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Thomas Corsten
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TYCHE

Beiträge zur Alten Geschichte
Papyrologie und Epigraphik

HOLZHAUSEN
DER VERLAG

Band 25, 2010



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Pannonia or Lower Illyricum?

Tafel 14

In an important volume dedicated to the Roman provinces and their foundation dates, edited by Ioan Piso, Péter Kovács published an interesting article, in which he drew attention again to the problem of when Illyricum had been divided and officially called Pannonia and Dalmatia¹. He re-examined the existing evidence and also introduced some new data in the discussion, notably a Greek inscription from Pisidian Prostanna, which he republished in volume 22 of *Tyche*². As he correctly claimed, this inscription has so far not been noted in scholarly literature discussing the foundation of the provinces Dalmatia and Pannonia, although much has already been written about the division of Illyricum³. It is carved on a statue base for the emperor Nero, erected in the years 54 to 68 AD by a veteran *signifer* of one of the legions that were stationed in Pannonia, probably *XV Apollinaris*, M. Seius [---]⁴. In the dedication Nero is equated with the Sun God. According to the author, it would contain the first epigraphic occurrence of the word Pannonia and would be evidence for the existence of an independent province Pannonia at least since the reign of Nero.

¹ P. Kovács, *Some Notes on the Division of Illyricum*, in: I. Piso (ed.), *Die Römischen Provinzen. Begriff und Gründung*, Cluj-Napoca 2008, 237–248.

² P. Kovács, *A Pisidian Veteran and the First Mention of Pannonia*, *Tyche* 22, 2007, 99–107, Pl. 1.

³ See, among others, A. Mócsy, *Pannonia*, in: *RE Suppl.* IX (1962), 583; 588–589; J. J. Wilkes, *Dalmatia*, London 1969, 80–82; W. Reidinger, *Die Statthalter des ungeteilten Pannonien und Oberpannoniens von Augustus bis Diokletian* (*Antiquitas Reihe 1, Abh. z. Alten Gesch.* 2), Bonn 1956, 16–18; 23–36; A. Jagenteufel, *Die Statthalter der römischen Provinz Dalmatia von Augustus bis Diokletian* (*Schriften der Balkankommission, Ant. Abt. XII*), Wien 1958, 9–10; 12–15; Á. Dobó, *Die Verwaltung der römischen Provinz Pannonien von Augustus bis Diocletianus*, Amsterdam 1968, 11–31; T. Nagy, *Der Aufstand der pannonisch-dalmatinischen Völker und die Frage der Zweiteilung Illyricums*, in: *Adriatica praehistorica et antiqua — Miscellanea Gregorio Novak dicata*, Zagreb 1970, 459–466; J. Fitz, *La division de l'Illyricum*, *Latomus* 48, 1988, 3–25; idem, *Änderungen in der Verwaltung Pannoniens*, *Specimina nova* 12, 1996 (1998), 127–138; idem, *Probleme der Zweiteilung Illyricums*, *Alba Regia* 29, 2000, 65–73.

⁴ AE 1961, 22 = Bull. épigr. 1961, 241 no. 733 = Á. Dobó, *Inscriptiones extra fines Pannoniae Daciaeque repertae ad res earundem provinciarum pertinentes*, Budapest 1975, 114 no. 590. Cf. M. P. Speidel, *Legionaries from Asia Minor*, in: ANRW II 7.2 (1980), 734 no. 18. Kovács' reading: Νέρωνα Κλαύδ[ιον Καίσαρα Σεβασ]τὸν Γερμανικὸ[ν Αὐτοκράτορα νέ]ον "Ἡλιον θ[εὸν ἐπιφανῆ] | vacat | Μάρκος Σείος [- - - σημι]αφόρος λεγεῶ[νος ἐξ Ἀπολλι(ναρίας)] στρα]τευσάμενος [ἔτη - - - καὶ] πέντε εἰς Παν[νονίαν ἐκ τῶν ἰδίων] | ἀναλωμ[άτων ἀνέστησεν].

In Kovács' opinion three main questions concerning Pannonia have not received satisfactory answers to date⁵:

1. Which area of the future Pannonia was occupied under Augustus?
2. When was Illyricum divided into Dalmatia and Pannonia?
3. When was Pannonia organized as a province in the administrative sense of the word?

In my brief article I would like to concentrate on the last two questions, which are closely related; indeed, they may be regarded as one open question. Kovács convincingly argues for the hypothesis of an early annexation and/or conquest of eastern Pannonia as an answer to his first question, which is fully acceptable. On the other hand, it will be shown that the newly interpreted inscription cannot contribute towards conclusively solving the problem of the division of Illyricum into Dalmatia and Pannonia. Attention will also be drawn to some recent discussion that could not have been taken into account earlier but merits due attention⁶.

The division of Illyricum in the light of the latest research

If the state of research is briefly summed up, considering the greater or lesser weight of the arguments so far exposed and leaving aside theses that could by now be regarded as obsolete⁷, it may be assumed that the province of Pannonia, based on civil self-government, was not organized earlier than the reign of Vespasian⁸, particularly if the parallel is drawn with Noricum, which was most probably established as a procuratorial province under Claudius, at the same time when it was urbanized, i.e., when all main southern Norican towns received the status of Roman *municipia*⁹. Prior to Vespasian, Pannonia should most probably be regarded as a military district called Illyricum¹⁰, a part of the province which was so called in official texts, such as military diplomas for example, or honorific inscriptions erected for the military commanders involved. If this corresponded to the actual situation, such a district would have

⁵ Kovács 2008 (cit. n. 1), 237.

⁶ H. Graßl, *Der Prozess der Provinzialisierung im Ostalpen- und Donauraum im Bild der neueren Forschung*, in: C. Franek et al. (eds.), *Festschrift für Erwin Pochmarski*, Graz 2008, 343–348; E. Weber, *Die Anfänge der Provinz Noricum*, in: Piso 2008 (cit. n. 1), 225–235; G. Wesch-Klein, *Provincia. Okkupation und Verwaltung der Provinzen des Imperium Romanum von der Inbesitznahme Siziliens bis auf Diokletian* (Antike Kultur und Geschichte 10), Wien, Berlin 2008.

⁷ The previous opinions are presented by Kovács 2008 (cit. n. 1), 238–244.

⁸ E. Tóth, *Die Entstehung der gemeinsamen Grenzen zwischen Pannonien und Noricum*, *Arheološki vestnik* 31, 1980, 80–88; J. Šašel, *Die regionale Gliederung in Pannonien*, in: G. Gottlieb (ed.), *Raumordnung im Römischen Reich. Zur regionalen Gliederung in den gallischen Provinzen, in Rätien, Noricum und Pannonien*, München 1989, 57–60 (= *Opera selecta*, Ljubljana 1992, 690–693).

⁹ Weber 2008 (cit. n. 6), citing some of the earlier opinions.

¹⁰ W. Eck, *Provinz – Ihre Definition unter politisch-administrativem Aspekt*, in: H. v. Hesberg (ed.), *Was ist eigentlich Provinz? Zur Beschreibung eines Bewußtseins* (Schriften des Arch. Inst. der Univ. zu Köln), Köln 1995, 15–32 (= *Die Verwaltung des Römischen Reiches in der Hohen Kaiserzeit* 2 [Arbeiten zur römischen Epigraphik und Altertumskunde 3], Basel 1998, 167–185); Wesch-Klein 2008 (cit. n. 6), 5–7.

been governed by a *legatus exercitus*, the commander of the three Pannonian legions: *XV Apollinaris*, *VIII Augusta*, and *IX Hispana* (those which had revolted after the death of Augustus in the autumn of AD 14). In a similar way Moesia may have been dependent on the province of Macedonia at the time of the Pannonian-Dalmatian rebellion, during which A. Caecina Severus was referred to as 'governor' of Moesia¹¹, when in fact he was most probably the legate of the three legions stationed there.

The division into an upper province (Dalmatia) and lower Illyricum (Pannonia, Fig. 1, Taf. 14) no doubt occurred towards the end of the Pannonian-Dalmatian rebellion in AD 9, when Velleius Paterculus in his *Roman History* referred to C. Vibius Postumus (cos. AD 5) as *praepositus* of Dalmatia¹². Germanicus, with an extraordinary *imperium*, and Postumus, as the *legatus exercitus* of Dalmatia, achieved important victories in the Dalmatian part of Illyricum. Velleius was not only a contemporary of the events, but he had even fought in Illyricum as Tiberius' officer; it may be assumed that he was a reliable testimony to such an informal use of the names 'Dalmatia' and 'Pannonia' at an early period. Not so Cassius Dio, however, who notoriously applied the terminology of his own time to earlier periods. The existence of Dalmatia in such a context, when it could by no means denote the country of the Delmatae, also implies the existence of Pannonia. But clearly such labels would have been informal and internal.

Who were the governors of Illyricum after the Pannonian-Dalmatian uprising? The first known governor may have been L. Aelius Lamia (cos. AD 3), perhaps in the years 12 to 14 AD, but the chronology is not quite clear¹³. He was succeeded by the best documented governor in the Dalmatian part of Illyricum, P. Cornelius Dolabella (cos. AD 10). A recently published short inscription from Posuški Grac (near Posušje in Herzegovina, in the general region of Narona) has revealed M. Servilius (cos. in the same AD 3 as Lamia) as *legatus Augusti pro praetore* in Illyricum. Since the inscription is not precisely dated, he may have governed Illyricum either before Lamia (i.e. between 9 and 12 AD), or else before the rebellion, which started in AD 6, when M. Valerius Messalla is attested in this function. That Servilius governed the province in the years between AD 4 and 6 was also postulated by the editor of the inscription¹⁴.

Dolabella, who governed Illyricum for several years under Tiberius, must have been appointed as early as under Augustus, but shortly before his death, since he is termed *legatus pro praetore divi Augusti et Ti. Caesaris Augusti* in the honorific inscription from Epidaurum (Cavtat near Dubrovnik; Fig. 2, Taf. 14)¹⁵. This monument was erected to him by the *civitates* of Upper Illyricum, which is a highly significant piece of information, since it also implies the existence of a Lower Illyricum. How-

¹¹ Cassius Dio 55. 29. 3.

¹² Vell. Pat. 2. 116. 2.

¹³ Vell. Pat. 2. 116. 3; Jagenteufel 1958 (cit. n. 3), 13–14.

¹⁴ R. Dodig, *Epigrafički spomenici iz naronitanskoga konventa (Monuments épigraphiques provenant du conventus de Narona)*, in: *Arheološka istraživanja u Naroni i dolini Neretve (Archaeological Researches in Narona and Neretva Valley)* (Izdanja Hrvatskog arheološkog društva 22), Zagreb 2003, 233–234; 245; fig. Pl. 1. The inscription reads: *M(arco) Servilio C. f. co(n)[s(uli)] | VIIvir(o) epulon(um) leg(ato) | pr(o) pr(aetore) | Caesaris Augu(sti)*.

¹⁵ CIL III 1741 = ILS 938.

ever, Illyricum *Inferius* has not been attested to date elsewhere. Ivo Bojanovski has shown that the existence of Illyricum *Superius* should not be doubted, even if the transcription of this inscription is only known from manuscripts, since the same text is additionally preserved in a mid-sixteenth century publication and in a manuscript, independent of each other and not known to Mommsen¹⁶. The existence of Upper Illyricum at the time of Dolabella may additionally be regarded as confirmed by Velleius Paterculus, who referred to his province as the littoral part of Illyricum¹⁷.

AD 14, when Dolabella was appointed governor, also saw the revolt of the three Pannonian legions, mentioned by Velleius in the same passage. The legions, stationed in the summer camp probably in Siscia, revolted upon the news of Augustus' death; at that time they were under the command of Q. Iunius Blaesus (*cos. suff.* AD 10). He was actually responsible for the Pannonian part of the province, playing an important role in quelling the revolt, even if Drusus the Younger was also dispatched to Illyricum by Tiberius. Tacitus and Cassius Dio described the revolt in some detail¹⁸. Pannonia, or, more precisely, Illyricum *Inferius*, was then still officially part of Illyricum, as is confirmed by several military diplomas. Illyricum *Superius* was governed by a *legatus Augusti pro praetore* residing in Dalmatia at Salonae, while a *legatus exercitus* commanding the Pannonian legions was in charge of the Pannonian part, actually acting as a governor, as was the case of both *Germaniae* before Domitian¹⁹.

Some of the most important documents dating after AD 9 can be cited, in which the province is called Illyricum. Only a few years after the great rebellion had been quelled, when Augustus composed the text commemorating his deeds (*res gestae*), he claimed that he had subjected to Roman rule, through Tiberius Nero who was then his stepson and legate, certain Pannonian peoples that had hitherto not been conquered yet by a Roman army. He thereby "*extended the frontier of Illyricum as far as the Danube*"²⁰. With this diction Augustus probably referred both to Tiberius' Pannonian war and the Pannonian-Dalmatian rebellion. The Pannonian territory, which was to be part of the province of Pannonia, and had then been conquered, was that of the Iasi, Oseriates, Breuci, Amantini, Andizetes, of which particularly the last two peoples

¹⁶ CIL III 1741 = ILS 938: *civitates superioris provinciae Illyrici*. See I. Bojanovski, *Ad CIL III, 1741, Obod kod Cavtata (Epidaurum) (Ad CIL III, 1741, Obod bei Cavtat [Epidaurum])*, in: *Arheološka istraživanja u Dubrovniku i Dubrovačkom području (Archaeological Researches in Dubrovnik and its Surroundings)* (Izdanja hrvatskog arheološkog društva 12), Zagreb 1988, 101–110. His idea that the technical term Illyricum *Superius* would denote Dalmatia in terms of geography and not military-administrative organization is not plausible, since the opposite is logical. See also M. Glavičić, *Epigrafska baština rimskodobnog Epidaura (The Epigraphic Heritage of Roman Epidaurum)*, *Archaeologia Adriatica* 2,1 (2008) 45–48, fig. 1 on p. 46.

¹⁷ 2. 125. 5: *in maritima parte Illyrici*. On Dolabella see B. E. Thomasson, *Laterculi praesidum*, Vol. 1, Gothoburgi 1984, 89.

¹⁸ Tac., *Ann.* 1. 16. 1–2; Dio 57. 4. 1–2; Reidinger 1956 (cit. n. 3), 32–33; Thomasson 1984 (cit. n. 17), 99.

¹⁹ W. Eck, *Die Statthalter der germanischen Provinzen vom 1.–3. Jahrhundert* (Epigr. Studien 14), Köln, Bonn 1985, 5–38; 43.

²⁰ *Mon. Ancyr.* 30; E. Tóth, "... protulique fines Illyrici ad ripam fluminis Danuvii", *Arheološki vestnik* 28 (1977) 278–287.

were settled in the broad region of the Danube and the confluences of the Sava and the Drava Rivers with the Danube.

It is well known that the Calpurnii Pisones had estates in Dalmatia²¹, and indeed, in the *senatus consultum* about Cn. Calpurnius Piso pater (of December 10, AD 20), mention is made of his estate in Illyricum²². On his return from Asia to Rome he stopped in Dalmatia to meet Drusus, who was then in Illyricum (his second mission between 17 and 20 AD was connected with the overthrow of Maroboduus), whom eventually he missed.

In the reign of Claudius, ca. 43–51 AD, C. Ummidius Durmius Quadratus is epigraphically attested as a governor (*legatus divi Claudii*) in Illyricum²³. As has been seen, epigraphic texts tend to be more exact than historians, who are not very careful in using the correct terminology; rather they wished that readers would correctly understand them. Thus Tacitus, when writing about the events in the reign of Claudius and the Suebian kingdom of Vannius, referred to Sex. Palpellius Hister (whom Claudius contacted in this matter) as the governor of Pannonia (*Pannoniam praesidebat*)²⁴. In any case Palpellius Hister, as the legate of the three Pannonian legions (*legatus exercitus*), must have governed the Pannonian part of Illyricum.

When was it called Pannonia? Was it perhaps renamed under Claudius, when administrative changes took place in Noricum, possibly late in his reign?²⁵ Probably not, since at least in AD 61, in a recently published military diploma from Vukovar (Cornacum), of July 2 of that year, auxiliary units from the Pannonian part of the province are mentioned as having been stationed in Illyricum under L. Salvidienus Salvianus Rufus²⁶. Also in some other diplomas from approximately the same period Illyricum figures as the province, where Pannonian auxiliary units were stationed²⁷. It may thus be concluded that Illyricum was the official name of the province, even in cases when only its upper (Dalmatian) or lower (Pannonian) parts were actually referred to.

²¹ J. Šašel, *Calpurnia L. Pisonis Auguris filia*, *Živa antika* 12 (1963) 387–390 (Engl. transl. in: idem, *Opera selecta*, Ljubljana 1992, 75–78).

²² A. Caballos, W. Eck, F. Fernández, *El senadoconsulto de Gneo Pisón padre*, Sevilla 1996, 130.

²³ CIL X 5182 = ILS 972: *leg. divi Claudii in Illyrico*; cf. CIL X 5180; Jagenteufel 1958 (cit. n. 3), 24–25.

²⁴ *Ann.* 12. 29. 2.

²⁵ J. Fitz, Die Städte Pannoniens, in: M. Šašel Kos, P. Scherrer (ed.), *The Autonomous Towns of Noricum and Pannonia, Pannonia I* (Situla 41), Ljubljana 2003, 48–49.

²⁶ S. Dušanić, *An Early Diploma Militare*, *Starinar* 49 (1998) 51–62 = AE 1998, 1056 = M. Roxan, P. Holder, *Roman Military Diplomas IV*, London 2003, no. 202.

²⁷ CIL XVI 2 and 4 (placed in AD 61 instead of 60, since it is of the same date of issue as the diploma from Vukovar, cf. RMD IV, pp. 390–391).

An early independent province of Pannonia?

Already H. Braunert argued that in terms of creation of provinces, administrative changes had not occurred under Augustus but under Tiberius²⁸. One of his arguments was a passage in Velleius Paterculus, which has recently been used again by Robert Rollinger to demonstrate that “*Raetia, the Vindelici, and the Norici, as well as Pannonia and the Scordisci*”, had been annexed to the Roman Empire as new provinces by Tiberius²⁹. His thesis, which is mainly based on philological and epigraphic evidence, has also been supported by archaeological arguments³⁰. In chapters 38 and 39 of his *Roman History*, Velleius briefly listed all the then extant dominions of the Roman state. His text contains several errors, which are discussed by Rollinger³¹; the cited sentence, too, is unusual in as much as Velleius used the names of the provinces, thus Raetia and Pannonia, along with the names of the peoples, such as the Norici and the Scordisci, without any apparent difference in meaning, referring to all as ‘*novae provinciae*’. The Scordisci do not fit in, since the province was not called Scordiscia but Moesia. Their mention would imply that it was Tiberius who had subjected them, particularly in view of the fact that the future province of Moesia had mainly been conquered from Macedonia, by Macedonian governors. The mention of the Scordisci in this context would rather suggest Tiberius’ conquests under Augustus, although Appian claimed that Moesia became a province during the reign of Tiberius³².

Raetia, Pannonia and Moesia had been conquered under Augustus, and in one way or another they would have been organized as provincial territories under the first emperor. However, they were subjugated by Tiberius, thus Velleius would be justified in calling them ‘new provinces, incorporated into the empire by Tiberius’; this has recently been emphasized by Herbert Graßl³³. Indeed this could after all be a question of terminology, since the word ‘province’ has several meanings³⁴. Raetia and Noricum may have been governed by a *praefectus*, in a similar way as Pontius Pilatus was *praefectus Iudaeae*, while Pannonia and Moesia by *legati exercitus*, thus C. Vibius

²⁸ H. Braunert, *Omnium provinciarum populi Romani ... fines auxi. Ein Entwurf*, Chiron 7 (1977) 207–217.

²⁹ 2. 39. 3: *At Ti. Caesar, quam certam Hispanis parendi confessionem extorserat parens, Illyrii Delmatisque extorsit. Raetiam autem et Vindelicos ac Noricos Pannoniamque et Scordiscos novas imperio nostro subiunxit provincias.*

³⁰ A. Schaub, *Die förmliche Provinzkonstitution Raetiens unter Tiberius nach dem Zeugnis des Velleius Paterculus*, Germania 79 (2001) 391–400.

³¹ R. Rollinger, *Raetiam autem Vindelicos ac Noricos Pannoniamque et Scordiscos novas imperio nostro subiunxit provincias. Oder: Wann wurde Raetien (einschließlich Noricums und Pannoniens) als römische Provinz eingerichtet?*, in: P. W. Haider, R. Rollinger (ed.), *Althistorische Studien im Spannungsfeld zwischen Universal- und Wissenschaftsgeschichte. Festschrift für Franz Hampl zum 90. Geburtstag am 8. Dezember 2000*, Stuttgart 2001, 267–315.

³² *Illyr.* 30.86; M. Šašel Kos, *Appian and Illyricum* (Situla 43), Ljubljana 2005, 487–488; M. Mirković, *Die Anfänge der Provinz Moesia*, in: *Piso* 2008 (cit. n. 1), 249–259.

³³ Graßl 2008 (cit. n. 6).

³⁴ See note 10.

Postumus was in charge of the Pannonian part of Illyricum in AD 9 and Moesia was governed by A. Caecina Severus in AD 6, as has been suggested *supra*.

The parallel Kovács has drawn between the use of the name Germania in military diplomas before Domitian on the one hand, and Illyricum in the above mentioned diplomas before Vespasian on the other³⁵, does not support his assertion that Pannonia would have existed before that date. On the contrary, the Augustan division of Germany into the military districts *Superior* and *Inferior*³⁶ could well be cited as evidence in support of the existence of Illyricum *Superius* and *Inferius*; it should not be forgotten that the former is indeed epigraphically documented³⁷.

Ummidius Quadratus was *legatus divi Claudii in Illyrico*; clearly Illyricum refers to the province and it does not seem plausible at all that Illyricum would in this case imply the huge area from Raetia to the Black Sea, later covered by the *publicum portorii Illyrici*³⁸. Illyricum in such a broad sense was defined by Appian in the sixth chapter of his *Illyrian History*; partly it reflects the usage of his time (the second century AD)³⁹, and partly the simplified concepts of Greek geographers, who divided the Adriatic area and its hinterland into two parts, Italian and Illyrian, the borders of the latter having been the Alps and the Danube⁴⁰.

The newly interpreted Greek inscription from the reign of Nero, referred to at the beginning, in which Pannonia is mentioned as the country where the legion of the veteran M. Seius was stationed, could of course be cited in support of the existence of the province Pannonia by that date. On the other hand, it is no proof for this. The inscription is a private dedication to Nero, in which the *de facto* name for the province could have been used; there was no need to have the official name of the province carved, Illyricum *Inferius*, which was longer and had perhaps never been in use among soldiers stationed there. Most probably it would even have less meaning for Seius' compatriots than Pannonia.

Informally, the name Pannonia for the future province was in use ever since Tiberius' Pannonian war, as was also the name Dalmatia, and particularly so since the Pannonian-Dalmatian rebellion, which Velleius Paterculus called *Pannonicum et Delmaticum bellum*⁴¹. Historians did not use the official names Illyricum *Inferius* and *Superius*, not even Velleius, and much less so Cassius Dio several generations later. According to him Calvisius Sabinus governed Pannonia⁴², but as has been seen, this formulation could well apply to the military district of Pannonia, officially called Lower Illyricum. The construction of roads under Dolabella took place only in Dalmatia, and it was carried out by the two Dalmatian legions only; the rebellion of the legions after Augustus' death happened only in Pannonia, involving merely Pan-

³⁵ Kovács 2008 (cit. n. 1), 239.

³⁶ Wesch-Klein 2008 (cit. n. 6), 248–250.

³⁷ See n. 16.

³⁸ Kovács 2008 (cit. n. 1), 239; that he was *legatus in Illyrico* and not *Illyrici*, a distinction insisted upon by Kovács, may actually support the existence of an upper and a lower province.

³⁹ Šašel Kos 2005 (cit. n. 32), 219–244.

⁴⁰ E.g. Strabo 7. 5.

⁴¹ 2. 117. 1.

⁴² 59. 18. 4.

nonian legions. The province was indeed divided, only not under these names, since they do not appear in military diplomas at that time. Only the division into Illyricum *Inferius* and *Superius* (the latter is epigraphically confirmed) can explain the fact that in military diplomas the province is noted as Illyricum and not as Pannonia. Thus the arguments in favour of the creation of Pannonia under Vespasian are none the weaker. On the contrary, they seem to be supported by the concept that urbanization went hand in hand with the creation of a province⁴³.

There is no reason whatsoever to deny the existence of Illyricum *Superius* — and consequently also *Inferius* (i.e. Pannonia) — at an early date, at the latest early under Tiberius. That these were two quite distinct districts within Illyricum needs no particular argumentation, and this has also been well argued by Kovács, even if he has insisted on calling them Dalmatia and Pannonia, as did ancient historians. But there is no proof at all that Lower Illyricum would have been named Pannonia before Vespasian⁴⁴. Indeed, there is enough evidence at our disposal to let us draw the conclusions presented above, and we shall perhaps never be better informed. When discussing Moesia and various dates proposed for an independent Moesian command, which led to the establishment of the province, Ronald Syme pertinently remarked that this must in any case have been “a discreet operation, never intended to receive much publicity”⁴⁵. The same can be said of Pannonia.

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⁴³ See for Noricum Weber 2008 (cit. n. 6).

⁴⁴ This was assumed already by Th. Mommsen, in the commentary to CIL XVI 4 (p. 4): *Intellegenda igitur est ea pars Illyrici, quae inde a temporibus Flavianis provincia Pannonia appellata antea iam item ac Delmatia a legato proprio administrata est.*

⁴⁵ R. Syme, *The Early History of Moesia*, in: idem, *The Provincial at Rome and Rome and the Balkans 80 BC – AD 14* (ed. A. Birley), Exeter 1999, 211. For this administrative change he favoured Premerstein's date (1 BC – AD 6): A. von Premerstein, *Die Anfänge der Provinz Moesien*, JÖAI 1 (1898) Bbl. 162.



zu M. Šašel Kos, S. 125, Fig. 1: Map of Illyricum in the first half of the first century AD (computer graphics: Mateja Belak)



zu M. Šašel Kos, S. 125, Fig. 2: CIL III 1741 = ILS 938 from Epidaurum (from: Glavičić 2008 [s. oben S. 126 Anm. 16])