins: Italy (Rome) -- RIC V.2 246
94. *Imp. Caes. M. Aur. Prob. Pi. Aug. pont. max. tr. pot. cos. II p. p.*  
Coins: Pannonia Sup. (Siscia) -- RIC V.2 613
- 94a. *Imp. Caes. Prob. Pi. Fel. Aug. Prob. cos. II*  
Coins: Italy (Ticinum) ? -- Gneccchi III p. 67, 50

<sup>13</sup>The stone breaks after the tribunician iteration.

95. *Imp. Caes. M. Aur. Prob. Pi. Fel. Aug. pont. max. tr. pot. cos. II p. p.*  
Coins: Pannonia Sup. (Siscia) -- *RIC* V.2 611
96. *Prob. Aug. pont. max. tr. pot. cos. III*  
Coins: Pannonia Sup. (Siscia) -- *RIC* V.2 579; *HCC* IV 182  
Thrace (Serdica) -- *RIC* V.2 835
97. *Imp. Caes. Prob. Aug. cos. III*  
Coins: Italy (Ticinum) -- *RIC* V.2 394 ff.
98. *Imp. Caes. M. Aur. Prob. Aug. cos. III*  
Coins: Italy (Ticinum) -- *RIC* V.2 441, 460, 483; *HCC* IV 98-9
99. *Imp. Caes. Prob. Pi. Fel. Aug. cos. III*  
Coins: Italy (Ticinum) -- *RIC* V.2 570
100. *Imp. Caes. Prob. Pi. Fel. Aug. pont. max. tr. pot. cos. III*  
Coins: Italy (Rome) -- *RIC* V.2 247  
Pannonia Sup. (Siscia) -- *RIC* V.2 614
101. *Imp. Caes. Prob. Pi. Fel. Aug. pont. max. tr. pot. cos. III p. p.*  
Coins: Pannonia Sup. (Siscia) -- *RIC* V.2 616
102. *Imp. Caes. M. Aur. Prob. Pi. Fel. Aug. pont. max. tr. pot. cos. III p. p.*  
Coins: Pannonia Sup. (Siscia) -- *RIC* V.2 615
103. *Imp. Caes. M. Aur. Prob. Pi. Fel. Aug. pont. max. Germ. max. tr. pot. p. p. cos. III*  
Inscriptions: Africa -- *EE* v 1181/*CIL* VIII 11931
104. *Imp. Caes. M. Aur. Prob. Pi. Fel. Inv. Aug. III cos. p. p.*  
Inscriptions: Narbonensis -- *CIL* XII 5437/König 1970, 14/*CIL* XVII 14

105. *Imp. Caes. M. Aur. Prob. Pi. Fel. Inv. Aug. pont. max. tr. pot. IV p. p. procos.*  
Inscriptions: Bithynia -- *AE* (1977) 787, 788; French 1981, 153-5 no. 6 (4 stones)<sup>14</sup>
106. *Imp. Caes. M. Aur. Prob. Inv. Aug. pont. max. Goth. max. Germ. max. tr. pot. IV (?) cos. III (?) p. p. procos.*  
Inscriptions: Narbonensis -- *CIL* XII 5467/König 1970, 43/*CIL* XVII 43<sup>15</sup>
107. *Imp. Caes. M. Aur. Prob. Pi. Fel. Inv. Aug. pont. max. Goth. max. Germ. max. tr. pot. IV cos. III p. p. procos.*  
Inscriptions: Narbonensis -- *CIL* XII 5472/König 1970, 47/*CIL* XVII 47<sup>16</sup>
108. *princ. verus Goth. verusque Germ. ac victorianum omnium nominibus illustris M. Aur. Prob. Pi. Fel. Inv. Aug. pont. max. tr. pot. V p. p. cos. III procos.*  
Inscriptions: Hispania -- *CIL* II 3738/*ILS* 597/*IRV* 18
- 108a. *Inv. Prob. Pi. Fel. Aug. cos. IV*  
Coins: Italy (Rome) ? -- *Gnecchi* II p. 116, 12
109. *Imp. Prob. Aug. cos. IV*  
Inscriptions: Italy -- *CIL* X 3728
- 109a. *Imp. Prob. Pi. Fel. Aug. Prob. Pi. Fel. Aug. cos. IV*  
Coins: Italy (Rome) ? -- *Gnecchi* II p. 119, 35-6

<sup>14</sup>Two of the stones published by French are the *AE* stones listed here. Thus, there are altogether four stones from this area with this titular formula.

<sup>15</sup>[*Imp(eratori) / Caes(ari) / M(arco) Aur(elio) P(robo) / In(vic)to) A(ug)usto) / p(ontifici) m(aximo) Go(t)h(ica) m(aximo) / [G(er)manico) m(aximo) trib(unicia) p(otestate) IIII ? co(n)s(uli) III ? p(atri) p(atric) proco(n)s(uli)].* It should be noted that Walser (*CIL* XVII ad loc.) attempts no restoration beyond *Germanicus maximus*.

<sup>16</sup>[*Imp(eratori) Caes(ari) M(arco) Aur(elio) P(robo) / P(ri)mo Fel(ici) Invicto Aug(usto) p(ontifici) m(aximo) [Go(t)h(ica) m(aximo) / Ge(r)manico) m(aximo) trib(unicia) p(otestate) IIII co(n)s(uli) III / p(atric) p(atric) proco(n)s(uli)].*

110. *Imp. Caes. Prob. Aug. cos. IV*  
Coins: Italy (Ticinum) -- *RIC* V.2 485 ff.
111. *Imp. Prob. Aug. pont. max. tr. pot. V cos. IV p. p.*  
Coins: Italy (Rome) -- *RIC* V.2 248
112. *Imp. Caes. M. Aur. Prob. Aug. pont. max. tr. pot. V cos. IV p. p.*  
Coins: Syria (Antioch) -- *RIC* V.2 914
113. *Imp. Caes. M. Aur. Prob. Pi. Fel. Inv. Aug. pont. max. tr. pot. VI cos. IV p. p.*  
Inscriptions: Baetica -- *CIL* II 1673/*ILS* 596<sup>17</sup>
114. *restitutor provinciarum et operum publicorum providentissimus ac super omnes retro principes fortissimus Imp. Caes. M. Aur. Prob. Pi. Fel. Inv. Aug. pont. max. tr. pot. VI cos. IV p. p. procos.*  
Inscriptions: Raetia -- Wagner 1956/57, 30
- 114a. *Inv. Prob. Pi. Fel. Aug. cos. V*  
Coins: Italy (Ticinum) -- *Gnecchi* I p. 56, 1; II p. 117, 13
- 114b. *Imp. Prob. Aug. cos. V*  
Inscriptions: Africa -- *CIL* VIII 24095/*ILS* 5361/*CILB* 418
115. *Imp. Caes. Prob. Aug. cos. V*  
Coins: Italy (Ticinum) -- *RIC* V.2 486, 496, 530
116. *Prob. Pi. Fel. Aug. pont. max. tr. pot. VI cos. V p. p.*  
Coins: Italy (Rome) -- *RIC* V.2 251; *Gnecchi* III p. 71, 93
117. *Imp. Prob. Aug. pont. max. tr. pot. VI cos. V p. p.*  
Coins: Italy (Rome) -- *RIC* V.2 250
118. *Imp. Prob. Pi. Fel. Aug. pont. max. tr. pot. VI cos. V p. p.*  
Coins: Italy (Rome) -- *RIC* V.2 249, 260; *HCC* IV 67

<sup>17</sup>Dessau prints *tr. pot. III* rather than VI. I take the original reading ■ to be correct.

## V. Greek Titles, Group A

119. Προβ.  
Papyri: *Bureth* p. 124, no. 1 (3);<sup>18</sup> *P. Oxy.* XXXI 2557, 2; *P. Coll. Youtie* 73, 8
120. Προβ. Σεβ.  
Papyri: *P. Coll. Youtie* 71, 20; 72, 5; *P. Oxy.* LI 3613, 26
121. Μ. Αυρ. Προβ. Σεβ.  
Papyri: *Bureth* p. 124, no. 3 (2)
122. ὁ κυρ. ἡμῶν Προβ. Σεβ.  
Papyri: *Bureth* p. 124, no. 10 (14); *P. Mich.* XI 610, 10-1; *P. Coll. Youtie* 71, 37; 72, 16
123. ὁ κυρ. ἡμῶν Αὐρ. Προβ. Σεβ.  
Papyri: *Bureth* p. 125, no. 1 (1)
124. ὁ κυρ. ἡμῶν Μ. Αὐρ. Προβ. Σεβ.  
Inscriptions: Syria -- *CIG* 4592/*IGRR* III 1186/*SGLI* 765 (12)  
Papyri: *Bureth* p. 125, no. 2 (11); *P. Oxy.* L 3569, 9-10 & 15-6
125. ὁ κυρ. ἡμῶν Μ. Αὐρ. Προβ. Καισ. Σεβ.  
Papyri: *P. Oxy.* XXXVI 2764, 12-4
126. ὁ κυρ. ἡμῶν Αὐτ. Προβ. Σεβ.  
Papyri: *Bureth* p. 125, no. 3 (1)
127. ὁ κυρ. ἡμῶν Αὐτ. Μ. Αὐρ. Προβ. Σεβ.  
Inscriptions: Arabia -- *AE* (1922) 133/*SEG* 7 (1934) 951

<sup>18</sup>*P. Oxy.* XIV 1649 and *SB* VI 9113 should be added to this formula. See Sijpesteijn 1982, 194-5.



128. Αυτ. Καισ. Μ. Αυρ. Προβ.  
Inscriptions: Achaea -- *AE* (1974) 604<sup>19</sup>
129. Αυτ. Καισ. Μ. Αυρ. Προβ. Σεβ.  
Inscriptions: Asia -- *AE* (1907) 55/*MAMA* VIII 212  
Coins: Egypt (Alexandria) -- *KAK* 3121-58
130. ὁ ἱερότατος Αυτ. Καισ. Μ. Αυρ. Προβ. Σεβ.  
Inscriptions: Achaea -- *IG* VII 227/*SEG* 3 (1929) 332/*SEG* 13 (1956) 335
131. ὁ κυρ. ἡμῶν Αυτ. Καισ. Μ. Αυρ. Προβ. Ευσ. Σεβ.  
Papyri: *Bureth* p. 125, no. 4 (1)
132. Αυτ. Καισ. Μ. Αυρ. Προβ. Ευσ. Εвт. Σεβ.  
Papyri: *Bureth* p. 124, no. 4 (1); *P. Oxy.* XXXVI 2764, 29-32
133. Αυτ. Καισ. Μ. Αυρ. Προβ. Ευσ. Εвт. Σεβ. μεγ.  
Inscriptions: Cappadocia -- *IGRR* III 124
134. Αυτ. Καισ. Μ. Αυρ. Προβ. Γερμ. μεγ. Μηδ. μεγ. Παρθ. μεγ. Ευσ. Εвт. Σεβ.  
Papyri: *Bureth* p. 124, no. 9 (1)<sup>20</sup>
135. Αυτ. Καισ. Μ. Αυρ. Προβ. Γωθ. μεγ. Παρθ. μεγ. Γερμ. μεγ. Ευσ. Εвт. Σεβ.  
Papyri: *Bureth* p. 124, nos. 6 & 7 (2);<sup>21</sup> *P. Amh.* III 106

<sup>19</sup>The inscription breaks after, Προβ.

<sup>20</sup>*P. Amh.* II 106 does not belong with this formula (as in *Bureth*). It belongs with 135. See Sijpesteijn 1982, 109.

<sup>21</sup>*P. Oxy.* X 1256 and *P. Lond.* III 1243, both listed by *Bureth* with this formula, really belong with 136. See Sijpesteijn 1982, 109-10. On the readings of *P. Amh.* II 106, *P. Fouad. I Univ.* 22 and *P. Lond.* III 1243, see now W.H.M. Liesker & P.J. Sijpesteijn, *ZPE* 63 (1986) 289.

136. Αυτ. Καισ. Μ. Αυρ. Προβ. Γωθ. μεγ. Περσ. μεγ. Γερμ. μεγ. Ευσ. Εвт. Σεβ.  
Papyri: *Bureth* p. 124, no. 8 (8); *P. Oxy.* X 1256; *P. Lond.* III 1243; *P. Mich.* XI 610, 42-6; *P. Oxy. Hels.* 42, 12-7
137. Αυτ. Καισ. Μ. Αυρ. Προβ. Περσ. μεγ. Γωθ. μεγ. Ευσ. Εвт. Σεβ.  
Papyri: *Bureth* p. 124, no. 5 (2)

**Julius Saturninus**  
(ca. 280/281)

## I. Literary Testimonia

Aur. Vict., *Epit. de Caes. et Eutrop.* -- vid. inf. Bonosus

*HA trig. tyr. 23.3 hic ea die, qua est amictus a militibus peplo imperatorio...*

*HA quatt. tyr. 6.5 ...Saturninum, qui contra Probum imperium sibimet in orientis partibus vindicavit.*

Oros. *hist. adv. pag. 7.24.3 bella deinde civilia...unum in Oriente, quo Saturninum tyrannide subnixum oppressit et cepit, aliud, quo Proculum et Bonosum apud Agrippinam magnis proeliis superatos interfecit.* -

Sync. *Chron.* (Bonn) p. 723 ...Σατορνίνος στρατοπεδάρχης...ἐπαναστὰς τῆ Ῥωμαίων ἀρχῆ...

Zonaras 12.29 Σατορνίνου δὲ Μαυρουσίου τυραννίδι ἐπιχειρήσαντος...

Zosimus 1.66.1 ...Σατουρνίνος γένει Μαυρούσιος...τῆς βασιλέως ἀποστὰς πίστewς εἰς ἐπαναστάσεως ἔννοιαν ἦλθεν.

## II. Latin Titles

1. *Imp. Caes. Iul. Sat. Aug.*  
Coins: Syria (Antioch) -- *RIC V.2 p. 591*<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup>For the attribution of Saturninus' coinage to Alexandria, see Vitucci 1952, 59-60. More probable is Antioch, on which, P. Bastien, *Monnaie et donativa au Bas-Empire* (Wetteren 1988) 59 n. 8.

**Bonosus**  
(ca. 280/281)

## I. Literary Testimonia

Aur. Vict. *Caes. 37.3 ...simul caesis Saturnino per Orientem, Agrippinae Bonoso exercitu; nam utrique dominatum tentaverant sumpta, cui duces praecerant, manu.*

*Epit. de Caes. 37.2 Iste Saturninum in Oriente, Proculum et Bonosum Agrippinae imperatores effectos oppressit.*

Eutrop. 9.17.1 *quosdam imperium usurpare conatos, scilicet Saturninum in Oriente, Proculum et Bonosum Agrippinae, certaminibus oppressit.*

*HA quatt. tyr. 15.1-2 Hic idem, cum quodam tempore in Reno Romanas lusorias Germani incendissent, timore ne poenas daret, sumpsit imperium idque diutius tenuit quam merebatur.*

## II. Latin Titles<sup>1</sup>

1. *Bonosus*  
Coins: Germania Inf. (Cologne) -- *RIC V.2 p. 592*
2. *M. C. Bonosus VA*  
Coins: Germania Inf. (Cologne) -- *RIC V.2 p. 592*
3. *pont. max. Bonosus Aug.*  
Coins: Germania Inf. (Cologne) -- *RIC V.2 p. 592*

<sup>1</sup>These coins are suspect. Cf. Barnes 1972, 151 n. 42.

Carus, Carinus and Numerianus  
(September/9 December 282 - spring 285)

*M(arcus) Aur(elius) Car(us)*  
*M(arcus) Aur(elius) Carin(us)*  
*M(arcus) Aur(elius) Num(erianus)*

### I. Literary Testimonia

*Aur. Vict. Caes. 38.1 Igitur Carus praefectura pollens praetori Augusto habitu induitur, liberis Caesaribus Carino Numerianoque.*

*Epit. de Caes. 38.1-2 Carus, Narbonae natus, imperavit annos duos. Iste confestim Carinum et Numerianum Caesares fecit.*

*Eutrop. 9.18.1 Post hunc Carus est factus Augustus, Narbone natus in Gallia. Is confestim Carinum et Numerianum filios Caesares fecit.*

*HA Car. 7.1 ...ubi primum accepit imperium, consensu omnium militum...liberis Caesaribus nuncupatis...*

*idem 8.1 ...Mesopotamia <m> Carus cepit et <C>tesifontem usque pervenit occupatisque Persis domestica seditione imperatoris Persi <ci> nomen emeruit.*

*idem 16.2 hic (Carinus) cum Caesar decretis sibi Galliis atque Italia[e], Illyrico, Hispani <i>s ac Britanni <i>s et Africa relictus a patre Caesareanum teneret imperium, sed ea lege, ut omnia faceret, quae Augusti faciunt, inormibus se vitilis et ingenti foeditate maculavit...*

*Zonaras 12.29-30 μέρους γὰρ τῆς Εὐρώπης ὁ Κᾶρος ἀρχῶν ἔγνω τοὺς ὑπ' αὐτὸν στρατιώτας βουλευομένους ἀνεπιεῖν αὐτὸν αὐτοκράτορα...περιστάντες οὖν οἱ στρατιῶται τὸν Κᾶρον καὶ ἄκοῦτα καταδέξασθαι τὴν τῶν Ῥωμαίων ἀρχὴν ἐβίβισαντο...*

*idem 12.30 Κᾶρος δὲ τῆς βασιλείας γενόμενος ἐγκρατῆς τοὺς οἰκείους υἱοὺς Καρίνου καὶ Νομεριανὸν ἐταίρωσε βασιλικῶ διαδῆματι.*

*Zosimus 1.71.4 ...τῶν ἐν Ῥαιτίᾳ καὶ Νωρικῶ δυνάμεων Κάρῳ περιθέντων τὴν ἄλουργίδα.*

### II. Carus, Latin Titles, Group A

1. *Car. Aug.*  
Coins: Lugdunensis (Lugdunum) -- *RIC V.2* 14, 19, 25
2. *deus et d. Car. Aug.*  
Coins: Pannonia Sup. (Siscia) -- *RIC V.2* 96, 99
3. *deus et d. Car. Inv. Aug.*  
Coins: Pannonia Sup. (Siscia) -- *RIC V.2* 100
4. *divus Car.*  
Coins: Lugdunensis (Lugdunum) -- *RIC V.2* 28  
Italy (Rome) -- *RIC V.2* 47, 49; *HCC IV* p. 207
5. *divus Car. Parth.*  
Coins: Lugdunensis (Lugdunum) -- *RIC V.2* 30  
Pannonia Sup. (Siscia) -- *RIC V.2* 108-13; *HCC IV* p. 208
6. *divus Car. Pers.*  
Coins: Italy (Rome) -- *RIC V.2* 48, 50
7. *divus Car. Pi.*  
Coins: Gaul (?) -- *RIC V.2* 4, 29; *HCC IV* p. 207-8
8. *divus Car. Aug.*  
Coins: Syria (Antioch) -- *RIC V.2* 126  
Phoenicia (Tripolis) -- *RIC V.2* 129

9. *Imp. M. Aur. Car. Caes.*  
Inscriptions: Hispania -- *EE* ix 415
10. *Imp. Car. Aug.*  
Coins: Italy (Rome) -- *RIC* V.2 58; *Gneccchi* III p. 74, 12
11. *Imp. M. Aur. Car. Aug.*  
Coins: Italy (Rome) -- *RIC* V.2 52
12. *Imp. Car. Pi. Aug.*  
Coins: Italy (Rome) -- *RIC* V.2 57; *Gneccchi* III p. 74, 13
13. *Imp. Car. Pi. Fel. Aug.*  
Coins: Lugdunensis (Lugdunum) -- *RIC* V.2 1; *Gneccchi* III p. 73, 6  
Italy (Rome) -- *RIC* V.2 36 ff.; *HCC* IV 4-5  
Italy (Ticinum) -- *RIC* V.2 69 ff.; *HCC* IV 12-7  
Pannonia Sup. (Siscia) -- *RIC* V.2 93
14. *Imp. M. Aur. Car. Pi. Fel. Aug.*  
Coins: Italy (Ticinum) -- *RIC* V.2 64, 71; *Gneccchi* II p. 120, 1-2
15. *Imp. Caes. Car. Aug.*  
Coins: Italy (Rome) -- *RIC* V.2 54; *Gneccchi* III p. 74, 9
16. *Imp. Caes. M. Aur. Car. Aug.*  
Coins: Lugdunensis (Lugdunum) -- *RIC* V.2 8ff.; *HCC* IV 7-10; *Gneccchi* II p. 120, 4; III p. 73, 7  
Italy (Rome) -- *RIC* V.2 51, 60  
Italy (Ticinum) -- *RIC* V.2 86  
Pannonia Sup. (Siscia) -- *RIC* V.2 104  
Asia (Cyzicus) -- *RIC* V.2 114
17. *Imp. Caes. M. Aur. Car. Aug. victor Car.*  
Coins: Egypt (Alexandria) -- *RIC* V.2 131
18. *Imp. Caes. M. Aur. Car. Pi. Aug.*  
Coins: uncertain -- *RIC* V.2 130

19. *Imp. Caes. M. Aur. Car. Pi. Aug. restitutor orbis*  
Coins: Pannonia Sup. (Siscia) -- *RIC* V.2 107
20. *Imp. Caes. Car. Pi. Fel. Aug.*  
Coins: Italy (Ticinum) -- *RIC* V.2 68, 70, 74, 83, 87, 90
21. *Imp. Caes. M. Aur. Car. Pi. Fel. Aug.*  
Inscriptions: Britain -- *RIB* 2281  
Italy -- *Inscript. Ital.* IX, 1 41b/Pais 1309  
Coins: Lugdunensis (Lugdunum) -- *RIC* V.2 2 ff.; *HCC* IV 6; *Gneccchi* II p. 122, 1  
Italy (Rome) -- *RIC* V.2 31 ff.; *HCC* IV 1-3  
Italy (Ticinum) -- *RIC* V.2 62 ff.; *HCC* IV 11  
Pannonia Sup. (Siscia) -- *RIC* V.2 92 ff.; *HCC* IV 18-20  
Asia (Cyzicus) -- *RIC* V.2 115-6, 118-21; *HCC* IV 22-3  
Syria (Antioch) -- *RIC* V.2 122-5; *HCC* IV 24-6  
Phoenicia (Tripolis) -- *RIC* V.2 128
22. *Imp. Caes. M. Aur. Car. Pi. Fel. Aug. princ. iuv.*  
Coins: Italy (Rome) -- *RIC* V.2 61; *Gneccchi* III p. 73, 8
23. *Imp. Caes. M. Aur. Car. Pi. Fel. Aug. restitutor orbis*  
Coins: Pannonia Sup. (Siscia) -- *RIC* V.2 106; *HCC* IV 21
24. *magnus et fortissimus princ. Imp. Caes. M. Aur. Car. Pi. Fel. Aug.*  
Inscriptions: Italy -- *CIL* XI 6501<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup>The stone breaks after *Augustus*.

25. *Imp. Caes. M. Aur. Car. Pi. Fel. Inv. Aug.*  
 Inscriptions: Britain -- *CIL* VII 1182a/*RIB* 2282<sup>2</sup>  
 Hispania -- *CIL* II 4786<sup>3</sup>  
 Africa -- *CIL* VIII 1626 (cf. 15829)/*ILS* 3798<sup>4</sup>  
 Numidia -- *CIL* VIII 10956 (= 22168)/*ILAlg* 13944<sup>5</sup>
26. *Imp. Caes. M. Aur. Car. Pi. Fel. Aug. Inv. Aug.*  
 Coins: Asia (Cyzicus) -- *RIC* V.2 117

### III. Carus, Latin Titles, Group B

27. *Imp. Caes. M. Aur. Car. Inv. Aug. pont. max. tr. pot. cos. procos.*  
 Inscriptions: Hispania -- *IRG* IV 40
- 27a. *Imp. Caes. M. Aur. Car. Pi. Fel. Aug. cos.*  
 Coins: Lugdunensis (Lugdunum) ? -- *Gnecchi* II p. 120, 5
28. *Imp. Caes. M. Aur. Car. Pi. Fel. Aug. pont. max. tr. pot. p. p.*  
 Inscriptions: Hispania -- *ILER* 1207/*IRB* 27<sup>6</sup>

<sup>2</sup>---]Caro / Pio Fel(ici) <E> / Inv(icto) Aug(usto). I restore the first part on the basis of *RIB* 2281 (21 above).

<sup>3</sup>The second line of the stone reads, [M(arcus)] Aur(elius) Ca(rinus)]. Thus, it might also be possible to restore Ca(rinus)].

<sup>4</sup>Augustus must be restored to this stone.

<sup>5</sup>*Imp(erator) Caes(ar) / M(arcus) Aurelius / Carus Invictus / et Aug(ustus) et M(arcus) Au(ri)lius*---. First of all, it is clear that the first *et* in line 4 is a mistake for *P(ius) F(elix)*. Gsell, *ILAlg* ad loc., restores the following, *et M(arcus) Au(ri)lius Carinus et M(arcus) Aurelius Numerianus nobilissimi Caes(ares)]*. I do not feel altogether confident of this restoration, nor am I confident that a proper restoration can be offered.

<sup>6</sup>I give the reading from *IRB*. *ILER* has essentially the same, except that it adds *pri(n)cipi nostro* at the end of the titulature.

29. *Imp. Caes. M. Aur. Car. Pi. Fel. Aug. pont. max. tr. pot. cos. p. p. procos.*  
 Inscriptions: Africa -- *CIL* VIII 968/*ILS* 6785; *ILAlg* 1871
30. *invictissimus Caes. piusinus princ. clementissimus Imp. M. Aur. Car. Pi. et Fel. Inv. Aug. pont. max. tr. pot. procos.*  
 Inscriptions: Hispania -- *CIL* II 4908/*EN* 56
31. *Imp. Caes. M. Aur. Car. Pi. Fel. Inv. Aug. pont. max. tr. pot. p. p. procos.*  
 Inscriptions: Germania Sup. -- *CIL* XVII 606; *CIL* XIII 9093/*XVII* 614<sup>7</sup>  
 Noricum -- *CIL* III 5205
32. *d. n. Imp. Caes. M. Aur. Car. Pi. Fel. Inv. Aug. pont. max. tr. pot. p. p. procos.*  
 Inscriptions: Sardinia -- *AE* (1889) 36/*EE* viii 776
33. *Imp. Caes. M. Aur. Car. Pi. Fel. Inv. Aug. procos. (?) pont. max. tr. pot. Aug. (?) p. p.*  
 Inscriptions: Hispania -- *CIL* II 4785<sup>8</sup>
34. *Imp. Caes. M. Aur. Car. Pi. Fel. Inv. Aug. pont. max. tr. pot. p. p. cos. procos.*  
 Inscriptions: Baetica -- *CIL* II 1117  
 Hispania -- *CIL* II 4760  
 Numidia -- *AE* (1948) 117
35. *Imp. Caes. M. Aur. Car. Pi. Fel. Aug. pont. max. tr. pot. p. p. cos. procos. Inv. et nob.*  
 Inscriptions: Hispania -- *AE* (1923) 103/Mayer Olivé 1979, 412

<sup>7</sup>[*Imp(eratori) C(aes)ari M(arco) / [Aureli]o Caro / [P(ia) F(elic)i] Invi(cto) Aug(usto) / [p(ontifici) m(aximo) tr(ib)un(icia) p(ro)estate] p(at)ri p(at)riae p(ro)co(n)s(uli)]*. This is the restoration suggested by Walser (*CIL* XVII ad loc.), and is based on *CIL* XVII 606.

<sup>8</sup>*CIL* prints the following, *Imp. Caes. M. / Aur. Caro[.../...] Invi(cto) [...] / P.C.P.M.X.T.P. / [...]VG.F.P.XV.*

## IV. Carus, Latin Titles, Group C

36. *Imp. Caes. M. Aur. Car. Pi. Fel. Inv. Aug. pont. max. tr. pot. cos. II p. p.*  
Inscriptions: Narbonensis -- *AE* (1948) 163
37. *Imp. Caes. M. Aur. Car. Pi. Fel. Inv. Aug. pont. max. tr. pot. p. p. cos. II procos.*  
Inscriptions: Hispania -- *EE* viii 227/*CIL* II 3660/*CIB* 177
38. *fortissimus et clementissimus Imp. Caes. M. Aur. Car. Inv. Aug. pont. max. tr. pot. cos. II p. p. procos.*  
Inscriptions: Hispania -- *CIL* II 4102/*ILS* 599/*RIT* 89
39. *Imp. Caes. M. Aur. Car. Inv. Pi. Fel. Aug. tr. pot. II cos. II procos. p. p.*  
Inscriptions: Numidia -- *CIL* VIII 10250
40. *Imp. Caes. M. Aur. Car. Pi. Fel. Inv. Aug. pont. max. tr. pot. II cos. II p. p. procos.*  
Inscriptions: Narbonensis -- König 1970, 81/*CIL* XVII 81  
Africa -- *IRT* 461
41. *Imp. Caes. M. Aur. Car. Pi. Fel. Inv. Aug. pont. max. Pers. max. Germ. max. tr. pot. II cos. II p. p. procos.*  
Inscriptions: Africa -- *EE* vii 151/*CIL* VIII 12522/*ILS* 600<sup>9</sup>

## V. Carus, Greek Titles, Group A

42. Καρ.  
Papyri: *Bureth* p. 125 (1)

<sup>9</sup>The top of this stone is lost, and the first readable words are *Felici Invicto*. The first part of the titulature is Mommsen's restoration (*CIL ad loc.*).

43. Θεός Καρ. Σεβ.  
Coins: Egypt (Alexandria) -- Milne 1933, p. 111; *KAK* 3164-8
44. Αυτ. Καισ. Μ. Αυσ. Καρ. Σεβ.  
Coins: Egypt (Alexandria) -- Milne 1933, p. 111; *KAK* 3159-63
45. ὁ μέγιστος καὶ θεϊότατος Αυτ. Καισ. Μ. Αυσ. Καρ. Σεβ. ὁ Αὐγ.  
Inscriptions: Achaea -- *IG* IV 794
46. Αυτ. Καισ. Μ. Αυσ. Καρ. Ευσ. Ευτ. Σεβ.  
Inscriptions: Achaea -- *Syll.*<sup>3</sup> 897/*CIG* 1714/*AE* (1950) 33a; *IG* V,1 1164
47. ὁ μέγιστος καὶ θεϊότατος Αυτ. Καισ. Μ. Αυσ. Καρ. Ευσ. Ευτ. Σεβ.  
Inscriptions: Achaea -- *IG* VII 2240

## VI. Carinus, Latin Titles, Group A

48. *M. Aur. Carin.*  
Coins: Italy (Rome) -- *RIC* V.2 170
49. *fortissimus et piissimus princ. M. Aur. Carin.*  
Inscriptions: Italy -- *CIL* X 1655
50. *Carin. Caes.*  
Coins: Italy (Rome) -- *RIC* V.2 172
51. *M. Aur. Carin. Caes.*  
Coins: Italy (Rome) -- *RIC* V.2 165-9; *Gnecchi* III p. 75, 16 ff.
52. *M. Aur. Carin. Caes. princ. Iuv.*  
Coins: Italy (Rome) -- *RIC* V.2 160

53. *Carin. nob. Caes.*  
 Coins: Lugdunensis (Lugdunum) -- *RIC* V.2 149, 152; *HCC* IV 13-5  
 Italy (Rome) -- *RIC* V.2 171
54. *M. Aur. Carin. nob. Caes.*  
 Inscriptions: Britain -- *EE* ix 984/*RIB* 98  
 Coins: Italy (Rome) -- *RIC* V.2 153 ff.; *HCC* IV 3-4; *Gnechi* II p. 121, 6-7; III  
 p. 74, 11  
 Pannonia Sup. (Siscia) -- *RIC* V.2 188 ff.  
 Asia (Cyzicus) -- *RIC* V.2 201-2
55. *Carin. nob. Caes. princ. iuv.*  
 Coins: Lugdunensis (Lugdunum) -- *RIC* V.2 147, 150-1
56. *M. Aur. Carin. nob. Caes. princ. iuv.*  
 Inscriptions: Numidia -- *CIL* VIII 10219  
 Coins: Italy (Rome) -- *RIC* V.2 158-9, 174, 176; *HCC* IV 5-12; *Gnechi* III p.  
 74, 12  
 Italy (Ticinum) -- *RIC* V.2 177-86; *HCC* IV 16-7  
 Pannonia Sup. (Siscia) -- *RIC* V.2 197-8  
 Asia (Cyzicus) -- *RIC* V.2 199
57. *d. n. M. Aur. Carin. nob. Caes. princ. iuv.*  
 Inscriptions: Narbonensis -- *AE* (1951) 151/*ILTG* 463/König 1970, 269/*CIL* XVII  
 309
58. *M. Aur. Carin. Pi. Fel. nob. Caes.*  
 Coins: Pannonia Sup. (Siscia) -- *RIC* V.2 193, 195
59. *Carin. Aug.*  
 Coins: Italy (Rome) -- *RIC* V.2 241
60. *d. n. Carin. Aug.*  
 Inscriptions: Africa -- *AE* (1907) 245

61. *d. n. Carin. Inv. Aug.*  
 Inscriptions: Hispania -- *CIL* II 3394/*ILPG* 71  
 Numidia -- *CIL* VIII 2384/*ILS* 610
62. *d. n. Carin. Pi. Fel. Aug.*  
 Inscriptions: Pannonia Inf. -- *CIL* III 3469
63. *d. n. invictissimus M. Aur. Carin. Pi. Fel. Inv. Aug.*  
 Inscriptions: Italy -- *CIL* VI 1115
64. *Imp. M. Aur. Carin. nob. Caes.*  
 Coins: Syria (Antioch) -- *RIC* V.2 207; *HCC* IV 19-21
65. *Imp. Carin. Aug.*  
 Coins: Lugdunensis (Lugdunum) -- *RIC* V.2 221; *Gnechi* III p. 76, 1  
 Italy (Rome) -- *RIC* V.2 240, 259, 265, 279, 282, 284  
 Italy (Ticinum) -- *RIC* V.2 296
66. *Imp. M. Aur. Carin. Aug.*  
 Coins: Italy (Ticinum) -- *RIC* V.2 300, 306
67. *Imp. Carin. Pi. Aug.*  
 Coins: Lugdunensis (Lugdunum) -- *RIC* V.2 211  
 Italy (Rome) -- *RIC* V.2 228 ff.; *HCC* IV 22, 26-33  
 Italy (Ticinum) -- *RIC* V.2 292 ff.; *HCC* IV 40-2  
 Pannonia Sup. (Siscia) -- *RIC* V.2 311  
 Asia (Cyzicus) -- *RIC* V.2 322
68. *Imp. Carin. Pi. Fel. Aug.*  
 Coins: Italy (Rome) ? -- *Gnechi* I p. 10, 1; III p. 74, 10 ff.
69. *Imp. M. Aur. Carin. Pi. Fel. Aug.*  
 Coins: Italy (Ticinum) -- *RIC* V.2 293, 299, 305  
 Asia (Cyzicus) -- *RIC* V.2 317, 324  
 Phoenicia (Tripolis) -- *RIC* V.2 328

70. *Imp. Carin. Pi. Fel. Aug. princ. iuv.*  
Coins: Italy (Ticinum) -- *RIC* V.2 302
71. *Imp. Caes. M. Aur. Carin.*  
Coins: Asia (Cyzicus) -- *RIC* V.2 200
72. *Imp. Caes. M. Aur. Carin. nob. Caes.*  
Inscriptions: Sardinia -- *AE* (1889) 39  
Dalmatia -- *ILJug* II 1034  
Coins: Pannonia Sup. (Siscia) -- *HCC* IV 18  
Syria (Antioch) -- *RIC* V.2 203-6, 208  
Phoenicia (Tripolis) -- *RIC* V.2 209
73. *Imp. Caes. M. Aur. Carin. Aug.*  
Coins: Lugdunensis (Lugdunum) -- *RIC* V.2 212, 214, 216, 219, 223; *HCC* IV 34-9; *Gnecchi* II p. 121, 3-5  
Italy (Rome) -- *RIC* V.2 231 ff.; *HCC* IV 25
74. *Imp. Caes. M. Aur. Carin. Pi. Aug.*  
Coins: Italy (Rome) -- *RIC* V.2 245, 249
75. *Imp. Caes. Carin. Pi. Fel. Aug.*  
Coins: Pannonia Sup. (Siscia) -- *RIC* V.2 307, 312, 313, 316  
Asia (Cyzicus) -- *RIC* V.2 318, 320  
Syria (Antioch) -- *RIC* V.2 326; *HCC* IV 45
76. *Imp. Caes. M. Aur. Carin. Pi. Fel. Aug.*  
Inscriptions: Hispania -- *CIL* II 4829  
Coins: Italy (Rome) -- *RIC* V.2 225 ff.; *HCC* IV 23-4; *Gnecchi* II p. 121, 1 ff.; III p. 74, 9 ff.  
Italy (Ticinum) -- *RIC* V.2 297  
Pannonia Sup. (Siscia) -- *RIC* V.2 309-10, 314-5; *HCC* IV 43-4  
Asia (Cyzicus) -- *RIC* V.2 319, 321, 323  
Syria (Antioch) -- *RIC* V.2 325, 327; *HCC* IV 46-8  
Phoenicia (Tripolis) -- *RIC* V.2 329

77. *Imp. Caes. M. Aur. Carin. Pi. Fel. Aug. princ. iuv.*  
Coins: Italy (Rome) -- *RIC* V.2 267
78. *Imp. Caes. M. Aur. Carin. Pi. Fel. Inv. Aug.*  
Inscriptions: Italy -- *CIL* XI 6957d

#### VII. Carinus, Latin Titles, Group ■

79. *victoriosissimus princ. iuv. M. Aur. Carin. nob. Caes. cos. procos.*  
Inscriptions: Hispania -- *CIL* II 4103/*RIT* 90
80. *d. n. invictissimus Aug. M. Aur. Carin. pont. max. Germ. max. tr. pot. p. p. procos.*  
Inscriptions: Numidia -- *CIL* VIII 2717<sup>10</sup>
81. *Imp. Carin. Pi. Fel. Aug. pont. max. tr. pot. cos. p. p.*  
Coins: Italy (Rome) -- *RIC* V.2 226
82. *Imp. M. Aur. Carin. nob. Caes. Pi. Fel. Inv. Aug. pont. max. tr. pot. p. p. cos. procos.*  
Inscriptions: Hispania -- *CIL* II 3835/*ELST* 23
83. *Imp. Caes. M. Aur. Carin. cos. et nob. Caes.*  
Inscriptions: Africa -- *ILT* 370
84. *Imp. Caes. M. Aur. Carin. Pi. Fel. Aug. tr. pot. p. p.*  
Inscriptions: Hispania -- *CIL* II 4795
85. *Imp. Caes. M. Aur. Carin. Pi. Fel. Inv. princ. F. C. (?) iuv. procos.*  
Inscriptions: Hispania -- *CIL* II 4832

<sup>10</sup>[*Pro salute d(omini) n(ostri) invictissimi Aug(usti) / M(arci) Aurell] Carini po[n]tificis maximi / Germani]el maxi[m]i trib(unicia) pot(estate) p(atris) p(atris) proco(n)s(ulis)].*



86. *Imp. Caes. M. Aur. Carin. Pi. Fel. Inv. Aug. pont. max. p. p. procos.*  
Inscriptions: Hispania -- IRG IV 41
87. *Imp. Caes. M. Aur. Carin. Pi. Fel. Inv. Aug. pont. max. tr. pot.*  
Inscriptions: Hispania -- ILER 1958<sup>11</sup>
88. *Imp. Caes. M. Aur. Carin. Pi. Fel. Inv. Aug. pont. max. tr. pot. cos. p. p.*  
Inscriptions: Alpes -- AE (1985) 643
89. *Imp. Caes. M. Aur. Carin. Inv. Pi. Fel. Aug. pont. max. tr. pot. p. p. procos.*  
Inscriptions: Numidia -- CIL VIII 10315, 22379
90. *Imp. ac nob. Caes. princ. iuv. M. Aur. Carin. Pi. Fel. Inv. Aug. pont. max. tr. pot. cos. procos.*  
Inscriptions: Hispania -- CIL II 4761
91. *Imp. Caes. M. Aur. Carin. Pi. Fel. Inv. Aug. pont. max. tr. pot. p. p. cos. procos.*  
Inscriptions: Hispania -- CIL II 4882/IRR 2/ERR 76; IRG III 9
92. *d. n. Imp. Caes. M. Aur. Carin. Pi. Fel. Inv. Aug. pont. max. tr. pot. p. p. cos. procos.*  
Inscriptions: Hispania -- ERPS 137<sup>12</sup>

### VIII. Carinus, Latin Titles, Group C

93. *Imp. Caes. M. Aur. Carin. Inv. Pi. Fel. Aug. pont. max. Germ. max. tr. pot. II cos. p. p. cos. procos.*  
Inscriptions: Numidia -- CIL VIII 7002/ILS 607/ILAlg II 576

<sup>11</sup>This stone breaks after mention of the tribunician power.

<sup>12</sup>*D(omino) n(ostro) / Imp(eratori) [C]aes(ar) [M]arco] / Aur(elio) [C]arino P(io) F(elici) / Invic(ito) Aug(usto) / p(ontifici) m(aximo) trib(unicia) <potest(ate)> p(atr) p(atr)ae / co(n)s(uli) proc(onsuli) [—.*

### IX. Carinus, Greek Titles, Group A

94. Καρίν.  
Papyri: Bureth p. 125 (3)
95. Καρίν. Καίω.  
Inscriptions: Egypt -- AE (1975) 858/SB III 7028/PdD 37
96. Αυτ. Καίω. Μ. Αὐρ. Καρίν. Καίω.  
Coins: Egypt (Alexandria) -- Milne 1933, p. 111; KAK 3169-73
97. Αυτ. Καίω. Μ. Αὐρ. Καρίν. Σεβ.  
Coins: Egypt (Alexandria) -- Milne 1933, p. 111; KAK 3174-86
98. ὁ μέγιστος καὶ θεϊότατος κυρ. ἡμῶν Καίω. Μ. Αὐρ. Καρίν. Σεβ.  
Inscriptions: Achaea -- IG IX,2 1138/Syll.<sup>3</sup> 896

### X. Numerianus, Latin Titles, Group A

99. *divus Num.*  
Coins: Italy (Rome) -- RIC V.2 424, 426; HCC IV p. 225
100. *M. Aur. Num. Caes.*  
Coins: Lugdunensis (Lugdunum) -- RIC V.2 354
101. *M. Aur. Num. Caes. princ. iuv.*  
Coins: Lugdunensis (Lugdunum) -- RIC V.2 357  
Italy (Rome) -- RIC V.2 360, 362, 364, 365; HCC IV 2-4
102. *Num. nob. Caes.*  
Inscriptions: Italy -- CIL IX 5889  
Coins: Asia (Cyzicus) -- RIC V.2 371-2; HCC IV 12-3  
Syria (Antioch) -- RIC V.2 379

103. *nob. Caes. Num. Num.*<sup>13</sup>  
Inscriptions: Hispania – *ERZ 43/IRMN 12/Otal & Pros 1982, 191-2 no. 13*
104. *M. Aur. Num. nob. Caes.*  
Inscriptions: Hispania – *CIL II 4942*  
Germania Sup. – *CIL XIII 9151/XVII 576*  
Coins: Lugdunensis (Lugdunum) – *RIC V.2 353, 355, 358; HCC IV 5*  
Pannonia Sup. (Siscia) – *RIC V.2 370*  
Syria (Antioch) – *RIC V.2 377*
105. *M. Aur. Num. Num. nob. Caes.*  
Inscriptions: Hispania – *ERA 63; AE (1974) 399*  
Italy – *CIL XI 827/ILS 603*
106. *d. indulgentissimus M. Num. Num. nob. et piissimus Caes.*  
Inscriptions: Hispania – *CIL II 4909/EN 57*<sup>14</sup>
107. *princ. iuv. M. Num. Num. nob. Caes.*  
Inscriptions: Narbonensis – *CIL XII 5672/ILS 604/König 1970, 259/CIL XVII 297*
108. *M. Aur. Num. nob. Caes. princ. iuv.*  
Inscriptions: Italy – *CIL IX 2445/ILS 602*  
Coins: Lugdunensis (Lugdunum) – *RIC V.2 352, 356; HCC IV 6*  
Italy (Rome) – *RIC V.2 361, 363; HCC IV 1*  
Italy (Ticinum) – *RIC V.2 366-8; HCC IV 7-10*  
Pannonia Sup. (Siscia) – *RIC V.2 369; HCC IV 11*
109. *d. n. M. Aur. Num. Aug.*  
Inscriptions: Mauretania Caes. – *AE (1942-43) 76*<sup>15</sup>

<sup>13</sup>Several of the inscriptions from the West (especially Hispania) appear to confuse Aurelius for Numerius; thus Numerian's name becomes, Marcus Numerius Numerianus. I shall simply print *Num.* twice to indicate this.

<sup>14</sup>*EN* does not print *Numerio*. I have taken the reading in *CIL* as the better, and reproduce it here.

<sup>15</sup>*D(omina) n(ostro) [M(arco) Aurelio] / Num(eriano) Aug(usto)*—.

110. *divus Num. Aug.*  
Coins: Italy (Rome) – *RIC V.2 425*
111. *M. Num. Num. nob. Caes. Aug.*  
Inscriptions: Hispania – *CIL II 4793*
112. *M. Aur. Num. Aug. princ. iuv.*  
Coins: Italy (Ticinum) – *RIC V.2 445*
- 112a. *piissimus ac clementissimus nob. Caes. M. Aur. Num. Pi. Fel. Aug.*  
Inscriptions: Numidia – Dupuis 1988, 104-5 no. 2
113. *Imp. Num. Aug.*  
Coins: Lugdunensis (Lugdunum) – *RIC V.2 385, 389, 395, 397; HCC IV 35*  
Italy (Rome) – *RIC V.2 401 ff.; HCC IV 18-25; Gnechi I p. 11, 1; III p. 77, 15 ff.*  
Pannonia Sup. (Siscia) – *RIC V.2 452, 456*  
Rome/Siscia (?) – *HCC IV 26-7*
114. *Imp. d. n. M. Aur. Num. Aug.*  
Inscriptions: Numidia – *CIL VIII 10282*
115. *Imp. Num. Aug. princ. iuv.*  
Coins: Italy (Rome) – *RIC V.2 419-20*
116. *Imp. Num. Pi. Fel. Aug.*  
Coins: Lugdunensis (Lugdunum) – *RIC V.2 387*  
Italy (Rome) – *RIC V.2 404-5, 407, 415*  
Italy (Ticinum) – *RIC V.2 442-3, 446-50; HCC IV 36-40*  
Pannonia Sup. (Siscia) – *RIC V.2 459*  
Syria (Antioch) – *RIC V.2 468*
117. *Imp. Num. Pi. Fel. Aug. princ. iuv.*  
Coins: Italy (Ticinum) – *RIC V.2 444*
118. *Imp. Caes. M. Aur. Num.*  
Inscriptions: Britain – *CIL VII 1165/RIB 2250*

119. *Imp. Caes. Num. nob. Caes.*  
Inscriptions: Britain -- *EE* vii 1116/ix p. 639/*RIB* 2307
120. *Imp. Caes. M. Aur. Num. nob. Caes.*  
Coins: Syria (Antioch) -- *RIC* V.2 373-6, 378; *HCC* IV 14-5  
Phoenicia (Tripolis) -- *RIC* V.2 380; *HCC* IV 16
121. *Imp. Caes. Num. Aug.*  
Coins: Lugdunensis (Lugdunum) -- *RIC* V.2 381 ff.; *HCC* IV 29-34  
Italy (Rome) -- *RIC* V.2 411, 428, 433
122. *Imp. Caes. M. Aur. Num. Aug.*  
Coins: Lugdunensis (Lugdunum) -- *RIC* V.2 386, 393; *Gnecchi* II p. 123, 7-8
123. *Imp. Caes. Num. Aug. princ. iuv.*  
Coins: Italy (Rome) -- *RIC* V.2 421
124. *Imp. Caes. Num. Aug. pacator orbis*  
Coins: Lugdunensis (Lugdunum) -- *RIC* V.2 390
125. *Imp. Caes. Num. Pi. Fel. Aug.*  
Coins: Lugdunensis (Lugdunum) -- *RIC* V.2 382; *Gnecchi* II p. 122, 3 ff.; III p. 76, 13  
Italy (Rome) -- *RIC* V.2 402, 409, 414, 440; *HCC* IV 17  
Italy (Ticinum) -- *RIC* V.2 441  
Pannonia Sup. (Siscia) -- *RIC* V.2 451 ff.  
Asia (Cyzicus) -- *RIC* V.2 462-3; *HCC* IV 41-3  
Syria (Antioch) -- *RIC* V.2 467  
Rome/Siscia (?) -- *HCC* IV 28
126. *Imp. Caes. M. Aur. Num. Pi. Fel. Aug.*  
Coins: Lugdunensis (Lugdunum) -- *RIC* V.2 392, 398  
Syria (Antioch) -- *RIC* V.2 464-6, 469; *HCC* IV 44  
Phoenicia (Tripolis) -- *RIC* V.2 470
127. *Imp. Caes. Num. Pi. Fel. Aug. princ. iuv.*  
Coins: Italy (Rome) -- *RIC* V.2 417-8

128. *Imp. Caes. Pi. Fel. Num. Inv. Aug.*  
Inscriptions: Hispania -- *IRG* III 8/*ILER* 1892
129. *Imp. Caes. M. Aur. Num. Pi. Fel. Inv. Aug.*  
Inscriptions: Africa -- *CIL* VIII 21986  
Numidia -- *CIL* VIII 4223, 10145  
Mauretania Caes. -- *CIL* VIII 20538
- XI. Numerianus, Latin Titles, Group B**
130. *Pi. ac nob. Caes. M. Aur. Num. Inv. Pi. Fel. Aug. pont. max. imp. cos. procos. p. p.*  
Inscriptions: Hispania -- *ILER* 1959
131. *Imp. d. n. M. Aur. Num. Num. nob. Caes. cos.*  
Inscriptions: Numidia -- *CIL* VIII 10283
132. *Imp. Num. Aug. pont. max. tr. pot. cos. p. p.*  
Coins: Italy (Rome) -- *RIC* V.2 427
- 132a. *Imp. Num. Pi. Fel. Aug. cos.*  
Coins: Italy (Rome) -- *Gnecchi* II p. 123, 11
133. *Imp. M. Num. Aug. Pi. Fel. pont. max. tr. pot. p. p.*  
Inscriptions: Lusitania -- *CIL* II 4641
- 133a. *Imp. Caes. Num. Pi. Fel. Aug. cos.*  
Coins: Italy (Rome) ? -- *Gnecchi* II p. 122, 1-2
134. *Imp. Caes. M. Aur. Num. Pi. Fel. Inv. Aug. p. p. cos. tr. pot.*  
Inscriptions: Italy -- *CIL* XI 3580

135. *Imp. Caes. M. Aur. Num. Pi. Fel. Inv. Aug. pont. max. tr. pot.*  
Inscriptions: Narbonensis -- *CIL* XII 1523<sup>16</sup>
136. *Imp. Caes. M. Aur. Num. Pi. Fel. Inv. Aug. pont. max. tr. pot. p. p.*  
Inscriptions: Alpes -- *CIL* XII 110/*ILS* 605

## XII. Numerianus, Greek Titles, Group A

137. ὁ κυρ. ἡμῶν ὁ επιφ. Καισ. Μ. Αὐρ. Νουμ. Σεβ.  
Inscriptions: Achaea -- *AE* (1928) 55
138. Αὐτ. Καισ. Μ. Αὐρ. Νουμ. Σεβ.  
Coins: Egypt (Alexandria) -- Milne 1933, p. 111; *KAK* 3190-9
139. Αὐτ. Καισ. Μ. Αὐρ. Νουμ. Καισ. Σεβ.  
Coins: Egypt (Alexandria) -- Milne 1933, p. 111; *KAK* 3187-9

## XIII. Carus and Carinus, Latin Titles, Group A

140. *Imp. Caes. M. Aur. Carin. victor Car.*  
Coins: Egypt (Alexandria ?) -- *RIC* V.2 210
141. *Car. Aug. M. Aur. Carin. Caes.*  
Coins: Italy (Rome) -- *RIC* V.2 145

142. *Car. et Carin. Augg.*  
Inscriptions: Dacia -- *AE* (1912) 200  
Coins: Lugdunensis (Lugdunum) -- *RIC* V.2 135, 138-43; *HCC* IV p. 208
- 142a. *Imp. Car. et Carin. nob. Caes.*  
Coins: Italy (Rome) ? -- *Gnecchi* II p. 121, 1
143. *Imp. Car. et Carin. Augg.*  
Coins: Pannonia Sup. (Siscia) -- *RIC* V.2 146; *Gnecchi* I p. 11, 1
144. *Imp. Caes. M. Aur. Car. Aug. Carin. nob. Caes.*  
Coins: Lugdunensis (Lugdunum) -- *RIC* V.2 134
145. *Imp. Caes. M. Aur. Car. Aug. victor Carin. Aug.*  
Coins: Egypt (Alexandria ?) -- *RIC* V.2 132
146. *Imp. Caes. M. Aur. Car. Pi. Fel. Aug. Carin. nob. Caes.*  
Coins: Lugdunensis (Lugdunum) -- *RIC* V.2 133, 144
147. *Imp. Caes. M. Aur. Car. Pi. Fel. Aug. Imp. Caes. M. Aur. Carin. Aug.*  
Coins: Lugdunensis (Lugdunum) -- *RIC* V.2 136
148. *M. Aur. Carin. nob. Caes. fil. Imp. Caes. M. Aur. Car. Pi. Fel. Inv. Aug.*  
Inscriptions: Macedonia -- *AE* (1939) 191
149. *Imp. Caes. M. Aur. Car. Pi. Fel. Inv. Aug. et M. Aur. Carin. fil. eius ac nob. Caes.*  
Inscriptions: Bithynia -- *AE* (1977) 789/French 1981, 155-6 no. 7/French 1986, 73

<sup>16</sup>[*Imp(eratori) Caes(ari) M(arco) Aurelio) Num(eriano) P(lo) F(elici) / Invicto Aug(usto) pont(ifici) max(imo) trib(unicia) [pot(estate)]*—.

150. *Imp. Caes. M. Aur. Car. Pi. Fel. Inv. Aug. et M. Aur. Carin. nob. Caes.*  
Inscriptions: Noricum -- *AE* (1951) 111  
Africa -- *CIL* VIII 22047<sup>17</sup>  
Bithynia -- French 1986, 72 no. 1
151. *Imp. M. Aur. Carin. nob. Caes. fil. Imp. Caes. M. Aur. Car. Pi. Fel. Inv. Aug. Germ. max.*  
Inscriptions: Italy -- *CIL* XI 6956b
152. *Imp. Caes. d. n. M. Aur. Car. Pi. Fel. Inv. Aug. et princ. iuv. M. Aur. Carin. nob. Caes.*  
Inscriptions: Noricum -- *AE* (1962) 308
153. *Imp. Caes. M. Aur. Car. Pi. Fel. Inv. Aug. et M. Aur. Carin. fil. eius et Aug. n. nob. Caes.*  
Inscriptions: Bithynia -- French 1981, 156/French 1986, 74
154. *Imp. Caes. M. Aur. Carin. Pi. Fel. Aug. fil. d. n. Car. Aug.*  
Inscriptions: Hispania -- *ERZ* 44/*IRMN* 13/Otal & Pros 1982, 190-1 no. 12<sup>18</sup>

#### XIV. Carus and Carinus, Latin Titles, Group B

155. *Imp. Caes. M. Aur. Car. Inv. Pl. Fel. Aug. pont. max. tr. pot. et M. Aur. Carin. nob. Caes.*  
Inscriptions: Numidia -- *CIL* VIII 22269<sup>19</sup>
156. *Imp. Caes. M. Aur. Car. Inv. Pi. Fel. Aug. pont. max. tr. pot. p. p. procos. et M. Aur. Carin. nob. Caes. Aug.*  
Inscriptions: Alpes -- *AE* (1985) 648

<sup>17</sup>[*Imperatoris*] *Caes(ari)* *M(arco)* *Aureli)o* / [*Caro* *Pi)o* / [*Felici*] *In* / [*victo*] *Aug(usto)* / *M(arco)* *Aureli)o* / *Karino* / *nobiliss(imo)* *C(aes(ari))* / *et* [...]. Obviously, Numerian was originally included on this stone, probably as *nobilissimus Caesar*.

<sup>18</sup>The stone breaks after, [*K]ari* *Aug(usti)* [...].

<sup>19</sup>The inscription breaks after, *nobilissimo* *Caes(ari)* [...].

157. *Imp. Caes. M. Aur. Car. Pi. Fel. Inv. Aug. pont. max. tr. pot. p. p. procos. et M. Aur. Carin. nob. Caes. Aug. n. fil.*  
Inscriptions: Alpes -- *RSS* 7/*WRIS* 316/*AE* (1985) 644/*CIL* XVII 116
158. *Imp. Caes. M. Aur. Car. Pi. Fel. Aug. Inv. pont. max. tr. pot. cos. p. p. procos. et M. Aur. Carin. nob. Caes. Aug. pacatores orbis genium nationumque omnium*  
Inscriptions: Africa -- *AE* (1923) 16/*ILT* 719
159. *Imp. Caes. M. Aur. Car. Pi. Fel. Inv. Aug. pont. max. tr. pot. cos. p. p. procos. et M. Aur. Carin. nob. Caes. Germ.*  
Inscriptions: Italy -- *EE* viii 740
160. *Imp. M. Aur. Car. Pi. Fel. Aug. et Imp. Caes. M. Aur. Carin. Pi. Fel. Aug. pont. max. tr. pot.*  
Inscriptions: Sardinia -- *EE* viii 758<sup>20</sup>

#### XV. Carus and Carinus, Greek Titles, Group A

161. *Καρ. καὶ Καρίν.*  
Papyri: *Bureth* p. 125
162. *Μ. Αὐρ. Καρίν. ὁ ἐπιφ. Καίσ. παῖς τοῦ δεσπότης ἡμῶν Καρ.*  
Inscriptions: Bithynia -- *AE* (1900) 146/*IGRR* III 139/*SP* 67
163. *Αὐτ. Καίσ. Μ. Αὐρ. Καρ. Εὐσ. Εὐτ. ἀήττητος Σεβ. καὶ Μ. Αὐρ. Καρίν. ἐπιφ. Καίσ.*  
Inscriptions: Asia -- *IGRR* IV 1305

<sup>20</sup>The stone breaks after mention of the tribunician power.

## XVI. Carus and Numerianus, Latin Titles, Group A

164. *M. Aur. Num. nob. Caes. fil. d. n. Imp. M. Aur. Car. Aug.*  
Inscriptions: Hispania -- *CIL* II 4452/*IRCL* 73
- 164a. *Imp. Carin. et Num. Pii. Fell. Aug.*  
Coins: Italy (Rome) ? -- *Gnecchi* II p. 123, 1

## XVII. Carus, Carinus and Numerianus, Latin Titles, Group A

- 164b. *Imp. Car. Aug. Carin. et Num. Caess.*  
Coins: Italy (Rome) -- *Gnecchi* II p. 123, 1
165. *Imp. dd. nn. M. Aur. Car. Aug. et M. Aur. Carin. et M. Aur. Num. nobb. Caess. perpetuis et Num. Caes.*  
Inscriptions: Dalmatia -- *ILJug* II 1033/*Šašel* 1984, 248-52/*AE* (1985) 713<sup>21</sup>
166. *Imp. felicissimi dd. nn. Carin. et Num. divi Car.*  
Inscriptions: Numidia -- *CIL* VIII 4221/*ILS* 609
167. *Imp. Car. Pi. Fel. Aug. et Carin. et Num. Caess. Fell.*  
Inscriptions: Mauretania Caes. -- *EE* vii 671/*CIL* VIII 22599
168. *Imp. Caes. M. Aur. Car. Pi. Fel. Aug. et M. Aur. Carin. nob. Caes. et M. Aur. Num. nob. Caes.*  
Inscriptions: Achaea -- *EE* iv 108

<sup>21</sup>Šašel (art. cit.) suggests that the second Numerianus mentioned here is not a stonemiller's error, but rather the child of one of Carus' sons.

169. *Imp. Caes. M. Aur. Car. Pi. Fel. Aug. et M. Aur. Carin. Aug. nob. Caes. et Num. nob. Caes.*  
Inscriptions: Numidia -- *CIL* VIII 10144
170. *Imp. Caes. M. Aur. Car. Pi. Fel. Inv. Aug. et M. Aur. Carin...et Num.*  
Inscriptions: Asia -- *MAMA* I 17
171. *Imp. Caes. M. Aur. Car. Inv. Pi. Fel. Aug. et M. Aur. Carin. et M. Aur. Num. nobb. Caess.*  
Inscriptions: Numidia -- *EE* v 1123/*CIL* VIII 10157 (=22278)/*ILS* 601
172. *Imp. Caes. M. Aur. Car. Pi. Fel. Inv. Aug. et M. Aur. Carin. nob. Caes. princ. iuv. et M. Aur. Num. nob. Caes.*  
Inscriptions: Sardinia -- *CIL* X 8013
173. *Imp. Caes. M. Aur. Car. Inv. Pi. Fel. Aug. ■ Carin. nob. Caes. Aug. Germ. max. et Imp. M. Aur. Num. nob. Caes. Aug.*  
Inscriptions: Numidia -- *AE* (1967) 585
174. *divus Car. pater dd. nn. Imp. Caess. M. Aur. Carin. Pi. Fel. Aug. et M. Aur. Num. Pi. Fel. Aug.*  
Inscriptions: Africa -- *AE* (1931) 62/*ILT* 1197

## XVIII. Carus, Carinus and Numerianus, Latin Titles, Group B

175. *Imp. Caes. M. Aur. Car. Inv. Pi. Fel. Aug. pont. max. p. p. II et M. Aur. Carin. nob. Caes. fil. eius et M. Aur. Num. nob. Caes.*  
Inscriptions: Africa -- *EE* vii 603/*CIL* VIII 22104<sup>22</sup>

<sup>22</sup>As the *CIL* editors note, *p. p. II* is odd, and one thinks of an intended tribunician iteration.

176. *Imp. Caes. M. Aur. Car. Inv. Pi. Fel. Aug. pont. max. tr. pot. procos. et M. Aur. Carin. Aug. nob. Caes. Aug. princ. iuv. Aug. n. fil. et Num. nob. Caes. Aug.*  
Inscriptions: Numidia -- *CIL VIII 22431*
177. *Imp. Caes. M. Aur. Car. Inv. Pi. Fel. Aug. pont. max. tr. pot. procos. et Imp. Caes. nob. Carin. fil. eius et M. Aur. Num. nob. Caes.*  
Inscriptions: Mauretania Caes. -- Leschl 1946/49, 593 no. 1
178. *dd. nn. invictissimi Aur. Carin. et Num. Pii. Fell. Augg. pont. max. tr. pot. cons. divus Car.*  
Inscriptions: Numidia -- *CIL VIII 4222*<sup>23</sup>

#### XIX. Carus, Carinus and Numerianus, Latin Titles, Group C

179. *M. Aur. Carin. nob. Caes. Aug. princ. iuv. cos. fil. Imp. Caes. M. Aur. Car. Inv. Pi. Fel. Aug. p. p. tr. pot. II pont. max. cos. II procos. frater M. Aur. Num. nob. Caes. Aug. princ. iuv.*  
Inscriptions: Numidia -- *CIL VIII 5332/ILS 606/ILAlg I 247*

#### XX. Carus, Carinus and Numerianus, Greek Titles, Group A

180. οἱ κυρρ. ἡμῶν Καρ. καὶ Καριν. καὶ Νοῦμ.  
Inscriptions: Asia -- French 1981, 171-2 no. 15 iii
181. οἱ κυρρ. ἡμῶν Καρ. Περσ. καὶ Καριν. καὶ Νοῦμ.  
Inscriptions: Egypt -- *AE (1903) 225/IGRR I 1144/Bureth p. 126/PdD 13*

<sup>23</sup>{*Salvis d(ominis) n(ostri)s invic]tissimis A]ureliis / Carino et Numeri]ano Pii]s Fel]icibus / Augustis pont]ificibus max]imis / fr]at]ribus p]ro]t]est]at]ibus co]n]s]ulibus / divo Caro gen]itori eor]um*}.

182. Αὐτ. Καίσ. Μ. Αὐρ. Καρ. Εὐσ. Εὐτ. Σεβ. καὶ Μ. Αὐρ. Καριν. ἐπιφ. Καίσ. καὶ Μ. Αὐρ. Νοῦμ. ἐπιφ. Καίσ.  
Inscriptions: Asia -- *CIL III 14404b/IGRR IV 1489/IK 24,1 818(I)*<sup>24</sup>
183. Αὐτ. Καίσ. Μ. Αὐρ. Καρ. καὶ Μ. Αὐρ. Καριν. Γερμμ. μεγγ. καὶ Μ. Αὐρ. Νοῦμ. οἱ ἐπιφ. Καίσ. Εὐσ. Εὐτ. Σεβ.  
Papyri: *Bureth pp. 125-6 (2)*<sup>25</sup>
184. Αὐτ. Καίσ. Μ. Αὐρ. Καρ. Εὐσ. Εὐτ. Σεβ. καὶ Μ. Αὐρ. Καριν. καὶ Νοῦμ. οἱ ἐπιφ. Σεβ.  
Papyri: *P. Oxy. I 55a, 17 ff.*

#### XXI. Carinus and Numerianus, Latin Titles, Group A

185. *Carin. et Num. Augg.*  
Coins: Italy (Rome) -- *RIC V.2 330-2; HCC IV p. 216*
186. *dd. nn. Imp. Carin. et Num.*  
Inscriptions: Numidia -- *CIL VIII 2529, 2530*
187. *Imp. Carin. Aug. Num. Aug.*  
Coins: Italy (Rome) -- *RIC V.2 333*
188. *Imp. dd. nn. M. Aur. Carin. et M. Aur. Num. nob. Caes. Augg.*  
Inscriptions: Numidia -- *CIL VIII 22441*

<sup>24</sup>{ Ἀγαθῆι τύχηι / [Αὐτοκράτορι] Καίσαρι [...] / [...] καὶ / [Μ(άρκου) Αὐρ(ηλίου) Καρ(είου) / [ἐπιφανε]στῶτι Καίσαρι καὶ / Μ(άρκου) Αὐρ(ηλίου) Νοῦμ[ερ]ιωφ / ἐπιφανεστ]ῶτι Καίσαρι]. I give here the text as it stands ap. Petzl, *IK* ad loc.

<sup>25</sup>Note the comments of Sijpesteijn 1982, 110 no. 52 on this and the following formula.

189. *Impp. Caess. M. Aur. Carin. et M. Aur. Num. Invv. Pii. Fell. Aug.*  
Inscriptions: Numidia -- *CIL* VIII 10156 (=22280); Salama 1951/52, 231 no. 9

#### XXII. Carinus and Numerianus, latin Titles, Group B

190. *Impp. Caess. M. Aur. Carin. et Num. Pii. Fell. Invv. Augg. Gemm. maxx. Britt. maxx. Perss. maxx. tribb. pott. coss. pp. pp. procoass.*  
Inscriptions: Italy -- *CIL* XIV 126/*ILS* 608; *CIL* XIV 127<sup>26</sup>

#### XXIII. Carinus and Numerianus, Greek Titles, Group A

191. Καριν. και Νουμ.  
Papyri: *Bureth* p. 126, no. 1 (2)
192. Καριν. και Νουμ. Σεββ.  
Papyri: *P. Oxy.* XXXVIII 2872, 2
193. οἱ κυρρ. ἡμῶν Καριν. και Νουμ. Σεββ.  
Papyri: *Bureth* p. 126, no. 2 (2)
194. οἱ κυρρ. ἡμῶν MM. Αυρρ. Καριν. και Νουμ. Σεββ.  
Papyri: *Bureth* p. 126, no. 4 (2);<sup>27</sup> *P. Mich.* IX 553, 4-5
195. οἱ κυρρ. ἡμῶν Καριν. και Νουμ. Ευσσ. Ευττ. Σεββ.  
Papyri: *Bureth* p. 126, no. 3 (1)

<sup>26</sup>The text of this stone is almost entirely restored on the basis of *CIL* XIV 126.

<sup>27</sup>*P.S.A. Athen.* 24, 18 ff. has this formula. See Sijpesteijn 1982, 110.

196. Αυτ. Καισ. Μ. Αυρ. Καριν. Γερμ. μεγ. και Μ. Αυρ. Νουμ. ὁ επιφ. Καισ. Ευσσ. Ευττ. Σεββ.  
Papyri: *P. Fuad I Univ.* 24, 19-20



M. Aurelius Sabinus Iulianus  
(ca. summer 283)

I. Titles

*Imp. Caes. M. Aur. Iul. Pi. Fel. Aug.*

*Imp. Caes. Iul. Pi. Fel. Aug.*

Coins: Pannonia Sup. (Siscia) -- *RIC* V.2 pp. 593-4

THE GALLIC EMPIRE<sup>1</sup>

Postumus

(late summer/fall 260 - ca. spring 269)

*M(arcus) Cass(ianus) Lat(inus) Post(umus)*

I. Literary Testimonia

*Epit. de Caes. 32.3 His imperantibus Regallianus in Moesia, Cassius Latinus Postumus in Gallia Gallieni filio interfecto imperatores effecti sunt.*

*HA trig. tyr. 3.2 ff. sed, quantum plerique adserunt (quod eius non convenit moribus), postea fidem fregit et occiso Salonino sumpsit imperium. ut autem verius plerique tradiderunt, cum Galli vehementissime Gallienum odissent, puerum autem apud se imperare ferre non possent, cum qui commissum regebat imperium, imperatorem appellarunt missisque militibus adolescentem interfecerunt. quo interfecto ab omni exercitu et ab omnibus Gallis Postumus gratanter acceptus talem se praebuit per annos septem ut Gallias instauraverit.*

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<sup>1</sup>There is a great problem with the mints of the various Gallic emperors. According to the most recent interpretation (Drinkwater 1987, 132-47), Postumus minted at Trier and Cologne, Laelian at Mainz, Marius at Trier, Cologne and Mainz, Victorinus at Trier and Cologne and Tetricus at these same two mints. Still, as Drinkwater stresses, these attributions are most tentative. Rather than to enter into this most complicated debate, I simply list the coins as they appear in the respective catalogues. In the main, this will not lead to terrible misunderstanding; or ■ least, it will not import new misunderstanding. However, it should be noted that the Lugdunum mint of Postumus, which is assumed in *RIC*, probably did not exist.

## II. Latin Titles, Group A

1. *Post. Aug.*  
Coins: Lugdunensis (Lugdunum) -- *RIC* V.2 22 ff.  
Germania Inf. (Cologne) -- *RIC* V.2 268 ff.; *HCC* IV 46
2. *Post. Pi. Aug.*  
Coins: Lugdunensis (Lugdunum) -- *RIC* V.2 16, 19, 28, 32, 34, 36, 44, 101  
Germania Inf. (Cologne) -- *RIC* V.2 259, 265, 267, 270, 276, 279, 281-2, 355, 361; *HCC* IV 6
3. *Post. Pi. Fel. Aug.*  
Coins: Lugdunensis (Lugdunum) -- *RIC* V.2 46, 138, 155  
Germania Inf. (Cologne) -- *RIC* V.2 260 ff.; *HCC* IV 44-5
4. *M. Cass. Lat. Post. Pi. Fel. Aug.*  
Coins: Lugdunensis (Lugdunum) -- *RIC* V.2 196
5. *Imp. Post. Aug.*  
Inscriptions: Britain -- Hassall & Tomlin 1986, 435 no. 7<sup>2</sup>  
Coins: Germania Inf. (Cologne) -- *RIC* V.2 314  
Italy (Milan) -- *RIC* V.2 367, 369, 371-3, 375-6, 378-9, 386, 388; *HCC* IV 141-5
6. *Imp. Post. Pi. Fel. Aug.*  
Coins: Lugdunensis (Lugdunum) -- *RIC* V.2 168
7. *Imp. Cass. Lat. Post. Pi. Fel. Aug.*  
Coins: Lugdunensis (Lugdunum) -- *RIC* V.2 150

<sup>2</sup>*Imp(eratori) [...] / Postum(mo Aug(usto) [...]*

8. *Imp. d. n. M. Cass. Lat. Post. Pi. Fel. Aug.*  
Inscriptions: Britain -- *CIL* VII 1161/*ILS* 560/*RIB* 2260/König 1981, 51<sup>3</sup>
9. *Imp. Caes. Post.*  
Coins: Lugdunensis (Lugdunum) -- *RIC* V.2 203
10. *Imp. Caes. M. Cass. Lat. Post.*  
Coins: Lugdunensis (Lugdunum) -- *RIC* V.2 160
11. *Imp. Caes. Post. Pi.*  
Coins: Lugdunensis (Lugdunum) -- *RIC* V.2 209
12. *Imp. Caes. Post. Aug.*  
Coins: Italy (Milan) -- *RIC* V.2 366, 370, 385
13. *Imp. Caes. M. Cass. Lat. Post. Aug.*  
Inscriptions: Britain -- *AE* (1938) 119/*RIB* 2255/König 1981, 50  
Coins: Lugdunensis (Lugdunum) -- *RIC* V.2 127, 136, 146, 225
14. *Imp. Caes. M. Cass. Lat. Post. Pi. Aug.*  
Coins: Lugdunensis (Lugdunum) -- *RIC* V.2 119
15. *Imp. Caes. M. Cas. Lat. Post. Pi. Aug. restitutor Galliarum*  
Coins: Lugdunensis (Lugdunum) -- *RIC* V.2 158
16. *Imp. Caes. Post. Pi. Fel. Aug.*  
Coins: Lugdunensis (Lugdunum) -- *RIC* V.2 17 ff.  
Germania Inf. (Cologne) -- *RIC* V.2 254, 266, 278, 297 ff.; *HCC* IV 7-38, 47-67, 70-98, 109-13, 140  
Italy (Milan) -- *RIC* V.2 368 ff.
17. *Imp. Caes. Lat. Post. Pi. Fel. Aug.*  
Coins: Lugdunensis (Lugdunum) -- *RIC* V.2 222

<sup>3</sup>*CIL* does not print *Latinus*, although the other publications do. I have followed the majority.

18. *Imp. Caes. M. Cass. Lat. Post. Pi. Fel. Aug.*  
 Inscriptions: Britain -- *AE* (1965) 219/König 1981, 52  
 Aquitania -- *CIL* XIII 8879/König 1981, 47/*CIL* XVII 331  
 Coins: Lugdunensis (Lugdunum) -- *RIC* V.2 116 ff.  
 Germania Inf. (Cologne) -- *HCC* IV 39-40, 100-7, 117, 120-38
19. *Imp. Caes. d. n. M. Cass. Lat. Post. Pi. Fel. Aug.*  
 Inscriptions: Britain -- *AE* (1924) 1/*RIB* 2232/König 1981, 49  
 Lugdunensis -- *CIL* XIII 8955/König 1981, 43/*CIL* XVII 463;<sup>4</sup> *CIL*  
 XIII 8956/König 1981, 44/*CIL* XVII 464; *CIL* XIII 8957/König  
 1981, 45/*CIL* XVII 465<sup>5</sup>
20. *Imp. Caes. Post. Pi. Fel. Aug. Inv. Aug.*  
 Coins: Lugdunensis (Lugdunum) -- *RIC* V.2 25, 100
21. *Imp. Caes. Post. Pi. Fel. Aug. pacator orbis*  
 Coins: Germania Inf. (Cologne) -- *RIC* V.2 317; *HCC* IV 68-9
22. *Imp. Caes. Post. Pi. Fel. Aug. restitutor Galliarum*  
 Coins: Lugdunensis (Lugdunum) -- *RIC* V.2 82, 159, 224
23. *Imp. Caes. M. Cass. Lat. Post. Pi. Fel. Aug. restitutor Galliarum*  
 Coins: Lugdunensis (Lugdunum) -- *RIC* V.2 157, 223
24. *Imp. Caes. Post. Pi. Fel. Aug. restitutor orbis*  
 Coins: Germania Inf. (Cologne) -- *RIC* V.2 324

<sup>4</sup>[*Imp(eratori) Caes(ar) d(omino) n(ostro) / M(arco) Cas(s)ia[nio] La[ti]n(i)o Postum[o] / P(ri)mo F(elic)i Aug(usto)*].

<sup>5</sup>[*Imp(eratori) Caes(ar) d(omino) n(ostro) M(arco) / C(a)ssiano / La[ti]n(i)o Postumo / P(ri)mo F(elic)i Aug(usto)*].

### III. Latin Titles, Group B

25. *Post. cos.*  
 Inscriptions: Aquitania -- *CIL* XIII 633/*RGAI* 2509/König 1981, 53
26. *Post. Pi. Fel. Aug. cos.*  
 Coins: Lugdunensis (Lugdunum) -- *RIC* V.2 241
27. *Imp. Caes. M. Cass. Lat. Post. Pi. Fel. Aug. cos.*  
 Inscriptions: Aquitania -- *CIL* XIII 8882/König 1981, 48/*CIL* XVII 333
28. *Imp. Caes. M. Cass. Lat. Post. Pi. Fel. Aug. pont. max. tr. pot.*  
 Inscriptions: Lugdunensis -- *CIL* XIII 8972/König 1981, 46/*CIL* XVII 496<sup>6</sup>
29. *Imp. Caes. M. Cass. Lat. Post. Pi. Fel. Aug. pont. max. tr. pot. cos.*  
 Coins: Lugdunensis (Lugdunum) -- *RIC* V.2 186
30. *Imp. Caes. Post. Pi. Fel. Aug. pont. max. tr. pot. cos. p. p.*  
 Coins: Lugdunensis (Lugdunum) -- *RIC* V.2 1, 95

### IV. Latin Titles, Group C

31. *Imp. Caes. Post. Pi. Aug. Germ. max. V*  
 Coins: Lugdunensis (Lugdunum) -- *RIC* V.2 199
32. *Imp. Caes. M. Cass. Lat. Post. Pi. Aug. Germ. max. V*  
 Coins: Germania Inf. (Cologne) -- *HCC* IV 119

<sup>6</sup>[*Imp(erator) Caes(ar) / M(arcus) Cas(s)ianus / Latinus / Postum[us] / P(ri)mo F(elix) Aug(ustus) [p(ontifex) m(ax)imus] / trib(unicia) [pot(estate)]*].

33. *Imp. Caes. Post. Pi. Fel. Aug. Germ. max. V*  
Coins: Lugdunensis (Lugdunum) -- *RIC* V.2 63
34. *Imp. Caes. M. Cass. Lat. Post. Pi. Fel. Aug. Germ. max. V*  
Coins: Lugdunensis (Lugdunum) -- *RIC* V.2 129, 198  
Germania Inf. (Cologne) -- *HCC* IV 118
35. *Imp. Caes. Post. Pi. Fel. Aug. pont. max. tr. pot. cos. I p. p.*  
Coins: Lugdunensis (Lugdunum) -- *RIC* V.2 53
36. *Post. Aug. pont. max. tr. pot. cos. II p. p.*  
Coins: Lugdunensis (Lugdunum) -- *RIC* V.2 108  
Germania Inf. (Cologne) -- *HCC* IV 108
37. *Imp. Post. Pi. Fel. Aug. pont. max. tr. pot. cos. II p. p.*  
Coins: Lugdunensis (Lugdunum) -- *RIC* V.2 104
38. *Imp. Caes. Post. Pi. Fel. Aug. pont. max. tr. pot. cos. II p. p.*  
Coins: Lugdunensis (Lugdunum) -- *RIC* V.2 2, 54, 104, 107, 109, 188, 242  
Germania Inf. (Cologne) -- *HCC* IV 1-2, 139
39. *Imp. Caes. M. Cass. Lat. Post. Pi. Fel. Aug. pont. max. tr. pot. cos. II p. p.*  
Coins: Lugdunensis (Lugdunum) -- *RIC* V.2 106, 110-1, 187  
Germania Inf. (Cologne) -- *HCC* IV 99, 114-6
40. *Imp. Caes. M. Cass. Lat. Post. Pi. Fel. Inv. Aug. pont. max. tr. pot. cos. II p. p. procos.*  
Inscriptions: Germania Sup. -- *CIL* XIII 9092/König 1981, 34/*CIL* XVII 615<sup>7</sup>
41. *Imp. Caes. M. Cass. Lat. Post. Pi. Fel. Inv. Aug. pont. max. Germ. max. tr. pot. cos. II p. p. procos.*  
Inscriptions: Lugdunensis -- *CIL* XIII 9023/*ILS* 561/König 1981, 35/*CIL* XVII 491

<sup>7</sup>The restoration of this stone followed here is that of the original *CIL* editors and König. Walser (*CIL* XVII ad loc.) restores, *Im[peratori] Caes[ar]is / Marco Cas[s]ian[io] / Latin[us] Post[um]o [P]at[ri]i / Fel[icit]i In[ve]n[te] Au[gu]sto p[ro]n[ost]ifici m[ax]imo / trib[un]icia [pot]estate VIII c[on]s[ul]i II [II] / p[at]ri p[at]riae p[ro]c[on]s[ul]i*. See also below 70.

42. *Post. Aug. pont. max. Germ. max. tr. pot. cos. III p. p.*  
Coins: Lugdunensis (Lugdunum) -- *RIC* V.2 3
43. *Imp. Caes. Post. Pi. Fel. Aug. cos. III*  
Coins: Lugdunensis (Lugdunum) -- *RIC* V.2 48, 52, 96
44. *Imp. Caes. Post. Pi. Fel. Aug. pont. max. tr. pot. cos. III p. p.*  
Coins: Lugdunensis (Lugdunum) -- *RIC* V.2 47, 55, 243  
Germania Inf. (Cologne) -- *HCC* IV 3
45. *Imp. Caes. M. Cass. Lat. Post. Pi. Fel. Aug. pont. max. tr. pot. cos. III p. p.*  
Coins: Lugdunensis (Lugdunum) -- *RIC* V.2 112-3, 189
46. *Imp. Caes. M. Cass. Lat. Post. Pi. Fel. Inv. Aug. pont. max. tr. pot. cos. III p. p.*  
Inscriptions: Aquitania -- *AE* (1958) 58/*ILTG* 465/König 1981, 38/*CIL* XVII 353
47. *Imp. Caes. M. Cass. Lat. Post. Pi. Fel. Inv. Aug. Germ. max. pont. max. tr. pot. cos. III p. p. procos.*  
Inscriptions: Hispania -- *CIL* II 4943/*ILS* 562/König 1981, 37/*ILPG* 76
48. *Post. Aug. pont. max. tr. pot. imp. V cos. III p. p.*  
Coins: Lugdunensis (Lugdunum) -- *RIC* V.2 8
49. *Post. Pi. Aug. pont. max. tr. pot. imp. V cos. III p. p.*  
Coins: Lugdunensis (Lugdunum) -- *RIC* V.2 7, 9
50. *Imp. Caes. Post. Pi. Fel. Aug. pont. max. tr. pot. III cos. III p. p.*  
Coins: Lugdunensis (Lugdunum) -- *RIC* V. 4, 56
51. *Imp. Caes. M. Cass. Lat. Post. Pi. Fel. Inv. Aug. Germ. max. pont. max. tr. pot. III (?) cos. III*  
Inscriptions: Hispania -- *CIL* II 4919/*ETERA* 42/König 1981, 36<sup>8</sup>

<sup>8</sup>Elorza (*ETERA* ad loc.) gives the reading *tr. pot. III*, which is closer to the original reading of the stone. Hübner, followed by König, restored the stone to match 47 above, i.e. without a tribunician iteration number.

52. *Imp. Caes. M. Cass. Lat. Post. Pi. Fel. Aug. pont. max. cos. tr. pot. IV*  
Inscriptions: Britain -- König 1981, 39<sup>9</sup>
53. *Post. Aug. pont. max. tr. pot. IV cos. III p. p.*  
Coins: Lugdunensis (Lugdunum) -- *RIC* V.2 6
54. *Post. Pi. Aug. pont. max. tr. pot. IV cos. III p. p.*  
Coins: Lugdunensis (Lugdunum) -- *RIC* V.2 5  
Germania Inf. (Cologne) -- *HCC* IV 5
55. *Imp. Caes. Post. Pi. Fel. Aug. pont. max. tr. pot. IV cos. III p. p.*  
Coins: Lugdunensis (Lugdunum) -- *RIC* V.2 57  
Germania Inf. (Cologne) -- *HCC* IV 4
56. *Imp. Caes. M. Cass. Lat. Post. Pi. Fel. Aug. pont. max. tr. pot. IV cos. III p. p.*  
Coins: Lugdunensis (Lugdunum) -- *RIC* V.2 114, 190
57. *Post. Aug. victor Germ. pont. max. tr. pot. V cos. III p. p.*  
Coins: Lugdunensis (Lugdunum) -- *RIC* V.2 15, 97
58. *Post. Pi. Aug. victor Germ. pont. max. tr. pot. V cos. III p. p.*  
Coins: Lugdunensis (Lugdunum) -- *RIC* V.2 15
59. *Post. Pi. Aug. pont. max. tr. pot. VI cos. III p. p.*  
Coins: Lugdunensis (Lugdunum) -- *RIC* V.2 10-2
- 59a. *Imp. Caes. M. Cass. Lat. Post. Pi. Fel. Inv. Aug. Germ. max. tr. pot. VI cos. III p. p. procos.*  
Inscriptions: Narbonensis -- *CIL* XII 5509/König 1970, 112/*CIL* XVII 150<sup>10</sup>

<sup>9</sup>König gives the following: ---Postu]/mo Pio Fe/l(ici) Aug(usto) p(ontifici) m(aximo) c(onsuli) tr(ibunicia) po<o>/i(estate) IV.

<sup>10</sup>[Imp(eratori) Caes(ari) / M(arco) Cassiano / Lat(nio) Pos(tumo) Pio Fel(ici) / Inv(icta) Aug(usto) Ger]/manico max(imo) tr(ibunicia) pot(estate) VI co(n)s(uli) III / p(atri) p(atris) proco(n)s(uli).

60. *Post. Pi. Aug. pont. max. tr. pot. VII cos. III p. p.*  
Coins: Lugdunensis (Lugdunum) -- *RIC* V.2 13  
Germania Inf. (Cologne) -- *RIC* V.2 255
61. *d. n. Post. cos. IV*  
Inscriptions: Hispania -- *CIL* II 5736/König 1981, 58
62. *Post. Pi. Aug. pont. max. tr. pot. cos. IV p. p.*  
Coins: Germania Inf. (Cologne) -- *RIC* V.2 257
63. *Post. Pi. Fel. Aug. pont. max. tr. pot. cos. IV p. p.*  
Coins: Germania Inf. (Cologne) -- *RIC* V.2 256
64. *Imp. Caes. Post. Pi. Fel. Aug. cos. IV*  
Coins: Germania Inf. (Cologne) -- *RIC* V.2 285-7; *HCC* IV 42
65. *Imp. Caes. Post. Pi. Fel. Aug. pont. max. tr. pot. cos. IV p. p.*  
Coins: Germania Inf. (Cologne) -- *RIC* V.2 290
66. *Imp. Caes. M. Cass. Lat. Post. Pi. Fel. Aug. pont. max. tr. pot. cos. IV p. p.*  
Coins: Germania Inf. (Cologne) -- *RIC* V.2 364
67. *Imp. Caes. M. Cass. Lat. Post. Inv. Pi. Fel. Aug. pont. max. tr. pot. p. p. cos. IV*  
Inscriptions: Aquitania -- *CIL* XIII 8883/König 1981, 40/*CIL* XVII 334
68. *Post. Aug. pont. max. tr. pot. IX cos. IV*  
Coins: Germania Inf. (Cologne) -- *RIC* V.2 292; *HCC* IV 41
69. *Imp. Caes. Post. Pi. Fel. Aug. pont. max. tr. pot. IX cos. IV p. p.*  
Coins: Germania Inf. (Cologne) -- *RIC* V.2 291
70. *Imp. Caes. M. Cass. Lat. Post. Pi. Fel. Inv. Aug. pont. max. tr. pot. IX cos. IV p. p. procos.*  
Inscriptions: Germania Sup. -- König 1981, 41/*CIL* XVII 605<sup>11</sup>

<sup>11</sup>See also above 40.

71. *Imp. Caes. M. Cass. Lat. Post. Pi. Fel. Inv. Aug. pont. max. tr. pot. X cos. IV p. p.*  
Inscriptions: Belgica -- *AE* (1969/70) 415/König 1981, 42/*CIL* XVII 538
72. *Imp. Caes. Post. Pi. Fel. Aug. cos. V*  
Coins: Germania Inf. (Cologne) -- *RIC* V.2 288
73. *Imp. Caes. M. Cass. Lat. Post. Pi. Fel. Aug. pont. max. tr. pot. cos. V*  
Coins: Germania Inf. (Cologne) -- *RIC* V.2 365
74. *Imp. Caes. Post. Pi. Fel. Aug. imp. X cos. V*  
Coins: Germania Inf. (Cologne) -- *RIC* V.2 289; *HCC* IV 431<sup>2</sup>
75. *Post. Pi. Aug. pont. max. tr. pot. X cos. V p. p.*  
Coins: Germania Inf. (Cologne) -- *RIC* V.2 258, 334
76. *Imp. Caes. Post. Pi. Fel. Aug. tr. pot. X cos. V p. p.*  
Coins: Germania Inf. (Cologne) -- *RIC* V.2 296
77. *Imp. Caes. Post. Pi. Fel. Aug. pont. max. tr. pot. X cos. V p. p.*  
Coins: Germania Inf. (Cologne) -- *RIC* V.2 293-5

<sup>12</sup>Since this coin would be unique in giving an *imperator* iteration, and since we have coins (see below) with the combination *tr. pot. X cos. V*, this latter is most surely the proper reading of the reverse legend of this coin.

## Laelianus

(ca. spring 269)

*Ulp(ius) Cor(nelius) Lael(ianus)*

### I. Literary Testimonia

*Aur. Vict. Caes.* 33.8 *Namque primus omnium Postumus, qui forte barbaris per Galliam praesidebat, imperium ereptum ierat; explosaque Germanorum multitudine Laeliani bello excipiuntur...*

*Eutrop.* 9.9.1-2 *qui (Postumus) seditione militum interfectus est, quod Mogontiacum, quae adversus eum rebellaverat Laeliano res novas moliente, diripiendam militibus tradere noluisset.*

### II. Latin Titles, Group A

1. *Imp. Caes. Ulp. Cor. Lael.*  
Coins: Germania Inf. (Mainz) -- *RIC* V.2 p. 373
2. *Imp. Lael. Pi. Fel. Aug.*  
Coins: Germania Inf. (Mainz) -- *RIC* V.2 p. 373
3. *Imp. Caes. Lael. Pi. Fel. Aug.*  
Coins: Germania Inf. (Mainz) -- *RIC* V.2 p. 373; *HCC* IV p. 104

**Marius**  
(ca. spring 269)

*M(arcus) Aur(elius) Mar(tius)*

**I. Literary Testimonia**

Eutrop. 9.9.2 ...*Marius vilissimus opifex purpuram accepit et secundo die interfectus est.*

Oros. *hist. adv. pag.* 7.22.11 *post mortem Postumi Marius ibidem invasit imperium sed continuo interfectus est.*

**II. Latin Titles, Group A**

1. *Imp. Caes. M. Aur. Mar. Aug.*  
Coins: Germania Sup. (Trier) -- *RIC* V.2 p. 378; *HCC* IV p. 106
2. *Imp. Caes. Mar. Pi. Fel. Aug.*  
Coins: Germania Inf. (Cologne) -- *RIC* V.2 p. 377; *HCC* IV p. 105
3. *Imp. Caes. M. Aur. Mar. Pi. Fel. Aug.*  
Coins: Germania Inf. (Cologne) -- *RIC* V.2 p. 377

**Victorinus**  
(ca. late spring 269 - early 271)

*M(arcus) Pia(vonius) Vict(orinus)*

**I. Literary Testimonia**

*HA trig. tyr.* 6.1 *Postumus senior cum videret multis se Gallieni viribus peti atque au <xi> lium non solum militum verum etiam alterius principis necessarium, Victorinum, militaris industriae virum, in participatum vocavit imperii et cum eodem contra Gallienum conflavit.*

**II. Latin Titles, Group A**

1. *divus Vict. Pl.*  
Coins: Germania (?) -- *RIC* V.2 83, 85-9  
Germania Sup. (Trier) -- *HCC* IV p. 111
2. *Vict. Aug.*  
Coins: Germania (?) -- *RIC* V.2 28, 70
3. *Vict. Pi. Fel. Aug.*  
Coins: Germania (?) -- *RIC* V.2 69
4. *Imp. Vict. Aug.*  
Coins: Germania (?) -- *RIC* V.2 4, 35, 68
5. *Imp. Pia. Vict. Aug.*  
Coins: Germania (?) -- *RIC* V.2 66

6. *Imp. Vict. Pi. Aug.*  
 Coins: Germania (?) -- *RIC* V.2 30  
 Germania Inf. (Cologne) -- *RIC* V.2 102
7. *Imp. Vict. Pi. Fel. Aug.*  
 Coins: Germania (?) -- *RIC* V.2 3 ff.  
 Germania Sup. (Trier) -- *HCC* IV 18-20
8. *Imp. Vict. Pi. Fel. Aug. Inv. Aug.*  
 Coins: Germania (?) -- *RIC* V.2 9
9. *Imp. Caes. Vict.*  
 Coins: Germania (?) -- *RIC* V.2 126
10. *Imp. Caes. Vict. Aug.*  
 Coins: Germania (?) -- *RIC* V.2 43  
 Germania Inf. (Cologne) -- *RIC* V.2 101, 111, 120, 124  
 Germania Sup. (Trier) -- *HCC* IV 24
11. *Imp. Caes. Pia. Vict. Aug.*  
 Coins: Germania (?) -- *RIC* V.2 41, 62, 126  
 Germania Inf. (Cologne) -- *RIC* V.2 105
12. *Imp. Caes. M. Pia. Vict. Aug.*  
 Inscriptions: Britain -- *CIL* VII 1160/*RIB* 2251/König 1981, 90  
 Lugdunensis -- *CIL* XIII 8999/König 1981, 85/*CIL* XVII 387
13. *Imp. Caes. Vict. Pi. Aug.*  
 Coins: Germania (?) -- *RIC* V.2 56  
 Germania Inf. (Cologne) -- *RIC* V.2 119, 125
14. *Imp. Caes. Vict. Pi. Aug. defensor orbis*  
 Coins: Germania (?) -- *RIC* V.2 90  
 Germania Sup. (Trier) -- *HCC* IV 25

15. *Imp. Caes. Vict. Pi. Fel. Aug.*  
 Coins: Germania (?) -- *RIC* V.2 1 ff.  
 Germania Inf. (Cologne) -- *RIC* V.2 94, 96-100, 110, 114-5, 118, 122-3;  
*HCC* IV 5-17  
 Germania Sup. (Trier) -- *HCC* IV 21-3, 26-30
16. *Imp. Caes. Pia. Vict. Pi. Fel. Aug.*  
 Inscriptions: Lugdunensis -- *CIL* XIII 9006/König 1981, 86/*CIL* XVII 392  
 Coins: Germania (?) -- *RIC* V.2 65  
 Germania Inf. (Cologne) -- *RIC* V.2 106-7, 109, 113, 117; *HCC* IV 2-4
17. *Imp. Caes. M. Pia. Vict. Pi. Fel. Aug.*  
 Inscriptions: Britain -- *EE* ix 1254/*RIB* 2287/König 1981, 92; *AE* (1937) 108/*RIB*  
 2296/König 1981, 93  
 Coins: Germania Inf. (Cologne) -- *RIC* V.2 95, 104, 108, 112, 116
18. *Imp. Caes. M. Pia. Vict. Pi. Fel. Inv. Aug.*  
 Inscriptions: Britain -- *EE* ix p. 635/*CIL* VII 1162/König 1981, 91  
 Lugdunensis -- *CIL* XIII 8958/*ILS* 564/König 1981, 80/*CIL* XVII 473;  
*CIL* XIII 8959/König 1981, 81/*CIL* XVII 474; *CIL* XIII  
 8960/König 1981, 82/*CIL* XVII 466; *CIL* XIII 8961/König 1981,  
 83/*CIL* XVII 467; *CIL* XIII 8975/König 1981, 84/*CIL* XVII 461

### III. Latin Titles, Group B

19. *Vict. Aug. cos.*  
 Inscriptions: Germania Sup. -- *CIL* XIII 11976/*RGAI* 286/König 1981, 77



20. *Imp. Caes. M. Pia. Vict. Pi. Fel. Aug. pont. max. tr. pot.*  
Inscriptions: Britain -- *RIB* 2238/König 1981, 88<sup>1</sup>  
Lugdunensis -- *CIL* XIII 9012/König 1981, 87/*CIL* XVII 423
21. *Imp. Caes. M. Pia. Vict. Pi. Fel. Inv. Aug. pont. max. tr. pot.*  
Inscriptions: Germania Sup. -- *AE* (1971) 279/König 1981, 78/*CIL* XVII 604
22. *Imp. Caes. M. Pia. Vict. Pi. Fel. Inv. Aug. pont. max. tr. pot. p. p.*  
Inscriptions: Britain -- *EE* vii 1097/*ILS* 565/*RIB* 2241/König 1981, 89
23. *Imp. Caes. M. Pia. Vict. Pi. Fel. Inv. Aug. pont. max. tr. pot. cos. procos.*  
Inscriptions: Germania Inf. -- *CIL* XIII 12090/*RGAI* 285/König 1981, 76/*CIL* XVII 551 & 551a
24. *Imp. Caes. M. Pia. Vict. Pi. Fel. Inv. Aug. pont. max. tr. pot. cos. p. p. procos.*  
Inscriptions: Belgica -- *CIL* XIII 9040/König 1981, 79/*CIL* XVII 509

#### IV. Latin Titles, Group C

25. *Imp. Caes. Vict. Pi. Fel. Aug. cos. II*  
Coins: Germania (?) -- *RIC* V.2 1
26. *Imp. Caes. Vict. Pi. Fel. Aug. pont. max. tr. pot. cos. II p. p.*  
Coins: Germania (?) -- *RIC* V.2 36
27. *Imp. Caes. Vict. Pi. Fel. Aug. pont. max. tr. pot. II cos. p. p.*  
Coins: Germania (?) -- *RIC* V.2 37
28. *Vict. Aug. pont. max. tr. pot. III cos. II p. p.*  
Coins: Germania (?) -- *RIC* V.2 34

<sup>1</sup>The stone breaks after mention of the tribunician power.

29. *Imp. Caes. Vict. Aug. pont. max. tr. pot. III cos. II p. p.*  
Coins: Germania (?) -- *RIC* V.2 38
30. *Imp. Caes. Vict. Aug. pont. max. tr. pot. III cos. III p. p.*  
Coins: Germania (?) -- *RIC* V.2 39

**Tetricus**  
(early 271 - ca. spring 274)

*G(aius) Pi(us) Esuv(ius) Tet(ricus)*

### I. Literary Testimonia

*Aur. Vict. Caes. 33.14-5 Interim Victoria amisso Victorino filio, legionibus grandi pecunia comprobantibus Tetricum imperatorem facit, qui familia nobili praesidatu Aquitanos tuebatur, filioque eius Tetrico Caesarea insignia impartiuntur.*

*Epit. de Caes. 35.7 Hic Tetricum, qui imperator ab exercitu in Galliis effectus fuerat...*

*Eutrop. 9.10 Huic successit Tetricus senator, qui Aquitaniam honore praesidis administrans absens a militibus imperator electus est et apud Burdigalam purpuram sumpsit.*

*HA trig. tyr. 24.1 Interfecto Victorino et eius filio mater eius Victoria sive Vitruvia Tetricum senatorem p. R. praesidatum in Gallia regentem ad imperium hortata, quod eius erat, ut plerique loquuntur, adfinis, Augustu <m> appellari fecit filiumque eius caesarem nuncupavit.*

*idem 25.1 Hic puerulus ■ Victoria Caesar est appellatus, cum illa mater castrorum ab exercitu nuncupata esset.*

### II. Tetricus I, Latin Titles, Group A

1. *Imp. Tet.*  
Coins: Germania (?) – *RIC* V.2 78
2. *Imp. Tet. Pi. Aug.*  
Coins: Germania (?) – *RIC* V.2 12 ff.

3. *Imp. Tet. Pi. Fel. Aug.*  
Coins: Germania Sup. (Trier) – *HCC* IV 16-23
4. *Imp. Caes. Tet.*  
Coins: Germania (?) – *RIC* V.2 149
5. *Imp. Caes. P. Esuv. Tet. Aug.*  
Coins: Germania (?) – *RIC* V.2 61, 72
6. *Imp. Caes. Tet. Pi. Aug.*  
Coins: Germania (?) – *RIC* V.2 37, 42, 104
7. *Imp. Caes. Tet. Pi. Fel. Aug.*  
Coins: Germania Inf. (Cologne) – *HCC* IV 2-9, 11-5
8. *Imp. Caes. Esuv. Tet. Pi. Fel. Aug.*  
Inscriptions: Britain – *EE* ix 1249/*CIL* VII 1150/*RIB* 2224/König 1981, 104
9. *Imp. Caes. G. Esuv. Tet. Pi. Fel. Aug.*  
Inscriptions: Britain – *CIL* VII 1150/*RIB* 2226/König 1981, 106
10. *Imp. Caes. G. Pi. Esuv. Tet. Pi. Fel. Aug.*  
Inscriptions: Britain – *EE* ix 1250/*CIL* VII 1151/*RIB* 2225/König 1981, 105
11. *Imp. Caes. G. Pi. Esuv. Tet. Pi. Fel. Inv. Aug.*  
Inscriptions: Aquitania – *CIL* XIII 8925/*ILTG* 471/König 1981, 102/*CIL* XVII 365  
Lugdunensis – *CIL* XIII 8962/König 1981, 103/*CIL* XVII 468

### III. Tetricus I, Latin Titles, Group B

12. *Imp. Caes. G. Esuv. Tet. Pi. Fel. Inv. Aug. pont. max. tr. pot. p. p.*  
Inscriptions: Belgica – *CIL* XIII 9041/König 1981, 97/*CIL* XVII 526

13. *Imp. Caes. G. Pi. Esuv. Tet. Pi. Fel. Inv. Aug. pont. max. tr. pot. p. p. cos. procos.*  
 Inscriptions: Aquitania -- *CIL* XIII 8927/*ILS* 566/König 1981, 100/*CIL* XVII 432  
 Lugdunensis -- *CIL* XIII 8963/König 1981, 99/*CIL* XVII 469; *CIL* XIII  
 8964/König 1981, 98/*CIL* XVII 470

#### IV. Tetricus I, Latin Titles, Group C

14. *Imp. Caes. Tet. Pi. Fel. Aug. pont. max. tr. pot. II cos. p. p.*  
 Coins: Germania Inf. (Cologne) -- *HCC* IV 1
15. *Imp. Caes. G. Pi. Esuv. Tet. Pi. Fel. Inv. Aug. pont. max. tr. pot. II cos. p. p.*  
 Inscriptions: Narbonensis -- *AE* (1960) 175/König 1970, 264/König 1981, 101/*CIL*  
 XVII 302<sup>1</sup>
16. *Imp. Caes. Tet. Pi. Fel. cos. III*  
 Coins: Germania (?) -- *RIC* V.2 45

#### V. Tetricus II, Latin Titles, Group A

17. *G. Pi. Esuv. Tet. Caes.*  
 Coins: Germania Inf. (Cologne) -- *HCC* IV 1-9  
 Germania Sup. (Trier) -- *HCC* IV 10-8
18. *G. Pi. Esuv. Tet. nob. Caes.*  
 Inscriptions: Britain -- König 1981, 113  
 Lugdunensis -- *CIL* XIII 8970/König 1981, 111/*CIL* XVII 424; *CIL*  
 XIII 9000/König 1981, 110/*CIL* XVII 388

<sup>1</sup>The tribunician iteration is restored here.

19. *G. Pi. Esuv. Tet. iunior nob. Caes.*  
 Inscriptions: Lugdunensis -- König 1981, 112
20. *Imp. Caes. Tet. Pi. Fel. Aug. princ. iuv.*  
 Coins: Germania Inf. (Cologne) -- *HCC* IV 10<sup>2</sup>

#### VI. Tetricus II, Latin Titles, Group II

21. *G. Pi. Tet. nob. Caes. princ. iuv. cas.*  
 Inscriptions: Narbonensis -- *AE* (1888) 144/*ILG* 656/König 1970, 261/König 1981,  
 114/*CIL* XVII 299

#### VII. Tetricus I & II, Latin Titles, Group A

22. *d. n. G. Pi. Esuv. Tet. nob. Caes. fil. Imp. G. Pi. Esuv. Tet. Pi. Fel. Aug.*  
 Inscriptions: Lugdunensis -- *CIL* XIII 8977/König 1981, 109/*CIL* XVII 450

#### VIII. Tetricus I & II, Latin Titles, Group C

23. *d. n. G. Pi. Esuv. Tet. nob. Caes. fil. Imp. G. Pi. Esuv. Tet. Pi. Fel. Inv. Aug. pont. max.  
 tr. pot. II cos.*  
 Inscriptions: Narbonensis -- *AE* (1890) 154/*ILS* 567/*ILG* 655/König 1970,  
 249/König 1981, 108/*CIL* XVII 287

<sup>2</sup>This coin is somewhat puzzling. It is listed in *HCC* under Tetricus I, and the obverse clearly belongs to the father. However, the reverse, with *princeps iuventutis*, should refer to the son. The coin is apparently a hybrid.

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- rector orbis*: Val. 151
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- reparator conservator patriae*: Aur. 102
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- restitutor*: Phil. 17
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