The indirect involvement of the members of senatorial families in ore exploitation in Illyricum has been recorded in Upper Moesia, particularly in Dardania. In a prosopographical study of Roman mining in Upper Moesia, Slobodan Dušanić shows that, under the Principate, mining exploitation in this province was often based on the senators’ private financial means. Any evidence of close relationships between these men and the mining officials has been lacking so far. The following discussion will concentrate primarily on the careers of the two procurators who held the post of procurator of the mining district of Domavia during the reign of Marcus Aurelius, Lucius Septimius Petronianus and Tiberius Claudius Proculus Cornelius, who managed to enter imperial service and subsequently held some of the highest posts during the reign of the emperors Antoninus Pius and Marcus Aurelius. Their careers have already been analysed in various studies, most notably by H. D’Escurac–Doisy and H. G. Pflaum. Understandably, in each of these analyses little attention has been paid to the common post of procurator of the mining district of Domavia. In the studies on mining in Illyricum, the presence of both

LUCIUS SEPTIMIUS PETRONIANUS AND TIBERIUS CLAUDIUS PROCULUS CORNELIANUS:
TWO PROTÉGÉS OF GNAEUS IULIUS VERUS

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Abstract – This article discusses the careers of Lucius Septimius Petronianus and Tiberius Claudius Proculus Cornelius, who successively held the post of procurator of the mining districts situated in the valley of the lower Drina river during the second half of the 2nd century A.D. It aims to point out a connection between both procurators and Gnaeus Iulius Verus, a famous senator and general originating from the Roman colony of Aequum, in Dalmatia and one of Marcus Aurelius’ amici in the early years of the latter’s reign. The presence of the protégés of Gnaeus Iulius Verus in the richest mining region of Illyricum is indicative of two things: the emperor’s willingness to entrust these mines to the protégés of his closest associate at a time when this region was under constant threat from barbarian attacks, and also the possible intention of Gnaeus Iulius Verus to protect his own investment in mining.

Key words – Dalmatia, Pannonia, mines, mining, procurators, senators.

1 The term ‘Illyricum’ is a complex one and its content varied from period to period. In the present paper, Illyricum refers to the lands that can be conveniently identified with the provinces of Dalmatia, Pannonia, and Moesia Superior.
3 Dušanić 2006, 85.
procurators in the same mining district is examined only in the context of the mining post in general with no further comparisons. That is the reason why other similarities in their equestrian careers have been generally overlooked. In order to point them out we will closely examine their military careers in a comparative way and clarify the circumstances of their entry into imperial service. The subject of our discussion will be the close relationship between Petronianus and Cornelius on the one hand and Gnaeus Iulius Verus, a member of one of the most prominent families in the province of Dalmatia, on the other. The presence of the protégés of the senatorial family Iulii in the richest mining region of Illyricum will be examined primarily in the context of events that followed the accession of Marcus Aurelius to the throne and of Verus’ possible indirect involvement in the exploitation of the silver mines in this area. We will also attempt to shed some light on how Verus’ patronage might have functioned in the field.

**Equestrian career and entry into imperial service**

Seniority has usually been considered one of the major factors in promotion in equestrian careers. However, the majority of Roman equites served in the same rank for many years without being promoted. The equestrian military positions seemed to constitute an abundant source of benefits at the disposal of governors, who also commanded military forces, which they freely dispensed to their protégés, friends, and to their friends’ protégés. The letters of recommendation sent by Pliny the Younger to his senatorial friends aiming to advance the military career of his protégés are good examples of how important the influence of personal patronage on the distribution of equestrian militia was. The correspondence of Fronto reveals that the same practice was followed during the reigns of Antoninus Pius and Marcus Aurelius. Lucius Septimius Petronianus and Tiberius Claudius Proculus Cornelius advanced in their military and procuratorial careers by following the usual pattern. This implies that their advancement most likely depended on the support of an influential patron who was in a position to influence decisions of the senatorial governors and to secure beneficia for his friends and protégés. We do not have letters of recommendation that would allow us to easily determine the identity of the person, or persons, whose patronage was highly important for their advancement. Nevertheless, it is possible to identify a protégé-patron relationship between Petronianus and Cornelius on the one hand and Gnaeus Iulius Verus on the other, based on several indications emerging from their honorary inscriptions. With regard to these inscriptions, we have to emphasise that we will not focus on their general careers, but rather on the military positions and offices that are relevant to our topic. Petronianus’s cursus honorum is given in full in this honorary inscription from Cherchel in Mauretania Caesariensis:


Petronianus started his military service during the reign of Hadrian. The position of military tribune, which he held in the Legion II Traiana Fortis, seems to have been a turning point in his career. E. Ritterling dates the creation of the legion to the time of Trajan’s Dacian Wars. The II Traiana Fortis probably participated in Trajan’s Parthian War and, because it was

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6 On the equestrian careers and procuratorships during the reign of the Antonines, see: Pflaum 1950, 216–257. See also: Hopkins 1965, 22–26; Carney 1971, 18; Saller 1982, 80–94.
8 Pliny Ep. 2.13.2, 5.2, 4.4, 6.8, 6.25, 7.22.
9 Fronto Ad. Amic. 1, 5; 17. 18.
10 Pliny Ep. 2.13.2, 4.4.
12 D’Escurac-Doisy 1957, 142. Cf. Pflaum 1960–1, 975. Since we know the names of the prefects of the Cohort VIII Voluntariorum from Dalmatia (Arambic 1940, 2–3=AE 1940, 176.) and also of the prefect of the coh. VII voln[itarum], mentioned in an inscription from Tamugadi (AE 1954, 145), it is possible to pinpoint the province where the garrison in which Petronianus could have started his military service was. On Cohort VIII Civium Romanorum Voluntariorum, which garrisoned Dalmatia during the Principate see: Alfeldöy 1987, 254. For a complete list of all inscriptions of this unit found in Dalmatia, see also: Ibid. 288–291.
available for service in Judaea, it stayed there from the second half of A.D. 117 onwards. The unit was sent from Judaea to Egypt in A.D. 127 and stationed in the military camp near Nicopolis, a few miles northeast of Alexandria. Petronianus held his last procuratorship in A.D. 161–165, therefore his military tribunate could be dated to just after the arrival of the Legion II Traiana Fortis to Egypt or to the third decade of the 2nd century. This time frame allows for the possibility that Petronianus served in the detachments of this legion deployed in Judaea to help suppress the revolt of Bar-Kokhba. In the first years of the Bar-Kokhba revolt, the Roman army suffered heavy losses and huge gaps had to be filled by legions and auxiliary units serving in other provinces. The reinforcement that was sent from Egypt to Judaea in an attempt to help the army in the province included the Legion XXII Deiotariana. This legion was probably annihilated during the revolt, since there are no indications of its existence after the war and, therefore, new reinforcements had to be sent, consisting of detachments of the Legion II Traiana Fortis. The state of emergency also required the replacement of the commander-in-chief. Therefore, according to Dio, Hadrian sent against the Jews his best general, Sextus Iulius Severus, who was dispatched from Britain. As Severus’ transfer from the British command to Judaea was sudden, his successor, Publius Mummius Sisenna, who held the post of consul ordinarius in A.D. 133, was appointed governor of Britain immediately after his consulate. Severus commanded a large army and under his supreme command were the legates of the Legion VI Ferrata, the Legion X Fretensis, strengthened with marines from Italy, the Legion XXII Deiotariana and also the detachments of all other legions and auxiliary units sent as reinforcements to Judaea. One of the most important legionary legates subordinate to Severus was Quintus Lollius Urbicus, a former governor of Germany and future governor of Britain in A.D. 138–144. He came to Judaea with Severus and probably commanded the detachments of the Pannonian legions. Severus was accompanied by his son, or nephew, Gnaeus Iulius Verus who, at the time, held the post of military tribune in the Legion X Fretensis. Before his arrival in Judaea, Verus had started his senatorial career as one of the three officials in charge of overseeing the mint (tresviri monetales). The post of military tribune was his first military post and it, therefore, seems reasonable that he held it under the command of his father, or uncle. As a tribunus laticlavii, Iulius Verus was second in command in the Legion X Fretensis and was supposed to monitor whether the legate carried out his duties. Several commemorative inscriptions from Judaea attest to the repair work carried out by the detachments of the Legions X Fretensis and II Traiana Fortis on the High Level aqueduct at Caesarea under Hadrian. L. Keppie suggests that these repairs could have been carried out in A.D. 130–1, shortly before Hadrian’s visit to Judaea, or in A.D. 135–138, when the detachments of both legions were participating in clearing-up operations after the war. Even though we do not have direct proof that Petronianus, holding the post of military tribune, sojourned in Judaea with the detachments of the Legion II Traiana Fortis, the mere possibility that he could have been there provides us with an opportunity to shed light on his promotion in his equestrian career, and to explain the peculiarities of his last two procuratorships that have been unresolved so far. The presumable acquaintance between the two young military tribunes would have placed Petronianus under the direct protection of Iulius Verus’ father, or uncle, Sextus Iulius Severus, the governor of Judaea, and later Syria, and his recommendations

14 The legion’s presence in Judaea is confirmed by the inscription of its soldier who was buried at Sidon in A.D. 117/118. Cf. CIL III 151=6666. See also: Keppie 2000, 221–223.
15 RE 12 (1925) 1493. See also: Keppie 2000, 222.
22 Dio 69. 13. 1–2.
25 On legions and their detachments in Judaea during the revolt, see: Mor 1990, 163–175.
26 PIR² I 327.
27 Eck 1999, 82.
28 On the question whether Sextus Julius Severus was Gnaeus Iulius Verus’ father or uncle, see: Wilkes 1969, 322; Salomies 1992, 126 ff. Cf. Birley 2000, 113; Birley 2005, 146.
33 Keppie 2000, 223.
would have been essential for the next step in Petronianus’ equestrian career.34 His promotion to the third militia speaks in favour of that possibility. Petronianus’ military career took him to Britain, where he was commander of the Ala Agrippiana [Miniata].35 After Severus’ departure for Judaea, Britain was governed by P. Mummius Sisenna (A.D. 133–136)36 and then by Quintus Lollius Urbicus (A.D. 138–144).37 Since the auxiliary units stayed in Judaea even after the suppression of the revolt, it seems more likely that Petronianus held his last military post in Britain during the governorship of Quintus Lollius Urbicus. The governor of Britain had more patronage, more posts to be filled on his recommendation, than any other servant of the emperor.38 The letter of credit and recommendation from Severus to his colleague and friend in Britain (Sisenna or Urbicus) commending Petronianus could have helped the latter to obtain the third rank as commander of an auxiliary cavalry regiment.39 Severus himself, when he was the governor of Britain, helped Marcus Statius Priscus to start his equestrian career.40 Priscus left his cohort-prefecture to serve as a legionary tribune in the Jewish War under Hadrian.41 Severus obviously took his protégé with him when he himself was made commander-in-chief of the forces fighting the rebellion. Severus’ patronage was also primarily responsible for Priscus’ entrance into imperial service and for his rapid career progression. The practice of writing litterae commendaticiae is well known from the correspondence of Pliny the Younger, who sent several recommendations to his friends, senatorial governors, aiming to advance the military careers of his protégés. In a letter to Priscus,42 his close friend and governor of Lower Germany, Pliny asks him to use his wits and splendid opportunities to bestow one of the equestrian military positions on Voconius Romanus.43 The long friendship between Pliny and Romanus began in their student days and Pliny, in his letter, strongly emphasises the personal and professional qualities of his protégé, especially his rhetorical skills. Pliny’s request was granted, and Romanus advanced in his military career. Pliny’s protection continued afterwards, which we know from his petition sent to the emperor Trajan on behalf of Romanus.44 This time Pliny was helping him to be promoted to the rank of ex-praetor.45 (There is no evidence whether the petition was successful). In another letter of recommendation, written after A.D. 99, Pliny addresses his friend Quintus Sosius Senecio.46 The aim of Pliny’s letter was to request that Varisidius Nepos be granted a military tribunate of six months duration. It is interesting to note that Pliny’s protégé is not named and the only important information that is given is that he is the son of the sister of Gaius Calvisius, his old companion and also Senecio’s friend. Gaius Calvisius had probably lobbied with Pliny in response to his sister’s urging him to help advance the military career of his nephew. Accordingly, if a similar letter of recommendation was sent by Severus to Quintus Lollius Urbicus in favour of Petronianus, it would certainly have been as a direct result of Verus’ urging his father or uncle. We have an example of a similar promotion to the third militia due to the recommendation of an influential patron during the reign of Antoninus Pius. It is the case of a young eques, Calvisius Faustinianus, who advanced in his military career due to the patronage of Fronto. Fronto sent several letters to Tiberius Claudius Iulianus47 of Smyrna, a prominent figure from the Greek east.48 The first one was a letter of recommendation for Faustinianus,49 who was serving in the provincial army under Iulianus’ command.50 Iulianus was holding the post of governor of Lower Germany at the time and may have been appointed to this post immediately after his consulship in A.D. 159.51 Faustinianus’ father, Gaius Calvisius Statianus,52 who was a member of a very influential family from Verona (about to be appointed ab epistulis latinis Augustorum, respon-

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35 The Ala Agrippiana Miniata is attested in Britain on military diplomas issued in A.D. 122 (CIL XVI 69; RMD 360; AE 2008, 800). Gilliam 1961, 100, fn. 2 suggests that miniata might have been a honorary title conferred after some notable success. Cf. Pflaum 1980, 1–976; D’Escurac-Doisy 1957, 143; Birley 1980, 66.
36 PIR² M 711. See also: Dietz 1993, 295–311.
37 PIR² L 327.
38 Birley 1980, 57–58.
40 PIR² S 880.
41 Birley 1980, 61.
42 He was probably L. Neratius Priscus cos. suff. in A.D. 97 from Saepinum. Birley 2000, 20, 83. For his career, see: PIR² N 60.
43 Ep. 2.13.2.
44 Ep. 10.4.
45 Levick 1985, 151.
46 Ep. 4. 4. Q. Sosius Senecio was a friend of Trajan and consul in A.D. 99 and 107. For his career, see: PIR² S 560.
47 PIR² C 902.
48 Fronto, Ad. Amic. 1.5, 17.18.
50 Ad. Amic. 1.5.
52 PIR² C 356.
sible for the emperor’s letters in Latin, and then prefect of Egypt), requested help from Fronto in order to secure a military post for his son. H. G. Pflaum assumes that this was probably Faustinianus’ last military post, a praefectura alae, the third militia. Fronto suggests that the governor should test his protégé in military duties, in legal consultations, in letters and in everything that requires good judgment and ability. The petition was successful and Faustinianus advanced not only in his military career, but he also entered imperial service afterwards. He held the post of idiologus, an important position in the financial administration under the prefect of Egypt, ten years after serving in the third militia. He probably went to Egypt with his father, the prefect of Egypt, in A.D. 170. Petronianus’ career took a similar course. Having spent several years in Britain and having passed the potential candidate to have a letter of recommendation to the imperial civil service it was necessary for a select few with the right patronage. In order to gain this post should be regarded as a military post or as a post within the imperial civil service. In any case, junior administrative positions were reserved only for a select few with the right patronage. In order to gain entry to the imperial civil service it was necessary for the potential candidate to have a letter of recommendation submitted to the emperor by his closest friends or associates. Due to the absence of training schools or application procedures, emperors usually appointed those candidates that had been brought to their attention. It is not yet clear whether this post should be regarded as a military post or as a post within the imperial civil service. In any case, junior administrative positions were reserved only for a select few with the right patronage. In order to gain entry to the imperial civil service it was necessary for the potential candidate to have a letter of recommendation submitted to the emperor by his closest friends or associates. Due to the absence of training schools or application procedures, emperors usually appointed those candidates that had been brought to their attention. It is not yet clear whether this post should be regarded as a military post or as a post within the imperial civil service.

Petronianus left Lower Moesia in A.D. 160/1 with the rank of centenarius and arrived in Pannonia, where he was assigned the mining procuratorship. He was the first procurator centenarius to supervise the argentariae Pannonicae, at the very beginning of the reign of Marcus Aurelius. Before his procuratorship, these silver mines were governed by a procurator sexagenarius. It was rather unusual that the imperial office assigned this post, usually held by sexagenarius, to a procurator of a higher rank. H. G. Pflaum suggests that the reason behind this policy could have been the unification of the mining districts in Pannonia and Dalmatia, but this happened in A.D. 162, after Petronianus had completed his term of office and left for Mauretania. Furthermore, Petronianus’ title, procurator argentararius, a procurator in charge of the Pannonian silver mines, clearly indicates the domain of his authority. It was obviously a special case and Petronianus must have been instrumental in implementing particular measures. His presence in the mining district was needed and, as H. D’Escurac-Doisy has already pointed out, he was most likely receiving a salary befitting his rank rather than the procuratorship he held. The beginning of the reign of Marcus Aurelius and Lucius Verus was marked by a financial crisis generated by the Parthian campaign, which necessitated the recruitment of new military units, and also by a significant reduction in the inflow of precious metals from Spain. Upon their accession, the emperors were forced to decrease the silver purity of the denarius from 83.5 per cent to 79 per cent – the weight of the silver content dropping from 2.68 grams to 2.57 grams. This policy was continued later on as the Marcomannic Wars brought the finances of the Empire to the brink of collapse, forcing Marcus Aurelius to significantly reduce the silver purity of the denarius. The priority for the state was to ensure a regular influx of silver from

54 IGR III 500. On the post of Idiologus, see: Ballou 1921, 96–110.
55 Saller 1982, 94, fn. 34.
56 Pflaum 1959, 285.
58 On the commendandi mos, see: Pflaum 1964, 544–560.
60 See fn. 4 above.
63 D’Escurac-Doisy 1957, 147.
Verus’ patronage is also supported by the fact that the exchange of favours between a protégé and his patron. Petronianus’ sudden promotion from the mining procuratorship to a higher position that was the most suitable position to Verus very early in his career. Petronianus’ *cursus honorum* is given in full in this honorary inscription from Lambaesis:

Ti(berio) Cl(audio) Proculo Corneliano praef(ecto) coh(ortis) II Bra(carum), trib(uno) coh(ortis) mil(liariae) Ael(iae) Dacort(um), praef(ecto) al(iae) Sulpiciae, proc(uratori) provinc(iae) Syriae ad rationes putandas, proc(uratori) metal(lorum) Pannonicorum et Dalmaticorum, proc(uratori) kalend(arii) Vegetiani in Hisp(ania) item ad dilectum cum Iulio Vero per Italiam tironum II leg(ionis) Italicae, proc(uratori) regionis Thevestiniae proc(uratori) IIII p(ublicorum) A(fricae) Inv(entus) Aug(usti) lib(ertus) tabul(arius) leg(ionis) IIII Aug(ustae).

Cornelianus started his equestrian military career during the reign of Antoninus Pius.77 The turning point was the post of commander of a cavalry regiment, the *militia*. He held it in the Ala Sulpicia between A.D. 153 and 156 in Lower Germany, when the province was governed by Verus.78 The acquaintance between Cornelianus and Verus is revealed in the fact that ten years after Cornelianus had finished his third *militia*, he, as procurator, was providing assistance to Verus, who was the governor of Syria at the time, in the recruitment of two new legions, the Legions II and III Italica.79 H. G. Pflaum points out in his study that it was probably due to Verus’ protection that Cornelianus entered imperial civil service.80 It is difficult to say what exactly had

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67 Harl 1996, 82.
68 Dusanic 2004, 266.
69 Sex. Caeceilius Crescens Volusianus, one of the imperial secretaries of the state, was replaced with T. Varuis Clemens, an experienced procurator with a long military history. M. Sedatius Severianus, the governor of Cappadocia, was replaced with M. Statius Priscus, the former governor of Britain. On the replacement of the officers, generals and governors at the beginning of the reign of Marcus Aurelius, see: Birley 1993, 122–123.
70 See the list of *comites* in Pflaum 1962, 90 f.
71 Pflaum 1950, 236.
72 D’Escurac-Doisy 1957, 148.
75 Birley 1980, 58.
76 Pflaum 1960–61, 397, no. 164 bis=AE 1956, 123.
77 H. G. Pflaum points out in his study that it was probably due to Verus’ protection that Cornelianus entered imperial civil service.80 It is difficult to say what exactly had
brought the young officer to the governor’s attention. In some cases, although not very common, young officers succeeded in gaining a governor’s patronage on account of their personal qualities and companionship. The importance of companionship may explain why the eloquence and literary interests of a protégé are often noted in Pliny’s and Fronto’s letters of recommendation. In order to better understand Cornelianus’ advancement, we may recall the military careers of Iulius Avitus and Iulius Maximus as good examples of progression solely based on an officer’s personal qualities. Avitus served as a military tribune in A.D. 98 under the command of Iulius Ursus Servianus, the governor of Upper Germany. He became fatherless at a young age, and Pliny the Younger, who had experienced the same fate, had a strong affinity for him. According to his own words, Avitus won the heart of his commander solely by virtue of his companionship. Regardless of whether Pliny said a few words to Servianus in favour of his protégé or not, the friendship between the governor and the young officer turned out to be a lasting one, as Avitus accompanied Servianus to his next command post in Lower Pannonia. A few years later, after having finished his military career, Avitus, with Pliny’s assistance, was elected to the office of quaestor and became a member of the Senate. He even successfully campaigned for the office of aedilis, but died before he could assume it. Like Avitus, Iulius Maximus was also a young officer who served as a military tribune of the Legion III Gallica under Avidius Cassius in A.D. 165. After the success of Cassius’ campaign in the East, Maximus was sent to Rome, carrying letters with laurel leaves, announcing victory. Not only did he carefully perform his public duty, but he also visited private houses, including Fronto’s villa, spreading the news of Cassius’ bravery and talents in order to enhance the reputation of his commander. In his letter to Cassius, Fronto expresses his admiration for such loyalty and friendship and strongly advises him to try and improve Maximus’ public standing. Perhaps similar reasons lie behind Cornelianus’ friendship with Iulius Verus and the patronage bonds established with the distinguished senator during Cornelianus’ equestrian career that helped him to successfully pursue his procuratorial career. The first task entrusted to Cornelianus by the emperor Antoninus Pius in A.D. 158 was that of superintending the finances of the province of Syria. Verus would hold the post of a governor of the same province from about A.D. 163 to 166. Cornelianus’ next promotion took him from Syria to Domavia. In A.D. 162, he was the first procurator in charge of the unified mining administration in the provinces of Dalmatia and Pannonia. After the departure of Lucius Septimius Petronianus to Mauretania Caesariensis, all mining districts in Pannonia and Dalmatia were merged and put under the authority of one procurator. The decision made by the imperial office to establish a large agglomeration of this type, unknown in other provinces, clearly indicates the state of emergency in this region. A.D. 162 saw the first incursions of the Chatti and Chauci into the province of Raetia. Four years later a group of six thousand Langobardi and Obii invaded Pannonia, but these invasions only marked the beginning of what was to come. Due to the Marcomannic Wars, the unification of the mining administration of the two provinces lasted until the reign of Commodus. Verus’ protégé was the first procurator to whom substantial authority was entrusted, as he was in charge of the production of gold, silver and iron in all mining districts of Pannonia and Dalmatia. Cornelianus left Illyricum in A.D. 164 and went to Spain, as he was appointed to the post of procurator kalendarii Vegetiani, an office established after Marcus Aurelius had ascended the throne. He was the first procurator in charge of the private property of the senatorial family Valerii Vegeti, originating from Baetica, which passed into the possession of the imperial treasury through a testamentary disposition or confiscation. During this procuratorship in A.D. 166, before the Roman victory in the Parthian War, Syrian

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81 Pliny Ep. 3.2, 4.4, 7.22. Cf. Fronto Ad. amic. 1.4.1, 1.5.6.
82 L. Iulius Ursus Servianus served twice as consul under Trajan, and once as consul under Hadrian in A.D. 134. More on his career see: PIR2 J 631.
83 Ep. 8. 23.5.
85 Ep. 5.21.5.
86 AE 1979, 601.
87 HA M. Aur. 9.1; HA Ver. 7.1–2. Cf. Dio 71.2.
88 Ad amic. 1.6. Iulius Maximus is known to have received two letters from Fronto, of which only a few lines have survived. Cf. Ad. amic. 1.23, 1.26.
89 Ad. amic. 1.6.
90 Pflaum 1960–1, 400; Cf. Fitz 1993–5, 404.
91 HA M. Aur. 8.7.
93 See fn. 103 below.
94 Illana 1961, 96–98.
governor Verus was sent back to Italy on an urgent mission, together with M. Claudius Fronto, to recruit two new legions, II and III Italica.\textsuperscript{96} Cornelianus was recalled from Spain to Italy to participate as an equestrian assistant to his patron in the recruitment of these legions. This episode represented only part of the constant exchange of favours between Cornelianus and Verus. After having provided assistance to Verus in Italy and having completed his procuratorship in Spain, Cornelianus was obviously rewarded, as his last two procuratorships, the same as in the case of Petronianus, were in northern Africa.\textsuperscript{97} He was first appointed procurator of the regio Thevestina\textsuperscript{98} and then procurator quattuor publicorum Africace.\textsuperscript{99} The positions in northern Africa were usually reserved for the most influential officials. Also, it is evident that the last two procuratorships held by Cornelianus coincided with the great plague in Italy.\textsuperscript{100} This privileged position was doubtless granted on account of his patronage relationship with Verus. The circumstances under which the patronage bonds between Petronianus and Cornelianus on the one hand and Verus on the other were established seem to be different. The reason for this lies in the fact that they were established at different stages of Verus’ senatorial career. The acquaintance of Petronianus and Verus most likely started in Judaea, during the Bar Kokhba revolt, when both men held the posts of military tribunes. Verus had just started his senatorial career and it was, therefore, due to the patronage of Verus’ family, of his father or uncle to be precise, that Petronianus advanced in his military career. Unlike Petronianus, Cornelianus established patronage bonds with Verus when the latter was already a distinguished senator and governor of Lower Germany. In spite of the differences, both procurators were closely related to Verus, whose influence and decisions substantially shaped their procuratorial careers. Both procurators held many posts within the imperial service and in different parts of the Roman world. The position that attracts our attention most is the mining procuratorship in Domavia. It is the only post that they held successively at a time when Verus’ senatorial career reached its peak.

**Exploitation of silver and lead in the valley of the lower Drina river**

The large number of silver and lead mines situated in the valley of the lower Drina river constituted the wealthiest mining region of Illyricum.\textsuperscript{101} This mining area was shared between two provinces, Pannonia and Dalmatia, and the boundary ran not very far to the north of Domavia.\textsuperscript{102} Lucius Septimius Petronianus was the first procurator centenarius to supervise the argentariae Pannonicae, at the very beginning of the reign of Marcus Aurelius. After Petronianus’ departure to Mauretania in around A.D. 161/2, the two mining districts on the lower Drina river, as well as all other mining districts in Pannonia and Dalmatia, were united under the procurator metallorum Pannonicorum et Delmaticorum. The first official to bear the title was Tiberius Claudius Proculus Cornelianus. The temporary unification of the mining administrations was in effect until the reign of Commodus.\textsuperscript{103} After having negotiated a peace treaty with the Danubian tribes, Commodus divided the mining administration again, but the administration in charge of the silver mines in Pannonia and Dalmatia was left united, even though the mines belonged to different provinces. It is difficult to estimate how many procuratores metallorum Pannonicorum et Delmaticorum were performing their duty during the reign of Marcus Aurelius.\textsuperscript{104} One of Cornelianus’ successors might have been the Roman knight whose gravestone was found in Salvium, a municipality not far

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\textsuperscript{98} Pflaum 1950, 155–156; Pflaum 1955, 133; Le Bohec 1992, 109.


\textsuperscript{100} Gilliam 1961, 225–251; See also: Bruun 2007, 201–217.

\textsuperscript{101} For a general description of these mines, based on archaeological finds, see: Radinsky 1891, 1–19; Radinsky 1892, 1–24; Radinsky 1894, 1–47. Cf. Bojanovski 1988, 193–204.

\textsuperscript{102} The Pannonian–Dalmatian frontier between the Una and Drina rivers is usually traced along a line running some 20–25 km south of the River Sava. See: Alföldi 1965, 27, 30 f.; Wilkes 1969, 79; cf. e.g. Dušančić 1977, 65, fn. 57. The idea that the southern frontier of Pannonia should be extended at the cost of Dalmatia was expressed by Dušančić. See e.g. Dušančić 1971, 535–554. This idea was also supported by Basler, Bojanovski and Paskvalin. cf. e.g. Paskvalin 1969, 165–167; Bojanovski 1972, 37–52; Basler 1973, 261–269.


\textsuperscript{104} L. Domitius Eros was another procurator metallorum Pannonicorum et Delmaticorum, but he held this post during the 3rd century A.D. See: CIL III 12721. Cf. PIR\textsuperscript{2} D 145; Pflaum 1960–1, 399, 1063. The reason for the second unification of the mining administration in the mid-3rd century might be found in the Gothic invasions that had seriously affected the mining districts across Illyricum. See: Mirković 1977, 249–258.
The mining districts of Upper Moesia and in the gold Lucceius Torquatus Bassianus from Risinium. The status, had to ensure the protection of the most power-
men from the provinces who strived to attain equestrian Roman knight from Salvium, like many other young originating from Dalmatia was small, there were those residing in Domavia and overseeing the exploitation of all the mines in the provinces of Pannonia and Dalmatia during the reign of Marcus Aurelius. The Roman knight from Salvium, like many other young men from the provinces who strived to attain equestrian status, had to ensure the protection of the most powerful Roman families. Although the number of senators originating from Dalmatia was small, there were two very influential senators during the second half of the 2nd century who could provide such support. Gnaeus Iulius Verus hailed from Aequum and Marcus Lucceius Torquatus Bassianus from Risinium. The proximity of Aequum to Salvium and the presumable connection between the procurator’s predecessor and Verus allow us to suppose that the knight from Salvium was another protégé of Verus and his family. The patronage ties formed between men from the same municipality or region were customary. Pliny the Younger was one of those who took his patronal responsibility towards friends from his own region, which is clearly illustrated by a list of his protégés. The continuous presence of Verus’ protégés in Domavia at the beginning of the reign of Marcus Aurelius certainly deserves an explanation. It is evident that it was a direct result of the emperor’s attempt to entrust this mining region to the protégés of one of his closest associates at a time when this region was under constant threat from barbarian attacks. Lower and Upper Pannonia were particularly threatened and it was necessary to assign supervision of the silver mines situated in the valley of the lower Drina river to trustworthy procurators. However, we must consider the possibility that Verus’ recommendations and suggestions to the emperor regarding his protégés might have been motivated by his personal economic interests. It is very important at this point to examine the model of silver and lead exploitation in Dalmatia and Pannonia during the first half of the 2nd century.

The usual model of silver exploitation during the Principate is known as the indirect model. It was used in the silver mines in the Spanish provinces, in the mining districts of Upper Moesia and in the gold mines in Dacia. Its main feature was production that was in the hands of the coloni, who bought mining pits from the fiscus and employed the local population, or slaves, to extract ore. Due to the lack of inscriptions attesting to the presence of coloni or their associations in Domavia, it has been assumed that the imperial administration compelled the local population to exploit silver. However, such a policy would have

105 Sergejevski, GZM 39, 1927, 260, no. 9: [summae integritatis praeceptor[ae libe] [ralitatis] mag[naeque in]noccetiae] [donis militari?]bus (donato equo) et di[licitiis] [mo—]ntio principi m[unicipii] —[—]ombi honori[bus in rei] [publica sua f]uncto ex pro[fectore] [ procuratoris m]etalloor[um prov.] [Pann. et Dalmo—[a—]]. Dušanic 1977, 86, fn. 210 suggests a different restoration: [Bonit]iat(is praeceptor[ae magneque]), in [m]ori[bus equo?] et dile[to], [s]into principi m[unicipii] [om] 5[i]bus honoribus][i] [f]uncto ex pro[fectore] pro]c(uratorii m]etalloor[um sui].


109 Alfröldy 1968.


111 AE 1941, 156. See also: PIR² L 363. cf. Thomasson 1996, 157, no. 37.


113 Pliny Ep. 3.2, 4.4, 6.8, 6.25, 7.22.


118 Lex metallis dicta from Vipasca in Spain contains provisions related to the sale of the mining pits owned by the fiscus to the coloni (Vip II, 1–5), and also those related to sales between the coloni themselves after they gained proprietas (Vip II, 8). Various interpretations of these provisions gave rise to a long discussion among scholars (cf. Cuq 1907, 87–133; Mispoulet 1908, 345–391, 491–537; D’Ors 1953, 71–133; Flach 1979, 399–448; Domergue 1983). On the latest conclusions on the status of mining pits after the sale, see: Mateo 2001, 87–166. Cf. Domergue 2004, 221–236; Domergue 2008, 198–201.

119 In his study on the exploitation of silver in the provinces of Pannonia and Dalmatia, A. Škrgo questions the presence of coloni in Domavia and assumes that their involvement in the mining districts across Illyricum was primarily due to the shortage of mining labour (cf. Škrgo 1998, 102–103). With regard to the model of exploitation of the argentariae in Illyricum, S. Dušanic claims that mining pits, as a rule, were leased by small lessees, with substantial use of forced labour during the first two centuries A.D. (cf. Dušanic 2004, 255, 262–263, fn. 82). This opinion is significantly modified in his prosopographical study on mining in Upper Moesia.
required substantial use of the Roman army and its direct supervision.120 The stationing of auxiliary troops in eastern Dalmatia seems to have started in the late 2nd century A.D. and served primarily to protect the Dalmatian argentariae as well as the road communications running from Domavia towards Sirmium and Salona.121 The garrison of auxiliary regiments in Dalmatia during the first half of the 2nd century was composed of three cohorts stationed on a strategic line established during the reign of Augustus along the main road leading from the coastal colonies into the hinterland.122 This garrison was enlarged at the beginning of the Marcommanic Wars with two additional cohorts, I and II Delmatarum. During his preparations for a new northern campaign in A.D. 169, Marcus Aurelius endeavoured to re-establish internal order disturbed by barbarian attacks.123 In the following year, A.D. 170, the two Dalmatian cohorts appear for the first time in epigraphic sources.124 The disposition of the two additional cohorts recruited among the locals, including latrones Dalmatiae, in the east of Dalmatia indicates that the main intention of the emperor was the protection of argentariae in the valley of the lower Drina river, as well as the main communications, known as viae metallicae. The newly recruited Delmatae in the Cohorts I and II Delmatarum had to deal primarily with confines hostes, i.e. bands of robbers operating at the crossroads in the highlands.125 As the exploitation of silver and lead in Domavia had intensified since the time of Trajan, it is hard to imagine that Roman officials had been able to use forced labour with no help of the Roman army for almost seven decades.126 On the other hand, it is necessary to consider the general reasons which led the imperial office to directly exploit the mines in a certain region. The reasons usually involved suppression of a revolt, the end of a military campaign, or the complexity of the extraction process that required the use of a specific hydraulic system and significant manpower, which made the exploitation unprofitable and unattractive to the coloni.127 The problem lies in the fact that these prerequisites do not correspond to the reality in the field. The silver mines in the valley of the lower Drina river constituted the wealthiest mining region in Illyricum and, as such, they were more than profitable.128 During the first half of the 2nd century, overall security and political stability in the empire and Dalmatia improved significantly. These circumstances brought craftsmen, traders and many other entrepreneurs to Domavia.129 Their presence there clearly demonstrates the presence of free entrepreneurship in this region, which was in contrast to the direct model of exploitation.130 All these facts lead us to the most likely conclusion that the indirect model of exploitation was used in the mining districts in the valley of the lower Drina river.131 The legal framework for the exploitation of silver may have been identical to the one in force in the mines of Vipasca.132 The lex metallis dicta represented a general legal framework for the regulation of the extraction of silver which was used by the imperial administration in various parts of the Roman world.133 Based on internal evidence, the lex metallis dicta has been dated to the time of Hadrian. This period chronologically corresponds to the time when the exploitation of silver and lead in Illyricum intensified. Regarding the presence of coloni, their number in Illyricum started to increase radically in the mid-2nd century A.D.134 As far as the mines in the valley of the lower Drina river are concerned, this area attracted men who came directly from Italy, while the majority were descendants of the Roman veterans who lived in the cities on the Adriatic coast, such as Salona, or the cities in the

where he stresses senators’ investments in mining as well as the contribution of wealthy Romans to the mining industry (Cf. Dušanić 2006, 85–102).
121 Wilkes 1969, 139–140, 143; Loma 2010, 132.
124 CIL III 1979; CIL III 6374.
125 For the auxiliary troops stationed in Upper Moesia for the same purpose, see: Dušanić 1977, 237–246; Dušanić 1980, 37; Dušanić 2000, 348–349.
128 See fn. 101 above.
129 Patsch 1895, 584. See also: Srejović 1965, 10, fn. 44; Bojanovski 1988, 202.
130 Domergue 1990, 303–306.
131 Domergue 2008, 203.
132 There is no doubt that this law was created in Rome and that it was of a general character. Nothing in the text of the law refers directly to the Vipasca mines and its provisions regulate the extraction of silver and copper. On the lex metallis dicta and the indirect model of exploitation, see: Domergue 1983, 123–156, 171–180; Domergue 2008, 200; Cf. Mateo 2001, 126–166, 196–214.
133 Domergue 1983, 178.
134 On their presence in Upper Moesia, see: Papazoglou 1990, 577–585; Dušanić 2006, 87–100.
The senators' investment in mining was not of Ulpiana, and the mineral wealth of the Strymon their social success to the mines in the neighbourhood senatorial family of the Pontii from Dardania owed Principate. Trade significantly decreased, which exception of Salona, ended with the early Tertiary, Dalmatia. Their arrival was primarily motivated initiated the process of mass migrations of rich families from the coastal towns to the hinterlands of eastern Dalmatia. Their arrival was primarily motivated by the growing mining activities in this region that had opened up new possibilities for profit. The members of these families in Domavia, such as the Barbii, Caminii, Catii, Salvii and others, and the Claudi, Stati, Hostili, Egnatii, Calpurnii in the municipium Malvesiatium, near Domavia can be identified as coloni, or their representatives, who invested money in the exploitation of silver and lead, or as tradesmen whose activities could have been indirectly related to the exploitation of silver ore. These men most likely employed the local population belonging to the civitates peregrinae and living in the vicinity of the mining area as diggers of ore. The inhabitants of this part of Dalmatia were traditionally experienced miners. During Trajan’s reign, many Dalmatian miners were brought to Dacia in order to provide mining labour. A successful collaboration between the newcomers investing in mining and the local inhabitants may perhaps explain why only a token presence of the Roman army was sufficient to secure stability in this region from the time of Trajan’s reign until the late 2nd century. If we take into account the wealth of the silver mines in the valley of the lower Drina river, we can assume that senators must have had an interest in investing in mining in this region. The involvement of senators in the exploitation of silver and lead in the neighbouring mining regions of Upper Moesia has been recorded. The contribution made by the Fundanii, Libonii, Furii and Pontii to the development of mining during the first three centuries A.D. was rather significant. It is generally assumed that the senatorial family of the Pontii from Dardania owed their social success to the mines in the neighbourhood of Ulpiana, and the mineral wealth of the Strymon region. The senators’ investment in mining was not conducted directly, as the mining territories were unsuitable for longer stays, but indirectly, through their representatives in the field, usually from the class of freedmen. The main question is whether Gnaeus Iulius Verus and his family were among the senators who invested their private funds in mining. If the presence of his protégés in the silver mines in the valley of the lower Drina river was motivated by his personal economic interest, then it is necessary for our understanding of the patron–protégé relationship to have some idea of how Verus’ patronage could have manifested itself within the mining district. The first question that must be asked is: what could have been the favours granted by Lucius Septimius Petronianus and Tiberius Claudius Proculus Cornelianus, and their potential successors, to Verus’ representatives who might have invested his money? Even though the internal organisation of the metalla around Domavia still remains obscure, the procurator in charge of the mining district, or districts, must have had under his authority the entire mining administration residing in Domavia. This administration was usually composed of local procurators and imperial slaves. The latter were primarily responsible for the officinae, as the names recorded in the stamps of the Kosmaj lead ingots indicate. The cases in which the imperial procurator could use his power seem to be limitless as his authority covered almost every aspect of life within the mining district. Any dispute among the coloni involved in ore exploitation provided an opportunity for the procurator to intervene on behalf of those coloni who were under his protection. We will not jump to conclusions and claim that Verus’ protégés might have had to ensure or protect a monopoly, but

138 Loma 2010, 144–145.
141 See fn. 124 above.
144 Đušanić 2006, 91–94.
146 For the local procurator’s jurisdiction within the mining districts, see: Vip I, 1, 2, 3, 9; Vip II, 1–12. Cf. Domergue 1983, 106–109, 171–175, 180; Mateo 2001, 161–165.
147 Đušanić 1977, 89, fn. 232.
their very presence testifies to a strong relationship between potential investors and mining officials. The aim would certainly have been the protection of the economic interests of the former. It seems unlikely that the state treasury could have suffered any direct losses due to these arrangements, but investors with less political influence and weaker financial resources certainly would.  

It must be emphasised that the indirect involvement of a senator in mining exploitation must have been known and approved by the emperor himself. The appointments of the protégés of Gnaeus Iulius Verus and their activities in the field can only be understood if we observe them in the context of his special status, i.e. his being a vir militaris et maxime aestivalus ab imperatoribus, that is to say, one of the closest friends and associates of Marcus Aurelius and Lucius Verus.  

Conclusion  
The patronage relationship between senators and equites was characterised by a constant exchange of favours and beneficia. The careers of Lucius Septimius Petronianus and Tiberius Claudius Proculus Cornelianus show their dependence on the senatorial patronage of Gnaeus Iulius Verus and his family for their appointments in their military career as well as for their entrance into the imperial service. The posts held by both procurators were decisively influenced by the extent of the power of Verus, who was a companion of the emperors (comes Augustorunum) from the beginning of the reign of Marcus Aurelius and Lucius Verus. The continuous presence of Verus’ protégés in the mining districts situated in the valley of the lower Drina river indicates the determination of the emperor to entrust this important mining region, exposed to the constant threat of barbarian attacks, to procurators whose reliability was guaranteed by his closest associate. There is also a possibility that Verus wanted to protect his economic interests in the field indirectly through his protégés. Therefore, this case provides an insight into the economic aspects of patronage exchange between senators and equites, as well as a new perspective on the close relationship between mining officials and senators investing in mining.

Translated by the author

149 On the imperial control over the extent and modality of senators’ involvement in mining activities, see: Dušan 1989, 148–156. Cf. Dušan 2006, 94.  
150 CIL III 199=ILS 5864: rmp(erator) Caes(ar) M(arcus) Aurel(ius) Antoninus Aug(ustus) Armenianus et Imp(erator) Caes(ar) L(ucius) Aurel(ius) Verus Aug(ustus) Armenianus……per Iul(ium) Verum leg(ato) pr(o) pr(aetore) provinc(iae) Syr(iae) et amicum suum.’ In the 170s, Gnaeus Iulius Verus accompanied Marcus Aurelius, along with Pontius Lelianus, Dasanium Tullius Tuscus, both ex-governors of Upper Pannonia, and Q. Sosius Priscus, to the frontline beyond the Danube as his comes. The location of Marcus’ headquarters for the winter of A.D. 169/170 was probably Sirmium on the River Sava (Cf. Birley 1993, 162; Birley 2005, 149). Julius Verus played an important role in the wars on the Danube, and the final success brought him great honour, as he was elected consul ordinarius for the second time. His premature death in A.D. 180 prevented him from assuming the office (Cf. Degrassi 1952, 50; Pflaum 1960–61, 402).
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Lucius Septimius Petronianus and Tiberius Claudius Proculus Cornelianus: Two Protégés of Gnaeus Verus (223–239)


Viteške karijere Lucija Septimija Petronijana i Tibe-
rija Klaudija Prokula Kornelijana pokazuju jasan uticaj
senatorskog patronata Gneja Julija Verae i wegove porodi-
ce. Prokuratore koje su oni obavljali u sklopu carske kan-
celarije bile su direktan rezultat prestiža njihovog pa-
troma, koji je bio comites Augustorum tj. pratilac careva
Marka Aurelija i Lucija Verae od samog početka wegove
vladavine. Kontinuirano prisustvo Verovih štitičenika u
rudničkim distriktilima smještenim u dolini rijeke Dri-
ne ukazuje na namjeru cara Marka Aurelija da povjeri ovaj
vажan rudnički region, izложен varvarskim napadima, na
upravu prokuratorima čiju je pouzdanost garantovao wegov
najблиži saradnik. Ne можemo, такођe, искушити могућ-
ност да je Gnej Julije Ver nastojao da zaštiti svoje ekonom-
ske interese na terenu posredno preko svojih štitičenika. U
skladu s tim, ovaј posебan slučaj даје нам увид у економс-
ке аспекте патронатске размјене између сенатора и витеова,
али и пружа нова сазнања о могућим блиским везама изме-
ђу rudničkih zvaničnika i senatora koji su investirali u
rudarstvo.