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Problems in the Development of the Auxiliary System in the Roman Army

OF THE LATE REPUBLICAN AND EARLY IMPERIAL PERIOD

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PROBLEMS IN THE DEVELOPMENT OF THE AUXILIARY SYSTEM IN THE ROMAN ARMY OF THE LATE REPUBLICAN AND EARLY IMPERIAL PERIOD.

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1. INTRODUCTION.

The common presentation in standard histories of the auxiliary forces of the early imperial Roman army is of a number of light-armed infantry regiments called cohorts and cavalry regiments called "alae"[1] assigned to the legions to assist them in their task of defending the imperial frontiers. Augustus is usually stated to have been the founder of of the auxiliary system as we know it, whereby young men from the provinces were drafted into cohorts or alae for a period of at least twenty five years service before discharge. When they received Roman citizenship as a reward.

A cursory reading of the ancient authorities for the early imperial period certainly shows that considerable attention was paid to the role of the "auxilia" in military contexts. Their importance became increasingly apparent[2].

The standard work on the subject dates from 1914 - Cheesman's "The Auxilia of the Roman Imperial Army"[3]. It is of the greatest value as the only comprehensive general account. The main emphasis falls upon constructing the organizational framework into which the "auxilia" were fitted. In 1938 Wagner produced a book entitled "Die Dislokation der römischen Auxiliarformationen in den Provinzen Noricum, Pannonien, Moesien und Dakien von Augustus bis Gallienus"[4]. Its scope and limitations are sufficiently defined by the title : in essence it is a list of the regiments stationed along the Danube with a consideration of the evidence

/relating .....

relating to their garrisons and movements. Kraft's "Zur Rekrutierung der Alen und Kohorten an Rhein und Donau"[5] was published in 1951. It is also regional in scope but ranges beyond questions concerning the original composition of, and later recruitment for the regiments concerned to include useful discussions on the extension of citizenship to auxiliaries. It concludes with useful lists containing summarized information on individual auxiliaries as recorded on their epitaphs. Besides these three books it is necessary to consult the very detailed articles by Cichorius entitled "ala" and "cohors" in Pauly-Wissowa's "Realencyclopädie"[6]. They go back to 1893 and 1900 respectively but retain their value as the only complete lists of all the auxiliary regiments in the Roman world that were known at the end of the last century. However, due to the nature of the evidence, which will be discussed below, all these studies have concentrated on the last quarter of the first century and on the second century A.D. The situation before then remains most obscure. As Callies has remarked : "eine eingehendere Untersuchung über das Wesen der regulären auxilien der frühen Kaiser-zeit fehlt"[7]. Burn has even gone so far as to say of Cheesman's book that it is a "fine work clamouring to be redone"[8]. The position for the end of the republican period is not much better[9].

In other words, the development from the auxiliaries of the republic, which were essentially allied contingents supplied for a particular campaign, to the permanent regiments of the imperial period has not been systematically studied. This will form the main subject of this thesis.

/however .....

However such a study is fraught with problems and difficulties caused by the lack of evidence. It will be the aim of the thesis first to investigate these problems, then to attempt to trace the emergence of the professional auxiliary army and finally to consider its subsequent consolidation and extension.

The first problem is to assess the character of the historical record concerning the "auxilia" of the late republic and early empire. The Civil war between the Pompeians and the Caesarians that began in 49 B.C. will be taken as the starting point. From this date onwards professional generals were regularly applying lessons which they had learnt in long term provincial commands to lengthy civil wars between armies that were virtually identical in composition and had to range from one end of the empire to the other. It will be convenient to end with the principate of Vespasian (69 - 79 A.D.). The military diplomas, which will be discussed below, and the epitaphs of deceased auxiliaries of that period make it plain that the classic imperial auxiliary system was almost completely operational at that date. In analysing the historical record, an attempt will be made to isolate the regular or professional regiments in the "auxilia". As a starting point, a professional regiment[10] will be regarded as one that shares the characteristics of those known from the diplomas. In most cases these had a number, and a distinctive name added to the generic title "ala" or "cohors" (usually the name of a people in the genitive case, as in "ala I Hispanorum"). Normally such regiments were stationed in provinces other than those where they were first raised. The soldiers serving in them were

/receiving .....

receiving pay and were apparently required to complete at least twenty five years of service before being entitled to discharge. Their commanders were Roman citizens, usually at the commencement of their military careers. It should be noted, however, that this was the fully developed form of the end of the period set, and that earlier regular regiments are not well documented. Accordingly it will be necessary to reconsider the definition of "professional" in the light of different contexts and to pay particular attention to regimental titulatures.

Another major question is to consider the origins of such permanent regiments. At what point can any one regiment be said to have been formally created ? A wider question is whether the professional auxiliary system as a whole (as distinct from particular regiments) can be assigned to a specific date or to a particular enactment by a particular emperor.

Armies are part of society, and the Roman army played a key role in the development of the provinces, especially those of Europe[11]. Within the Roman army the system was an important factor in the assimilation of the provincials and in the spread of certain Roman values. The extent to which this occurred in this period will be considered.

Success in finding satisfactory answers to these problems and questions depends to a large extent upon the nature of the evidence that is available. It must be acknowledged at the outset that there is little

/evidence, ...

evidence, and what little there is is unevenly distributed over the period chosen for study. It is difficult enough to trace the development of the legions at this time : how much more so that of the auxiliaries. For the late republic, for augustus, and even for tiberius there is hardly any epigraphical material. It will be necessary, therefore, to use the literary sources. However these present difficulties of their own. It was traditional in Roman historiography to concentrate on things Roman. Hence the "auxilia" were often ignored or mentioned only in the most general terms. The surviving authors rarely discussed matters of military organization or policy. Detail was lavished only on the set piece battle. Accordingly even in Caesar and Appian, but especially in Tacitus, references to auxiliaries are often by the way. This applies with even greater force to other writers who will be quoted. Either their compass is much briefer or their main concern is not military or even political history. However the literary evidence has one great advantage : most of it can be dated with considerable precision.

The most useful epigraphical evidence[12] is found on the military diplomas[13]. These were bronze documents issued to auxiliaries recording grants of citizenship and other privileges after at least twenty five years of active service. The diploma normally contained, besides the name of the recipient, the regiment in which he served, its commander, and a list of the regiments in the same provincial command containing soldiers receiving the same privileges. The exact date is always stated. Unfortunately, although the first known example can be dated to the last year of the principate of

/Claudius, ...

Claudius, the diplomas do not become common until the later Flavian period. The second major type of inscriptional evidence is numerically more numerous, the epitaphs of deceased auxiliaries. These tend to conform to fixed sets of formulae, but are usually very brief. The custom of erecting tombstones inscribed in Latin was not common before the middle of the first century A.D. Thirdly, the commanders of auxiliary regiments often had their auxiliary commands mentioned on their tombstones or on other monuments erected in their honour. These, and other less frequent types of auxiliary inscription, all suffer from the disadvantage that it is usually almost impossible to date them except in the broadest of terms.

Given this sort of evidence, an attempt will be made to investigate the questions raised earlier in this introduction. The general conclusions found in earlier treatments of the "auxilia" will not be reconsidered except in so far as they throw light upon the problems raised in this inquiry or to the extent that they need modification in the light of what emerges. What follows then may be regarded as "prolegomena" to a history of the early development of the professional Roman auxiliary army. The method adopted will be to review the statements of the literary authorities on the auxiliaries within their historical context, so as to lay bare the main thread of the historical development as far as possible. Epigraphical evidence will be used for this purpose only when it is definitely dated. Then the epigraphical evidence will be investigated in an attempt to establish what it can contribute to an account of the historical development.

/Finally .....

Finally various specific problems that have been mentioned earlier will be studied in the light of the historical development and with the aid of all the available evidence. It is to be hoped that some of the results will be of wider application than merely to aspects of Roman military history[14].

NOTES.

1. In what follows ala (and its plural alae) will be treated as English words (i.e. will not be enclosed in quotation marks), so as to correspond to "cohort" and "cohorts".

2. Cf. Manier, "C.P." 1955, 252 f. Two remarks by Syme may be quoted : "The Roman 'auxilia', it is true, can be more important for tactics, and also for strategy, than the legions" ("J.R.S." XLIX, 1959, 52) and "To neglect the 'auxilia' is elementary and superficial" (ibid. LII, 1962, 89).

3. The work will be cited simply as "Cheesman" in what follows.

4. To be cited simply as "Wagner".

5. "Kraft", followed by a numeral, will refer to the individual auxiliaries listed at the end of his work.

6. Cichorius, "R.E." I, 1893, 1224 ff.; IV, 1900, 231 ff. : to be cited as "Cichorius", the page number making it clear whether vol. I or vol. IV is being referred to. To avoid the unnecessary multiplication of references, the ancient evidence for a particular regiment will not normally be given if it is available in Cichorius. Hence if a regiment is mentioned without references, it can be assumed that it is recorded in one or the other of Cichorius' articles. Most questions on legionary matters will be referred to Mitte-ling's article "legio" in "R.E." XII, 1924, 1211 ff. (to be quoted simply as "Mitterling" in what follows).

7. Callies, "B.H.G.K." 1964, 156, n. 16.

8. Burn, "J.R." 1956, 377 (in a review of "R.I.B."). This thesis is of course in no sense a reworking of Cheesman's book, which ranges far beyond the limits set for investigation.

9. Cf. Yoshimura, "Hist." 1961, 476, n. 10, quoted below, p. 11

/10. .....

10. The somewhat stricter definition in Kraft, p. 39, may be compared.

11. Cf. Syme's remark ("Hist." XIV, 1965, 361) : "How the Roman army functions as a channel of social advancement is patent - natives to the Roman franchise, soldiers to centurions, centurions to equestrian status, knights to eligibility for the upper order".

12. There is scant pre-Flavian papyrological evidence.

13. For these, cf. F. Lammert, "R.E." XV, 1932, 1666 ff.; A. Neumann, Suppl. II, 1962, 1507 ff.; Nesselhauf's essays in C.I.L. XVI, p. 147 ff.

14. Most of this thesis was written in Southern Africa, where the libraries do not contain all the material relevant to Roman provincial studies. In particular many major epigraphical and archaeological publications are unavailable. However standard references have been given wherever possible.

II. THE "AUXILIA" OF THE PERIOD OF THE CIVIL WARS AT THE END OF THE REPUBLIC.

Appian[1] himself, in his account of the battle of Pharsalus, states that his Roman authorities paid little attention to the auxiliary contingents accompanying the Roman armies, since they consisted of foreigners and had little effect on the outcome of the engagement :

τὰ συμμαχικὰ οὐκ ἀκριβοῦσιν οὐδὲ ἀναγράφουσιν ὡς ἀλλότρια καὶ ἀλίγην ἐν αὐτοῖς εἰς προσόδεσιν χώραν ἔχοντα.

The situation has not altered greatly in modern times : as Yoshimura[2] remarks, "es fehlt bis jetzt an eingehender Untersuchung der Hilfstruppen in der Bürgerkriegszeit". The difficulties involved in reconstructing the military history of the late republic are great, and the non-Roman forces, if mentioned at all, most frequently appear simply as the "auxilia", "equites", "equitatus" or "leuis armatura". There are, however, sufficient references, especially in the account of the Civil War of 49 - 45 by Caesar and his continuators and in Appian, to provide the basis for an attempt to discover the character of the auxiliary forces from 49 to 31 B.C.

When Caesar arrived in Italy in 49 B.C., rumour[3] had it that the greater part of his army consisted of barbarians. Cicero[4] referred to his "auxilia Gallorum". Appian[5] gives the strength of the army which accompanied him to Ravenna as 5000 infantry and 300 cavalry. This number probably indicates auxiliary cavalry[6], since the normal legionary cavalry was not mentioned separately as a rule. 22 cohorts, presumably legionaries, and 300 cavalry from the king of Noricum reached Caesar just

/before .....

before the siege of Corfinium (Pentima)[7]. We learn of a garrison of "equites Galli atque Hispani"[8] whom Caesar had stationed in Thurii and whom Milo[9] attempted to bribe in 48 B.C.

Caesar drafted recruits from his old "prouincia" into formations that were closer to legionary than auxiliary units. Such were the "milites Glanici qui sub maxillo fuerunt"[10]. Glanum (Bouches-du-Rhône)[11] was a small enough town to provide sufficient soldiers to serve under a tribune and centurions, i.e., to form a cohort. Presumably the contingent represents a special effort on the part of the community for Caesar's mobilization of forces for the civil war. The names of the tribune, C. Licinius Macer, and of the "optio", Cn. Pompeius Pernutus, who erected the monument on which the inscription recording the contingent occurs, obviously derive from a Licinius Crassus and a Pompeius. They, and the use of "tribunus", "centuriones" "milites" "sub maxillo", point to a close identification with Roman military methods and suggest that Caesar was content to allow them to approximate to a legionary cohort. This recalls the legion described by Suetonius[12] as "ex Transalpinis conscriptam, vocabulo quoque Gallico - Alauda enim appellabatur -, quam disciplina cultuque Romano institutam et ornatam postea uniuersam ciuitate donauit". This legion was presumably enlisted in 51 B.C. of Gauls who at the time did not possess Roman citizenship.

The information on the auxiliaries of Pompey in Italy is even scantier. The fact[13] that he acquired 500 cavalry by arming "serui" and "pastores" indicates a weakness in this aspect. At the siege of Brundisium

/(Brindisi) .....

(Brindisi) he is found deploying "sagittarii" and "funditores", types of auxiliary soldier familiar from earlier republican times[14]. As in the case of the rumour concerning Caesar's use of largely barbarian forces, so it was feared that Pompey might attack Italy with the forces of barbarian kings and "gentes ferae armatae"[15].

In describing the Spanish campaigns of 48 B.C. Caesar[16] details the auxiliary forces available to the Pompeians before the battle of Ilerda. The text of the passage is corrupt : "scutatae citerioris prouinciae et caetratae ulterioris hispaniae cohortes circiter LXXX equitumque utriusque prouinciae circiter V milia". The number of auxiliary cohorts, 80, is far too large[17] : it is best, with Garcia y Bellido[18], to read 30. A further difficulty arises from the shields carried by the "auxilia" : in a later passage[19] it is the troops of Hispania Citerioris that are "caetrati". "Caetrati" are mentioned at a later stage[20], but not in such a way as to throw light on the problem. But, as Fruner-Hofman-Meusel[21] point out, it is not necessary to assume that all the soldiers supplied by Hispania Citerior were "scutati". The tribes who supplied recruits are given as the Lusitanians, the Celtiberians, the Cantabrians and all the barbarians "qui ad Oceanum pertinent"[22]. Later, reference[23] is made to the "leuis armatura" of the Lusitanians.

The statement[24] regarding Caesar's auxiliary forces also contains a textual problem : "auxilia equitum † nulla †, equitum III milia, quae omnibus superioribus bellis habuerat, et parem ex Gallia numerum, quos ipse parauerat nominatim ex omnibus ciuitatibus nobilissimo et fortissimo quoque euocato; huc optimi generis hominum ex Aquitania montanisque, qui Gallicam prouinciam attingunt, ... adiecerat". There is no sure means

/...

of restoring the number concealed by " nulla " : 5000 and 10,000 have been proposed. It seems most natural to take "parem ... suterum" as a reference to the 3000 original cavalry rather than to the infantry auxiliaries preceding them. The capacity in which the Aquitanians and the "montani" served is not stated. However the arrival of Gallic cavalry and "sagittarii ex suis"[25] is noted at a later stage, with the subsequent loss of 200 "sagittarii". This contingent of cavalry and the archers are distinguished from a motley crowd of about 600 with their slaves and children who arrived at the same time : "cuiusque generis hominum milia circiter VI cum seruis liberisque"[26]. By comparison they appear ready for immediate fighting and can accordingly be regarded as part of the specially recruited cavalry and of the "optimi generis hominum ex Aquitania montaniseque" : the contrast in quality is immediately apparent. The Rutenians[27] come from the district of Rodez and can be classified as "montani". In fact the connection of the Aquitanians and the "montani" with the infantry and two types of Gallic cavalry mentioned beforehand is not clear : the lacuna in the text is only tentatively filled by "adiecerat". There is a further reference[28] to Caesar's cavalry, archers and slingers and also to light-armed Germans. The first is too vague for further discussion, but the Germans can be regarded as part of the original auxiliaries of Caesar, since they are mentioned in the "Gallic war"[29]. The two cavalry that accompanied Caesar as a personal body-guard[30] obviously formed no part of the forces discussed so far. During the course of the campaign certain of the Spaniards supporting the Pompeians deserted to

/Caesar - .....

Caesar - a "cohors Illurgavonensis"[31] from a people on the Ebro in Hispania Citerior and others referred[32] to as "caetrati auxiliaresque".

At the siege of Massilia in 49 B.C., the Massiliotes were able to place a large number of archers on board their galleys and to make use of a client tribe, the Albicans[33]. The latter were good fighters, and were described as "montani"[34]. Domitius Ahenobarbus[35] manned the ships which he had for the assistance of the Massiliotes with the tenants and shepherds of his Italian estates, whom he encouraged to greater effort with the prospect of freedom[36].

The major concentration of forces in 48 B.C. occurred at Dyrrachium and Pharsalus. There are two main lists of the auxiliaries which Pompey had at his disposal, one in Caesar[37], the other in Appian[38]. The Caesarian inventory is as follows :

3000 archers from Crete, Lacedaemon, Pontus, Syria and other states;

1200 slingers (described as "fundit[illegible] cohortis mescenarias II");

7000 cavalry : of these

600 were "Galli" supplied by Deiotarus[39];

500 by Ariobarzanes of Cappadocia;

500 by Cotys of Thrace accompanied by his son Sadala;

200 by Rhascypolis of Macedonia;

500 were "Gabinian" Gauls and Germans;

800 had been drafted from Pompey's own slaves and shepherds;

300 were sent by Tarcondarius Castor and Domnilaus of Gallograecia;

200 by Antiochus of Commagene from Syria, mostly "hippotoxotae".

/The .....

The rest were Germanians, Bessans, Macedonians, Thessalians and members of other tribes and communities.

The "Galli" of Deiotarus and the "Gallograeci" of Tarcondarius Castor and Domnilaus are more commonly known as Galatians[40]. The contingent sent by Rhascypolis[41] was probably Thracian, although technically despatched from Macedonia. As Caesar[42] himself explains, the "Gabinian" Gauls and Germans were troops "quos ibi (i.e. Alexandriae) A. Gabinius praesidi causa apud regem Ptolomaeum reliquerat". They were part of the army left by Gabinius in 55 B.C. in support of Ptolemy Auletes[43]. The "hippotoxotae" were mounted archers such as had made the Parthians so effective in desert warfare[44].

Appian prefaces his list by stating that Pompey had brought five legions from Italy and "the cavalry attached to them". The contingent drafted from Pompey's slaves and shepherds, mentioned by Caesar, and the Gauls, mentioned by Appian, must have belonged to this category. When Appian turns to Pompey's complete forces, he confirms Caesar's total of 7000 cavalry in all. This figure is given by Plutarch[45] too. Appian does not break this figure down into detail, but specifies the origin of most of the contingents. He does not specify Deiotarus, Tarcondarius Castor or Domnilaus in this passage, merely referring to eastern Galatians. Deiotarus, however, is mentioned by name in the list of allies at the battle of Pharsalus and his assistance is confirmed by Cicero[46]. The "Gabinians" are recorded, but not as Gauls or Germans. Cappadocian horse is also mentioned by Appian, but without the name of Ariobarzanes.

/In .....

In the Pharsalian list his brother Ariarathes is named as the contributor from Cappadocia. Appian records the assistance of Antiochus of Commagene, without reference to the mounted archers. Thracian cavalry is not specifically recorded, although Thracians appear in the general Pharsalian list. Dio[47] mentions Dadala twice. Appian records Macedonian assistance, but does not refer to the Dardanians, Bessans or Thessalians. He does, however, refer to Cilician cavalry, which is not listed by Caesar[48].

When the two authors' accounts of the infantry auxiliaries are compared, Caesar's Cretan archers are confirmed, but the Lacedaemonians appear first as general Peloponnesian auxiliaries, later as Laconians (in the Pharsalian list). The Pontic contingent is not formed of archers, but javelin-throwers. Syria appears generally only in the Pharsalian list. Caesar does not give the nationality of the slingers in his catalogue, but Appian says that Pompey had Thracian slingers. There may, of course, have been others.

Peoples not listed by Caesar, but in Appian, are

Ionians[49],

Peloponnesians (who are distinguished from the Laconians in the Pharsalian list),

Lesser Armenians,

Pamphylians,

Pisidians.

In the Pharsalian list other peoples and countries are named :

/Athenians, ...

Athenians,

Hellespont,

Bithynia,

Thrygia,

Lydia,

Phoenicia,

Jews,

Arabs,

Cypriots,

Rhodians,

Greater Armenians[50].

Other statements on Pompey's "auxilia" occur in the Caesarian corpus. At Oricum (Avlona) he had a "praesidium Parthinorum", the Parthinians being a local Illyrian tribe[51]. Juba[52] had sent a large force from north Africa. The German and Gallic cavalry, which Labienus[53] was able to use in the African campaigns, came from Pompey's forces at Pharsalus : presumably it was part of the cavalry originally brought from Italy[54].

The motley character of Pompey's auxiliaries appealed to Dio[55], who emphasized the use of foreigners against citizens, and the fact that many were asiatics and untrained. Cicero[56], too, was dismayed, referring to Colchis and the Getans. Caesar[57], however, was more soldierly and noted Pompey's superiority in cavalry and his good supply of archers and slingers. For not all the auxiliaries were used in the major battles.

Far less has survived on the composition of Caesar's "auxilia"

/for .....

for the Balkan campaigns. Appian[58] gives the impossible figure of 10,000 for his cavalry, and calls them all Gauls. This is far greater than Pompey's total of 7000 and contradicts Caesar's[59] statement just noted concerning Pompey's superiority in cavalry. Plutarch[60], on the other hand, gives a figure of 1000. Caesar[61] himself states that he crossed from Brundisium with 500 : Appian[62] and Plutarch[63] give 600 instead. Caesar[64] had among his cavalry a contingent of Allobroges under the command of two brothers, Roucillus and Egus. The brothers and some of their adherents defected to Pompey. No figures are given, but the tone of the incident suggests that the contingent was comparatively large. Appian[65] mentions Germans who got drunk at Gomphi (Palaeo-Episkopi) in Thessaly : these probably included cavalry. In the Pharsalian list of auxiliaries he mentions cavalry from both Transalpine and Cisalpine[66] Gaul. Dio[67] mentions Spanish "auxilia" : presumably cavalry were included. Gabinius had attempted to bring 3000 horse to Caesar through Illyricum with 15 cohorts of legionaries : most of these, however, were destroyed[68]. Antony brought 800 horse to Dyrrachium, sending back to Italy for more[69]. How many, if any, came, is not known. Taking the 500 - or 600 - which Caesar brought and the 800 of Antony, 1300 or 1400 are known to have reached Caesar. Possibly more were still expected from Italy. If the 300 of Gabinius be added, it may be assumed that Caesar was working to a figure of 4000 to 5000 cavalry. Due to the losses of Gabinius and of Caesar himself at Dyrrachium, when 200 cavalry fell[70], the figure of 1000 cavalry at Pharsalus does not seem far wrong[71].

/At .....

At the end of 48 B.C. Caesar became involved in the Alexandrine war, which occupied him till the beginning of 47, when he went to Asia Minor to deal with Pharnaces. He took 800 cavalry to Alexandria[72]. After the outbreak of the war he summoned Cretan archers and cavalry from the Nabataean Arabs under Malchus[73] to his assistance. Other unspecified "auxilia" are mentioned[74]. During the fighting, light armed troops and Gallic cavalry are mentioned[75] : presumably the latter were part of the 800 that had accompanied him at the outset. Some of his cavalry were Germans[76]. Meanwhile Mithridates[77] of Pergamum brought him reinforcements from Syria and Cilicia. Antipater[78] got further assistance from Syria and Arabia and sent Caesar a force of heavy infantry.

Appian[79] states that Pharnaces had been encouraged to resist Caesar by the Pompeians after Pharsalus. Pharnaces, however, claimed that he had not sent "auxilia" to Pompey[80]. In the first stage of the war, Domitius Calvinus[81], Caesar's legate, was supported by Deiotarus, who had joined the Caesarian cause after the defeat of Pompey. He provided two legions "quas illa disciplina atque armatura nostra complures annos constitutas habebat" as well as 100 cavalry : Ariobarzanes of Cappadocia also supplied 100 cavalry. "Auxilia" were also summoned from Cilicia[82]. Domitius Calvinus was further supported by a "legio Pontica" described as follows "quae ex tumultuariis militibus in Ponto confecta erat"[83]. The greater part of this legion and Deiotarus' forces were killed in the ensuing engagement with Pharnaces[84]. When Caesar arrived at the sphere of operations, he ordered Deiotarus to bring his legion "quas ex genere civium

/suorum .....

suorum Deiotarus armatura d'sciplinaque n stra constitutam habebat" - obviously what remained of his earlier tw legiona - and all his cavalry[85].

At the end of 47 B.C. Caesar was in Africa when he narrowly av ded defeat at the engagement of Ruspina. In 46, however, he emerged the victor at the battle of Thapsus. Before considering the "auxilia" involved in Caesar's "African war", the African campaign of Curio[86] in 49 can be noticed. Curio arrived in Africa fr m Sicily with 500 cavalry[87] and light-armed tr ops[88]. Later he sent to Sicily for further cavalry[89]. The auxiliaries comprised Gauls and presumably Germans, since these were later incorporated in the army of Labienus[90]. The Gauls included Allobroges[91].

The only "auxilia" of L. Attius Varus[92] that are recorded are those supplied by Juba[93], the king of Numidia. These included 60[illegible] Numidian cavalry and 4[illegible] infantry, and 2[illegible] Gallic and Spanish cavalry from the king's personal bodyguard[94].

The author of the "Bellum Africum"[95] assigns Labienus a speech in which he lists his auxiliaries. These comprise

Numidian cavalry and light-armed troops;

German and Gallic cavalry;

conscripts from "hibridi", freedmen and slaves;

royal "auxilia";

120 elephants;

innumerable cavalry;

/12,[illegible] .....

12,000 men in legions conscripted "ex cuius quemodi generis";

Then Labienus is credited with having :

1600 Gallic and German cavalry;

8000 Numidian cavalry;

1000 cavalry brought by M. Petreius;

4 times as many infantry and light-armed troops;

archers;

slingers;

several "hippotoxotae".

There are two separate lists here : it is difficult to reconcile them. The difficulty is increased by textual uncertainties. The Numidian cavalry number [illegible] in a variant reading[96]. Some of the German and Gallic cavalry had come from Afranius; others were taken over from the defeated forces of Curio[97]. It is not clear whether the "hibridi" were half-Roman, half-native, or half-free, half-slave. These, together with the slaves and freedmen, had been trained as orthodox cavalry. The royal "auxilia" recall the 4 "royal legions" mentioned in the first chapter of the work, and the 12[illegible] elephants and "innumerable cavalry"[98] are recorded in the same place. The "innumerable cavalry", therefore, do not conceal a separate entry. The 12,000 legionaries "of all sorts" of men would have formed 2 complete legions. In chapter 1 Scipio[99] has 10 legions. Presumably the 12,000 were not actual legionaries in the sense of Roman citizens, but provincials trained in legionary formation. M. Petreius[100] is earlier credited with bringing 1100 (or 3[illegible] in a variant version)

/select .....

select Numidian cavalry and infantry of the same people. He was accompanied by Cn. [illegible][101] who earlier had 3[illegible] "Mauri". The latter appear to have been part of Juba's forces[102]. As the phrase stands, the "four times as many infantry and light-armed troops" would naturally refer to the 16[illegible] cavalry of Petreius : it may be intended to balance the 12,[illegible] "legionaries of all sorts" above. Or it may refer to the novel tactic adopted by Labienus of interminglin, light-armed infantry and archers with his cavalry[103] and be an attempt to give the proportion involved.

On his arrival[104] in Africa Caesar had scarcely 6[illegible] cavalry, but it was not long before he had up to 2[illegible][105]. Some of these, if not all, were Gauls, to judge from the statement[106] that 3[illegible] Gallic horse routed 2[illegible] of the "Mauri". His archers are also mentioned[107].

The forces of the Pompeians were consolidated in the succeeding months. Scipio had 3[illegible] cavalry[108] and 3[illegible] elephants supplied by Juba[109]. His forces included Numidians and Gaetulians[110]. Attius Varus made use of Gaetulians as rowers and marines[111]. P. Considius Longus protected himself with a mercenary band of Numidians and Gaetulians, later arming his slaves and some gladiators too[112]. Appian[113] states that, at the battle of Thapsus, Scipio had [illegible],000 cavalry, the majority of whom were [illegible], presumably Numidians. Earlier, Labienus was credited with 11,[illegible] (or 10,[illegible]) cavalry together with an unnamed number of cavalry from "hibridi" and servile sources. Scipio's 3[illegible] would bring the total to 14,[illegible] (or 13,[illegible]).

Added to these were the forces of Juba, given by Appian[114] as 30,[illegible]

/infantry, ...

infantry, [illegible] Numidian cavalry and [illegible] elephants, besides "many" pikemen. The figures in the "Bellum Africum"[115] are 5 legions (i.e. up to 18,000 men), a "large number" of light-armed troops (presumably included in Appian's "infantry"), 3[illegible] elephants, 800 cavalry with bridles and a "large number" of Numidian cavalry without bridles. Suetonius[116] makes Caesar exaggerate these figures deliberately for the psychological effect on his troops and so cannot serve as a check.

Cato's forces were used for the defence of Utica. He had brought cavalry[117] to Africa from the aftermath of the battle of Pharsalus. At Utica he held levies of freedmen, "Afri", slaves and men "cuiusque modi generis"[118].

On the other side, Caesar's forces continued to grow from supplements from Sicily and by desertions from the Pompeians[119]. At his camp outside Ruspina Caesar armed his Gallic and Rhodian marines as infantry auxiliaries[120]. His cavalry included Gauls, Spaniards, and, by desertion, Caetulians[121]. His archers came from Iturasa and Syria, among other unnamed places[122]. He had elephants brought from Italy, less for fighting purposes than to accustom his men and their horses to them[123]. In a raid he acquired 22 of Juba's camels[124]. By the battle of Thapsus Caesar had at least 2000 archers and slingers, 4[illegible] to 5[illegible] cavalry, light-armed troops and deserters. He was assisted by Sittius[125], a Roman who had taken service under Bocchus[126] of Mauretania with a band of Italian and Spanish followers who had accompanied him to Africa after he had been compromised

/In .....

in the Catilinarian conspiracy. He was not present at Thapsus, but was of great service, since he prevented Juba from opposing Caesar with all his forces by attacking him in the rear.

Prior to the battle of Munda in 45 B.C. the sons of Pompey the Great had been organizing resistance to Caesar in Spain. Of the legions available to the elder, Cn. Pompeius, the author of the "Bellum Hispaniense" says that[127] "duae fuerunt uernaculae, quae a Trebonio transfugerant; unā facta ex coloniis quae fuerunt in his regionibus; ... | reliquae ex fugitiuis auxiliaros consistebant | " (thus the Oxford Classical Text). Whether the above reading or that of Nohlen "uernacula et ii."[128] be accepted it is clear that Cn. Pompeius was being forced to use non-citizens in his legionary formations. That this was so is not surprising, for, as the passage states, he had other "legions" consisting of runaway slaves and auxiliaries (accepting the emendation "auxiliarilmue"). The legion from the colonies, however, would have comprised Roman citizens[129]. The auxiliaries proper were drawn from the Spaniards and the Celtiberians according to Appian[130]. Lusitanians, however, also participated and were prepared to continue resistance to Caesar even after Munda[131]. Cn. Pompeius also had some Allobroges that Juba had given to him from the captives taken after the defeat of Curio : these later deserted to Caesar[132]. According to Dio[133], the Pompeians were supported by Bocchus, who sent his Maŭpoi and his sons to them. At the battle of Munda their auxiliary forces are said to have totalled 6000 light-armed and the same number of "auxiliares", presumably mainly cavalry[134].

Caesar's .....

Caesar's auxiliaries included Gauls[135]; he was later joined by Curio's Allobroges, as mentioned above. He had hoped for Spanish cavalry prior to his arrival, but this did not materialize[136]. Later a Spanish chieftain - "rex nomine Indo"[137] - joined him. He received [illegible] from Bogud of Mauretania[138]. By the final engagement his cavalry was said to number 8000[139].

Little can be recovered concerning the non-civil wars during the dictatorship of Caesar. When Vatinius was sent to Illyricum in 47 he was given 3 legions and a large force of cavalry[140]. For Caesar's projected expedition against the Dacians and the Parthians 10,000 Cavalry were assembled in Italy for transport across the Adriatic[141]. Archers and light-armed troops were also gathered[142]. Meanwhile Caecilius Bassus[143] had turned against Caesar in Syria. Antipater in Judaea sent the Caesarians assistance[144], while Pharnaces gained the support of Aschaedamnus, an Arab[145], as well as of the Parthians[146]. The incident dragged on after the death of Caesar.

NOTES

1. "B.C." II, 1[illegible], 7[illegible], 289.
2. "Hist." 1961, 476, n. 1[illegible].
3. Dio XLI, 8, 6.
4. "Att." IX, 13, 4.
5. "B.C." II, 5, 32, 124. Cf. Plut. "Comp." 6[illegible], 1; "Caes." 32, 1.
6. On the equites in a legion cf. Kübler, "R.E." VI, 1907, 279; 282; Parker, 1928, 210 f.
7. "B.C." I, 18, 5.
8. III, 22, 3.
9. Plebs, "R.E." I, 1894, 2271 ff. (no. 67).
10. "A.J." 1954, 1[illegible]3; 1964, 146 bis. For a discussion of the date, cf. Picard, "Gallia" 1964, 18 ff.
11. Ihm, "R.E." VII, 1910, 138[illegible] f.
12. "Jul." 24, 2 and Cary ad loc. for the date.
13. Caes. "B.C." I, 24, 2.
14. ibid. I, 27, 5. For such auxiliaries, cf. Cheesman, 1914, 8 ff.
15. Cic. "Att." VII, 11, 2; Dio XLI, 13, 3, cf. p. 11 above.
16. "B.C." I, 39, 1.
17. For a discussion of the figures involved cf. Rice Holmes, 1923, vol. III, 388 ff., and for the Spanish "auxilia" cf. Garcia y Bellido, "Emer." 1963, 220 ff. For "castrati" cf. von Domaszewski, "R.E." III, 1897, 1322 f.
18. "Emer." 1963, 220 f.
19. Caes. "B.C." I, 48, 7.
20. I, 55, 1; 7[illegible], 4; 75, 2; 78, 1.
21. ad I, 48, 7.
22. Caes. "b.C." I, 38, 2.
23. I, 48, 7.
24. I, 39, 2.
25. I, 51, 1; 3.
26. I, 51, 2.
27. Baug, "R.E." Im. 1914, 1246 f.
28. I, 83, 2.

/29). .....

29. VIII, 10; 36.

30. "B.C." 1, 41, 1.

31. I, 60, 4.

32. I, 78, 1 - 2 : it can be assumed from 2 that the deserters were not confined to the legionaries.

33. I, 34, 4; 56.

34. I, 57, 3.

35. Münzer, "R.E." V, 1903, 1334 ff. (no. 27).

36. I, 56, 3; 57, 4.

37. III, 4, 3 - 6.

38. Appian catalogues Pompey's "auxilia" in two separate places, "B.C." II, 8, 49, 202, before the battle of Dyrrhachium, and II, 10, 70, 292 ff., before the battle of Pharsalus.

39. For the client kings referred to, cf. Yoshimura, "Hist." 1961, 48[illegible] ff. Yoshimura lists Pompey's "auxilia" on 477 ff. In spite of his remark that Lucan gives non-historical participants, he quotes his evidence. This, however, has no independent value. Cf. Nierhaus "B.J." 1953, 46 ff.

40. On the names for Galatia cf. Brandis, "R.E." VII, 1910, 534 ff.

41. Rhascypolis was more commonly known as Rhascuporis; cf. Kahrstedt, "R.E." IA, 1914, 255 f.

42. "B.C." III, 4, 4. Cf. 103, 5.

43. H. Volkmann, "R.E." XXIII, 1959, 1756 f. (no. 35).

44. Lammert, "R.E." VIII, 1913, 1925 f. refers only to the pre-Roman period; for the Roman period cf. Fiebiger, ibid., IA, 1920, 1744.

45. Plut. "Pomp." 64, 1: "Caes." 42, 2. Plutarch's description of the cavalry is as follows : [illegible] τὸ ἀνθοῦν, [illegible] καὶ πλούτῳ καὶ φρονήμασι διαφέροντες.

Romans and Italians, however, could have formed only a small part of the cavalry.

46. "Reg. Deiot." 5, 13; 10, 28. During his governorship of Cilicia, Cicero ("Att." VI, 1, 14) noted that Deiotarus "habet cohortes quadringenarias nostra armatura XXX, equitum [illegible]".

/47. .....

47. XLI, 51, 2; 63, 1.
48. Caesar does, however, mention a fleet and a legion from Cilicia ("B.C." III, 3, 1; 4, 1).
49. From the list of edicts quoted by Josephus ("A.J." XIV, 10, 13, 228; 230; 10, 14, 232; 10, 16, 234; 10, 19, 240) regarding Caesar's exemption of Jews from military service it is clear that, in particular, there had been recruiting in Ephesus and Sardis. A similar decree exists for Delos (XIV, 10, 14, 231 - 2).
50. Caesar mentions Asia, which would include Appian's Ionia, Pamphylia, Hellespont, Lydia, Athens, Bithynia, Phoenicia and Rhodes ("B.C." III, 3, 1, 3, 3), only in connection with the fleet.
51. Caes. "B.C." III, 11, 3.
52. "B. Alex." 51, 1.
53. Münzer, "R.E." XII, 1924, 260 ff. (no. 6).
54. "B. Afr." 19, 3, reading "Sutnroto".
55. XLI, 54, 2; 61, 1.
56. "Att." IX, 10, 3.
57. "B.C." III, 43, 3; 86, 4; 44, 6.
58. "B.C." II, 8, 49, 201.
59. Cf. n. 57 above.
60. "Caes." 42, 2.
61. "B.C." III, 2, 1.
62. "B.C." II, 8; 54, 221.
63. "Caes." 37, 2.
64. "B.C." III, 59 f.
65. "B.C." II, 10, 64, 268.
66. II, 10, 70, 291 : "Cisalpine" depends upon a reasonable emendation.
67. XLI, 55, 2.
68. App. "Ill." 3, 12 (cf. Plut. "Ant." 7, 2); "B.C." II, 9, 59, 242.
69. Caes. "B.C." III, 21, 2; Plut. "Ant." 7, 2.
70. Caes. "B.C." III, 71, 1.

/71. .....

71. III, 84, 4. That Caesar was inadequately supplied with cavalry at the battle is shown by his use of "antesignani" with the horsemen (84, 3). Appian ("B.C." II, 1[illegible], 70, 289) also gives a figure of 1[illegible] for the actual battle. Plutarch's figure of 1000 ("Caes." 42, 2) must refer to the battle itself only.
72. Caes. "B.C." III, 106, 1.
73. Pluss, "R.E." XIV, 1928, 857 f. (no. 3).
74. "B. Alex." 1, 1.
75. 17, 3.
76. 29, 4.
77. 26, 1; Jos. "A.J." XIV, 8, 1, 126. For Mithridates, cf. Geyer, "R.E." XV, 1932, 2265 (no. 19).
78. Jos. "B.J." 1, 9, 3, 187; cf. "A.J." XIV, 8, 1, 128 - 9; 8, 2, 139; give 3000; in 10, 3, 193, however, 1500 is the figure. For Antipater, cf. Wilcken, "R.E." 1, 1894, 2509 (no. 17).
79. "B.C." II, 12, 87.
80. "B. Alex." 69, 3; cf. Dio XLI, 55, 3.
81. Münzer, "R.E." V, 1903, 1419 f. (no. 43).
82. "B. Alex." 34; cf. Dio XLII, 46, 2. Rice Holmes (1923, vol. III, 506) objects to the figure of 1[illegible] cavalry supplied by each of the kings. It sounds small, but may have been determined by what was then available rather than by what was necessary.
83. "B. Alex." 34, 5.
84. 40, 4.
85. 68, 2.
86. Münzer, "R.E." IIA, 1921, 847 ff. (no. 11).
87. Caes. "B.C." II, 23, 1.
88. App. "B.C." II, 7, 46, 1[illegible].
89. Caes. "B.C." II, 37, 4.
90. "B. Afr." 40, 5.
91. Dio XLIII, 30, 3.
92. Klebs, "R.E." II, 1896, 2258 f. (no. 32).
93. App. "B.C." II, 7, 44, 175; Dio XLI, 41, 3. For Juba, cf. Lenschau, "R.E." IX, 1916, 2581 ff. (no. 1) and above, p.18

294. .....

94. Caes. "B.C." II, 25, 3; 40, 1.
95. "B. Afr." 19, 3.
96. Other references to Labienus' cavalry do not give figures or nationalities : 13, 1; 14 - 15; 61, 2 (the latter, since "frenati", probably of "hibridi" and of servile origin).
97. Cf. pp. 18 ; 21 above.
98. "B. Afr." 1, 4 : "equitatus infinitus" as compared with "equitatus innumerabilis" (which should be ablative)in 19, 3.
99. Münzer, "R.E." III, 1897, 1224 ff. (no. 99).
100. 18, 1. For Petreius, cf. F. Münzer, "R.E." XIA, 1937, 1182 ff. (no. 3).
101. "B. Afr." 18, 1; cf. 3, 1. For Piso, cf. Münzer, "R.E." III, 1897, 1391 f. (no. 9).
102. Cf. "B. Afr." 6, 1 - 3, where the "Mauri" are part of Juba's forces.
103. 13, 1.
104. In 48 B.C. his governor in Hither Spain, Cassius Longinus (cf. Münzer, "R.E." III, 1899, 174 ff. (no. 7)) had been ordered to collect "auxilia" for an attack on Juba. He is known to have had at least 3000 cavalry ("B. Alex." 50, 4; 5 , 3).
105. "B. Afr." 1, 1; 1, 5; 2, 1.
106. 6, 3. Cf. above, p. 22
107. 12 - 13.
108. 20, 2.
109. 25, 5.
110. 32, 3; cf. 61, 2.
111. 62, 1.
112. 43 (reading "stipendiariis"); 93, 1. For Considius Longus cf. Münzer, "R.E." IV, 1 , 912 f. (no. 6).
113. "B.C." II, 14, 96, 4c1.
114. ibid.
115. "B. Afr." 48, 1.
116. "Jul." 66.
117. Plut. "Cat. Min." 50, 5.
118. "B. Afr." 36, 1; Plut. "Cat. Min." 61, 1.

/119. .....

119. Cf. the useful discussion in Miss Holmes, 1923, vol. III, 534 ff., whose figures are used below.

120. "B. Afr." 2[illegible], 1.

121. 34, 4; cf. 29, 1, for fraternization between Caesar's cavalry and Labienus' Gauls and Germans; 3[illegible], 2; 5[illegible], 3; Dio XLIII, 4, 2.

122. "B. Afr." 2[illegible], 1.

123. 72, 3; Dio XLIII, 4, 1.

124. "B. Afr." 68, 4.

125. 48, 1; cf. 25, 2; 36, 4; 93, 3; 95, 2; 96; App. "B.C." IV, 7, 54, 230 - 5; Dio XLIII, 3, 1 - 4. For Sittius, cf. Münzer, "R.E." IIIA, 1927, 409 ff. (no. 3).

126. Klebs, "R.E." III, 1897, 575 f. (no. 2).

127. "B. Hisp." 7, 4 - 5.

128. Yoshimura, "Ann. Inst. Hispanenses" 1963/4, 105, n. 1, prefers the reading of Mommsen that gives only one "legio uernacula" : Garcia y Bellido, "Emer." 1936, 222, accepts two "legiones uernaculae". The number is not of much consequence here, although there is no reason to assume that because Caesar ("B.C." II, 2[illegible], 4) mentions only a single "uernacula" under Varro, that there was not a second by this date. There were slaves in these legions ("B. Hisp." 12, 1; for other slaves in legions cf. 34, 2. App. "B.C." II, 15, 1[illegible], 477, where their training is said to have lasted for four years; cf. 12, 87, 366).

129. Cf. the "equites Romani partim ex urbe partim ex prouincia ad milia III" who fell at Munda ("B. Hisp." 31, 9).

130. App. "B.C." II, 12, 87, 366.

131. "B. Hisp." 18, 6; 35, 5; 38, 3; 40.

132. Dio XLIII, 3[illegible], 3.

133. XLIII, 36, 1. Klebs (l. c. n. 126 above), Miss Holmes (1923, vol. III, 543, n. 1) and Romanelli (1959, 157, n. 1) deny this, but sudden changes of sides in such wars are not unknown. It may be noted that in an internal dispute in Africa, Bogud, (Klebs, "R.E." III, 1897,

/608 f. .....

608 f. (no. 2), who had rendered Cassius assistance in 47 B.C. ("B. Alex." 58 - 9) and Arabio (Kiebs "R.E." II, 1895, 363), whose men had been trained by the sons of Pompey (cf. App. "b.C." IV, 7, 54, 234), supported Sextius, the Caesarian governor of Numidia.

134. "B. Hisp." 30, 1.

135. 32, 2.

136. 2, 2 - 3.

137. 10, 3.

138. Dio XLIII, 36, 1.

139. "B. Hisp." 30, 1.

140. App. "Ill." 3, 13.

141. "B.C." II, 16, 110, 460.

142. III, 3, 24, 92.

143. Münzer, "R.E." III, 1897, 1110 f. (no. 367.

144. Jos. "B.J." I, 10, 10, 217; "A.J." XIV, 11, 1, 268. For Antipater, cf. above p. 20.

145. Dio XLVII, 27, 3. For Alchaedamus (spelt Alchandonius in Dio), cf. Altheim & Stiehl, I, 1964, index, s.v. Deiotarus was accused of having entered into correspondence with Pansa at his trial before Caesar (Cic. "Deiot." 8, 23).

146. Cic. "Att." XIV, 9, 3.

III. THE "AUXILIA" OF THE LATE REPUBLICAN PERIOD :

B. THE SECOND TRIUMVIRATE.

Cicero[1] was able to castigate Antony for surrounding himself with a bodyguard of Ituraeans, even in the senate.

The first large concentration of troops after the death of Caesar was used at the battle of Mutina in 43 B.C. In a speech put in his mouth by Dio[2], Cicero accused Antony of using barbarian troops against Italy. Similar charges occur in Cicero[3] himself. Once there is a concrete reference to Gaule and Germans[4]. Antony was able to escape from Mutina with 600 cavalry, many of them unarmed[5]. He proceeded to recruit men by opening slave barracks on country estates and taking "omne genus hominum"[6]. Later Decimus Brutus' auxiliaries defected to him[7]. After joining Lepidus in Gaul, Antony was able to return to Italy with 10,000 cavalry[8].

Dio[9] informs us that, at an early stage of the hostilities, Octavian was able to win over Antony's elephant and German cavalry. Cicero[10] adds that archers were also involved. Decimus Brutus had a great number of "auxilia ex Gallia"[11]. Some of his Gallic cavalry remained true to him even after he was forced to flee, serving as his bodyguard[12]. He had also trained a large number of gladiators[13].

Events next transferred to the East, where the triumvirs accused Marcus Brutus and Cassius of seeking the assistance of barbarians[14]. Appian[15] lists the auxiliary forces of Brutus as follows :

/Here .....

400 Gallic and

Lusitanian cavalry;

2000 Thracian,

Illyrian,

Parthinian[16] and

Thessalian cavalry.

Earlier he[17] had stated he had light-armed troops and archers. He had also recruited two legions of Macedonians whom he had trained in the Roman way[18]. Plutarch[19] records his acquisition of 500 cavalry intended for Dolabella, and his being promised assistance by client kings.

Cassius was assigned the following by Appian[20]:

2000 Spanish and

Gallic cavalry;

4000 "hippotoxotae" - Arabs,

Medes and

Parthians,

500 cavalry from the client kings of Galatia[21];

a large force of infantry from the same source.

Earlier he had mentioned the support of Amphipolis in Thrace, who had 500 cavalry and from Dio we learn that he acquired some of Dolabella's cavalry in Syria together with Cilician and Asiatic support[22]. The extent of the Parthian assistance given to Cassius is difficult to determine. Cagsar[23] had scorned Pompey's unsuccessful attempt to get Parthian aid. Caecilius Bassus had received some Parthian troops, but they had not stayed long enough to render him effective aid[24]. A certain number of Parthian

/"hippotoxotae" .....

"hippotoxotae" had joined Cassius when he defeated Dolabella, apparently on an unofficial basis : Appian[25] says that they were attracted to him because of the reputation he had gained as Crassus' quaestor before the battle of Carrhae. These Cassius sent back to the king of Parthia, with a request for a larger force of auxiliaries. However, these arrived too late[26]. Their non-participation is confirmed in Appian's[27] account of Brutus and Cassius after their final defeat. Yet he[28] ascribes them a total of 20,000 cavalry, which can only be derived from the figures given earlier if the 4000 "hippotoxotae" are included. Presumably only "non-official" Parthian "hippotoxotae" were included in the 4000. It would appear that the Parthians were not as yet prepared to commit themselves to open assistance of a Roman general. According to Josephus[29] Cassius decided to give military support in Judaea in the hope of receiving great assistance from him in return when he was more securely in control of the kingdom. He actually placed him in command of a Roman force of infantry and cavalry, and assigned him tribunes, presumably as military experts.

Such less is known about the auxiliaries assisting the triumvirs at Philippi. The Rhodians and Lycians were said[30] to have been friendly to them. This is not surprising, in view of the harsh treatment meted out to them by Brutus and Cassius, but no actual aid on their part is recorded. Octavian had the support of some 2000 Lacedaemonians[31]. Rhascupolis' brother, and joint-ruler of Thrace, Rhascus, decided to support Antony rather than the Republicans and gave him 3000 horse[32]. In all, Octavian

/and .....

and Antony were credited with 13,000 cavalry[33].

In the year after Philippi, 41 B.C., Octavian fought L. Antonius, the brother of Mark Antony, in the Perusine War. Mention is made in general terms of L. Antonius' cavalry : he was able to despatch a raiding party of 4000 horse during the siege of Perusia (Perugia) and the cavalry of the Antonine generals supporting Lucius was said to have numbered 6500 after the hostilities had ceased[34]. His gladiators rendered him useful service[35]. Nothing has survived concerning Octavian's auxiliaries.

Though the contest between Sextus Pompeius and the triumvirs which ended at the battle of Naulochus in 36 B.C. was largely naval, both sides collected supporting armies which engaged on occasion. Many of ... Pompeius' recruits were of servile or freedman status, and were drawn from Italy[36]. While still in Spain in 45 B.C. he had been joined by Arabio, a dispossessed king from Mauretania[37]. Arabio then succeeded in returning to Africa, from where he sent detachments for training to Q. Pompeius in Spain. But he soon changed allegiance, supporting the Caesarian governor of Africa[38]. Whether he later decided to render assistance to Pompeius or not, is not known. Pompeius was able to deploy light-armed Numidian troops in Sicily, but their origin is not stated[39]. Reference is also made to 500 archers who joined him at an early stage[40], and to cavalry which he used in Italy and Sicily[41].

Octavian, on the other hand, managed to gather 20,000 cavalry and more than 5000 light-armed troops in Sicily[42]. The light-armed

/troops .....

troops were partly acquired from those brought to him when Pompeius' admiral, Menodorus, deserted to him[43]. 1000 others were with him when he first landed in Sicily[44]. On that occasion he was accompanied by 500 cavalry, and 2000 [illegible]. These must be men who volunteered from or were drafted from colonies in Italy, but not enrolled in Octavian's legions. The auxiliaries included Gauls - we hear of armour bearers who protected Octavian from the rain by holding a Gallic shield over him - and Germans, who were frightened by the volcanic noises of Mt. Etna[45]. When he united the forces of Pompeius and Lepidus after Naulochus, Octavian had 25,000 cavalry and [illegible] and a half times that number of light-armed troops[46]. Lepidus' cavalry included 3000 Gaetulians that he had brought over from Africa[47].

Pompeius managed to escape. He entertained two plans, according to Appian[48]. The one was to go through Thrace and Pontus to Armenia, the other to imitate M. Antonius and become a "general" of the Parthians. This implies that he had serious hopes of assistance from these peoples. They are all known to have supplied "auxilia" in earlier wars. When finally cornered in Asia Minor, he had at least 200 horse and 300 light-armed troops. In his final flight, he was pursued by Amyntas of Galatia who had 1500 cavalry[49].

The auxiliaries of what may be called the foreign rather than the civil wars of the period of the second triumvirate may now be considered. Major operations were undertaken on the Parthian front.

/Reference[50] .....

reference[50] has already been made to the fact that, before the battle of Philippi, Cassius had sent his Parthian troops back to the Parthian king, with a request for a larger force. Appian[51] reports that when this force arrived after the battle, it ravaged Syria and other nearby areas. He does not make clear how an ostensibly allied force turned into enemies and caused extensive damage. The Parthians, however, can hardly be other than those who accompanied Q. Labienus[52] into Syria and Asia Minor in the winter of 41/40 B.C. What Labienus' precise position was, and what his relationship to the Parthians was, is most obscure[53], but the assistance rendered to him by the Parthians was far removed from the traditional pattern of the auxiliaries of the Empire. The Parthians had not been prepared to assist Rome, or even Labienus in any substantial way, and were now intervening on their terms. This was the situation which faced Antony when he assumed responsibility for the eastern parts of the Roman empire.

Some indications survive concerning the role of the "auxilia" in his Parthian expeditions. He, or Ventidius, who was operating against the Parthians on his behalf in the early stages, decided to support Herod of Judaea with Roman troops, as Cassius had done. In 37 an army of troops that comprised at least five Roman cohorts[54]. These cohorts, if not of full Roman legionary size, were presumably at least legionary trained and drawn up in legionary cohort formation. In 37 Herod received two legions and a thousand cavalry[55]. The cavalry must have been auxiliaries, and Josephus later says of five "cohorts" that they had recently been recruited in Syria and did not contain the normal stiffening of seasoned troops[56]. .....

troops[56]. In 37 the Romans supported Herod with "cavalry and infantry" again, elsewhere specified as two legions and a considerable force of Syrian auxiliaries[57]. Whether this distinction is meant to imply that the "legions" in this case were not comprised of Syrian recruits cannot be definitely decided. It must have been numbers rather than quality or nationality that counted.

Such were the military measures taken to secure one area of strategic importance in a confrontation with Parthia. Antony settled the affairs of other client kingdoms in the Eastern world[58], but no such details concerning military arrangements survive. At the end of 37 he profited from an internal Parthian dissension which resulted in several Parthian nobles and their followers joining him, but as their chief figure was later allowed to return to Parthia, it is not known whether any Parthian soldiers remained in Antony's forces[59]. Plutarch[60] mentions some of the auxiliaries whom he had in Armenia in 36. These included 10,000 Spanish and Gallic[61] cavalry, described as [illegible] and distinguished from 30,000 cavalry and light-armed troops of other [illegible]. In a later passage[62] javelin-throwers and slingers are named. Antony was supported by many allied kings, one of whom was Polemon of Pontus[63]; the most important however was Artavasdes of Armenia (who however later left him in the lurch) who brought 6000 cavalry[64] and 7000 infantry. These contingents of the allied kings are presumably to be regarded as forming part of the figure of [illegible]. .....

30,000. On the expedition Antony lost 4000 cavalry, and interestingly blamed his defeat on the lack of a sufficiently large force of cavalry and archers[65].

The non-civil wars in the west that offset Antony's Parthian campaigns were largely confined to Gaul, Spain and Illyricum[66]. They were on a smaller scale, and nothing has survived concerning auxiliaries involved in them.

In the absence of Appian, Plutarch is our main source for the forces gathered for action in 31 B.C. As had happened to Pompey before Pharsalus, stress was laid upon the Eastern element in Antony's army[67]. Marithausen[68] puts this in a striking light : "wie Agamemnon die Fürsten der Hellenen zum Kampfe gegen Ilium, so versammelte Antonius die Könige des griechischen Orients um sich zum Kampfe gegen Rom." Tarn[69], however, has shown that the character of Antony's army remained basically Italian.

Plutarch[70] gives the following names of those who either came to Antony or sent him assistance :

Bocchus of Libya (a mistake for Bogud of Mauretania),

Tarcondemus (the hellenized form of Tarcondimotus) of Cilicia,

Archelaus of Cappadocia,

Philadelphus of Paphlagonia,

Mithridates of Commagene,

Sadalas of Thrace,

Polemon of Pontus,

/Amicus .....

Malchus of Arabia,

Herod of Judaea,

Amyntas of Lycaonia and Galatia,

the Medes.

He also states that assistance had been promised by Dicomes of the Getae[71], and that Antony had 12,000 cavalry[72] and was able to put 2000 archers[73] on board for the naval engagement. Dio[74] adds the names of other allies : Iamblichus, an Arab, who was tortured for suspected treachery, and the Mysians, who deserted to Octavian[75], and mentions a force of gladiators[76] at Cyzicus that remained loyal to the end.

Further items of information can be gathered concerning some of these allies. Philadelphus of Paphlagonia went over to Octavian[77]. Antony hoped to enlist other Thracians besides those that came with Dadala : according to Dio[78] he sent to Thrace and Macedonia for mercenaries. At first sight it may appear strange to put Macedonia in the East, but it is so classified in Plutarch[79] in the passage referred to above, where the East, which is given as Antony's sphere of influence, is made to reach Illyria. The contribution of Herod of Judaea was small, and was diverted to Arabia[80]. Amyntas and Deiotarus defected with their Galatians to Octavian[81]. The Medes were presumably those for whom Antony had exchanged Roman soldiers with the Median king in 33 B.C.[82].

In the above list there is no mention of western auxiliaries, especially Gallic and Spanish cavalry. As noted above[83], Antony had

/10,000 .....

10,000 of these on his Parthian expedition in 36 B.C., in which he lost a total of 4000 cavalry. This means that at least 6000 of the Gauls and Spaniards were still available. After the death of Cleopatra, Octavian gave Herod 400 Gauls who had served as her bodyguard[84], which is another indication that Gauls were available to Antony. Horace's[85] reference to the defection of "Galli" to Octavian at the battle of Actium -

"at huc frementis uerterunt bis mille equos
Galli canentes Caesarem" -

is commonly[86] equated with that of the Galatians under Amyntas and Deiotarus mentioned above. It is true that "Galli" can refer to Galatians in Latin literature[87], but at first sight the meaning of Gauls would be the natural one, especially since they chanted the name of Caesar. It is possible, then, to take this passage as a reference to Gallic, rather than Galatian, cavalry in Antony's army. On general grounds the presence of western "auxilia" is most likely.

Reference has already been made to the defections of auxiliaries from Antony to Octavian. Octavian had some Eastern supporters of his own, such as Eurycles the Spartan[88]. The role of the Dacian Cotiso is not clear. According to Dio[89] the Dacians had approached Octavian, but failing in their requests, had gone over to Antony, without however rendering him any real assistance. Suetonius[90] retails an item of Antonine propaganda against Octavian, that he had betrothed his daughter Julia to Cotiso[91], "Getarum rex". These references to Dacians and Getans,

/am .....

as well as the hoped-for assistance from Dicomes already referred to, make it likely that both Antony and Octavian felt it necessary to secure, if not the active co-operation, at least the neutrality or favour of this area on the lower Danube as part of their over-all strat[illegible]gy. It is unlikely that the negotiations resulted in the actual dispatch of auxiliaries. Nothing more can be recovered about Octavian's "auxilia", except that Plutarch[92] credits him with about the same number of cavalry as Antony had, which was 12,000.

NOTES.

1. "Phil." II, 44, 112; cf. 8, 19; XIII, 8, 18. Cavaignac, "R.E.L." 1952, 228, regards these as foreigners drafted into the legions by Antony.
2. Dio XLV, 22, 4.
3. Cf. Jal, "Lat." 1962, 37.
4. Cic. "Phil." V, 2, 6.
5. Thus Pollio to Cic. ("Fam." X, 33, 4). D. Brutus (XI, 10, 3 - 4) states that he had only a small band of infantry, but many "equites".
6. XI, 10, 3.
7. App. "B.C." III, 14, 97, 402. For Decimus Brutus, cf. Münzer, "R.E." Suppl. V, 1931, 37[illegible] ff. (no. 55a).
8. Plut. "Ant." 18, 4.
9. XLV, 13, 4; XLVI, 37, 2.
10. "Phil." V, 17, 46.
11. "Brut." I, 10, 2.
12. App. "B.C." III, 19, 47, 402.
13. III, 8, 49, 201.
14. IV, 2, 8, 55.
15. II, 88, 373.
16. For the Martnini, cf. above, p.18
17. "B.C." IV, 10, 75, 318.
18. Ibid.; III, 11, 79, 324.
19. "Brut." 25. For Dolabella, cf. Münzer, "R.E.", 1900, 1300 ff. (no. 141).
20. "B.C." IV, 11, 88, 373.
21. Cf. Cic. "Phil." XI, 13, 33.
22. App. "B.C." IV, 11, 87, 369; Dio XLVII, 26, 1 f.
23. "B.C." III, 82, 4; cf. App. "B.C." II, 12, 83, 350; Plut. "Pomp." 76, 5; Dio XLII, 2, 5, for the suggestion that Pompey flee to the Parthians after Pharsalus.
24. Cic. "Att." XIV, 9, 3; Dio XLVII, 27, 5; for Caesar, cf. above, p.26

/25. .....

25. "B.C." IV, 8, 59, 257.
26. 8, 63, 271; cf. Dio XLVIII, 24, 3.
27. "B.C." IV, 17, 133, 558.
28. 14, 108, 454; 17, 133, 557.
29. Jos. "B.J." I, 11, 4, 225; 11, 6, 230; cf. "A.J." XIV, 11, 6, 288 ff.; 15, 11, 452. Cf. Buchheim, 1960, 63.
30. App. "B.C." IV, 9, 65, 277.
31. Plut. "Brut." 41.
32. App. "B.C." IV, 11, 87, 369.
33. 14, 108, 454.
34. V, 4, 30, 117; 4, 32, 128; 6, 50, 208.
35. 4, 30, 117; 4, 33, 134; Suet. "Aug." 14.
36. App. "B.C." IV, 11, 85, 355; V, 8, 72, 304.
37. IV, 11, 83, 348. For Arabio, cf. above, p. 33, n. 133
38. 7, 54, 234 ff.
39. V, 12, 113, 474.
40. V, 3, 25, 100.
41. 6, 56, 239; 12, 110, 457; 12, 113, 474.
42. 12, 116, 481.
43. 9, 78, 332. For Menodorus, cf. Münzer, "R.E." XV, 1931, 896 ff. (no. 1).
44. 12, 110, 461.
45. 12, 117, 485 f.
46. 13, 127, 526.
47. 11, 98, 406.
48. 14, 133, 551 ff. For Labienus, cf. below, p. 39
49. 14, 137, 571; 146, 582; 142, 594. For Amyntas, cf. F. v. Rohden, "R.E." I, 1894, 2067 f. (no. 21).
50. Cf. above, p. 36. For Cassius' Parthian policy, cf. Buchheim, 1960, 25 ff.
51. IV, 8, 63, 271.
52. Plut. "Ant." 28, 1; Dio XLVIII, 25. For Labienus, cf. Münzer, "R.E." XII, 1924, 258 ff. (no. 5).

/53. .....

53. Cf. the discussion in Buchheim, 196-, 75 ff.
54. Jos. "B.J." I, 19, 3, 398; 301 - Josephus' actual words are [illegible] ... [illegible], balanced by five Jewish cohorts.
55. "A.J." XIV, 15, 7, 434; "B.J." I, 16, 6, 317, where [illegible] is used.
56. I, 17, 1, 324, where [illegible] and τῶν τῆδε στρατιωτῶν are the words used. Cavaignac, "R.E.A." 1952, 228, regards these Syrians as foreigners drafted into the legions.
57. Jos. "A.J." XIV, 16, 1, 460; "B.J." I, 17, 2, 327; 9, 346; where τάγματα and [illegible] appear.
58. App. "B.C." V, 8, 79, 319.
59. Plut. "Ant." 37, 1 - 2; Dio XLIX, 23, 5.
60. Plut. "Ant." 37, 3.
61. Also mentioned in 41, 5.
62. 41, 4.
63. 38, 3.
64. The 16,000 of 50, 2 seems too large a figure, so the 6000 of 37, 3 is to be preferred.
65. 50, 1; 52, 2.
66. Cf. Schmitthenner, "Hist." 1958, 189 ff., for the perspective in which Octavian's Illyrian campaigns are to be viewed.
67. "Ant." 56, 4; cf. Dio L, 6, 5.
68. 1891 (1964), 359.
69. "C.R." 1932, 8.
70. "Ant." 61, 1. For Bocchus/Bogud, cf. Romanelli, 1957, 149 f., and above, p. 25 and p. 32, n. 134. For Marcondirotus, cf. Stein, "R.E." IV A, 1932, 2297 ff. For Archelaus, cf. Wilcken, "R.E." II, 1895, 451 (no. 15). For (Deiotarus) Philadelphus, cf. Niese, "R.E." IV, 1901, 2404 (no. 4). For Mithridates, cf. Geyer, "R.E." XV, 1932, 2213 f. (no. 30). For Sadala, cf. above, p. 15, 171. For Polemon cf. above, p. 40. For Malchus, cf. above p. 20. For Amyntas, cf. above, p. 38.

/71. .....

71. Plut. "Ant." 63, 4. For Dicomes, cf. Brandis, "R.E." V, 1903, 358 (who prefers to regard him as a Dacian).

72. Plut. "Ant." 61, 1.

73. 64, 1.

74. LI, 13, 7. For Iamblichus, cf. Stein, "R.E." IX, 1914, 639 f. (no. 1).

75. Dio LI, 23.

76. LI, 7, 1. Cf. App. "B.C." V, 14, 137, 571; Jos. "B.J." I, 20, 2, 392.

77. Dio L, 13, 5.

78. 13, 8.

79. "Ant." 56, 4 : [illegible]
τε καὶ [illegible]
[illegible] ... .

80. Jos. "B.J." I, 20, 1, 388; "A.J." 5, 1, 109 - 10.

81. Plut. "Ant." 63, 3; Vell. II, 85.

82. Dio XLIX, 44, 2.

83. Cf. p. 40

84. Jos. "B.J." I, 20, 2, 397; "A.J." XV, 7, 3, 217.

85. "Epod." 9, 17 f. The figure of 2000 can obviously not be pressed.

86. Cf. e.g. Tarn, "C.Q." 1932, 80.

87. Cf. above, p. 16

88. Plut. "Ant." 67, 2. Cf. Dio LI, 2, 3, where assistance, which may have been military, is noted from Cydonia and Lampe.

89. LI, 22. 8.

90. "Aug." 63, 4. Cf. Gagé, "R.H." 1959, 233; Mócsy, "Hist." 1966, 511 f. The terms "Getan" and "Dacian" were not used with great precision by Latin writers.

91. Stein, "R.E." IV, 1901, 1676.

92. "Ant." 61, 2. Dio (LI, 15, 6) states that the younger Juba (for whom cf. F. Jacoby, "R.E." IX, 1916, 2384 ff. (no. 20)) accompanied Octavian on his campaigns and was then made king of Numidia (and later Mauretania). However it is not safe to deduce from this that he supplied a sizeable contingent of Numidian "auxilia" for the battle of Actium.

IV. [illegible]

The evidence for the "auxilia" under Augustus is highly unsatisfactory. Auxiliary regiments had not started producing stamped military tiles as yet. One or two inscriptions recording the auxiliaries can be dated to the Augustan period, and inferences can be drawn from others. Consideration of the epigraphical evidence, however, will be left to a later chapter[1]. Literary references are scattered. Tacitus does not describe the principate of Augustus. Suetonius' biography of the emperor is hardly concerned with details of military organization. Dio is insufficiently detailed. Velleius Paterculus makes some useful remarks on the subject, but does not turn his attention to the "auxilia" as such. All that can be done is to review the major wars fought under Augustus and consider any mention of non-legionary troops.

Nothing survives concerning the subjugation of the Salassians and other peoples in North Italy in 25 B.C. The wars in Aquitania and the rest of Gaul at the outset of Augustus' principate are equally obscure, although the cavalry[2] overwhelmed in the Gallian disaster may have been auxiliaries. In spite of Augustus' participation in the early stages, the wars in Spain[3] from 27 to 19 B.C. do not produce a reference to the "auxilia" involved. Strabo[4] however relates that, instead of plundering the allies of the Romans, the Cantabrians[5] were now fighting for them. "Now" is difficult to interpret : Strabo is generally thought to have written most of the "Geography" under Augustus, with additions under

/Tiberius. .....

Tiberius. Since in the next sentence here he refers to an action of Tiberius in Spain, it is not clear whether the remark should be taken of the Tiberian period, or whether it can be made to refer to the time of the end of the Spanish wars under Augustus. Strabo does not specify the capacity in which the Cantabrians fought for Rome : Dio[6] says that they were good javelin throwers.

As a prelude to the great attack on Germany, campaigns were undertaken against the Saetians and the Noricans and successfully concluded by Drusus and Tiberius in 15 B.C. Dio[7] reports an interesting measure adopted by the Romans to ensure the peace : [illegible] καὶ [illegible] τι [illegible], τό τε κράτιστον καὶ τὸ κλεῖστον τῆς [illegible] αὐτῶν [illegible], [illegible] τοσούτους ὅσοι τὴν μὲν [illegible] οἰκεῖν ἱκανοὶ νεοχμώσαι δέ τι [illegible] ἦσαν.

The strongest element and those whose age qualified them for military service were "removed" from their homes. Since it is not specifically stated that they were sold into slavery, it is possible to surmise that some at least were drafted into auxiliary service.

The long German wars of the principate of Augustus started with the expedition of Drusus across the Rhine in 12 B.C. A few items concerning the "auxilia" in this sphere survive. In 12 B.C. Drusus was supported by Frisian infantry[8], and in 10 by Nervians led by the tribal commanders Chumetinctus and Avectius, called "tribuni" by the epitomator of Livy[9]. The Varian disaster of 9 A.D. brings the next notice. Just

/before .....

before the outbreak of the revolt, Varus[10] was waiting for assistance from leaders of the Cheruscans[11] who were at that stage still ostensibly loyal. From the fact that the leader of the rebellion, Arminius, ordered the arrest of the chief of Ampsivarians during the revolt, it is probable that the Romans had received auxiliary assistance from that tribe as well[12]. Velleius Paterculus[13] describes the troops slain as follows : "tres legiones totidemque alae et sex cohortes" (Suetonius[14] merely says "tribus legionibus ... et auxiliis omnibus caesis"). This amounts to three cavalry and six infantry auxiliary regiments involved in the battle itself. It is presumably these to which Dio[15] refers in his enumeration of the losses : τὸ συμμαχικὸν, ἂν τε καὶ ἔκεισε ἦν, ἐκεκάκωτο (whether the archers, presumably auxiliaries, who helped to harass the Germans in their assault on the final Roman position, are to be included among these can of course not be definitely decided[16]). These "allied forces that were of any use", corresponding to Velleius' alae and cohorts and Suetonius' "auxilia" imply that there were other auxiliaries available, who were probably either less reliable or inadequately trained and equipped. Dio's phrase occurs immediately after a statement that there was a critical shortage of recruits for the legions. It implies that the emperor was almost as concerned with "useful" auxiliaries as with legionary material.

Prior to his change of front against the Romans, Arminius[17] had been granted Roman citizenship and equestrian status for military services rendered as leader of a Cheruscan contingent. Tacitus merely says of him "in castris Romanis ductor popularium meruit", but Velleius calls him

/"adsiduus .....

"adsiduus militiae nostrae prioris comes". If the term "militia nostra prior" could be definitely interpreted, it would be possible to discover where Arminius had served with his Cheruscan soldiers : Velleius is known to have served in Thrace, Armenia, Germany and Pannonia[18]. One approach[19] has been to regard Arminius as a regular "praefectus alae" in the Roman sense who can be associated with suitable stages of Velleius' career. This would imply he had seen professional service in the Empire as if he had been a native Roman of equestrian status. But in view of the possibility of understanding "militia" in the sense of "expedition", it seems preferable to take the phrase in the sense of Velleius' former expedition or campaign as, most recently, von Petrikovits[20]. He, however, takes as Velleius' starting point the last campaign under Germanicus and refers the joint service of Velleius and Arminius to the Pannonian campaigns of Tiberius. But in the chapters immediately preceding the remark about Arminius, Velleius had repeatedly been speaking of his service under Tiberius, first in Germany, then in Pannonia (4 - 5, 6 - 7 A.D. respectively.[21]. It seems safer to return to the older view[22] and relate Arminius' Roman services to Tiberius' campaigns in 4 - 6 A.D. The Velleian passage cannot be taken as evidence for the service of Arminius, let alone of a Cheruscan contingent, outside Germany.

The consequences of the Varian disaster should be noted. Augustus felt that the Gauls and Germans in his bodyguard now posed a threat to security and sent them away from Rome to an island. He had been using German "corporis custodes" since the battle of Actium, when they had

/replaced .....

replaced a "manus Calagurritanorum" (from Calahorra in Spain). Augustus was continuing the use of foreign bodyguards that had been a feature of the late republic[23]. To deal with the critical shortage of suitable recruits for the army at this juncture, he resorted for the second time to another late republican device, the enlisting of freedmen. These were kept apart from the citizen soldiers and armed differently[24].

The Pannonian Revolt of 6 to 9 A.D. produces some information concerning "auxilia" but earlier fighting in the Danubian area had led to a series of alliances and connexions that should be noted first. Licinius Crassus was engaged in warfare there in 29 B.C. At one stage he was assisted by Roles, a Getan chief. As a result of the services which he rendered, Roles was later recognized by Augustus as a friend and ally of the Roman people[25]. The Thracian tribe of the Odrysians was spared when the rest of the Thracians were punished for not having remained "friendly" to the Romans[26]. It is more than likely that they had supplied the Romans with auxiliaries as a sign of their friendliness.

In the course of his campaigns against the Pannonians in 12 B.C. Tiberius was able to use the Odrysians as allies, useful, as Dio[27] says, because they were [illegible] of the Pannonians and had the same methods of fighting.

In 5 A.D., when Tiberius was preparing his great offensive against Marobodus, the Dalmatians were ordered to supply what Dio[28] calls a [illegible] to [illegible] that the [illegible] legate of Illyricum,

/Valerius .....

Valerius Messallinus, was collecting for Tiberius. When they assembled, they realized their strength, and revolted. The assembling of the troops must have taken place without Roman supervision. They must have formed a contingent of "socii" under native control and direction. Presumably other tribes in the area had also been required to contribute men. One thinks of the Pannonians, who, according to Velleius[29], had a knowledge of Roman discipline which they could only have gained from extensive co-operation with the Romans as auxiliaries. The rebels had available about 20,000 infantry and 9000 cavalry[30].

Velleius refers to concentrations of Roman troops comprising auxiliaries on three occasions. The first two report a disaster in which the Romans were surrounded : "pars ... circumfusa quinque legionibus nostris auxiliaribusque et equitatui regio (quippe magnus Thracum manus ... Rhoemetalces, Thraciae rex, in adiutorium eius belli secum trahebat) ... cladem intulit"[31] (where it is clear that "auxiliares" are kept distinct from the allied Thracian cavalry); "fugata regiorum equestris acies, fugatae alae, conuersae cohortes sunt, apud signa quoque legionum trepidatum"[32]. The royal cavalry are distinguished from the "auxiliares", who comprise units of cavalry, "alae", and infantry, "cohortes". On the third occasion, Velleius[33] supplies Tiberius' total forces : "decem legionibus, LXX amplius cohortibus, XIIII ... et pluribus quam decem ueteranorum milibus, ad haec magno uoluntariorum numero frequentique equite regio". Besides the legionaries and the veterans, there is the same

/distinction .....

distinction between the Thracian cavalry and the units of auxiliary cavalry and infantry, with the number specified in each case. The "voluntarii"[34] were freedmen whom Augustus had drafted to help meet the emergency. The distinctions made by Velleius do not appear in Suetonius, who merely refers to "legionen parenque auxiliorum copiam"[35].

Unfortunately Velleius does not name the alae and cohorts involved. However from Dio[36] we know of a certain Πομπωνιος Λουπος who distinguished himself. Probably he was serving in a Gallic ala. From the long service which Flavus, Arminius' brother, had given to the Romans, Gerdthausen[37] has argued that he was among the auxiliaries used in the Pannonian revolt. It is not clear what rank he held[38] in the Roman service : he may not have been a commander of a tribal contingent like his brother, whose service in this capacity was probably confined to Germany. This passage is insufficient evidence for his having served in the Pannonian revolt. Tacitus[39] describes a Parthian Pronespades in the following terms : "exul quondam et Tiberio, cum Dalmaticum bellum conficeret, haud inglorius auxiliator eoque ciuitate Romana donatus". He had however later returned to Parthia where he found favour with the king again. Presumably he had had a following when he served Tiberius in the Pannonian revolt. It would therefore not be safe to regard him as a leader or a member of an ala, but rather as assisting on a less formal basis like Rhoemetalces.

The record of the East and Africa under Augustus is even less

/satisfactory. .....

satisfactory. When Aelius Gallus set out on his Arabian expedition in 25 B.C., he was accompanied by about 1 ,000 infantry, whom Strabo[40] describes as Romans from Egypt, who were presumably mainly legionaries, and their allies. The latter comprised 1,0[illegible] Nabataeans and 5[illegible] Jews. Josephus[41] states that the 500 Jews were picked men from Herod's bodyguard.

When Petronius, as prefect of Egypt, repelled an Ethiopian attack on Egypt by invading Ethiopia herself in 24 B.C., he took less than 10,000 infantry and 800 cavalry against a force alleged to number 30,000[41]. Strabo[42] gives the total forces of Egypt as 3 legions, and 3 cohorts - [illegible] -, three of which were established in Syene (Aswan) near the Ethiopian border. It was these 3 cohorts that had been attacked by the Ethiopians[43]. There were also 3 units of cavalry - [illegible] - at different points of the province. The cavalry of the province were clearly auxiliaries, but the character of the cohorts cannot be easily established. That Strabo calls them "of Romans" may mean that they consisted of non-local soldiers drafted away from their homes, not necessarily that they were composed of Roman citizens.

When Tiberius went to Armenia in 20 B.C. he was assisted by Archelaus of Cappadocia[44]. It may be assumed that the king provided troops.

Auxiliaries in the East are next heard of in Josephus' accounts of the troubles that broke out in 4 B.C. when the Jewish Archelaus succeeded his father Herod in Judaea. Archelaus is said to have sent

/A .....

a "tribune with a cohort"[45] into a rioting mob in Jerusalem to restore order, but in spite of the Roman-sounding terms employed, the reference must be to the royal Jewish troops. When the imperial procurator of Syria, Sabinus, attempted to gain possession of Herod's treasure against the orders of Varus, then governor of Syria, he armed some of his own slaves to supplement the legion which Varus had given him[46]. In the fighting which broke out in the temple between the Jews and Sabinus' forces, the skill of the Jewish slingers and the presence of Jewish archers is noted[47]. When revolts spread throughout Judaea, certain elements of the royal Jewish army remained loyal to the Romans. These included "the most warlike element", Sebastenians, i.e., Samaritans, since Samaria was known as Sebaste at this period, and archers from Trachonitis[48].

The revolts were serious enough to need the presence of Varus, who came in from Syria. He brought two legions and the four alae of horse attached to them, and ordered neighbouring kings and dynasts to supply auxiliaries. The city of Berytus (Beirut) supplied 1500 heavy armed soldiers[49]. Aretas the Arab brought a large force of infantry and cavalry, but later went beyond the bounds of what was expected of an ally : he used his presence in Judaea to satisfy his private feud with the house of Herod[50].

Finally, there are general references to auxiliaries in Tacitus, Suetonius and Dio. Tacitus[51] states that Augustus left a document behind at his death which mentioned "quantum civium sociorumque in armis". The passage refers only to auxiliaries as contrasted with legionaries :

/whether .....

whether the "socii" included "ad hoc" troops supplied by the "regna" that are mentioned in the next phrase cannot be decided from the context. The fact that the number of the "socii" could be stated suggests, however, that the "socii in armis" were on a basis secure enough for meaningful record keeping. Suetonius'[52] statement that "ex militaribus copiis legiones et auxilia prouinciatim distribuit" takes us no further. Dobias has argued that certain "cohortes" who were punished by decimation and by being given rations of barley[53] were auxiliaries. The previous sentence gives milder punishments to legions : hence these were auxiliaries. But the use of "cohortes" in the sense of auxiliary infantry regiments so soon after the term legion does not seem natural. The difference is more likely to be found in the offence : the "cohortes" were being so punished for yielding their position in battle : the legions had merely shown insolence. "Cohortes" then refers to the tactical division of the legion, not to the auxiliary unit. Suetonius also refers to auxiliary commanders. He says that Augustus allowed the sons of senators to start their careers not only with legionary tribunates but also with cavalry commands ("praefecturas alarum"). Sometimes 2 such "laticlauii" were placed in command of one ala ("binos plerumque laticlauios praeposuit singulis alis")[54]. Dio's[55] statement is also general, with a disclaimer that he is not able to supply figures :

καὶ ἱππέων καὶ πεζῶν ὁπόσοι ἦσαν· οὐ γὰρ ἔστιν ἀκριβῶς εἰδέναι.

NOTES.

1. Cf. below, p.243
2. Dio LIV, 20, 5. For M. Lollius, cf. Groag, "R.E." XIII, 1927, 1377 ff. (no. 11); Ritterling-Stein, 1932, 5 (no. 8).
3. Brancati, 1963, does not discuss the question of the "auxilia" in Spain.
4. III, 3, 8, 156.
5. For the Cantabri, cf. Hübner, "R.E." III, 1899, 1491 ff.
6. LIII, 25, 6.
7. LIV, 22, 5.
8. Dio LIV, 32, 3.
9. Livy "Ep." CXXI. Obviously the use of the Roman military term "tribunus" cannot be given such weight : cf. van de Weerd, "R.C." 1936, 352; Sander, "Gymn." 1955, 94. For Avectius, cf. "P.I.R."^{2} A 1337, for Chusstinctus, C 729.
10. For P. Quinctilius Varus, cf. W. John, "R.E." XXIV, 1963, 907 ff. (no. 20); Ritterling-Stein, 1932, 10 (no. 19).
11. Dio LVI, 19, 4. For the Cherusci, cf. Ihm, "R.E." III, 1897, 2270 ff.
12. Tac. "Ann." XIII, 55, quoted below, p.121, n. 43. For the Ampsivarii, cf. Ihm, "R.E." I, 1894, 1953.
13. II, 117, 1. For a discussion of Velleius' use of the terms "alae et cohortes", cf. below, p.228 : Velleius and his father had both been "praefecti equitum" (II, 104, 3).
14. "Aug." 23, 1.
15. LVI, 23, 1.
16. 22, 2a.
17. "P.I.R."^{2} A 1063. The phrases discussed are Tac. "Ann." II, 14; Vell. II, 118, 2.
18. For Velleius' career, cf. Dihle, "R.E." VIII A, 637 ff.
19. Sander ("Gymn." 1955, 87 ff.) has been the last to defend this view in detail. He would however separate Arminius' activity as "praefectus

/alae" .....

alae" from his leading of a Cheruscan contingent, which, in his opinion, occurred during Tiberius' German campaigns in 4 - 6 A.D.

20. "B.J.", 1[illegible], 177 f., developing a suggestion of Koestermann, "Hist." 1957, 435 f., n. 17.

21. Cf. II, 104 ff., esp. 114, 1; 115, 5.

22. as, e.g., in Gardthausen, 1904, vol. I, 12[illegible] and II, 797, n. 24; Bang, 19[illegible], 29. Cf. [illegible]der, l.c.n. 19, and Callies, "[illegible]" 1964, 143 f., who does not accept [illegible]ander's position on Arminius as "praefectus alae".

23. Dio LVI, 23, 4; Suet. "Aug." 4[illegible], 1, and above, p. 34, and for the "corporis custodes", below, p. 388.

24. Suet. "Aug." 25, 2; Dio, LVI, 23, 3.

25. Dio LI, 24, [illegible] f. For M. Licinius Crassus, cf. Groag, "R.E." XIII, 1926, 270 ff. (no. 58).

26. 25, 4. The circumstances behind the "unauthorized" war against the Odrysians (Lenk, "R.E." XVII, 1937, 1[illegible] ff.) of M. Primus (LIV, 3, 1) a few years later are obscure.

27. LIV, 31, 3. For the Scordisci cf. Fluss, "R.E." II A, 1921, 831 ff.

28. LV, 29, 1. For [illegible], cf. Stein, "R.E." XIV, 193[illegible], 1[illegible]7 ff, and for M. Valerius Messalla Messallinus, Lunzer, "R.E." VIII A, 1955, 159 ff. (no. 264).

29. II, 110, 5.

30. 110, 3.

31. 112, 4. For Rhoemetalces, cf. Dio LV, 3[illegible]; Sahratedt, "R.E." I A 1914, 1[illegible]03 f. (no. 1). It is to be noted that some years earlier M. Lollius (cf. above, p. 49) had given this king support when he needed it (Dio LIV, 2[illegible], 3). As in the case of Herod in the late republican period (cf. above p. 39 f) Roman military assistance to a client king produced a good dividend.

32. Vell. II, 112, 5.

33. 113, 1. Unfortunately the reading is disputed : Laurent suggested "X alis et", Lipsius "XIIII alis et" for the lacuna. What is in doubt is not the "alae", but their number.

/34. .....

34. Cf. III, 1, and above p.53.

35. "Tib." 16, 1. Suetonius gives the impossible figure of 15 for the number of legions involved. This Syme, "J.R.S." 1923, 27 f., plausibly explains as a general estimate of the total of legions on the Rhine and Danube together.

36. LVI, 11, 2. "Fusio" appears neither in Holder, 1[illegible], 1961, nor in Schönfeld, 1[illegible]10, 1965. For Dio's use of [illegible], cf. Boissevain's edition, index, s.v.

37. 1904, 1176, on the basis of Tac. "Ann." II, 9. For Flavus, cf. "P.I.R."[2] F 450.

38. He is called an "explorator" in Tac. "Ann." XI, 16, but the term there is intended to be deliberately disparaging. His "dona militaria" (for which cf. Fiebinger "R.E." V, 1903, 1528 ff.) included a "corona" (Tac. "Ann." II, [illegible]), normally not given to those under the rank of centurion. But the "dona" had not been systematized by this date.

39. "Ann." VI, 37.

40. XVI, 4, 23, 78[illegible]. For Aelius Gallus, cf. "P.I.R."[2] A 179; [illegible] Stein, 195[illegible], 16 f.

41. "A.J." XV, 9, 3, 327.
Strabo XVII, 1, 54, 8[illegible]. For Petronius, cf. Stein, "R.E." XIX, 1937, 1197 ff. (no. 21); [illegible] Stein, 1[illegible], 17 f.

42. XVII, 1, 12, 797.

43. ibid., 54, 82[illegible]. These cohorts were not kept up to full strength according to 55, 619.

44. Jos. "A.J." [illegible], 4, 3, 1[illegible]. For Archelaus, cf. "P.I.R."[2] A 1023, and above, p.41.

45. [illegible] - Jos. "B.J." II, 1, 3, 11. For Archelaus, cf. "P.I.R."[2] A 1023.

46. Jos. "B.J." II, 3, 1, 81; "A.J." XVII, 10, 1, 252 - 3 + Sabinus used them as [illegible]. For Sabinus, cf. Stein, "R.E." I A, 192[illegible], 1595 (no. 4), and for Varus, above, p. 51

/47. .....

47. Jos. "A.J." XVII, 10, 2, 259.

48. "B.J." II, 3, 4, 52; 4, 2, 58. For Trachonitis, cf. G. Hölscher, "[illegible]" [illegible], 1937, 1865 f.; for [illegible], [illegible], I.A.1920, 2102 ff. (esp. 21[illegible]).

49. 5, 1, 67; "A.J." XVII, 1[illegible], [illegible], 2[illegible] - 7. However, since Berytus (cf. Benzinger, "R.E." III, 1897, 322 ff.) was a colony, these were probably legionaries.

50. "B.J." II, 5, 1, 68; 5, 3, 76. For Aretas, cf. "P.I.R."[2] A 1033.

51. "Ann." I, 11. The "cohortes ciuium Romanorum" are mentioned in I, 8, where they received the same donative in Augustus' will as the legionaries.

52. "Aug." 49.

53. "Aug." 24, with Adams ad loc. Levi (ad loc.) does not discuss the point.

54. 38, 2.

55. Dio LV, 24, 5.

V. TIBERIUS.

In this chapter account will not be taken of the slight epigraphical evidence. The main source of information is Tacitus, although other early imperial writers supply a few facts. What references to auxiliaries there are will be discussed region by region.

When a serious disturbance broke out in the north Italian town of Vollentia (Pollenzo), Tiberius sent two detachments to restore order. Suetonius[1] describes these as "cohortem ab urbe et aliam a Cotti regno". The cohort from Rome could have been either a cohort of the praetorian guard or a 'cohors urbana' : the former is more likely in view of the distance involved. The second cohort, however, was most probably an auxiliary unit. The Cottian Alps formed at this time a client kingdom. The cohort there may have been either a unit supplied by the Romans to strengthen Cottius or a local Alpine force of Cottius' trained and organized on the model of a Roman cohort.

Under 19 A.D. Tacitus[2] refers to actions taken against observers of Egyptian and Jewish religious rites. These included the sending of 4000 freedmen of the sect involved to Sardinia, where they were to put down brigandage (or else perish because of the bad climate). Since Tacitus uses the singular for the religion involved ("ea superstitione"), it is not clear from him whether the freedmen were Egyptians or Jews. However the parallel account in Josephus[3] makes it plain that the freedmen involved were Jews. What kind of military unit was formed

/out .....

out of these Jews in not known. Suetonius[4] describes the incident as follows : "Iudaeorum iuuentutem per speciem sacramenti in prouincias praualidas caeli distribuit". The reference to the harshness of the climate must mean that Sardinia was involved. "Iuuentus" represents Tacitus' "quia idonea aetas (sc. est)". But the "form of the military oath" is not found in Tacitus[5] : something analogous to an auxiliary unit or a "cohors urbana" or a "cohors uigilum", as at Rome, must be implied.

The revolt of Florus and Sacrovir in Gaul in 21 A.D. was dependent upon Gallic auxiliaries for its initial impetus. These are referred to as "armatae cohortes", who formed the nucleus of Sacrovir's forces. They were supported by "iuuentus" amounting to 40,000 of whom a fifth had legionary equipment that was manufactured locally, and the rest various agricultural and hunting implements as weapons. The rebels also deployed "crupellarii", defined as gladiatorial slaves completely covered in plated armour[6]. Tacitus[7] keeps these three elements distinct under the heading of "cohortes", "nemorosi" and "ferrati" in his description of the final engagement.

The Romans were taunted with having nothing of value in their forces except what was foreign - "nihil ualidus in exercitibus nisi quod externum"[8]. This may refer to legionaries of non-Italian origin, although at this date they were proportionately few in number[9]. More likely the auxiliaries are meant. Even when the exaggeration in the rhetorical taunt is discounted, it is significant that this aspect of the Roman army could

/be .....

be stressed with some degree of plausibility. The actual non-legionary units that are mentioned by Tacitus are as follows. The cohort 'quae Lugduni praesidium agitabat' was an urban cohort, technically part of the city forces of Rome and therefore not an auxiliary regiment[10]. Gallic chieftains rendered assistance ("auxilium") : this probably included men, as well as supplies and money, who would have been under local control rather than professional auxiliaries. But the "ala equitum quae conscripta e Treueris militia disciplinaque nostra nitebatur" must have been a regular regiment : the reference to conscription and Roman military discipline makes this clear[11]. Julius Indus, a pro-Roman Treveran leader, was entrusted with a particular mission "cum delecta manu" : this force is later described as "una ala Treuerorum"[12]. This must have been a second regular auxiliary unit. When C. Silius, legate in upper Germany, approached the scene of the rebellion with two legions, he sent on ahead a force described as an "auxiliaris manus". This is referred to, deliberately disparagingly, by Silius himself as "paucae ... turmae", which implies that the force consisted of at least one, if not more, alae[13].

Tacitus' account of the mutiny on the Rhine and Germanicus' subsequent campaigns against the Germans (14 - 16 A.D.) at the outset of Tiberius' principate provides a certain amount of material on the auxiliaries in the Rhine area. The number of auxiliaries available to Germanicus on the Rhine is said to have been a factor in Tiberius' fear of his adopted son : he had in his power "tot legiones, immensa sociorum auxilia"[14]. The phrase is obviously rhetorical, and cannot be assessed as

/if .....

if it were precise terminology. A plan put forward during the mutiny was to arm the "auxilia et socii"[15] against the rebellious legions. Furneaux[16] is inclined to distinguish the terms, understanding "socii" as those who were still to be enrolled. This is possible, but, as in the previous phrase, the wording cannot be pressed. Germanicus makes a reference to an offer by the Belgians to protect the Roman empire from the Germans in the place of the legions - but this occurs in a highly emotional context intended to shame the mutineers[17]. The "praesidium auxiliarium equitum"[18], however, that was assigned to one of the ambassadors from the senate whom the rebels rejected, was obviously a regular unit or part of one.

For the first German campaign, late in 14 A.D., Germanicus prepared a force of "arma civium sociis"[19], where auxiliaries are clearly distinguished from the legionaries (here "arma") by the old term "socii". Actual details of the land force are given later : Germanicus was accompanied by "duodecim milia e legionibus, sex et viginti socias cohortis, octo equitum alas"[20]. The detachments from the legions amounted to the equivalent of 2 normal legions. This makes the number of auxiliary cohorts appear very large, in spite of their loyalty which Tacitus goes on to stress. If the cohorts and alae were quingenary, the number of auxiliaries totalled 13,000 infantry and 4,000 cavalry. The alae are later referred to as "equites", the infantry auxiliaries as "auxiliarias cohortes" and "ceteri sociorum"[21]. Some, if not all, the cohorts were lightly armed ("expeditae cohortes", "leues cohortes"[22]).

The forces for the campaigns of 15 A.D. are characterised as

/"pedes, ...

"pedes, eques, classis", a phrase obviously parallel to the "arma classem socios" of the year before, except that "pedes" must have included both the auxiliary and the legionary infantry[23]. At the outset the army was divided into two. Germanicus gave Caecina, the legate of the army in Lower Germany, 4 legions and [illegible] "auxiliares" : the latter presumably included cavalry and infantry. He also had "tumultuarias ceterasque Germanorum cis Rhenum colentium" : these would have been drafted for the occasion, no doubt from the Ubians and neighbouring tribes on the Rhine. From the point of view of nomenclature, it is interesting to note that the units of free Germans across the Rhine who were [illegible] previously are also called "ceteraeque" : the term here is intended to be derogatory[24]. Germanicus' forces consisted of "totidem legionum, duplicem sociorum numerum"[25], i.e., 4 legions and 16,000 auxiliaries. The proportion of cavalry to infantry is not stated. But the total of the auxiliaries of Caecina and Germanicus, excluding the cis-Rhenane German bands, was 15,000, compared with the less certain figure of 17,000 for the expedition of the previous year. During the battles of 15 A.D., Caecina's 4 legions are referred to as "quadraginta cohortes Romanae", which is merely a stylistic variation[26]. The Chaucans supplied "auxilia"[27]. A reference to "subsidiariae cohortes" can only mean auxiliary cohorts, since the legions are mentioned as supporting them in the next phrase[28].

The "classis, legiones ac socii" (under whom are subsumed the "eques" in the collective singular) appear in the expedition of 16 A.D. "equo well[29]. Welcome detail occurs in Tacitus' description of the marching well[29]. Welcome detail occurs in Tacitus' description of the marching

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order of Germanicus before the battle of Idistaviso. "Noster exercitus sic incessit : auxiliares Galli Germanique in fronte, post quos peditum sagittarii; dein quattuor legiones et cum duabus praetoriis cohortibus ac delecto equite ducebat; exin totidem alias legiones et levis armatura cum equite sagittario ceteraque sociorum cohortes"[30]. Other passages permit further discussion. The 8 legions and 2 praetorian cohorts need not detain. The "Galli Germanique auxiliares" or even the "ceteraque ... sociorum cohortes" would have included the "Raetorum Vindelicorumque et Gallicae cohortes" mentioned in the next chapter[31]. The form of the word "Gallicae" gives pause, since normally the adjective indicates the area in which the regiment served, rather than its composition[32]. Here, however, it seems best to take it as an example of Tacitean "variatio" for "Gallorum" and regard the cohorts as composed of Gauls rather than of other provincials stationed in Gaul before the expedition. One of the grounds Tiberius is said to have had for opposing further campaigns on the part of Germanicus was Gallic weariness with supplying horses : "fessos Gallias ministrandis equis"[33]. It may be that riders were also sent, but these would probably not have received organisation as formal cohorts yet. Of German auxiliaries, Batavians, Clavo- and Chaucans are recorded. The skill of the Batavians in swimming is mentioned at the landing at the river Amisia (Ems) before the major engagement at Idistaviso. Their "dux" Chariovalda took them across the river Visurgis (the Weser) prior to the crossing of the rest of the army. In this operation they formed part of the "equites", and Chariovalda had his horse killed under him. Hence the Batavians must be included among the cavalry auxiliaries[34]. Reference

/can .....

was made in the last chapter to Arminius' famous interview with his pro-Roman brother, Flavus. Since German leaders were normally accompanied by a band of followers, the "comitatus" as Tacitus calls it, it is likely that Flavus had some of his fellow tribesmen (i.e. Cheruscans) with him in Germanicus' auxiliary forces[35]. When the interview had degenerated to insult, and the brothers were on the point of having recourse to arms, Flavus called for his weapons and horse, which makes it likely that he normally fought among the cavalry. The Chaucans had joined the Roman army only the year before : it is hardly likely that they were among the German auxiliaries in the van, but were probably grouped in the rear[36].

The next element in the line consisted of archers on foot[37]. "Sagittarii" are mentioned previously as stationed on the Roman side of the Visurgis at the interview of Arminius[38]. Towards the rear were mounted archers, and associated with them the "levis armatura". Its separate mention from the "auxiliorum cohortes" implies different organization, as if it were part of the "more professional" element in the army. It helped to crush the attack of the Angrivarians made when the Romans landed at the Amisia[39]. In a further engagement with the army of Arminius after the battle of Idistaviso, Germanicus had to dislodge the Germans who had taken up a position on an earthwork that served as the boundary between the Angrivarians and the Cheruscans. This was accomplished by the use of Roman artillery and the deployment of slingers, described as "funditores libritoresque"[40]. Slingers in the republican world were auxiliaries, and there is no reason for regarding these in any other light. Presumably they can be classified

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with the "leuis armatura".

In the middle of the line Germanicus was accompanied by "delecto equite". Neither Furneaux nor Koestermann comments on this phrase, which suggests the later "equites singulares". When Tiberius' son, the younger Drusus, was sent to deal with the mutiny of the Pannonian legions in 14, he was accompanied by 2 enlarged praetorian cohorts. "Additur magna pars praetoriani equitis et robora Germanorum, qui tum custodes imperatori erant"[41] - that is, he was also accompanied by cavalry of the praetorian guard and members of the "corporis custodes" or the emperor's bodyguard. The phrase here "cum duabus praetoriis cohortibus ac delecto equite Caesar" seems parallel. On the other hand, since Drusus was not in command of the Pannonian legions, his Roman force may have been made larger than that of Germanicus. A second possibility should be considered. As noted above, when the Angrivarians defected, light armed troops participated in avenging their treachery. The full phrase is "missus illico Stertinius cum equite et armatura leui"[42]. In 15 Stertinius had been sent against the Bructerans "expedita cum manu"[43]. In 16, "Stertinius et e numero primipilarium Aemilium" commanded the cavalry at the crossing of the Visurgis, and, when Chariovalda fell, "equites cum Stertinio Aemilioque"[44] came to the rescue of his men. At the outset of the battle of Idistaviso, Germanicus gave orders for the swiftest cavalry to attack the Cheruscan flank, and for Stertinius to go round and attack their rear ("validissimos equitum incurrere latus, Stertinius cum ceteris turmis circumgredi tergaque inuadere"[45]). If the identification of Aemilius with the Paullus Aemilius

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of I.L.S. 2686 can be accepted, he was in all probability a "praefectus equitum" at this stage. Stertinius must have been much superior : in fact Ritterling-Stein catalogues him among the "Unterlegaten", i.e., the "legati" and "comites" of Germanicus. The troops entrusted to him must have been of special quality, since he was used for special missions of great importance. Sometimes the "levis armatura" was included; but the cavalry must have been the best of the auxiliaries, the most "professional" among them. They could well be the "delectus eques" of Germanicus.

The auxiliaries of Germanicus in 16 fall into various categories. The professional element was represented by the "sagittarii" and some of the "levis armatura" and the cavalry entrusted to Stertinius, a Roman, not a native commander. It may have included elements from provinces other than Gaul or Germany. Whether the Raetian, Vindelician and Gallic cohorts were of long standing or not cannot be determined from this context, but it appears likely that they were. The Batavian contingents were still under a native leader, but were entirely reliable and must be considered as more permanent and professional than the Chaucan auxiliaries. The status of the "ceterae ... sociorum cohortes" cannot be definitely determined. Tacitus may be using the word "cohortes" here in a purely tactical sense. If so, it would refer to "ad hoc" levies[46]. On the other hand it may be used in the technical auxiliary sense, in which case "socii" is merely an archaism.

The next event recorded by Tacitus in Germany was the Frisian revolt in 28 A.D. The Romans employed legionary detachments and select

/auxiliaries, ...

auxiliaries, described as "peditum et equitum auxiliarium delectos", against the rebels[47]. A special function was assigned to an "alam Canninefatem et quod peditum inter nostros merebant"[48]. The Canninefates were a neighbouring tribe, closely associated with the Batavians. The term "ala" suggests that their organization had been formalized : they are referred to in the next clause as "turmas sociales", where "turma" is again a technical Roman term. It is difficult to know what weight should be given to the fact that the German infantry were "receiving pay" : on the face of it it would appear that they too were organized, presumably in cohorts. As the battle proceeded "tres leues cohortes ac rursum duae, dein ... alarius agmen" were sent into the attack. This force can only be regarded as 5 infantry cohorts and an unspecified number of cavalry alae : the auxiliaries are later referred to simply as "cohortis alasque" and the deaths of many "praefecti" are noted. 1300 "Romans" perished in the uprising. Since the brunt of the fighting had been borne by the auxiliaries, it would be interesting to know whether their casualties are included in this figure or whether the term "Romans" refers only to legionaries. A disaster occurred in a farmhouse belonging to a certain Cruptorix, described as a former soldier in Roman employ - "quondam stipendiarius"[49]. He could hardly have been other than a Frisian. The term "stipendiarius" then implies the prior existence of a Frisian contingent in the Roman "auxilia". Tacitus' account of this engagement implies a well developed auxiliary force. It was obviously intended that they should be able to decide the issue[50] : the legions were only brought in when things went wrong.

/auxiliaries .....

Auxiliaries on the Danubian front are mentioned only in connection with the Thracian troubles of 21 and 26 A.D. In the first disturbances, the governor of Moesia sent "alarios equites ac leuis cohortium"[51] against the dissidents. The rather unusual phrase for the infantry auxiliaries is contrasted with the "robur peditum", meaning the legionaries.

One of the reasons advanced for the troubles in 26 was a change in the conditions of service for Thracian "auxilia". The Thracians claimed that previously they chose their own commanders and were only employed against neighbouring tribes, but that now they were separated from each other and sent to various places far from home[52]. The claim sounds somewhat hollow in view of the fact that Thracian auxiliaries formed a regular element in Roman armies from comparatively early republican times. Presumably however this was voluntary or mercenary service, and the present grievance related to a long period of service away from home under direct Roman discipline. The passage is evidence, therefore, of a tendency to place even client kingdom auxiliaries on a regular or more professional basis at this time : Thrace only became a province in 46 A.D.

When the fighting spread, the Romans were assisted by loyal Thracians, by archers and by a Sugambrian cohort, to name those known to us. The first were under the command of their own king - "rex Rhoemetalces cum auxiliis popularium"[53]. The second group - "delectos /sagittariorum" - .....

sagittariorum" - is mentioned because it was used against a rebel force entrenched in a hill-fort and hence initially secure against normal cavalry or infantry attack. However the rebels nearly succeeded in destroying them in a sudden sally, but they were saved by "subsidio Sugambrae cohortis", described as "promptam ad pericula nec mir a cantuum et armorum tumultu trucem"[54]. It is clear that the Sugambrians, a German tribe, although retaining features of their native methods of fighting, had already come under the conditions of service feared by the Thracian rebels.

Various operations involving the army in Syria are recorded. One of the charges brought against Piso[55], after he had fallen out with Germanicus, was that his wife had been present at army manoeuvres : "sed exercitio equitum, decursibus cohortium interesse". When the matter came up in the senate, the words used were "praesedisse nuper feminas exercitio cohortium, decursu legionum"[56]. From this it is clear that, in the first passage, the cohorts were legionary, while in the second the cohorts, now corresponding to "equitum", must represent auxiliaries in general. These then were joint exercises of legions and "auxilia". When Tonones, the exiled Parthian king, attempted to escape from the place of refuge assigned to him by the Romans, he was arrested by a cavalry commander ("praefecto equitum") - a natural use of a mounted auxiliary unit to capture someone trying to get away on horseback[57]. After the death of Germanicus in 19 A.D., Piso attempted to regain control of the province, from which Germanicus had expelled him, by force. His supporters consisted of deserters from the legions, camp followers, slaves belonging to himself and his wife and

/"auxilia" .....

"auxilia" supplied by "regali Cilicum"[58]. These proved ineffective on account of their lack of training and their "rustic" weapons, as Tacitus calls them. They included a detachment of raw recruits for the Syrian legions. Piso formed them "in numerum legionis", indicating that he had managed to muster some 5 or 6000 men.

L. Vitellius, governor of Syria at the end of Tiberius' principate, made a show of "robur legionum sociorumque" on the bank of the Euphrates in 35 A.D. during some Parthian difficulties[59]. He sent one of his legates against the dissident Cilician tribe of the Cietae in the next year with "quattuor militum legionariorum et delectis auxiliis"[60]. In 37 he proceeded to make war on the Nabataean king Aretas. Josephus[61] describes him as setting out with

τε περὶ αὐτὰ ψιλοὶ καὶ ἱππεῖς συνεπόμενοι.

The phrase 'such light-armed soldiers and cavalry as fought with the two legions" implies a definite and regular association of "auxilia" with legions.

Africa under Tiberius was noted for the revolt of Tacfarinas[62]. In the first clash in 17 A.D. the legion stationed in Africa (the III Augusta) and "quod sub signis sociorum"[63] were brought together against the rebels. "Socii" is the old term for auxiliaries, but is obviously just a variant for the contemporary terms which appear when the battle line is described : "legio medio, leues cohortes duaeque alae in cornibus locantur". The phrase 'sub signis' may then be understood in the sense of

/"in .....

"in regular formation". In 24 Tacfarinas attacked a "cohortem Romanam" that was holding a fort near a river[64]. The precise import of this phrase is difficult to establish, but the soldiers in it are emphatically called "miles Romanus" and were punished for cowardice by the ancient method of decimation - surely an attempt to establish "Roman" discipline among legionaries. Their behaviour is strongly contrasted with that of a "uexillum ueteranorum" that repulsed an attack by Tacfarinas and one of whose men, "Rufus Heluius gregarius miles", received the "dona militaria" and the rare "ciuica corona"[65] - surely a Roman. Hence the phrase here must refer to a cohort of the legion. In a later engagement in the same year, the governor sent him men against Tacfarinas "cum equite et cohortibus auxiliariis, quis uelocissimus legionum adfuderat"[66], but no details can be recovered. In 24 A.D. certain "principes Musulamiorum", whose loyalty was suspect, were executed by the Romans[67]. From this it can be inferred that the Musulamians had been rendering assistance to the Romans. Ptolemy, the king of Mauretania, was pressed into service : he operated "cum popularibus"[68]. This probably means that he put the royal army at the disposal of the Romans. We are further told that selected Mauretanians organized raiding parties: "praedatorias manus delecti Maurorum duxere"[69], no doubt using local methods to defeat a local enemy. The "expeditae cohortes alaeque" (the latter arranged in "turmae") that spear-headed the final attack on Tacfarinas were obviously regular "auxilia"[70]. The troops employed in this long-drawn out war consisted of legionaries, regular auxiliaries and allied contingents with a flexible structure.

/The .....

The supporters of Tacfarinas are instructive. Tacitus introduces him with the following sentence : "in natione Numida, in castris Romanis auxiliaria stipendia meritus, mox desertor, uagos primum et latrociniis suetos ad praedam et raptus congregare, dein more militiae per uexilla et turmas componere, postremo non iuvenilibus turbae sed Musulamiorum dux haberi"[71]. It is clear that he had been a regular auxiliary, but whether he was a member of a Numidian contingent as such cannot be firmly deduced from his nationality. He is not likely to have been the sole deserter : in any case he modelled his troops on the Roman pattern of "uexilla et turmas". Furneaux is inclined to regard "uexilla" as synonymous with "turmae", since the strength of the Numidians lay in their cavalry. But it is better with Koestermann to distinguish the terms, making the first refer to units of infantry[72]. Tacfarinas kept these "lectos uiros et Romanum in modum armatos" close to himself, improving their discipline and leaving the tribesmen who flocked to his standard to their own commanders[73]. Although admitting that he later licked them into shape, Tacitus stigmatizes his supporters as "vagrants, bandits and an untrained mob". These terms tend to recur in later parts of the narrative[74], and the word "auxilia" is also used for supplements to his forces[75]. The general picture is one of a properly trained core supported by local material of varying degrees of skill. The strength of the resistance which the north africans provided is an indication of the degree to which the Roman "auxilia" in the province had been trained and disciplined.

Finally, general references may be noted. In book IV of the

/"Annals" .....

"Annals" Tacitus reviewed the armed forces of the Roman Empire as they were in 23 A.D. : "quae tunc Romana copia in armis, qui socii reges, quanto sit angustius imperitatum"[76]. Naturally the emphasis falls on the legions which are listed province by province. The client kings[77] are Juba of Mauretania, the father of the Ptolemy who fought against Tacfarinas; the kings of the Iberians and the Albanians, in the area of the Caucasus, and "other kings", presumably of the East; Rhoemetalces and the children of Cotys in Thrace. It is clear that Tacitus regarded the resources of the client kings as an integral part of imperial defence. Though he does not use the terms alae and cohorts of their contingents, he does classify them among the "auxilia". The regular "auxilia" are then listed : "at apud idonea prouinciae sociae triremes alaeque et auxilia cohortium, neque multo secus in iis uirium : sed persequi incertum fuit, cum ex usu temporis huc illuc mearent, gliscerent numero et aliquando minuerentur"[78]. The "triremes" are the provincial fleets or river flotillas as contrasted with the Italian fleet stationed at Misenum and Ravenna. The auxiliaries are compared for strength with the legions and said to be roughly equivalent. But Tacitus makes it clear that, in the early years of Tiberius' principate at any rate, they were not as stationary as the legions and that a fixed total of regiments had not yet been reached.

Suetonius relates that Tiberius gave the senate a "species libertatis" in several respects. One was "de ..... legionum et auxiliorum discriptione"[79] which is probably a generalization from the war against Tacfarinas, which took place in a senatorial province. The legio IX Hispana

/was .....

was temporarily transferred from Pannonia to Africa at that time[80]. From this phrase it appears likely that the transfer of some of the "auxilia" serving with it in Pannonia was discussed. This statement of Suetonius confirms that of Tacitus, that the "auxilia" had become a fixed part of the army about which considerable information was available in Rome. Twice, too, Suetonius[81] refers to "praefecti alae" under Tiberius as if they were a normal rank in the army. The auxiliary system must have taken shape by the time of Tiberius, even if it had not crystallised into that known from the diplomas by this date.

NOTES.

1. Suet. "Tib." 37, 3. For M. Julius Cottius and his kingdom, cf. Stein, "[illegible]," [illegible], 1912, 57[illegible] f. (no. 197); cf. "P.I.R."[2] I, 274.
2. "Ann." II, 85.
3. "A.J." XVIII, 3, 5, 84.
4. "Tib." 36.
5. Josephus (l.c.n.3) says εἰ δὲ ὕπατοι τετρακισχιλίους ἀνδρώπους ἐξ αὐτῶν στρατολογήσαντες ἔπεμψαν εἰς [illegible]. Since Sardinia was an imperial province at this stage, the ascription of the action to the consuls appears strange, but Suetonius ("Tib." 3[illegible]) refers to Tiberius' involving of the consuls in military matters of this kind.
6. Tac. "Ann." III, 43. For Julius Florus and Julius Sacrovir, cf. "P.I.R."[2] I, 315; 539.
7. "Ann." III, 45.
8. III, 40.
9. Cf. Furneaux ad loc.; Forni, 1953, 53, n. 1. Koestermann's note ad loc. suggests that the reference is to citizenship. But the rebels would have considered Gauls and other western provincials with citizenship serving in the legions as potential sympathizers.
10. Tac. "Ann." III, 41, - the "una ... cohors" of 46. Cf. Fries, 1967, 28 f.
11. Tac. "Ann." III, 42; cf. Furneaux and Koestermann ad loc. For the Treveri, cf. Rau, "[illegible]," VI A, 1937, 23[illegible]2 ff. (esp. 23[illegible] f.).
12. ibid.; 46. For Julius Indus, cf. "P.I.R."[2] I, 358.
13. Tac. "Ann." III, 45; 46 with Furneaux and Koestermann ad loc. For [illegible] Silius, cf. [illegible], "[illegible]," III A, 1927, 74 ff. (no. 12); Ritterling-Stein, 193[illegible], 12. (Syme, "[illegible]," 1966, 55 ff., has shown that the element A. Caecina Largus did not form part of his nomenclature.)
14. Tac. "Ann." I, 7.
15. I, 36.

/16. .....

16. ad loc., a view accepted by Koestermann (ad loc.).
17. Tac. "Ann." I, 43, and Koestermann ad loc.
18. I, 34.
19. 45.
20. 49.
21. 51. Since the "auxiliariae cohortes" formed only part of the Roman marching column (other auxiliaries, called "ceteri sociorum", were in the rear) Furneaux ad loc. regards the suggestion that a number such as 6 has fallen out ofthe text before "auxiliariae" as probable. However the phrase can be taken in the sense of "auxiliary cohorts" rather than "the auxiliary cohorts"; in any case the number 16 has no secure basis, and cannot be used to calculate army sizes.
22. 50 - 1. The "expeditae cohortes" could refer to legionary cohorts, but the context makes it clear that auxiliaries are meant, for the legions are said to have followed after a short interval.
23. 60; cf. 45.
24. 56; 51; (II, 17 ("heruscorum cateruis"). For A. Caecina Severus, cf. "P.I.R.²" C, 106; Mitterling-Stein, 1932, 45; for the Germani cisrhenani, cf. Wang, 19[illegible], 4 ff.
25. Tac. "Ann." I, 56.
26. I, 60.
27. 60. For the Chauci, cf. Ihm, "R.E." III, 18[illegible], 2241 ff.
28. Tac. "Ann." I, 63.
29. II, 8.
30. 16.
31. 17.
32. Cf. Dichorius, 233.
33. Tac. "Ann." II, 9. Cf. I, 71, where, however, "equos" is again the word.
34. II, 11. II, 9; 11. For the Batavi, cf. Ihm, "R.E." III, 18[illegible], 113 ff.; for Chariovalda, "P.I.R.²" C, 716.

/35. .....

35. 9 - 10. Cf. above, p.51 f. For the German "comitatus" cf. "G." 13, and note Arminius' "stipatoribus" here ("Ann." I, 9). If Bolocalus' services under Tiberius and Germanicus extended beyond the principate of Augustus (cf. above, p.51 and below, p.92), Ampsivariane may have to be included here.

36. I, 17 : "Chaucis inter auxilia agentibus", against Furneaux (note ad loc. s.v. "sagittarii") who would include the Chaucans among the "auxiliares ... Germanique".

37. The "sagittarii" of II, 17 are to be regarded as the "equite sagitta..." of 16 according to Furneaux ad loc.

38. II, 9.

39. 8.

40. 20. For the "libritores", cf. Grosse, "R.E." XIII, 1926, 139.

41. I, 24. For the German "corporis custodes", cf. above p.52. It is true that Drusus' praetorian cohorts were "strengthened", but he still had the same number as Germanicus. Hence Levick's remark ("Lat." 1966, 240) that "Drusus seems to have had a special connection with the praetorian guard" is incorrect.

42. II, 8. For L. Stertinius, cf. Stein "R.E." III A, 1929, 2451 f. (no. 2); Ritterling-Stein, 1932, 123 (no. 6).

43. I, 60.

44. II, 11. For Aemilius and his identification with the Paullus Aemilius who was "primo pilo bis praefecto equit." (I.L.S. 2686) cf. Furneaux and Koestermann ad loc.; "P.I.R."^{2} A, 528.

45. Tac. "Ann." II, 17.

46. The possibility entertained by Koestermann ad loc.

47. IV, 73. (The Frisian forces are referred to as a "ciuium sociorumque manus" in the previous chapter, a phrase recalling Roman republican terminology but here applied to the enemy.)

48. For the Canninefates, cf. Ihm, "R.E." III, 1899, 1484.

49. For "stipendiarius", cf. Furneaux ad loc., who compares "B.Afr." 43, 1 : "cohortes stipendiarias". Holder I 396, 1961, s.v. designates the name Cruptorix as Germanic.

/50. .....

50. The "ala Sanninefas" and t e German front were supported by "equites legionum", but this d es not affect the general picture, as they were few in number (cf. above, p27.9 and assisting a special assignment.

51. Tac. "Ann." III, 3 . In this chapter, Tacitus " "auxilia" for the forces of the Thracian rebels, as in II, 65.

52. IV, 46 : "Soliti ... ei mitterent auxilia, suos ' tores praeficere nec nisi aduersum accolas belligerare. ac tum ru incessserat fore ut dialecti aliisque nationibus permixti diuersas in terras traherentur."

53. 47. For Khoemetalces, cf. Mehrstedt, "R." I , 1914, 1 04 (no. 2).

54. Tac. "Ann." IV, 47. For the Suebi, cf. Schön , "R." IV A, 1931, 659 ff.

55. For Cn. Calpurnius Piso, cf. "P.I.R." C 287.

56. Tac. "Ann." II, 55; III, 33; Furneaux and Koestermann ad locc.

57. II, 68. For Vonones, cf. R. Hanslik, "R." Suppl. IX, 1962, 1865 ff. (no. 2).

58. Tac. "Ann." II, 78; Fu and Koestermann ad loc. for the significance of "nuxerum". The legionary troops that opposed Piso are called "Romanae cohortes".

59. VI, 37. Tiberius invited Mithridates the Iberian (for whom cf. Geyer, "R." XV, 1932, 2214 f. (no. 3)) to invade Armenia according to Dio LVIII, 26, 3. For L. Vitellius, cf. R. Hanslik, "R." Suppl. Band IX, 1962, 1733 ff. (no. 7c).

60. Tac. "Ann." VI, 41, and Furneaux ad loc. for the spelling Cietae.

61. "A.J." XVIII, 3, 3, 120. For Cretan, cf. above, p.57 .

62. Stein, "R." IV A, 1932, 1085 f.

63. Tac. "Ann." XI, 52.

64. III, 20. Nothing can be deduced from the name of its commander, Decrius ("P.I.R." D 32), who is otherwise unknown.

65. III, 21. For the "dona militaria", cf. above, p. 61, n 38

66. Tac. "Ann." III, 21.

/67. .....

67. IV, 24. For the Musulamii, cf. [illegible], "[illegible]" XVI, 1933, 926 ff.

68. Tac. "Ann." IV, 24. For Ptolemy, cf. M. Hofmann "[illegible]" XXIII, 1959, 1768 ff. (no. 62), who proposes the reading "regi" (instead of "rege Ptolemaeo") here, so that Ptolemy may appear as the nominal leader of the expedition, with the Roman commanding acting ostensibly only as adviser to him (Hofmann compares "consultor" to support his suggestion).

69. Tac. "Ann." IV, 24.

70. IV, 25.

71. II, 52;. It is not possible to say what rank Tacfarinas held in the Roman "auxilia". From the fact that a son of his fell fighting for him in 24 A.D. (IV, 25) it is possible to deduce that he was old enough to have had considerable experience in the "auxilia" before the rebel

72. Furneaux and Koestermann ad loc. Romanelli, 1959, 2[illegible] supports the latter view in his phrase "organizzato ... in corpi di cavallerie e di fanteria".

73. Tac. "Ann." II, 52. His allies used "leuis copia". Cf. IV, 23.

74. Cf. "inconditi" (III, 2[illegible]); "desertor, praedo, latro" (73); "praedarum receptor et socius populandi rex Garamantum" (IV, 23). The dregs of the province joined him : "ipsaque e prouincia, ut quis fortuna inops, moribus turbidus promptius ruebant" (ibid).

75. III, 73; IV, 23.

76. IV, 4.

77. 5. For Juba, cf. "P.I.R."[2] I 65; for the Iberians cf. below, p. 93 ; for Rhoemetalces and the children of Cotys, cf. above, p. 73 and Tac. "Ann." II, 67.

78. IV, 5.

79. "Tib." 3[illegible], and, for the import of the phrase, Nietra ad loc. Cf. note 5 above.

80. Tac. "Ann." III, [illegible]; IV, 5; 23; Ritterling, "[illegible]" XII, 1924, 1243.

81. "Tib." 3[illegible]; 41.

VI. [illegible]

The sources for the later Julio-Claudian period remain those parts of Tacitus' "Annals" that have survived, Suetonius and Dio or his epitomators. Josephus, and even the New Testament, illuminate Judaea. Epigraphical evidence becomes less scant, and will be discussed where it seems possible to date it with some security in this period.

Britain affords a special opportunity because of the definite starting-date of 43 A.D. which it provides. Unfortunately Tacitus' detailed account of the invasion forces has not survived. In the "Agricola"[1] it is simply stated that "the legions and auxiliaries" were transported to Britain. But in Dio's[2] account of the first pitched battle, on the Medway in Kent, [illegible] are mentioned. This is his term for Germans who forced a crossing by swimming across the river in full armour. This was known as a special skill of the Batavians[3], so that it may be assumed that the invasion auxiliaries included Batavian detachments.

Detail next accrues in Tacitus' reports on the events leading up to the capture of Caratacus in 51 A.D. and the revolt of Boudicca in 61.[4] When Ostorius Scapula became governor of Britain in 47 he was obliged to restore order, making use of "citas cohortis"[5]. These can be regarded as auxiliaries, since "citae" would seem to be a variant for "leues" or "expeditae", and later in the same chapter Ostorius is described as leading "sine robore legionum socialis copias" against the dissident Iceniane. Since they had chosen a place impervious to cavalry, he adopted the

/unusual .....

unusual tactic of making his cavalry dismount and fight on foot with the infantry auxiliaries : "distributis cohortibus turmas quoque peditum ad munia accingit". The cohorts in both engagements are auxiliary. In 51 the Romans crushed the Ordovices of Powys in Wales who were under the leadership of Caratacus. Before the decisive battle, prefects and tribunes exhorted the Roman troops : "praefectique et tribuni ... ardorem exercitus intendebant"[6]. The tribunes are the legionary tribunes - the prefects the commanders of auxiliary units. Accordingly the sentence must be taken as an indirect way of stating that the two arms of the legions and the "auxilia" were involved. The same distinction must underlie the contrast in "eo ... inrupere ferentarius grauisque miles, illi telis adsultantes, hi conferto gradu". "Ferentarius" is an archaism, referring to a light-armed soldier[7], and hence representing the auxiliaries as a whole, balanced by the legionaries ("grauis miles"). The third double phrase actually uses the normal terms in mentioning the different weapons of the two arms : "gladiis ac pilis legionariorum, ... spathis et hastis auxiliaribus" (where "spatha" is an unusual word for a heavy sword[8]). It would appear that Tacitus is deliberately experimenting with new expressions for what he now regarded as a regular feature of Roman fighting, the close employment together of two branches of a professional fighting force. Some minor reverses among the Silures of South Wales are next reported. The discomfiture of "legionarias cohortis" need not concern : the "turmas" that were defeated must, however, have been auxiliary[9]. Osterius tried to restore the situation with "cohortis expeditas" - by now a familiar phrase -

/who .....

who had to be saved by the "robur" of the "legiones"[10]. Fighting against the Silures continued often "in modum latrocinii" - we would call it guerrilla warfare rather than "brigandage". At one stage two cohorts were lost while foraging : "duas auxiliaris cohortis nuaritia praefectorum incautius populantis intercepere". The pattern of auxiliaries later backed by legionaries was repeated when the Romans supported queen Cartimandua of the Brigantes under the next governor, Didius Gallus (52 - 57 A.D.)[11].

There are the usual combinations of legionaries and auxiliaries in the section devoted to Boudicca[12]. In the final battle with the rebels the governor, Suetonius Paulinus, had "quarta decima legio cum uexillariis uicesimanis et e proximis auxiliares, decem fere milia armatorum"[13]. Unfortunately the figure is too vague to be able to estimate the number of auxiliaries. The size of the detachment from the Twentieth Legion is not given, and the Fourteenth may not have been up to its full strength of 5 to 6000 men. One may hazard the guess that the auxiliaries formed roughly a third of the total. Next the battle-order is described : "legionarius frequens ordinibus, leuis circa [illegible], conglobatus pro cornibus eques adstitit", where "leuis arma[illegible]" is an old-fashioned term for auxiliary cohorts, "eques" a regular variant [illegible]. In Dio's[14] description of the battle, Roman archers contend with [illegible] chariots of the British. But the whole passage is highly rhetorical, and one is inclined to suspect that the archers, if not the British chariots, are anachronistic. After the crushing of the revolt, Nero sent 2000 legionaries, 8 auxiliary

/cohorts .....

cohorts and 1000 cavalry[15]. It has been thought[16] that the 8 cohorts were the 8 Batavian cohorts later found in Britain co-operating with the Fourteenth Legion. But it is most likely that Batavians formed part of the invading forces under Claudius, as stated above, so that the identification, although possible, is not obligatory. On the arrival of these reinforcements, the auxiliaries were assigned to small forts for the winter : "cohortes alaeque nouis hibernaculis locatae". This, and the phrase "e proximis auxiliaribus" quoted above, are the first definite indications of auxiliary regiments being stationed in a network of forts in the literary record.

No regimental names appear in the passages discussed so far, except for the identification of Cl's [illegible] as Batavians. References to auxiliaries in other parts of Tacitus might help. The Batavians appear in the "Histories"[17] under the year 69 A.D., where they are said to have made a reputation for themselves in Britain. 8 cohorts accompanied the Fourteenth Legion when it was summoned from Britain by Nero. The Batavians next appear by name in 84, when 4 cohorts fought at the battle of Mons Graupius[18]. It is likely that the "lectissimos auxiliarium, quibus nota uada et patrius nandi usus quo simul aequo et arma et equos regunt", who led Agricola's successful attack in 78 on Mona (Anglesey) were Batavians, if one may judge from the tactic described[19]. Two other names from the area of the Lower Rhine are preserved. A cohors Baiporum mutinied while being trained in 85[20] : the fact that they were being formed so late makes it unlikely that other cohorts of Baipians had preceded them. Then 2 cohorts of Tungrians are mentioned at the battle of Mons Graupius[21].

/whether .....

whether Tungrians formed part of the Claudio-Neronian army cannot be deduced from this : but it is significant that the auxiliaries named in the literary record came from Lower Germany[22].

Information may also be gathered from inscriptions. A tombstone[23] from Colchester (Camulodunum) records an ala I Thracum :

Longinus Sdapezematgi f. duplicarius ala prima Thracum pago Nerdi. anno. XL aeror. XV. heredes ex testam. f.c. h.s.e.

In all likelihood this stone was set up before 49 A.D.[24], when Camulodunum was still garrisoned. The regiment must have formed part of the invasion force. A tombstone of the same early period records a Thracian cohort at Exeter (Isca Dumnoniorum). Unfortunately the number of the cohort is no longer legible :

Tib. Claud. Firmius (sic) eq. coh. [..] Thracum annorum LVII stipendiorum XX [..] h.s.e.

Another Thracian cohort is recorded at Gloucester (Glevum) :

Rufus Sita eques. coh. VI Thracum (sic) ann. XL stip. XXIX. heredes ex test. f. curaue. h.s.e.

At Cirencester (Corinium) there were two alae, one Thracian, the other Gallic :

Sextus Valerius Genialis eques (sic) ala Thrac. (sic) ciuis Frisiaus tur. Genialis an. XXXX st. XX. h.s.e. e. (sic) f.c.[27]

/Gannicus .....

Gannicus eques (sic) alae Indian. tur. Albani stip. XVI cives Baur. cur. Fulvius Natalis et Fl[au]ius Bituecus ex testamento. h.s.e.[28]

These early inscriptions show that Thracian and Gallic[29] auxiliary regiments must be added to those known from the literary record.

This list may now be compared with that provided by Frere[30]. He accepts Gio's archers, but is doubtful about the Thracian units. Since Thrace did not become a province till 46, the units could hardly have arrived in Britain in 43. But, as has been shown in earlier chapters, Thracian auxiliaries had long served the Romans. Further Sextus Valerius Genialis of the ala Tarecum above was a Frisian. He could not have been one of the original draft for this unit, which must have been in existence for quite some time before 46, for Genialis to have died after 20 years of service at about the middle of the first century A.D. Frere is not prepared to read back from the "Agricola". But basically the lists are the same.

We can now turn to the German area, beginning with Gaius' visit to the Rhine in 39 A.D.[31]. Suetonius[32] gives as the reason for the expedition a reminder which Gaius had received that his German bodyguard needed recruits - "admonitus de supplendo numero Batauorum, quos circa se habebat". If this could serve as an ostensible motive for the expedition, it is clear that it was considered necessary to maintain the original character of the guard. The guard accompanied Gaius to Germany : at one point he sent "paucos de custodia Germanos" across the Rhine to

/hide .....

hide so that the praetorian cavalry could gain practice by tracking them down[33]. Gaius collected a large army for his proposed invasion, but the figures that we have are exaggerated out of all proportion. Dio[34] says that there were either 200 or 250,000. This sounds like an estimate of the total strength of the Roman army, legions and auxiliaries together. Suetonius[35] gives no specific figures : "legionibus et auxiliis undique excitis, dilectibus ubique acerbissime actis". Some were slow in arriving; to gain a reputation for stern discipline, Gaius dismissed with ignominy "legatos qui auxilia serius ex diuersis locis adduxerant"[36]. The "legati" must be the legionary legates : their lateness may have been due either to the fact that the auxiliaries under their responsibility were stationed in small forts over a wide area, and needed considerable time for mustering, or that they were occupied with the new levies already mentioned. No details survive, but it has been suggested that the chieftain of the Canninefates who got away with making fun of Gaius' expedition was supposed to provide "auxilia"[37].

In 47 A.D. Italicus, the son of Flavus and the nephew of Arminius, was sent out by Claudius to become king of the Cheruscans[38]. Tacitus tells us that during his upbringing in Italy, he had been trained both in Roman and in German methods of fighting. It is obvious that such figures as Italicus would have made changes in tribal tactics, and that ultimately recruits for the Roman "auxilia" would have benefited from such contacts. Another avenue of Roman influence in the German area came from deserters who took control of invading armies. This appears from Tacitus'[39]

/description .....

description of Gannascus who led the Chaucans in raids on the coast of Gaul in 47 - "qui natione Gamninefas, auxiliare stipendium meritus, post transfuga, leuibus nauigiis praedabundus Gallorum maxime oram uastabat". In 58 A.D. the Chattans made a raid on upper Germany. The forces employed against them were "auxiliaris Vangiones et Nemetas, addito equite alario"[40]. Little difficulty attaches to the "eques alarius", obviously a Tacitean variant for an ala or a part of one. Pelham[41] has described the Vangiones and Nemetans as "local levies", comparing the "tumultarias cateruas Germanorum cis Rhenum colentium" of Germanicus' expedition of 15. This would imply a hasty formation of a tribal contingent to deal with an emergency. But conditions were very different by this date, and, even if the Vangiones and Nemetans were drafted for the first time at this stage, the term "auxiliares" implies a professional organization. The distinction between "auxiliares" and "alarius" seems to be that between infantry and cavalry, rather than tribal contingent and professional regiment. The Romans had set certain areas on the right bank of the lower Rhine aside to be kept empty of inhabitants and free for military purposes. When the Frisians occupied these without permission and had to be ejected from them by force in 58, the soldiers employed were "auxiliaris equea"[42]. When, immediately thereafter, the Ampsivarians attempted the same thing under Chaucan pressure, their chief Boiocalus referred to his years on an auxiliary as part of his long service to Rome. The Romans acknowledged this, and admitted that it needed recompense, but used diplomatic means to prevent the occupation[43].

/Hardly .....

hardly anything has survived concerning the Danubian area. When the governor of Dalmatia in 42 A.D., Furius Camillus Scribonianus, became involved in a conspiracy against Claudius, he was said to have had a large force of legionaries and auxiliaries at his disposal - [illegible][44]. When trouble broke out in the "regnum Vannianum" among the Suetans in 50 A.D., Claudius did not accede to Vannius' request for assistance. However he did order the governor of Pannonia to move troops up to the bank of the Danube to make a show of force to discourage any attempt to invade the province. These troops consisted of 'legiones i[illegible]que e prouincia lecta auxilia"[45]. Since the garrison of Pannonia consisted of 3 legions at this date, it is clear that the whole army was not involved. Hence it seems best to regard "lecta" as "select" or "chosen from" the regular auxiliaries of the province, and not, as Furneaux and Koestermann, of "levies specially called out".

Interest in the east centres on fighting with the Parthians and the rebellion in Judaea. But minor incidents are also of value. In 47 A.D. Claudius sent Mithridates out to recover the kingdom of Armenia. In this he was aided by his brother Pharasmanes, the present king of Iberia[46]. The "miles Romanus" tackled the Armenian fortresses - presumably these were legionaries. At the same time the "Hiberus exercitus" scoured the plains. The Iberians were largely cavalry[47].

In 49 a different Mithridates, a descendant of the Mithridates the Great of Pontus who conducted the famous "Mithridatic" wars of the

/end .....

end of the Republic, tried to wrest the Bosporan Kingdom (in the Crimea) from his brother Cotys, who had become its ruler in his place. Cotys was supported by a few cohorts under a member of the equestrian order : "paucas cohortium cum Iulio Aquila equite Romano"[48]. Cotys and Aquila then concluded an alliance with Eunones, king of the Aorsians a Sarmatian people. The arrangement was that Eunones would fight the cavalry battles, the Romans handle the sieges. Their marching column is described as follows : "frontem et terga Aorsi, media cohortes et Bosporani tutabantur nostris in armis"[49]. It seems best to refer "nostris in armis" to the Bosporans, meaning that they were armed like Roman infantry. Does this imply that the "cohorts" were legionary ? This would be the natural interpretation, but the derogatory tone of "paucas cohortium" above (coming immediately after the term "robur exercitus") and the fact that a minor skirmish occurred in which a "praefectus cohortis" and "plerique auxiliarium" were slain, must mean that the cohorts were auxiliary[50].

The next incident, in 51 A.D., comes from Armenia. Mithridates was attacked by the son of his brother Pharasmanes. He took refuge in a fort called Gorneae (Garnia) described as "tutus loco ac praesidio militum, quis Caelius Pollio praefectus, centurio Casperius praerat"[51]. These "milites" were obviously those designated as "miles Romanus" in 47. Tacitus remarks that their superior siege-craft frustrated the enemy's blockade until bribery was used. When the procurator of Cappadocia tried to intervene, he drew together the "auxilia" of his province - "auxiliis provincialium .....

/prouincialium .....

provinciālium contractu"[52] - but failed to accomplish anything. Later a legion was sent from the Syrian army to restore Roman ascendancy. The word "provinciales" suggests that the "auxilia" consisted of local Cappadocians, but they must have been formed into regular units already, otherwise they would not have been available for immediate use.

The Cilician Cietae again gave trouble in 52 A.D. They managed to overcome the "equites" sent against them from the Syrian army under the command of a "praefectus". But they were finally reduced by the intervention of Antiochus of Commagene[53]. Here a client king appears to be performing the role of a legion.

Under Nero full-scale war broke out in the East. In 54 the famous Corbulo was appointed to oust the Parthian Tiridates who had seized control of Armenia[54]. New recruits (called "iuuentus" by Tacitus) were drafted for the Oriental legions, and the Jewish prince Herod Agrippa and king Antiochus of Commagene were ordered to supply forces. Lesser Armenia was assigned to Aristobulus, Sophene to Sohaemus[55]. The Syrian army was split in two, "pars auxiliarium cum duabus legionibus" remaining in Syria under the legate, Uamidius Quadratus, while to Corbulo went "par ciuium sociorumque numerus ... additis cohortibus alisque quae in Cappadocia hiemabant"[56]. The local "socii reges" were ordered to obey the Roman commanders. Vologeses, the Parthian king (whose brother Tiridates was), was not prepared for war at this juncture, and surrendered hostages to Uamidius Quadratus, who sent a centurion to receive them. Corbulo, however, sent a "praefectus cohortis" to take them over[57].

/Tacitus .....

Tacitus returns to the East under the year 58. Corbulo had found it necessary to restore discipline in his troops. A fresh levy was held, and soldiers transferred from another province. "Et habiti per Galatiam Cappadociamque dilectus, adiectaque ex Germania legio cum equitibus alariis et peditatu cohortium"[58]. It would be interesting to know whether the levy included auxiliary as well as legionary recruits. The transfer of the legion is especially notable, since for the first time it is stated that a legion on transfer was accompanied by auxiliary alae and cohorts. During the winter Corbulo kept his legions in camp. He arranged his auxiliary cohorts in various forts, putting them under the command of a former leading centurion with strict orders that there was to be no fighting : "dispositisque per idoneos locos cohortibus auxiliariis ... : curas praesidiorum Paccio Orfito primi pili honore perfuncto mandat"[59]. There must have been a separate officer in command of the cavalry, for we hear of "turmae" that came "e proximis castellis". When Paccius joined these in a sally and was defeated, Corbulo punished him and the "praefectos militesque" (i.e., the auxiliary soldiers and the unit commanders) with the old-fashioned penalty of having to encamp outside the fortified lines. Frontinus[60] also reports the incident, but with precise figures : he says that "duas alas et tres cohortes" were involved. When the actual invasion of Armenia began, Corbulo decided to divide his forces, so that "legati praefectique" might attack different places[61]. This variant for "legiones et auxilia" has been noted earlier in the chapter. He also employed the client kings, Antiochus of Commagene and Pharasmanes of Iberia, to attack

/outlying .....

outlying districts. The tribe of Moschans (or Heniochans) allied themselves to the Romans at this point, and performed useful services. During subsequent fighting there are two descriptions of Corbulo's troops drawn up in battle order, the first before a conference between the two armies, the second when Tiridates attempted to drive them off before the siege of Artaxata (Artashat) : "Corbulo socias cohortis et auxilia regum pro cornibus, medio sextam legionem constituit, cui accita ex castris tria milia tertianorum pariscuerat, una cum aquila, quasi eadem legio spectaretur"[62] - here the royal "auxilia" must have formed the bulk of the cavalry; "latere dextro tertia legio, sinistro sexta incedebat, mediis decimanorum delectis; ... et tergum cilie equites tuebantur; ... in cornibus pedes sagittarius et cetera manus equitum ibat"[63]. The "infantry archers" were probably professional, since the bow was one of the chief weapons of the Armenians and the Parthians, and practised skill would be needed to counter it. The death of a "decurio equitum" is noted : so far the prefect has been the most junior cavalry officer mentioned. At the outset of the siege of Artaxata, Corbulo used "leuis armatura"[64] to surround the walls and start the attack from a distance. This can only be a revival of an old term for some of the auxiliary cohorts.

In 60, on his way from Artaxata to Tigranocerta, the second capital of Armenia (? Meyafarkin), Corbulo was attacked by some mountain tribesmen, but managed to crush them without shedding human blood by dispatching the Iberians against them : "immisis Hiberis"[65]. To keep Tiridates on the run, Corbulo sent ahead auxiliaries under separate command, following rapidly with the legions[66]. Tiridates eventually withdrew

/completely, ...

completely, and was replaced on the Armenian throne by a Roman nominee, Tigranes. Corbulo left legionaries and auxiliaries behind to support the new king : "additum et praesidium mille legionarii, tres sociorum cohortes duaeque equitum alae"[67] - the auxiliaries obviously consisting of professional units.

When, in 62, Tiridates threatened to invade Armenia again with Parthian assistance, Corbulo sent 2 legions to the assistance of Tigranes. He warded off an advance of Vologeses towards Syria by moving the rest of his legions to the bank of the Euphrates and seizing Vologeses' routes of advance by means of hastily levied local troops : "tumultuarium prouincialium manum arcet"[68]. These were obviously not cohorts and also, but may well later have been turned into such. Meanwhile Tigranes was holding out in Tigranocerta with the support of his Roman "milites". Corbulo protested to Vologeses about this, that "sociam amicumque regem, cohortis Romanas obsideri"[69]. The king was Tigranes, the Roman "cohorts" were the 1,500 legionaries and the 2 legions mentioned above. "Auxilia" are ignored. The situation was altered on the arrival of a new general, Caesennius Paetus[70], to direct Roman operations in Armenia. (This was done at Corbulo's suggestion, so that he could concentrate on the Syrian frontier.) Tacitus describes the division of the military forces between Paetus and Corbulo as follows : "copiis ita diuisis ut quarta et duodecima legiones additis quinta, quae recens e Moesia excita erant, simul pontica et Galatarum Cappadocumque auxilia Paeto obuenirent, tertia et

/sexta .....

sexta et decima legiones priorque Syriae miles apud Corbulonem manerent; cetera ex rerum usu sociarent partirentue"[71]. The use of the name of the people, "Moesi", for the more usual provincial name of "Moesia", signals caution in interpreting. It is not stated that the Fifth was accompanied by auxiliaries when it was transferred to Cappadocia from Moesia, but the Pannonian ala or alae recorded below[72] most probably came with it. The phrase "Pontica ... auxilia" would normally mean "auxilia" stationed in Pontus. But as Pontus was still a client kingdom, the phrase must mean "auxiliaries supplied by the king of Pontus (Polemo[73])". The words "Galatarum Cappadocumque auxilia" suggest auxiliaries who were Galatians and Cappadocians. Some of them may well have been of local origin, but, as these two areas were provinces, the words must mean "auxiliaries stationed in Galatia and Cappadocia"[74]. Since the "legiones" of Syria are mentioned separately, the "prior ... miles Syriae" must refer to auxiliaries stationed in Syria. The forces labelled "cetera" presumably refer to "ad hoc" contingents provided by allied kings. Operations late in 62 are reported both on the Syrian and on the Armenian front. Corbulo tightened his grip on the approaches to the Euphrates crossings by occupying hills on the opposite bank "per socias cohortis, post legionum castris"[75]. The cohorts involved sound as though they had a permanent form, and presumably replaced the "tumultuaria provincialium manus" first recorded in the area. Paetus tried to block the advance of Vologeses by stationing "tria milia delecti peditis" (i.e., presumably legionaries, the Twelfth having just been named) on an elevated position and "alaria nudque Pannonios, robur equitatus" on the plain. Since his position was the more perilous,

Corbulo .....

Corbulo prepared a standby force to assist him should the need arise. This consisted of 1[illegible] men from each of 3 legions, 8[illegible] auxiliary cavalry ("alarios") and an equal number from the infantry cohorts[76].

By 63, Paetus had been recalled and replaced by Corbulo with wide powers. Syria was now given to Cestius Gallus[77]. Tacitus concentrates on the legions in this section (Corbulo received the Fifteenth from Pannonia on transfer), but we hear of an instruction given to "tetrarchis ac regibus praefectisque"[78] to observe Corbulo's commands. These would presumably include orders to supply troops. The tetrarchs and kings offer no difficulties, but who were the "praefecti"? They cannot be the commanders of cohorts and alae, as Furneaux quoting Nipperdey, nor Roman prefects of special districts (Furneaux' second suggestion). They are not Roman officials at all - the procurators and pro-praetors in the neighbouring provinces are mentioned separately. The enclitic "-que" joins them to the tetrarchs and kings. They must be the rulers of the "praefecturae" or petty sheikdoms who were helping Rome as allies. Corbulo selected 4 legions (VI, III, V, XV) for his march into Armenia together with "uexilla delectorum ex Illyrico et Aegypto, quodque alarum cohortiumque, et auxilia regum"[79]. The last two phrases will be readily understood. The detachments from Illyricum and Egypt must be legionaries, since all the types of auxiliary are encompassed by what follows. There was however no province of "Illyricum" at this date : Tacitus must be using it anachronistically for Dalmatia, Pannonia and Moesia[80].

Regular auxiliary regiments are much in evidence in the fighting

/on .....

of the central and northern sections of the eastern frontier during this period. But the forces of client kings, and of allied tribes such as the Iberians, are as prominent. Their importance lay in the field of cavalry and in the use of the bow. The Romans are still shown supporting weak client kings with [illegible] cavalry and auxiliary troops.

In considering the southern part of the eastern frontier, Judaea, three stages may be distinguished. First there was what was probably considered the "normal" period after the death of Herod Agrippa[61] when Judaea was under Roman governors, then there was the fighting that culminated in the intervention of Cestius Gallus from Syria, and finally the Great Rebellion which Vespasian attempted to crush.

The New Testament evidence can be added to that of Josephus. For this reason it is necessary to go back to the principate of Tiberius. The chronology of the New Testament is notoriously difficult : only approximate dates can be given. The soldiers that guarded Christ at his trial and crucifixion under Pontius Pilate, governor from 26 - 36 A.D., are described as [illegible], the Greek for "cohors"[62]. Hence they were an auxiliary unit. One of their officers is called a [illegible] or [illegible], which, as the Greek itself shows, meant a centurion[63]. When Gaius became emperor, he sent Marullus, who is otherwise unknown, to be commander of the cavalry in Judaea : [illegible][64]. Malalas[65] understood this in the sense that Marullus became governor of Judaea, but this depends upon the emendation [illegible] for [illegible]. But for this

/there .....

there is no manuscript authority, and the puzzling office must be allowed to stand. When the then governor of Syria, Petronius, was sent to compel the Jews to erect a statue of Caius in the Temple at Jerusalem in 40 A.D., he set out, according to the "Bellum Iudaicum"[86], [illegible] Since there were only 4 legions in all in Syria, the number which Josephus gives in the "Antiquities"[87], namely 2, is to be referred. [illegible], then, is Josephus' word for legion, but there is no detail on the many auxiliaries that came from Syria.

The conversion to Christianity of the Gentile, Cornelius of Caesarea (Καισαρείας), is featured early in "Acts", where he is referred to as [illegible][88]. In other words he was a centurion in the "cohort called Italica". If Cornelius' conversion is to be dated to 41 - 4 A.D.[89], a difficulty is seen in that Herod Agrippa was King of Judaea then, having replaced the Roman procurator as a favour from the Emperor Claudius. The implication is that there would have been no Roman troops in Judaea at the time. But the Herodian kings needed strong military support no less than the Romans, and Claudius must have left the Roman troops previously in Judaea there under the new king. This is confirmed by the fact that when Judaea reverted once more to provincial status on the death of Agrippa in 44, Claudius threatened to transfer regiments of Caesareans and Sebasteniana (i.e. Samaritans) from their local stations to Pontus and to replace them with troops from Syria : [illegible]

μεταγαγεῖν, ἵν' ἐκεῖ στρατεύοιντο, τῶν δ' ἐν Συρίᾳ Ῥωμαϊκῶν ταγμάτων ἐκεῖσε στρατιώτας κατ' ἀρετῆς τοῦ τῶν ἐκείνων ἐκπληρῶσαι τόκον[90].

It is obvious that these troops had been in Judaea during the royal interlude : in fact the reason for the transfer was their insulting behaviour to the royal family during Agrippa's funeral. Other conclusions follow from this statement by Josephus. Momigliano[91] has shown that, although here and in "Antiquities" XX, 8, 7, 176, the Caesareans are mentioned, Josephus normally refers to Sebastenians alone as the troops stationed in Caesarea. Further the troops numbered 3000, which is precisely the number of Sebastenians that fought for the Romans under Augustus on the death of Herod the Great. At some time, therefore, between the death of Herod and of Agrippa in 44 A.D., 3000 royal troops, obviously with successive replacements of those discharged, had become 1 ala and 5 cohorts, each quingenary. Claudius felt that they should be transferred from their home situation to a distant province, but allowed himself to be dissuaded. Professional organization was not the death of local ties. The threatened replacements were to have come from Roman [illegible] in Syria. As noted above, Josephus normally uses [illegible] for "legio", but it is unthinkable that legionaries should be drafted into auxiliary units. Hence, as Momigliano remarks, [illegible] must here mean auxiliary unit.

Judaea under Claudius suffered from a series of comparatively serious incidents needing the use of force. When the prophet Theudas had collected a large following, an [illegible] of cavalry was dispatched against him[92]. During the Passover celebrations, a unit of soldiers was normally

/stationed .....

stationed near the temple. This detachment called [illegible]. This can only mean an auxiliary cohort, called Roman because it was part of the occupation army as far as the Jews were concerned. On one occasion when one of the soldiers insulted the crowd, the resulting riot necessitated the bringing in of reinforcements. These are called [illegible], normally the term used for legionary soldiers. "Hoplite" here may just be a variant for "soldier", but possibly indicates that the auxiliaries on duty in Jerusalem were heavily armed[93]. Some Jewish-Samaritan clashes led to serious complications. Tacitus, in a brief notice, merely says that "milites" were involved[94]. Josephus, however, in the "Bellum" relates that [illegible] was summoned from Caesarea by the procurator[95]. In the "Antiquities" the forces appear as " [illegible] ..."[96]. In Latin terms, an ala [illegible] 4 cohorts of infantry and local Samaritan levies are meant, ([illegible] again meaning an auxiliary cohort, not a legion). A judicial enquiry into the fighting was held, and the emperor sentenced a Roman, Celer, to death. What his offence was, is not stated, but he is described as [illegible], i.e., "tribunus militum". Normally cohorts were commanded by prefects. Since Celer was a tribune, one of the auxiliary regiments at least must have been military, not quingenary[97]. Suetonius records the appointment of Felix as procurator in the following terms : Felicem, quem cohortibus et alis provinciae [illegible] Judaeae praeposuit (sc. Claudius)[98]. The specific reference to the command of the cohorts and alae may be due to the fact that the military situation

/in .....

in Judaea was uppermost in man's minds at the time. More likely it is the fact that a man who had been a freedman was placed in command of troops that caused the choice of the words used.

The governorship of Felix lasted into the principate of Nero. The security situation did not improve. Josephus notes the emergence of a sinister new group of freedom fighters or terrorists, the Sicarii[99], so named from the curved knife they used. False prophets were another source of trouble. Felix used cavalry and [illegible][100] against these. This can only mean "heavy-armed auxiliary infantry". One, an Egyptian, threatened to seize Jerusalem, overwhelming [illegible][101] : "the Roman garrison" must mean an auxiliary regiment or regiments in the city. A serious disturbance occurred at Caesarea. The non-Jewish element in the population, called indiscriminately Syrians or Greeks by Josephus, felt that they could rely on the support of the auxiliaries there, as being Syrians and relatives as it were : [illegible].

[102].

The parallel version of the "Antiquities" is more precise : most of the troops originated from Caesarea and Sebaste (Samaria) : [illegible] Καισαρεῖς [illegible][103]. The Syrian troops are in fact Caesareans and Sebastenians. They were in the majority, but nothing is said of the "origines" of the others.

/The .....

The arrest and trial of the apostle Paul in Jerusalem spanned the last years of Felix and the first months of his successor Porcius Festus[104]. The commander of the unit that kept Paul prisoner, Claudius Lysias, is called [105]; in Latin terms, he must have been military tribune of a milliary cohort. Claudius Lysias provided a military escort under centurions to take Paul to Caesarea. The escort consisted of ... [106]. 470 soldiers are a large number, especially if they all came from the same unit. If they do, and if the terminology can be pressed, the cohort contained cavalry, hence it was a "cohors milliaria equitata". What the were is not clear. The word is very rare, but the variant reading is an hapax legomenon. It would appear to mean "throwing with the hand" and could refer to spearmen or javelin throwers or even bowmen. In later writers is given the meanings "a light soldier, perhaps a bowman or slinger", "a bodyguard". If the were or heavy-armed, to use Josephus' word, light-armed would be the natural meaning for in this context. Given the prevalence of bowmen in the east, "archer" is a suitable rendering. When Paul was sent to Rome in view of his appeal to the emperor, he was handed over to [107]. The Latin translation would be "cohors Augusta", presumably a cohort at one stage honoured with the name of Augustus or one of his successors. But,

/as .....

as noted above, Samaria was called Sebaste or Augusta, and there was a cohort of Sebastenians. So that the phrase may represent "cohors Sebaste".

When trouble broke out at Caesarea under the procurator Gessius Florus (64 - 66 A.D.), a cavalry commander Jucundus was detailed to intervene[108]. The trouble spread and Florus marched with what Josephus calls an "army" of cavalry and infantry on Jerusalem, but later it appears that only a cohort was involved[109]. Meanwhile he had sent for 2 further cohorts from Caesarea. The situation was now so serious that Cestius Gallus[110] in Syria was asked to deal with it.

This survey of the first period of Judaea in the Claudio-Neronian period has shown various types of officer - tribunes, prefects of cavalry and centurions - in some prominence. The greatest number of regiments stationed in the province amounted to 1 ala and 5 cohorts, all of Sebastenians (including Caesareans). In addition there was a cohors Italica. Whether the [illegible] was one of the Sebastenian cohorts or an additional unit cannot be decided. Whether Celer and Claudius Lysias commanded the same regiment, and which regiment (or regiments) it was, is not known. But at least one of the regiments was a "cohors milliaria equitata", and if [illegible]eans archers, "sagittaria" as well. Finally, in an emergency, extra Samaritan troops were enlisted.

Before the arrival of Cestius Gallus, the Roman garrison at Masada (Sebbeh near the Dead Sea) fell - but no details about its composition survive[111]. Agrippa sent 2000 horse to the aid of the Jews who were still

/loyal .....

loyal to the Romans[112]. When Cestius set out from Syria in 66, he took the Twelfth Legion, and 2[illegible] picked men from each of the other legions. Since there were 3 legions in Syria, this gives him 6[illegible] legionaries in the detachments, i.e., a second legion as far as numbers go. His non-legionary troops comprised [illegible] τέσσαρας ἵλας ἱππέων, καὶ σὺν τοῖς [illegible] τῶν βασιλέων [illegible]. The royal forces were supplied by Antiochus of Commagene (2000 horse and 3000 foot, all archers), Agrippa (3000 foot and just under 2000 horse), and Sohaemus (4000 men, a third of whom were cavalry and the majority archers)[113]. This gives a total of just under 14,000 royal soldiers, of whom some 5[illegible] at least were cavalry, the majority armed with the bow (unfortunately it is not stated whether Agrippa's forces were bowmen or not). If the professional auxiliaries were quingenary, they would have amounted to 2[illegible] horse and 3[illegible] foot. This seems a low total to accompany 12,000 legionaries. But, if Josephus' figures can be accepted, Cestius' strategy seems to have been to allow the client kings to supply the special arm of "sagittarii", both mounted and on foot. He also collected a large number of other auxiliaries ([illegible]) from the towns of Syria. These were completely untrained[114]. Cestius was unsuccessful in his assault on Jerusalem, and eventually withdrew, his flight turning to a rout. Josephus gives the losses of the Romans and their [illegible] together : 5[illegible] infantry and 48[illegible] cavalry[115]. The death of a "praefectus alae" ([illegible]), Aemilius Jucundus is mentioned[116].

/Vespasian .....

Vespasian took over in 67 and mustered his forces in Ptolemais (Acre or 'Akka).[117]. His legions were the Fifth and the Tenth and the Fifteenth[118]. 18 cohorts accompanied the legions. These were supplemented by 5 others from Caesarea. Josephus says that 10 of these 23 were milliary, while the other 13 contain 600 infantry and 120 cavalry each. As far as alae were concerned, 1 came from Caesarea[119] and 5 others from Syria. Antiochus, Agrippa[120] and Sohaemus had provided ... [121], that is, 2000 infantry archers and 1000cavalry each. Further the Nabataean Arab Malchus[122] sent 1000 cavalry and 5000 infantry, the majority being archers. The total of all these forces was 60,000, according to Josephus, who then adds the very interesting remark that the very large numbers of "servants"[123] following the army must be included, since they had shared in their owners' training.

The information supplied by Josephus can be set out as follows :

Legions :	3 x 6000			18,000
Cohorts :	10 x 1000	10,000		
	13 x 720	9,360		
		19,360		c. 20,000
Alae :	Caesarea :	1 x 500 or 1000	500 or 1000	
	Syria :	5 x 500 or 1000	2500 or 5000	
			3000 or 6000	3 - 6,000
Kings :	Bowmen :	3 x 2000	6000	
	Cavalry :	3 x 1000	3000	
			9000	9,000
				c. 30,000 - 33,000

c. 50,000 - 53,000

Malchus : Infantry : 5000

Cavalry : 1000

6000

6,000

TOTAL : c. 56,000 - 59,000

The relation of this total to two other small forces that Josephus had mentioned earlier is not clear. Vespasian left a garrison of 6000 foot and 1000 horse (i.e. 7000) at Sepphoris (Sefuriye) under a tribune, Placidus[124], and a cohort and ala had been holding out at Ascalon (Ashkelon near 'Askalan) under the command of a prefect, Antonius[125]. The numbers involved are too large for inclusion in Josephus' 60,000. The proportion of cavalry to infantry in the 60,000 is difficult to work out exactly. The ala and the allied cavalry would amount to 7 - 10,000. Legions contained 120 cavalry[126], and the "cohortes equitatae" the same number. This produces a total of 1920 (3 x 120 + 13 x 120), with a grand total of some 9 - 12,000, a rough sixth or quarter of the whole. Vespasian's marching order in his invasion of Galilee is described in detail[127]. Light-armed auxiliaries ( ) and archers formed the van so that they could repel surprise attacks and spy out dangerous areas. Next came various specialized detachments, which do not concern us here. Then followed the main body of the legions, and their servants. The next in order appear as

ὄχλος : here cannot mean "mercenarii", but "stipendiarii", for so far the main auxiliaries have not been mentioned. A special force of infantry and and cavalry brought up the rear.

/The .....

The course of Vespasian's fighting in Galilee[128] and advance to Jerusalem cannot be studied in detail, but certain "notabilia" may be singled out. At the siege of Jotapata (Khirbet Jefat) Vespasian used his archers, slingers and all his marksmen[128] : the first were certainly auxiliaries, but the status of the second two groups is not clear. Later Arab archers, javelin-men and slingers are mentioned together, and then Arab archers and slingers and stone-throwers : the latter appear as [illegible][130]. From this it is clear that the slingers and probably the stone-throwers and marksmen were auxiliaries. As far as the officers of the auxiliaries are concerned, two decurions are named, Valerius and Nebutius, and a centurion Gallus, who is specifically stated to have been a Syrian[131]. 2000 archers were under the command of a certain Septimius Sillo[132] : since the archers were almost entirely provided by the kings, this looks like the placing of a Roman officer in charge of allied royal troops. Vespasian seems to have used certain of his subordinate commanders on special missions with joint legionary - auxiliary forces of differing sizes. Thus Trajanus, legate of the Tenth (the father of the future emperor)[133], was sent against Japha (Yafa) with 2000 foot and 1000 horse. Titus, as legate of the Fifteenth, relieved him with 1000 foot and 300 horse, and is later shown operating with 600 chosen cavalry[134]. Cerealis, the legate of the Fifth, was sent to quell a Samaritan disturbance with 3000 infantry and 600 cavalry, and, in 68 A.D., ravaged part of Idumaea with a detachment of infantry and cavalry[135]. After the fall of Jotapata, Agrippa invited Vespasian to his kingdom. One of his objects was to secure the assistance of the Roman

/general .....

general in putting down disorders in his own kingdom. This Vespasian did, but we do not hear of a garrison left behind by the Romans[136]. When Vespasian made arrangements for the winter of 67 - 8, he stationed decurions in the villages and centurions in the towns[137] - these clearly commanded auxiliary detachments. All this shows how fully integrated the auxiliaries were with the legionaries : they played a vital role in the overall strategy.

Little can be recovered concerning Egypt and Africa. Dio[138] ascribes Gaius' decision to remove the troops in Africa proconsularis from the control of the proconsular governor and to place them under the command of an imperial legate in 39 A.D. to his fear of Lucius Piso (son of the Piso condemned for the death of Germanicus). Piso is alleged to have had a large force of auxiliaries with his legionaries (

), and might be encouraged to revolt. Tacitus, however, ascribes the transfer to the governorship of P. Silanus, describing the troops in the following way : "legio in Africa auxiliaque tutandis imperii finibus sub diuo Augusto Tiberioque principibus proconsuli parebant ..."[139]. The name of the governor concerned need not be discussed here : the two passages together, however, imply that not only the legion but also the auxiliaries that had been in Africa were now in the new province of Numidia.

Gaius' execution of Ptolemy[140], the king of Mauretania, led to fighting there which lasted into the principate of Claudius. The Moorish resistance was led by a freedman of the king, Aedemon by name. In an

/inscription[141] .....

inscription[141] from Volubilis (Kasr Faraoun) we hear of auxiliaries used against Tedemon :

M. Val. Bostaris f. Gal. Severo aed. sufeti Iluir. flamini primo in municipio suo praef. auxilior. aduersus Tedemon oppressum bello huic ordo municipi Volub. ob merita erga rempub. et legationem bene gestam qua ab diuo Claudio ciuitatem Romanam et conubium cum peregrinis mulieribus immunitatem annor. X incolas bono ciuium bello interfectorum quorum heredes non extabant suis impetrauit. ...

The "auxilia" of whom C. Valerius Severus was prefect were presumably a local force whom he got together for the war. The rewards which he received from Claudius included citizenship and the right of legally valid marriage with non-Roman women. Since his father's name (Bostar) is not Roman, presumably his citizenship dates to this incident. (Similarly his wife was the daughter of a non-Roman.)

In 66 there was a Jewish pogrom in Alexandria in Egypt. Besides the 2 Roman legions, 2400 soldiers who had just arrived from Africa participated (...) : these were regards as auxiliaries intended for Nero's projected Ethiopian expedition[142]. The ala Siliana was also involved : "pro consule Vitellium Siliani in Africa habuerant, mox a Nerone, ut in Aegyptum praemitterentur, exciti ..."[143]. Vitellius' governorship of Africa belongs to the principate of Nero : the statement reveals that, in spite of the creation of the legateship of Numidia,

/senatorial .....

senatorial Africa had some auxiliary troops stationed in it. The Ethiopian expedition was planned for 68, but some years earlier, possibly in 61, a detachment from the Praetorian Guard had been sent into Ethiopia to investigate the sources of the Nile[144]. A tantalizing papyrus from Egypt has been connected with these events by Turner[145] :

> παρεγένετο καὶ Ῥοῦφος ἐπαγόμε[illegible]
> [illegible] δὲ καὶ οἱ μετάπε[illegible]
> [illegible]

The first lacuna has been filled to read [illegible] , although [illegible] or [illegible] are equally possible, according to Turner. The second lacuna presumably ended with [illegible] . Accordingly there is no secure basis for cohorts and light-armed troops ([illegible]), since this is a pure emendation. But there appear to be cavalry, possibly under a "praefectus" ([illegible]). Who Rufus was is not clear. Not even the link with Nero's plans is secure : Altheim and Stiehl[146] date the papyrus to the early 2nd century A.D.

Certain general features remain to be discussed. Reference has already been made to the German "corporis custodes" under Gaius : in spite of his intention to keep the guard German, he placed Thracians in command of it[147]. The guard showed its loyalty to him at his assassination by attempting a massacre of the senators, whom they regarded as responsible[148]. They are heard of again when Nero's relations with his mother became

/strained : .....

strained : he decided to withdraw the detachment of them that he had assigned to her as a mark of respect[140]

A chance occurrence on Nero's journey from Naples to Rome after the outbreak of the revolt of Vindex is incidental interest. The emperor regarded seeing a representation in sculpture of a Roman cavalryman riding down a Gaul as a happy omen[150]. Such a motif was very popular on the tombstones of the auxiliary cavalry.

Suetonius reports that Claudius regularized the order in which commands of cohorts, of alae and military tribunates were to be held : "equestris militias ita ordinauit, ut post cohortem alam, post alam tribunatum legionis daret"[151]. However this arrangement did not long remain in force, since the command of an ala soon ranked higher than a military tribunate in a legion[152].

The first diplomas[153] issued to auxiliaries appear in the Claudio-Neronian period. The earliest is dated to before 54 A.D. It is very fragmentary, but the relevant portions can be restored as follows :

[... quorum nomina subscripta sunt ipsis liberis posterisque eorum ciuitatem dedit et conubium cum uxoribus quae tunc habuissent cum est ciuitas data aut si qui] coelibes essent cum iis quae postea duxissent dumtaxat singuli singulas ...

cohort. II Hispanorum qui praeest C. Cauarius Priscus

equiti Dasenti Dasmeni f. Cornac(ati) et Lorae Procosii filiae uxori eius

/et .....

et merito f. eius et Iuranae filiae et meritae filiae eius[154].

Several comments are called for. The concern for the citizenship status of the wife and children has appeared on the Volutilis inscription, as noted above. The recipient was an "eques", hence the cohort must have been "equitata", but this element does not appear in its title. His tribe, and his name and the names of his relations, except for his son and one of his daughters, show that he was a Pannonian. Yet his regiment was a Spanish cohort. This means that it must have come to Pannonia (then still part of Illyricum) at least 25 years before for masons to have been drafted into it. So the cohors II Hispanorum must have reached Illyricum at some date before 26. The names Meritus/a for his son and one of his daughters strike one as humorous; but they were probably given in honour of his discharge from service and reflect a desire to provide a Roman-sounding name.

Other regiments attested by the diplomas may be noted :

ala veterana Gallorum et Thraecum

ala Gallorum et Thraecum Antiana

ala Gallorum et Thraecum [...][155], possibly in Moesia, in 54.

coh. I Aeturum et Callaecorum

coh. I Hispanorum

coh. I Alpinorum

coh. II Alpinorum

coh. II Hispanorum

coh. V Lucensi[a] et Galluccorum[156], in Illyricum, in 60.

ala Gemelliana[157], in Paetia (?). in 64.

/The .....

The list of regiments is very small, and possibly unrepresentative. But it is clear that Alpine, Gallic, Spanish and Thracian elements predominate. The alae already show composite titles, but they do not have numbers like the cohorts. Two composite cohorts appear, but these are not of widely separated peoples, as in the alae, but of tribes close to each other in a single province, Hispania Tarraconensis. A further point regarding nomenclature emerges. It will be seen that the coh. II Hispanorum features in both the Illyrian diplomas (the first and the third above). In the second of these the recipient is once again an "eques" and a Pannonian :

coh. II Hispan. cui praest C. Caesius Aper equiti Iantumaro Andedunis f. Varciano.

This is further confirmation that the cohort was "equitata", and the "cursus" of the prefect establishes this beyond doubt. It begins as follows :

C. Caesio I. f. Cl. Apro praef. coh. Hispanorum equitatae ...[156].

Here however the cohort has no number. One cannot then expect uniformity and rigidity of titulature at this stage.

NOTES.

1. Tac. "Agr." 13, 5.

2. LX, 20, 2 : διαπήμει Κελτούς , εἰς ἕκος ἦν καὶ διὰ τῶν ῥοφοκτάτων ῥηθέως αὐτοῖς ὅπλοις [illegible]. Cf. ibid. 6, where the [illegible] cross the Thames in the same way. For Dio's [illegible] cf. above, p. 61, n. 36. If Dio's elephant in Britain (21, 2) can be accepted, a circus animal rather than an African auxiliary corps must be intended.

3. For the skill of Batavians in swimming in full armour, cf. above, p. 68 and below, p. 154.

4. "Ann." XII, 31 - 40; XIV, 29 - 39. For Caratacus, cf. "P.I.R."[2] C 418; Boudicca, B 148.

5. Tac. "Ann." XII, 31. For P. Ostorius Scapula, cf. W. Hoffmann, "R.E." XVIII, 1942, 1671 (no. 4).

6. Tac. "Ann." XII, 35.

7. Furneaux and Koestermann ad loc.

8. ibid. At this point Iolitus comments on the lack of protective armour of the Britons. Their troops are referred to as "cateruae armatorum" (33) and "ualida et lecta armis iuuentus" (40) in this section.

9. 38.

10. 39.

11. 40. For Cartimandua, cf. "P.I.R."[2] C 453; for A. Didius Gallus, D 70. Didius had accompanied Claudius to Britain during the invasion in 43 A.D. : cf. I.L.S. 9/0, ll. 6 - 7, as amended by Oliver, "A.J.P." 1946, 219 : "[comes et legatus imperatoris i[n] [Britannia]". A difficulty arises over the post recorded in l. 5 : "pr[aefectu]s equitat." Drong ("P.I.R." loc. cit.) says that von Domaszewski's proposal that Didius was in charge of all the cavalry during the invasion cannot be proved, but Oliver (221) accepts the suggestion.

12. "pedes ... equites" at Mons (Anglesey) (Tac. "Ann." XIV, 29);

/"legionem .....

"legiones et quod peditum ... cum equitibus" of the forces of Q. Petilius Cerealis Caesius Rufus (Z. Swoboda, "R.E." XIX, 1937, 1138 ff., (no. 8)) then legate of legio IX at Lindum (Lincoln) (32).

13. 34. "Auxiliarium impetus" and "equos" are later used (37). The British forces are described in the words "cateruas et turmas" (presumably to cover both infantry and cavalry) (34) and "iuuentus" (36). For C. Suetonius Paulinus, cf. Hiltner, "R.E." IV A, 1931, 591 ff. (no. 3).

14. LXII, 12, 3 - 4, where Dio refers to the Britons' lack of protective armour (cf. 5, 2, and above, n. 8 for Tacitus).

15. Tac. "Ann." XIV, 38.

16. Cf. Furneaux ad loc., quoting Nipperdey, who refers to "H." I, 59 : "et erant in ciuitate Lingonum octo Batauorum cohortes, quartae decimae legionis auxilia" (69 A.D.), on which cf. Heubner, who accepts the identification. The Batavians are said to have won glory in Britain in "H." IV, 12, but the passage is too general to be of use here.

17. Cf. n. 16

18. "Agr." 36, 1.

19. 18, 5 and Ogilvie and Richmond ad loc. This leads one to suspect that the auxiliaries used for the attack on Mona by Suetonius Paulinus included Batavians.

20. 28, and Ogilvie and Richmond ad loc. and appendix 2. For the Usipi, or, as they are more commonly called, the Usipetes, cf. L. Gutenbrunner "R.E." IX A, 1961, 1387 ff.

21. Tac. "Agr." 36, 1. For the Tungri, cf. K. Scherling, "R.E." VII A, 1948, 1345 ff.

22. van de Weerd, "A.C." 1938, 369, suggests that Claudius called upon the Belgians especially for troops to garrison Britain.

23. R.I.B. 201; Kraft, 611.

24. Frere, 1967, 71; Webster, "Limes" VI, 1967, 44; Hull, "Germ." 1929, 188 ff.

25. Frere, 1967, 79; Webster, "Limes" VI, 1967, 45; R.I.B. 291.

26. R.I.B. 122.

127. .....

[illegible]. R.I.B. 109; Kraft, 612.

[illegible]. R.I.B. 108; Kraft, 413.

29. One may note that the Gauls are included among the auxiliaries in Calgacus' ("C.I.L." II 3 224) address to the British army before the battle of Mons Graupius (Tac. "Agr." 32, 1).

30. 1967, 61, n. 1. The diplomas are not of much help, since the first British diploma ("C.I.L." XVI, 43) falls in 98 A.D. An ala I Tungrorum is listed, but the Tungrians named are definitely from cohorts. However, as Nesselhauf remarks ad loc., there is room for a coh. Tungrorum among the lacunae in the list of cohorts : they appear in the second century diplomas (conveniently listed in Simpson, 1964, 184 f.). The ala I Thracum, coh. I Batavorum, and Thracian cohorts are also attested.

31. Haledon, 1934, 56 ff., makes a reasonable attempt at a reconstruction of Gaius' German and British plans, explaining the literary tradition as a misunderstanding of measures taken to restore discipline and provide troop manoeuvres before action could be started. Davies, "Hist." 1966, 124 ff., and Nicknell, ibid. 1968, 496 ff. (who would place Gaius' military activities in 40, i.e., those directed towards Britain, in Lower Germany - 5[illegible] ff.) have recently continued the debate.

32. "Cal." 43.

33. 45, 1.

34. LIX, 22, 2. On the exaggeration in this figure, cf. Townend, "Hermes" 1964, 484.

35. "Cal." 43.

36. 44.

37. Tac. "H." IV, 15; Haledon, 1934, 70, n. 2. For the Canninefates, cf. above, p. 82, n 48

38. For Flavus and the Cheruscans, cf. above, p. 69 . Cf. Tac. "Ann." XI, 16 : "armis equisque in patrium nostrumque morem exercitus".

39. XI, 18. There was probably too long an interval for Caecinascus (Stein "R.E." VII, 1910, 707 f.) to have had any connection with the "ala Canninefatium" that operated in the Frisian revolt of 28 A.D., for which cf. above, p. 72 .

/40. .....

40. XII, 27. The Chatti are described as "latrocinia agitantes" and "populatores".

41. Apud Furneaux ad loc. For the cisrhenane "cateruae", cf. above, p. 67 Lang, 19[illegible], 43 and Callies, 1964, 145, regard the units as regular. For the Nemetae, cf. [illegible] Franke, "[illegible]" XVI, 1935, 2382 ff.

42. Tac. "Ann." XIII, 54. For these areas reserved for military use, cf. Kahrstedt, "Limes" 1949, 4[illegible] f.; "B.J." 1950, 75 ff.

43. Tac. "Ann." XIII, 55 : "Boiocalus, uinctum se rebellione Cherusca iussu Arminii referens, mox Tiberio, Germanico ducibus stipendia meruisse, et quinquaginta annorum obsequio id quoque adiungere quod gentem suam dicioni nostrae subiceret". For the Ampsivarii and Boiocalus, cf. above, p. 51, and "P.I.R."^{2} B 14[illegible].

44. Dio LX, 15, 2. For L. Arruntius Camillus Scribonianus, cf. "P.I.R."^{2} A 114[illegible], Jagenteufel, 1[illegible], 21 (no. 5).

45. Tac. "Ann." XII, 2[illegible], with Furneaux ad loc. (and Pelham, l.c. n. 41) and Koestermann. For the "Vannianum regnum", cf. B. Saria, "[illegible]" VIII A, 1955, 33[illegible] ff.; for Vannius, R. Hanslik, ibid., 346 f.

46. Tac. "Ann." XI, 8. For Mithridates, cf. above, p. 83; for Pharasmenes and the Iberi, cf. Schur, 1923,^{2} 1963, index, s.v. Iberien; Magie, 195[illegible], s.vv.

47. Tac. "Ann." XI, 9.

48. XII, 15. The Bosporan forces are called "nationes", "perfugas", "postremo exercitu". For Bosporus, cf. Brandis, "R.[illegible]." III, 757 ff. (no. 3 - esp. 762); for Mithridates, Geyer, "R.[illegible]." XV, 1932, 2206 (no. 16); for Cotys, "P.I.R."^{2} C 1556; for C. Julius Aquila, I 166; Pflaum, 19[illegible], 51 ff. (no. 51).

49. Tac. "Ann." XII, 15 - 1[illegible]. Eunones ("P.I.R."^{2} [illegible] 113) was at pains to establish that he had not acted as a subordinate, but had shared "communionem uictoriae" with the Romans (1[illegible]). For the Aorsi, cf. Tomaschek, "R.[illegible]." I, 1[illegible]4, 2[illegible] f.

50. Tac. "Ann." XII, 17; Furneaux ad loc.; Koestermann ad 15.

51. XII, 45. For Caelius Pollio, cf. "P.I.R."^{2} C 140, and for Casparius, 461.

/52. .....

52. Tac. "Ann." XII, 49, contra the interpretation of Furneaux and Koestermann. Contrast the phrase "tumultuarium" of a new levy by Corbulo in Syria, below, p. 98 . For Cappadocian auxiliaries, cf. below, p. 98f.

53. XII, 55. For the Cistue, cf. above, p. 75 ; for C. Julius Antiochus Epiphanes, cf. "R.E.A." I 149.

54. For Cn. Domitius Corbulo, cf. "R.E.A." D 142; for Tiridates, F. Geyer, "R.E." VI A, 1937, 1441 f. (no. 6).

55. Tac. "Ann." XIII, 7. For C. Julius Agrippa, cf. "R.E.A." I 132; for Aristobulus, a 1092; for C. Julius Sohaemus, I 582, where he is identified with the king of Emesa (Homs) known from Josephus.

56. Tac. "Ann." XIII, 8. For C. Umidius Durmius Quadratus, cf. R. Hanslik, "R.E." Suppl. IX, 1962, 1827 ff. (no. 4). Frontinus ("Strat." IV, 2, 3 : "duabus legionibus et paucissimis auxiliis") plays down the "auxilia".

57. Tac. "Ann." XIII, 9. For Vologeses, cf. R. Hanslik, "R.E." Suppl. IX, 1962, 1831 ff. (no. 1).

58. Tac. "Ann." XIV, 23, and Koestermann ad loc. for the legion concerned.

59. XIII, 36. For Paccius Orfitus, cf. Stein, "R.E." XVIII, 1942, 2065 (no. 14).

60. "Strat." IV, 1, 21. Frontinus (ibid., 28) relates the punishment of another prefect of an ala : "Aemilio Rufo praefecto equitum, quia hostibus cesserat et parum instructam armis alam habebat ...".

61. Tac. "Ann." XIII, 37. Rhachi is an emendation, accepted by Furneaux and Koestermann ad loc. Others have proposed "Haniochi" (cf. Guilleumier ad loc. and Magie, 1950, 1413). Neither A. Herrmann "R.E." XVI, 1933, 351 f. nor Kiessling, ibid. VIII, 1912, 251 ff. (no. 2) refers to the passage.

62. Tac. "Ann." XIII, 38. In a subsequent attack on an Armenian stronghold, "funditores librilaresque" are mentioned (39; cf. above, p. 49).

63. XIII, 40.

64. 41.

65. XIV, 23. The tribesmen were "latrociniis exerciti".

/66. .....

66. XIV, 26 : "praemisso cum auxiliis Verulano legato atque ipse legionibus citis ...".
67. ibid. Cf. Dio LXII, 20, 2. For Tigranes, cf. F. Geyer, "R.E." VI A, 1936, 980 f. (no. 6).
68. Tac. "Ann." XV, 3.
69. XV, 4 - 5. Cf. Dio LXII, 20, 3.
70. For L. Caesennius Paetus cf. "P.I.R.²" C 173.
71. Tac. "Ann." XV, 6, with Furneaux and Pelham ad loc.
72. Cf. Ciohorius, 1255.
73. E. Hoffmann, "R.E." XXI, 1952, 1265 ff. (no. 3).
74. Cf. above, p. 94 .
75. Tac. "Ann." XV, 8. The Parthian attackers at this point are referred to as "hostiles turmae".
76. XV, 10. "Alaris", "equite" are used for cavalry in 11.
77. For C. Destius Gallus, cf. "P.I.R.²" C 691.
78. "Ann." XV, 25, and Furneaux and Koestermann ad loc. For "praefectura" in the sense discussed below, cf. e.g. XV, 28.
79. 26.
80. Cf. Furneaux ad loc. and Baxer, 1967, 12.
81. For (M.) Julius Agrippa, cf. "P.I.R." I 131. As Jones, 1938, 211, n.1., points out, the "Herod" of "Acts" 12 was not part of his official nomenclature.
82. Mt. 27, 27; Mk. 15, 16; Jn. 18, 3; 12. The centurions in the earlier parts of the gospels belonged to the armed forces of the tetrarchs, and were not auxiliaries (cf. Sherwin-White, 1963, 124). For Pontius Pilatus, cf. G. Fascher "R.E." XX, 1950, 1322 f.
83. Mt. 27, 54; Mk. 15, 39; Lk. 23, 47.
84. Jos. "A.J." XVIII, 6, 10, 257 and Feldman ad loc.
85. 1934, 115; cf. Stein "R.E." XIV, 1930, 2053 (no. 1). It may be noted that under Herod there was a separate commander for the cavalry of the royal army (Jos. "B.J." II, 3, 4, 52).
86. II, 10, 1, 166.

/87. .....

87. XVIII, 8, 2, 262. This is the figure accepted by Jones, 1938, 197. For [illegible] Petronius, cf. R. Hanslik, "R.E." XIX, 1937, 1199 ff. (no. 24).

88. 10, 1; "P.I.R."[2] C 1308. For Caesarea Stratonis, cf. Benzinger, "R.E." III, 1897, 1291 ff. (no. 10).

89. Thus Gabba, 1958, 69. "P.I.R." says "circa a. 40"; Bruce ad loc. "before 41".

90. Jos. "A.J." XIX, 9, 2, 365.

91. 1934, 1967, 69 ff. Momigliano refers to "B.J." II, 3, 4, 52; 12, 5, 236; "A.J." XX, 8, 1, 122 - passages discussed either above or below. For Sebaste (Samaria), cf. above, p. 62 n 48

92. Jos. "A.J." XX, 5, 1, 98. For Theudas, cf. Feldman ad loc.

93. Jos. "B.J." II, 12, 1, 224; 226; "A.J." XX, 5, 3, 106, where [illegible] not [illegible], is used.

94. "Ann." XII, 54, where the Jewish forces are called "Latronum globos".

95. II, 12, 5, 236.

96. XX, 6, 1, 122.

97. 6, 2, 132; 3, [illegible]; "B.J." II, 12, [illegible], 244; "P.I.R."[2] C 617. Cf. Cheesman, 36.

98. "Cl." 28. For (R.) Antonius Felix, cf. "P.I.R."[2] A 828. Whether Felix' was a sole or a joint governorship at the outset cannot be discussed here. Cf. "P.I.R."; Perneaux and Koestermann on Tac. "Ann." XII, 54; and most fully, Momigliano, 1934, 1967, 81 ff.; Smallwood, "Lat." 1959, 56[illegible] ff.

99. "B.J." II, 13, 3, 254. For the [illegible] cf. Honigmann, "R.E." II A, 1923, 2461.

100. Jos. "B.J." II, 13, 4, 260.

101. 5, 262. Cf. "Ac." 21, 38.

102. Jos. "B.J." II, 13, 7, 26[illegible]. As Sherwin-White (1[illegible], 1[illegible]) notes, Cornelius, the centurion of the cohors Italica, appears to have been a provincial, surrounded by relatives and friends ("Ac." 10, 24).

103. Jos. "A.J." XX, 8, 7, 176.

104. For Porcius Festus, cf. Lamberts, "R.E." XXII, 1953, [illegible] ff. (no. 36).

/105. .....

105. "Ac." 21, 31; 23, 25; 24, 22; "P.I.R."[2] C 917.

106. "Ac." 23, 23, and the lexicon of Bauer-Arndt-Gingrich.

107. "Ac." 27, 1.

108. Jos. "B.J." II, 14, 5, 291; "P.I.R."[2] I 72 : Jucundus is called an [illegible] . For this term applied to Romans cf. 19, 4, 531. For Gessius Florus, cf. Stein, "R.E." VII, 1910, 1325 ff. (no. 5).

109. Jos. "B.J." II, 14, 6, 296; 332.

110. Cf. above, p.100.

111. Jos. "B.J." II, 17, 2, 408.

112. 17, 4, 421. We hear of [illegible] in the army of Agrippa operating at home (18, 6, 483).

113. 9, 500 f. For Asticchus and Mohaemus, cf. above, p.95.

114. 9, 502.

115. 19, 9, 555.

116. 7, 544. "P.I.R."[2] A 351 identifies him with the Jucundus mentioned above, p. 107

117. Jos. "B.J." III, 4, 1, 64 ff.; cf. IV, 10, 3, 598. Suetonius, however, ("Vesp." 4, 6) gives the number of alae as 8, and of cohorts as 10.

118. Titus had brought the Fifteenth from Alexandria : whether any auxiliaries accompanied it is not stated (cf. III, 1, 3, 6).

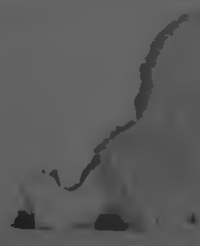
119. Homigliano's calculations (1934, 1[illegible]7, 71) make it likely that the ala Sebastenorum at least was quingenary.

120. Earlier Agrippa is said to have attended on Vespasian "with his whole army" (Jos. "B.J." III, 2, 4, 29).

121. For the phrase, cf. [illegible] (1, 3, 8).

122. Fluss, "R.E." XIV, 1928, 857 f. (no. 2). Forni, "Athen." 1958, 27, refers to a passage in the Talmud where it is said that 8000 Palmyrene archers were in the service of Rome during the wars of Vespasian. He identifies these with the force of Malchus.

123. [illegible] ... [illegible] κολεμικὴν οὐκ ὂν [illegible] τοῦ [illegible], κατὰ μὲν εἰρήνην ἐν ταῖς μελέταις τῶν δεσποτῶν ἀεὶ στρεφόμενοι, συγκινδυνεύοντες δ' ἐν πολέμοις ὡς μήτ' ἐμπειρία,



[illegible] τινος [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [illegible].

For such soldiers' servants ("calones"), cf. v. Domaszewski, "R.E." III, 18[illegible]7, 1362.

124. Jos. "B.J." III, 4, 1, 59. For Placidus, cf. Lamberts, "R.E." XX, 195[illegible], 1934 ff. (no. 1).

125. Jos. "B.J." III, [illegible], 1, 12. For Antonius, cf. "P.I.R."^{2} A 796.

126. As Josephus himself says ("B.J." III, 6, 2, 12[illegible]). Cf. above, p. 27 n 6

127. 6, 2, 115 ff., and Feldman on 12[illegible].

128. Josephus himself had been made responsible for the Jewish defence of Galilee, and claims to have collected an army of over 1[illegible],[illegible] men (II, 2[illegible], 6, 576).

129. III, 7, 5, 151 - the marksmen called [illegible].

130. 9, 168; 18, 211; cf. 3[illegible], 285.

131. 7, 3, 144; 9, 7, 443; IV, 1, 5, 36 ff. For Aebutius, cf. "P.I.R."^{2} A 110.

132. Jos. "B.J." III, [illegible], [illegible], 4[illegible]; "P.I.R."^{2} A 877.

133. Jos. "B.J." III, 7, 31, [illegible]. Cf. 9, 8, 458; 10, 3, 485 for Trajanus operating with smaller bodies of cavalry; R. Hanslik, "R.E." Suppl. X, 1965, 1032 ff. (no. 1).

134. Jos. "B.J." III, 7, 31, 2[illegible]9; 1[illegible], 1, 470.

135. 7, 32, 31[illegible]; IV, 9, 1, 4[illegible]. A similar force of 3[illegible] foot and 500 horse is found under the command of Placidus. When first mentioned, however (cf. n. 124 above), he was a [illegible], not a legionary legate. In IV, 1, 8, 57, he commands 6[illegible] horse.

136. III, 9, 7, 443 ff.

137. IV, 8, 1, 442. On a larger scale, Vespasian left garrisons [illegible] τοῦ [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] in Jericho and Adida (Haditheh) prior to his planned assault on Jerusalem in 68 (9, 1, 486).

138. LIX, 2[illegible], 7. For L. Calpurnius Piso, cf. "P.I.R."^{2} C 293; Thomassen, 1960, II 29 f. (and I, 10 ff.).

/139. .....

139. "A." IV, 48. For P. Junius Silanus (Torquatus), cf. "P.I.R."[2] I 839, who, contra Romanelli, 1959, 247 ff., and Thomassen, 1960, II 28 f. (cf. I, 10 ff.), argue that Dio, and not Tacitus, is correct on the name of the governor.

140. For Ptolemy, cf. above, p. 16 .

141. [illegible] 634. For Aedemon, cf. "P.I.R."[2] A 112.

142. Jos. "B.J." II, 1[illegible], 7, 494; Schur, 1923, 1963, 100.

143. Tac. "A." I, 7[illegible]; Thomassen, 1[illegible], II, 39 f.

144. Cf. Schur, 1923, 1963, 4[illegible] ff.

145. "J.R.S." 1[illegible], [illegible] ff., referring to Pap. Milan 40.

146. 1964 - , vol. II, 53.

147. Suet. "Gal." 55, 2. Cf. above, p. 90. Suetonius uses the plural. Dio (LX, 28, 2) speaks of [illegible] Josephus ("A.J." XIX, 1, 15, 122) makes this Sabinus, who had been a gladiator, [illegible] over the guard at the death of Gaius. Feldman ad loc. regards him as a Thracian, but says that [illegible] cannot be a technical term equivalent to "tribunus militum".

148. Suet. "Gal." 58, 3; Jos. "A.J." XIX, 1, 15, 119 ff.; cf. Dio LIX, 30, 18.

149. Tac. "Ann." XIII, 1[illegible]; Suet. "N." 34, 1.

150. 41, 2 : "insculptum monumento militem Gallum ab equite R. oppressum trahi crinibus". The revolt of Vindex will be discussed in the next chapter.

151. "Cl." 25, 1; Smilda ad loc.

152. Cf. Momigliano, 1931, 1964, 47 f.; Cheesman, 90; von Domaszewski, 1908, 1967, 122; 129; xxxv.

153. On these, cf. above, p. 6 .

154. C.I.L. XVI, 2, with Nesselhauf ad loc. for the date; Kraft, 1511. For the Carnacates, cf. Patsch, "R.A." IV, 1[illegible], 1[illegible].

155. C.I.L. XVI, 3. 5 also are mentioned, but only these 3 names have survived.

/156. .....

156. C.I.L. XVI, 4, supplying a consular date, the province and the governor under whom the regiments served. For the Astures, cf. Hübner, "[illegible]" II, 16[illegible], 1[illegible]3 f.; Gallaeci, III, 18[illegible]7, 13[illegible] ff.; Lucenses, Schulten, XIII, 1927, 17[illegible] (no. 1).

157. C.I.L. XVI, 5. XVI, 6, of 54 - [illegible] A.[illegible], is very fragmentary and supplies no regimental names.

158. I.[illegible].S. [illegible]81; for [illegible] Aper, cf. "[illegible]," C 191; for Lastumarus, Kraft, 191[illegible]; for the Varciani, E. Saria, "[illegible]" VIII A, 19[illegible], 3[illegible]3 ff.

VII. FROM GALBA TO VESPASIAN.

The revolt of Vindex[1], which led to the fall of Nero, broke out early in 68. Vindex, himself of Gallic descent, was governor of Gallia Lugdunensis. His forces are said to have numbered [illegible] men[2]. The tribes who supported him were the Aedui, Arverni and Sequani[3]. Vienna (Vienne) was accused by Lugdunum (Lyons) - both Roman colonies, but of differing origins - of having supported Vindex[4]. There may have been other support for the revolt, but it is not recorded. The figure of 100,000 seems excessive, and Wainwright[5] would explain it as a somewhat exaggerated estimate of the strength of the legions and auxiliaries of the army of upper and lower Germany. In the event, according to Plutarch[6], 20,000 Gauls fell.

Verginius Rufus, legate of the forces of Upper Germany that crushed Vindex, had Batavian cavalry and Belgians among his auxiliaries[7]. Two Gallic peoples, the Treverans and the Lingones[8], supported him, but whether this means that they supplied extra "auxilia" is not known.

Galba, then governor of Hispania Tarraconensis, accepted leadership of the revolt and was proclaimed emperor in April, 68, before the defeat of Vindex. Verginius Rufus' troops then called the rebels "Galbiani"[9], thereby implying that they had more respectable opponents to deal with than the followers of a rebel Gaul. In Tarraconensis Galba had 1 legion, 2 alae and 3 cohorts, according to Suetonius[10], and he then set about conscripting further legions and auxiliaries. In fact only one legion was formed, which

/Tacitus .....

Tacitus calls the "septima Galbiana"[11], normally in contexts where it could be confused with the "septima Claudiana". Among the auxiliaries we hear of "Vasconum lectae a Galba cohortes"[12] when they were sent to Upper Germany. Otho, then governor of Lusitania, joined Galba at the outset[13], but nothing is stated about the troop movements involved.

On his arrival in Rome in the autumn of 68, Galba found the city full of troops being levied or transferred for the expeditions or crises of Nero's last months. Tacitus describes the non-praetorian and non-urban forces as follows : "inducta legione Hispana, remanente ea quam e classe Nero conscripserat, plena urbs exercitu insolito; multi ad hoc numeri e Germania ac Britannia et Illyrico, quos ibi Nero electos ... reuocauerat"[14]. The "Spanish legion", as noted above, was the legion that accompanied Galba from Spain. It would have been either the new Seventh or the old Sixth. The "legion which Nero had conscripted from the fleet" later appears as "legio classica" and "prima adiutrix"[15]. The "numeri" were detachments drawn from the armies stationed in the areas named. Saxer[16] is of the opinion that they consisted mainly of legionaries. But when Galba was threatened by Otho and appealed to them for support, they are referred to as "legiones ... et auxilia"[17]. Further, Otho sent "Sulpicius Florus e Britannicis cohortibus, nuper a Galba ciuitate donatus" to murder the man whom Galba had adopted as his heir[18]. "Cohortes" on occasion can mean legionary cohorts, but Sulpicius Florus (Galba belonged to the "gens Sulpicia") could not have been a legionary, otherwise he would already have possessed citizenship. The "Britannicae cohortes", therefore, must mean auxiliary cohorts previously stationed in Britain and forming part of the "numeri e ... Britannis". The

/German .....

German detachment is later described as "Germanici exercitus milites", "Germanici milites" and "Germanica uexilla"[19]. "Vexillum"[20] has three senses that could be appropriate here : auxiliary cavalry, veterans in reserve, and detachment. It is obvious from the equation just quoted that the last sense is the correct one, and that [illegible]

Illyricum is being used anachronistically or broadly; for "Pannonici ... legio[illegible] exercitus milites" are equated with "electos Illyrici exercitus"[21]. Saxer's Illyr[illegible] view cannot stand, and the "numeri" must be regarded as part legionary, part auxiliary. That they were so argues for a close link between the two arms, and a high degree of professional organization on the part of the auxiliaries concerned. An action of Galba's after his entry into Rome should be noted : he decided to disband the German "corporis custodes" of Nero, sending the men back home without a bounty : Suetonius[22] refers to the corps as "Germanorum cohortes".

After staging his proclamation as emperor on the Rhine on January 1st, 69 A.D., Vitellius' supporters mobilized their forces for an invasion of Italy. Key communities in the area - the "Agrippinenses, Treviri, Lingones" - offered enthusiastic support in the form of "auxilia equum arma pecuniam"[23]. It is hard to know whether tribal auxiliaries can be understood or not. The Agrippinenses were the inhabitants of a Roman colony (now Cologne) and hence entitled to serve in the legions, but they may represent the surrounding Ubians, still auxiliary material. The Treverans could serve as auxiliaries, although their chief town was also a colony (now Trier).

/The .....

The Lingones were still partly peregrine : Otho granted the whole "ciuitas" citizenship. In any case, it is not clear whether this offer was accepted, and, if so, whether contingents of these peoples were included in the large number of Gallic auxiliaries that supported Vitellius in Italy. Governors of neighbouring provinces threw their weight in with Vitellius. Of the governor of Gallia Lugdunensis we are told that he had the "ala Taurina" and the "Italica legio" at Lugdunum : these were both shortly withdrawn[24]. It is possible that the ala formed part of the invasion force. Tacitus' description of this is as follows : "valenti interioris exercitus electi cum aquila quintae legionis et cohortibus alisque, ad quadraginta milia armatorum data; triginta milia decima e superiore Germania duxerat, quorum robur legio unetuicensima fuit. additis Germanorum auxiliis, e quibus Vitellius suae quoque copiae supplevit ..."[25]. Unfortunately the total of 70,000[26] cannot be broken down into specific legionary and auxiliary proportions on the evidence of this statement. But there is a contrast implied between the regular cohorts and alae and the "Germanorum auxilia". Later there is a reference to "transrhenanos"[27], mentioned at the crossing of the Po. These German "auxilia" or "transrhenani" must have been allied contingents supplied by free Germans. Neubner[28] would place the "Batavi" mentioned at the Po in the same category. But the "octo Batauorum cohortes, quartae decimae legionis auxilia"[29] on their way from Italy to Britain who joined Vitellius when his revolt was known are probably the Batavians referred to. They would have been more professional than allied German contingents

/at .....

at this stage. It is not clear whether they are to be regarded as part of, or in addition to, the 7[illegible],000 named above.

Some details on the composition of the "auxilia" assigned to Valens and Caecina can be recovered as the narrative proceeds. Thus "Gallorum Lusitancrumque et Britannorum cohortes et Germanorum uexilla cum ala Petriana"[30] were sent into Italy ahead of the main forces. The cohorts require no comment, except to note that this is the first reference to British ones. The sense of "uexilla" has caused disagreement. Since "alae" (in the plural) is used in reference to these forces in the next sentence, and only one ala, the Petriana, is named, it has been thought[31] that "uexillum" here means "ala". But this cannot be pressed : other unnamed alae such as the ala Siliana may have been meant. However, it is best to interpret the phrase in the light of what has gone before rather than in the light of what follows. As we have seen, "Germanorum auxilia" were included in the invasion force. The "Germanorum uexilla" here must mean detachments of these. They were probably cavalry, since they are closely associated with the Petriana, but certainly not properly organized Roman alae, as argued above. On the march to Italy Valens had to divert part of his forces to protect Gallia Narbonensis from an attack by Otho's fleet. The auxiliaries involved comprised "duas Pungrorum conortis, quattuor equitum turmas, uniuersam Treuirorum alam cum Iulio Classico praefecto"[32]. A quingenary ala appears to have been divided into 16 "turmae"; hence the 4 "turmae" of cavalry represented a quarter of a regiment. In describing the fighting between the Vitellians and the Othonians at Placentia

/(Piacenza), ...

(Placentia). Tacitus singles out the "cohortis Germanorum, cantu truci et more patrio nudis corporibus super umeros scuta quatientium"[33]. The question arises, whether these German "cohorts" can be regarded as regular regiments like the Tungrian cohorts just mentioned. The strong emphasis placed on their "ancestral" mode of entering into battle makes this unlikely. They are rather to be classified among the "Germanorum auxilia" referred to in the original description of the invading force[34]. "Cohort" must be used here in a tactical, not a professional sense. It is likely that at least 2 of the cohorts accompanying Valens were Gallic, to judge from a fight between a Gallic auxiliary and a legionary that Tacitus describes in connection with a feast which Vitellius gave for Verginius Rufus in North Italy after the battle of Bedriacum. It is true that the Gallic auxiliary may have accompanied Vitellius rather than the original invasion force to Italy. But the dispute arose with a soldier of the Fifth legion, which was part of Valens' force. Accordingly it seems preferable to consider the Gaul as one of Valens' auxiliaries. To avenge the defeat of their comrade by the Gaul, the legionaries then cut 2 cohorts to pieces. Probably both were Gallic[35]. We are told that, after the defeat of Otho, Vitellius decided to send the Gallic auxiliaries home : "reddita ciuitatibus Gallorum auxilia, ingens numerus et prima statim defectione inter inania belli adsumptus"[36]. From this it would appear that he had enlisted a very large number of Gauls at the very outset of his revolt. (The phrase "inter inania belli" implies that they were of little value.) whether the men included those offered by the

/Agrippinenses, ...

Agrippinenses, Treverans and Lingones in the incident discussed above, cannot be decided. It is interesting that they were returned to their home tribes ('ciuitatibus'). This implies discharge, rather than continuance as professional auxiliaries. Here it is instructive to compare the German "auxilia" of the invasion force. They were of far greater military value, although technically called "social", than hastily drafted provincials. For these to become professional "auxilia" a long training was necessary.

The "auxilia" of the invasion force may now be said to include, from the army of Lower Germany

a Treveran ala,

2 Tungrian cohorts,

2 Gallic cohorts[37] (in all likelihood),

3 Batavian cohorts, all of which appear to have followed Valens to Italy[38];

and from the army of Upper Germany

an ala Petriana,

British,

Gallic, and

Lusitanian cohorts,

a Thracian cohort (in all probability)[39].

The allied German contingents and the "raw" levies [7].

The allied German contingents are mentioned with the latter branch of the

/Vitellian .....

Vitellian forces, but were probably to be found in the other half as well. If the "raw" Gauls did not accompany Vitellius on his march into Italy, they were probably found in both halves of the invasion force.

Before proceeding to the major fighting in North Italy, it will be of use to consider some of the incidents en route in more detail. Caecina's passage to Italy was blocked by the Helvetians, still unaware of Galba's death. The cause of their resistance was the seizure of money intended for local defence by some nearby legionaries : "rapuerant pecuniam missam in stipendium castelli quod olim Heluetii suis militibus ac stipendiis tuebantur"[4] . The Helvetian "milites" must have been entirely under local control. They are commonly regarded as a local militia. The Helvetians mobilized rapidly, but were caught between Caecina and the auxiliaries in Raetia whom he had ordered to attack the Helvetians in the rear. These appear as "Raeticae alae cohortesque et ipsorum Raetorum iuuentus, sueta armis et more militiae exercita". The defeat of the Helvetians is then described in the words "ac statim immissa cohorte Thracum depulsi et consectantibus Germanis Raetisque ... trucidati"[5]. "Raeticae" here must mean 'stationed in Raetia", whether consisting of Raetians or not. The "cohors Thracum" may have been part of the German or the Raetian army. The Raetian "youth" who were militarily prepared co-operated with the Germans ("consectantibus Germanis Raetisque" - presumably from the "Germanorum auxilia" of Caecina) in slaughtering the fleeing Helvetians. It would be interesting to know whether these Raetians were a standing local militia, operating with

/Roman .....

Roman permission, as in the case of the Helvetian garrison under discussion, or whether they were a purely tribal organization. The first alternative appears the more likely[42]. Caecina was threatened by the procurator of Noricum who drew his auxiliaries together to oppose his coming into his province. These troops Tacitus loosely calls "Noricon"[43], but must be thinking of "auxilia Norica", i.e., auxiliaries stationed in Noricum, whether of Norican origin or not. As noted above, Caecina sent various auxiliary formations ahead into Italy to strengthen the ala Siliana, whose accession to the Vitellian cause he had heard of while among the Helvetians. Their connection with Vitellius in Africa has already been noted : at present they were still in north Italy, where they had been marooned on their way to join the expedition against Vindex. It was particularly their decurions who instigated their change of sides. Tacitus further tells us that they won over 4 important Transpadane "municipia" (including Mediolanum, now Milan) for Vitellius. It is true that their influence was heightened because they happened to be the only military force in a "latissima Italiae pars", but even so, the incident is a striking comment on the increasing importance of the professional auxiliaries[44].

Meanwhile the procurator of the Maritime Alps was trying to hold his province against an attack by the Ligurians. He had to use local material only, called "montani" by Tacitus. The "iuventus" of the tribe, however, proved unequal to warfare against the soldiers of Otho[45]. The

/2 Tungrian .....

2 Gallic cohorts, the Treveran ala and the 3 squadrons of cavalry which Valens sent to Narbonese Gaul have already been mentioned. Tacitus later refers to the 2 cohorts in the phrases "Gallicarum cohortium", using the adjectival form, and "Gallos"[46]. This detachment from Valens' army was supported by local "auxilia" - "adiuncta Ligurum cohors, uetus loci auxilium, et quingenti Pannonii, nondum aut signis"[47]. From the run of the sentence, it would seem natural to take the 500 Pannonians as part of the local "auxilia", like the Ligurian cohort. But there seems little reason for stationing Pannonians in this area under normal circumstances, and it is more probable to regard the Pannonians as recruits for a quingenary cohort, presumably en route to a frontier army. This would be an early instance of auxiliaries being sent from their home area before their period of training. In the actual battle which followed, the Vitellians were able to use "Alpinos", presumably local levies from the Maritime Alps smarting under their earlier defeat by the Othonians. On their side on this occasion the praetorians were supported by "parte classicorum mixtis paganis" : cf. "mons ad faciendum ... paganorum manus" who hurled rocks down on the Vitellian "Treuirorum turmae"[48]. In other words marines from the fleet were assisted by the local population using a natural technique in a hilly area. The forces of Otho proved to be the victors. As a result of this Corsica remained true to Otho, but its governor tried to win it over for Vitellius. He called the "principes insulae" together, and, after cowing opposition, proceeded to hold a levy. But the "inconditi homines" so enlisted rebelled against the discipline of military training, and argued that even where

/Corsica .....

Corsica had been protected by cohorts and also it had been ravaged by [illegible]'s fleet. Army [illegible] in assassinating the governor[49]. Once again, a picture emerges of a professional core supplemented by local levies in an emergency.

Reference has already been made to the auxiliaries sent on ahead to Italy to join the ala Siliana. These forces captured a "Pannoniorum cohors" and cut off "centum equites ac mille classici"[50]. Neubner[51] regards the Pannonian cohort as part of the detachment of the German army that Nero had planned to send to Alexandria but had later recalled to Italy for the uprising of Vindex, like the ala Siliana. The marines from the fleet are self-explanatory : it is however not clear whether the 100 cavalry were auxiliary or not. When Caecina attacked Placentia (Piacenza), his legionaries were accompanied by a "sparsa auxiliorum manus". Arrows are named among the weapons used in the assault, but there is no indication that there was a "cohors sagittaria" involved. German cohorts receive special mention : as noted above, "cohorts" here should be taken in a tactical sense. Although worsted Caecina was joined by several "classici" and "Iulius Briganticus cum paucis equitum ... praefectus alae in Batauis genitus"[52]. Julius Briganticus was a Batavian, but it is not stated that the troops whom he commanded at this juncture were Batavians. As Neubner remarks, the "few cavalry" with whom he defected were part of the Othonian garrison of 3 praetorian cohorts, 1000 legionaries and cavalry mentioned in an earlier chapter[53]. What their

/nationality .....

nationality was cannot be decided. After being worsted at Placentia, Caecina withdrew to Cremona. In the vicinity his auxiliaries were defeated by gladiators whom an Othonian commander had transported across the Po in boats[54]. In the same area (at a place called ad Castores) Caecina placed his "ferocissimos auxiliarium" in ambush : the 2 Othonian commanders divided the infantry and the cavalry between themselves. Behind these came, on the left, a detachment of the thirteenth legion, 4 auxiliary cohorts and 500 cavalry; in the centre 3 praetorian cohorts; on the right the first legion with 2 auxiliary cohorts and 500 horse. In the reserve were "ex praetorio auxiliisque mille equites"[55]. The emphasis on the cavalry is notable. There is the initial group under one of the commanders, 1000 on the left and the right of the main body, and 1000 in reserve. The fact that the reserve group consists of cavalry from the praetorian guard and from the auxiliaries is also notable : the insistent stress on attention to a part of the army the auxiliary cavalry was. One may also observe that where the number of legionaries differed on the two wings, auxiliary troops (4 cohorts to 2) were used to balance the two sections. As in the case of the cavalry, so the infantry auxiliaries were increasingly being used on the same terms as the legionaries. In passing Tacitus records the wounding of "rex Epiphanes, ingens pro Othone pugnam ciens"[56]. Epiphanes' father was the last king of Commagene : we do not know whether he was commanding a contingent of Commageneans or, which appears more likely, fighting in the Othonian forces in an individual capacity.

Attention now turns to Vulcns, worried about the position of

/Narbonese .....

Narbonense Gaul and the growing unruliness of the Batavian cohorts (associated with the Fourteenth Legion) that were now with him in North Italy, as we have seen. Valens decided to send "partem Batauorum" to assist the troops he had left behind in Narbonensis. When this was announced "maerere socii, fremere legiones". The reason for the legionaries' discontent was : "orbari se fortissimorum uirorum auxilio" : "ueteros illos et tot bellorum uictores" were being removed : it was like cutting the strongest limbs off a body ! In the ensuing riot Valens was forced to disguise himself as a slave and take refuge with a "decurionem equitum"[37]. The strength and importance of the auxiliaries are apparent not only to the commanders, but also to the common legionary.

Tacitus describes in some detail a clash around an island in the Po between Otho's gladiators and the Vitellians[38]. The Vitellian troops involved are called "Germani" and their effective swimming is noted. They showed more firmness than the gladiators and are then honoured with the appellation "milites". When describing the battle of Bedriacum itself, Tacitus reports the opportune arrival of "recens auxilium" for the Vitellians in these words : "Varus Alfenus cum Batauis, fusa gladiatorum manu, quam nauibus transuectam obpositae cohortes in ipso flumine trucidauerant"[39]. These three elements - "Germani, Batauí, cohortes" - appear in Plutarch's biography of Otho as Γερμανοί [40] and Τοῖς δὲ μονομάχοις ... ἐπήγαγεν Οὔαρος Ἀλφῆνος τοὺς καλουμένους Βατάβους. Εἰσὶ δὲ Γερμανῶν ἱππεῖς ἄριστοι .... most of the gladiators fell into the river, into the hands of cohorts stationed there :

εἰς [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] .[61].

In his comment on the first passage Hardy identifies the [illegible] with Tacitus' Batavians (strangely not with Plutarch's [illegible]). On the [illegible] of the second passage, Hardy says that "Tacitus ... states that it was the Batavians who had destroyed the gladiators", but this ignores the "cohortes" of the relative clause "quam ... trucidauerunt". The Batavian cohorts may have been divided, as he suggests, but this does not emerge definitely from Tacitus' words. Meubner[62] quotes without enthusiasm the view that the "cohortes" may have been Canninefates, found associated with the Batavians in a later context. The three elements may have been identical, but the solution seems to lie in the distinction between the Batavian cohorts and the German allies Vitellius that has been maintained throughout. In particular the "Batauos transrhenanosque" of Caecina's first crossing of the Po should be recalled. The soldiers involved, then, comprised the Batavians and the levies of Germans made by Vitellius immediately before the march on Italy.

The auxiliary forces which Caecina and Valens brought to Italy, and those which they won over there, have already been discussed. What of the non-legionary (and non-praetorian) forces of Otho for the battle of Bedriacum ? Like Nero before him, Otho drafted a legion from soldiers from the fleet who had survived Galba's massacre on his entry into Rome : "reliquos ... in numerum legionis composuere."[63]. Otho's main force was accompanied by unspecified "alae cohortesque" and "deforme insuper

/auxilium, ...

auxilium, duo milia gladiatorum". Whether the "classicorum ingens numerus"[64] which he had in his own entourage is to be distinguished from the "legion" just mentioned is not clear. The loss of 1(valry and 1000 "classici" near Placentia has already been noted, as well as the fate of the 2000 gladiators. The numbers of auxiliary regimen involved at the battle of "ad Castores" have also been seen : they do not form a basis for calculating the whole auxiliary force. As far as the actual names of regiments are concerned, there is nothin, except for two s of very doubtful value. "Rex Epiphanes" has been discussed already, and we also have a mention of Otho's use of a "citus equo Numida"[65], but this Numidian is more likely to have been a private courier than an auxiliary. Then two alae from the Danubian armies were credited with a significant role in the battle, but their names are not known[66]. Before leaving the conflict between Otho and Vitellius, it will be interesting to note various rhetorical references to the "auxilia" involved. These occur mainly in the speeches which Tacitus put in the mouths of the protagonists. Vitellius is assured that "Germanorum auxilia"[67] will follow him to Italy : no others are mentioned in the passage concerned. Otho is made to stigmatize his troops as "Germani" in a sentence that implies that he had unlimited "Germani" at his disposal. This is immediately qualified, or contradicted, by "nationes aliquas" - a few tribes ! It is clear that the legionaries themselves are to be tarred with the German brush : for Otho opposes the "Italiae alumni et Romana ... iuuentus"[68], the "true sons of Italy and Rome" to Vitellius' men. Otho's troops are made to call Vitellius' army

/"peregrinum .....

"peregrinum et externum"[69]. When disparaged, the Germans, admitted to be the strongest element in Vitellius' forces ("quod genus militum apud hostis atrocissimum sit"), are said not to have been able to withstand the relaxing climate of Italy[70]. Neutral terms, however, appear in a favourable passage. Vitellius is invited to admire the part played by his soldiers at the battle of Bedriacum in the phrase : "hinc inrupisse legionum aguen, hinc equites coortos, inde circumfusas auxiliorum manus"[71]. It is clear that, when the foreignness or "Germanness" of troops is being stressed, allowance must be made for prejudice and rhetoric.

The preparations of the Flavians may be considered next. Tacitus states that Mucianus and Vespasian had 7 legions between them in the East and "auxilia utrique cohortium alarumque et classes regesque"[72]. The accession of Egypt increased the legions to 9 : the auxiliary strength remained unspecified : "classium alarum cohortium robora et fidissimi reges"[73]. Certain of the kings are then named : Sohaemus of Sophene with "haud spernendis uiribus", Antiochus of Commagene and Agrippa with his sister Berenice[74]. Levies were held : since Vespasian is said to have bestowed "praefecturae" or commands in auxiliary regiments on many, it can be supposed that auxiliaries as well as legionaries were enlisted[75]. Diplomatic arrangements were concluded with Armenia and Parthia to secure peace on the Eastern Frontier. After he had heard of the successful outcome of the battle of Cremona, Vespasian received an offer of assistance from Vologeses of Parthia. This was now no longer necessary : it would be interesting to know what Vespasian's reaction would have been if the offer had .....

had come earlier. Tacitus reports the incident as follows : "aderant legati regis Vologaesi quadraginta milia Parthorum equitum offerentes. magnificum laetumque tantis sociorum auxiliis ambiri neque indigere"[76]. In Suetonius, however, the 40,000 Parthians appear as "quadraginta milia sagittariorum"[77]. They were, therefore, mounted archers of the usual Parthian type, but Tacitus and Suetonius refer to only one of their military characteristics. In the event the forces of the East were hardly involved in the civil war, apart from the comparatively small portion that accompanied Mucianus to Italy. Both Tacitus and Josephus merely mention infantry and cavalry[78]. In general however it may be remarked that, as in the west, so in the East, the auxiliaries are associated with the legionaries on a completely professional basis. The crisis brought a search for extra forces : where Vitellius turned to the free German tribes, Vespasian approached the "seruientes reges"[79] and even Parthia, if his embassy to them was instructed to make a request for the troops which they appear to have offered of their own accord in the accounts of the Roman authors.

The Flavian attack on Italy was spearheaded by Antonius Primus[80]. The force by which he was accompanied consisted of "uexillarios e cohortibus et partem equitum"[81] ; in a speech urging the invasion he had referred especially to the cavalry at the disposal of the Flavians : "duae tunc" (at the battle of Bedriacum) "Pannonicae ac Moesicae alae perrupere hostem : nunc octodecim alarum coniunctis signis ... superfundent oblitos proeliorum equites equosque"[82]. The emphasis on cavalry is evident : the Flavian strength is said to lie in it[83]. Further, as Vitellius had turned

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to the free Germans and Vespasian to the client kings of the East, the Flavian leaders in Pannonia turned to the peoples across the Danube. The chiefs of the Sarmatian Iazyges were "in commilitium adsciti"[84]. Since their offer of "plebem ... et uim equitum,qua sola ualent" was rejected for security reasons, the implication of the phrase is not clear. The chiefs could hardly have been expected to fight without their followers, so that they must be regarded as non-participating allies. However Sido and Italicus, "reges Sueborum" who were also induced to support the Flavian faction, later appear fighting in Italy "cum delectis popularium"[85]. As the governor of Raetia remained true to Vitellius, "auxilia" were detached to oppose him. These "auxilia" are defined as "ala Auriana et octo cohortes ac Noricorum iuuentus"[86], presumably a local militia supporting a professional auxiliary force. What part of these forces accompanied Antonius cannot be determined.

When detailing the troops that came to the support of Antonius from the commands of Pannonia and Moesia, Tacitus concentrates on the legions[87]. At the battle of Cremona itself, the position of the auxiliaries is given after that of the legions : "cohortes auxiliorum in cornibus,latera ac terga equite circumdatae; Sido atque Italicus Suebi cum delectis popularium primori in acie uersabantur"[88]. Before passing to the Vitellian troops, some individual incidents should be noted. Before the battle of Cremona, Antonius gave his auxiliaries a foretaste of plundering : "auxiliares cohortes in Cremonensem agrum missae ut specie

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parandarum copiarum ciuili praeda miles iebueretur : ipse cum quattuor mi milibus equitum ad octauum a Bedriaco progressus quo licentius popularentur. ex exploratores, ut mos est, longius curabant"[89]. Once again, Antonius' association with cavalry should be noted : the numbers involved are large. But on the human side, Tacitus' use of the "ciuili praeda miles imbueretur" is striking. There is not here the obvious contrast between Roman citizens and auxiliary troops of non-Roman origin, otherwise "barbarus" or "externus" might have been used. "Miles" in its place seems to imply that Tacitus is avoiding the obvious comment to assimilate the auxiliary and the legionary soldier. It was military indiscipline in the last resort that had led to the deplorable incident : hence "miles" for auxiliary. The foray was interrupted by the unexpected appearance of the enemy. This led to a number of cavalry skirmishes[90]. Two of the Vitellian legions "laeto inter initia equitum suorum proelio"[91] : the adjective "suorum" implies that the cavalry involved was associated with the legions, but cannot be generalized to mean that legions always had cavalry attached to them. The Vitellian legions failed to take the initiative, and the Flavians attacked : "nutantem aciem (of the Vitellians) uictor equitatus (of the Flavians) incurrit; et Vipstanus Messala tribunus cum Moesicis auxiliaribus insequitur, quos multi e legionaribus quamquam raptim ductos sequabant : ita mixtus pedes equesque rupere legionum agmen". The initiatory and decisive role of the cavalry, referred to in the stylistic variant "uictor equitatus", is again apparent. Vipstanus Messala's auxiliaries are referred to by the army from which they came rather than by their regimental names. In the attack on the Vitellian

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camp after the actual battle of Cremona, Antonius is found acting "cum delectis auxiliaribus" which in Josephus are called cavalry[92]. Antonius presents the interesting spectacle of a Roman legionary commander consistently choosing to lead the auxiliary cavalry in battle.

While Caecina and Valens were engaged in Italy, Vitellius was levying troops in Gaul and receiving reinforcements from Britain[93]. Only legionaries are mentioned. When Vitellius reached Italy and joined up with Caecina and Valens, he sent various troops back. These included Cmuls and the 8 cohorts of Batavians already mentioned[94]. Now that his position was secure, he attempted to reduce the size of his forces : "amputari legionum auxiliorumque numeros iubet uetitis supplementis; et protinus missiones offerebantur"[95]. Whole regiments were not cashiered : it was their effective strength only that was affected. We are next informed that 60,000 "armati" followed Vitellius into Rome : the division between legionary and auxiliary is not given. An even larger number of "calones" and "lixae" followed the army itself[96]. The formal entry into Rome is described as follows : "quattuor legionum aquilae per frontem totidemque circa e legionibus aliis uexilla, mox duodecim alarum signa et post peditum ordines eques; dein quattuor et triginta cohortes, ut nomina gentium aut species armorum erant, discretae"[97]. This passage affords indications regarding army strengths. Unfortunately the "uexilla" provide an element of uncertainty. They are usually regarded as detachments of the 4 legions that had remained in Germany[98]. Since it is known that the strength of these legions was greatly depleted, it may safely

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be assumed that the detachments that had been drawn from them were of the larger kind, i.e., 2000 rather than 1000 strong in each case. Hence a total of 8000 is arrived at. But there still remains the problem of the 8000 men whom Vitellius had brought from Britain : these are listed among the forces whom Caecina took to Cremona[99], but appear to be ignored here. The total, 8000, causes difficulty in itself. Saxer[100] explains the figure as 6000 legionaries and 2000 auxiliaries, since there were 3 legions in Britain at this stage. But Vitellius sent the Fourteenth back to Britain. This inclines one to suggest that he may have regarded the paper strength of the British army as 4 legions, and so arrogated the 8000 men under 4 "uexilla". This is not to deny that there may have been detachments of auxiliaries from the british army, but Tacitus is probably ignoring them in these two contexts. Taking the 4 "uexilla" as legionary, the following break-down of the army at the Milvian Bridge can be given :

4 legions	up to 24,000
4 legionary "uexilla"	up to 8,000
Total legionaries	32,000
12 alae (if quingenary)	6,000
34 cohorts (if quingenary)	17,000
	23,000

These figures must be treated with caution : as already noted, regiments were below strength. The auxiliaries however form less than three quarters of the total. The grand total falls short of the 50,000 "armati" noted

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above by 5000[100a]. Finally it is interesting to note that the auxiliaries are classified under two heads : tribal affiliation or weapons borne. Once they were in Rome, the troops deteriorated rapidly. Tacitus singles out the decline in health of the "Germanorum Galliorumque"[101] : these are probably blanket terms referring to several of the professional auxiliary regiments. There was also a wholesale interchange between newly created urban troops, legions and auxiliaries[102].

On the announcement of the defection of Vespasian, Vitellius ordered fresh reinforcements from Germany, Britain and Spain[103]. In a speech referring to this Antonius Primus is made to say (after mentioning Germany and Britain) that Gaul and Spain would provide "men horses and tribute"[104] to the Vitellian cause. These provinces provided recruits for the legions, but it is fair to surmise that, since horses are mentioned, auxiliaries were also in question, especially for the cavalry. Unfortunately in describing the army that set out under Caecina from Rome to oppose the Flavians, Tacitus concentrates on the legions involved, just mentioning the cavalry and "electa auxilia"[105]. At the battle of Cremona they are referred to merely in the words "equum auxiliisque"[106]. Prior to the battle "tria Vitelliana cohortes et alam, cui Sebosianae nomen"[107] were worsted by the Flavians at Forum Alieni (Legnano ??). When Lucilius Bassus, prefect of the fleet at Ravenna (a post to which he was promoted after holding the prefecture of an ala) defected to Vespasian, he was taken to Atria (Adria) for detention by a prefect of an ala who was garrisoning

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the town[108]. Presumably other auxiliary regiments were performing similar functions elsewhere in the war zone of north Italy. After Cremona, the Flavians decided to send two defeated Vitellian supporters to announce their victory in Gaul. One was Alpinius Montanus, a Treveran who was a prefect of a cohort[109]. Unfortunately the nationality of his cohort is not stated.

In the period between the battle of Cremona and the occupation of Rome by the Flavians, a succession of troop movements and minor engagements occurred which merit some attention. Fabius Valens, who was not present at the battle of Cremona, requested assistance from Rome on hearing of the defeat of the Vitellians. Vitellius sent him "tres cohortes cum ala Britannica"[110], a force exactly parallel in size to that worsted at Forum Alieni. To judge by its name, the ala Britannica must have been stationed in Britain at some stage, but whether it came directly from there or from a period of service on the Rhine cannot be established. The next report concerns the arrival of a legion from Dalmatia with new recruits : "sex milia Dalmatarum, recens dilectus"[111]. It is probable that these were intended for auxiliary service, since they accepted enrolment into the Ravennate fleet, whose men were clamouring for service in the legions, many successfully. When discussing Lucilius Bassus, Tacitus[112] had stated that a great number of its sailors consisted of Dalmatians and Pannonians in the first instance. Antonius Primus eventually decided to leave the bulk of the legions in North Italy, while he advanced southwards with auxiliary infantry and cavalry and detached legionaries[113]. The force which Vitellius

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sent from Rome to hold the Apennines against the Flavian approach consisted of 14 cohorts of the praetorian guard, "omnes equitum alae" and "e classicis legio"[114]. But Vitellius' resources appear to have been drying up : when the defection of the fleet at Misenum to Vespasian was announced, the forces which he despatched against it consisted of an urban cohort and gladiators[115], a favourite recruiting ground for the urban based. When this force defected as well, Vitellius sent his brother, L. Vitellius, to Campania with "6 cohorts and 500 cavalry"[116]. These were probably praetorian, since Vitellius had recalled part of his forces from the Apennines[117], and is more likely to have assigned these to his brother than "cohortes urbilus" or urban cohorts. The cavalry may have been either praetorian or auxiliary. Vitellius then proceeded to enlist men from the Roman "plebs" and from slaves[118] : he was faced with fighting on two fronts simultaneously, against the rebel fleet which had established itself at Tarracina (Terracina), and against the Flavian force advancing across the Apennines towards Rome. The success of L. Vitellius at Tarracina, and his surrender after the death of his brother in Rome, need not detain us, except to note that the Flavians sent cavalry ahead of the legions along the route which he would take to Rome as a precaution. Later they sent Lucilius Bassus with some light armed cavalry to restore order in Campania[119]. Antonius Primus had little difficulty in his advance on Rome. However Petillius Cerialis, who had been sent on ahead with a force of 1000 cavalry to make a diversionary attack on Rome, suffered a surprise defeat in which the prefect of an Ala was captured[120]. A final incident involving what was possibly an auxiliary soldier is that in which "obuius e Germanicis militibus"[121] appeared to aim a blow at Vitellius

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just before he was killed. As the phrase stands, the soldier could have been a legionary or an auxiliary from the German army units that had accompanied Vitellius to Rome. Dio however calls him Κελτὸς τις , definitely suggesting an auxiliary (or a member of the German bodyguard). When Lucianus arrived in Rome, he attempted to curb the power of Antonius Primus. One of his measures was the generous granting of military tribunates and auxiliary prefectures to his close supporters, another was to despatch the Seventh Legion, that worshipped Antonius, away from Rome. Other legionary movements are reported, but in no instance do the "auxilia" receive mention[122].

Local incidents and provincial matters may now be considered. While Vitellius was in Lugdunum on his way to Italy, a revolt broke out among a small section of the Gauls, the Boians[123]. Their prophet-leader, Mariccus, succeeded in obtaining assistance from Vitellius in crushing the uprising : "grauissima ciuitas the Aedui assisted with electa iuuentute, adiectis a Vitellio cohortibus, fanaticum multitudinem elected auxiliaries dissiecit". The cohorts of Vitellius were presumably auxiliary. Of interest dissipated is the ease with which Mariccus could gather an armed force in the proximity of a strong Roman army, and the apparently independent action of is the ease with which Mariccus could gather an armed force in the proximity of a strong Roman army, and the apparently independent action of the Aeduans. Their "iuuentus" must have been under training to have been so readily available.

The Batavian revolt was on a completely different scale. In his

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introduction to this subject, Tacitus gives a brief account of the Batavians and their relation to Rome. They did not pay taxes, being required only to supply men and arms. Experts at swimming, they could even cross rivers under arms and keep hold of their horses . "uiros tantum armaque imperio ministrant, ita Germanicis bellis exerciti, mox aucta per Britannias gloria, transmissis illuc cohortibus, quas uetere instituto nobilissimi popularium regebant. erat et domi delectus equum, praecipuo nandi studio, arma equosque retinens integris turmis hostium perrumpere ..."[124]. Their service in Germany and Britain has been noted in earlier chapters. It would appear that they kept a force of cavalry at home, presumably for border defence. Their troops abroad, and therefore obviously those at home, were under native commanders.

Several of the causes alleged for the revolt throw light on the auxiliary system. Civilis, the leader of the revolt, had twice been in difficulties with the Roman authorities : it has been plausibly suggested that t[that the first occasion was due to intriguing with Vindex[125]. In the event howeve[however, the Batavians fought alongside the Romans against Vindex[126]. A second[second cause was a levy of Batavians instituted by Vitellius as part of his preparations for his attempt on the purple - "iussu Vitellii Batauorum iuuentus ad dilectum uocabatur, quem sumpta natura grauem onerabant ministri"[127]. The abuses arose from the avarice and lust of the recruiting agents, whom Civilis called "praefecti centurionesque" ; presumably auxiliary commanders as well as legionary centurions were responsible. Civilis then exacerbated the feelings of the Batavians by proclaiming that

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the separation of the recruits from their families would be for ever ("uelut supremum"). The implication was that they would not be serving at home, but abroad. Thirdly, Antonius Primus had got into contact with Civilis, instructing him to stage an uprising so as to prevent forces leaving Germany to assist Vitellius in Italy : "missis eadem ad eum Primi Antonii litteris, quibus auertere accita Vitellio auxilia et tumultus Germanici specie retentare legiones iubebatur"[126]. This was clearly an attempt on the part of the Flavians to detach Civilis from the "clientela" of Vitellius.

The strength of the legions in lower Germany was seriously depleted. What indications survive concerning the auxiliaries available to the Romans ? An attack was made on 2 cohorts in winterquarters close to the coast near the mouth of the Rhine. Unable to sustain the attack, the prefects of the cohorts burnt the "castella" concerned, and joined the other troops in the vicinity. The strategy is described as follows : "signa uexillaque et quod militum in superiorem insulae partem conuenerant, duce Aquilio primipilari, nomen magis exercitus quam robur : quippe uiginti cohortium abductis Vitellius e praesidiis ueteranorum Germanorumque pagis segnem numerum armis coegerat"[127]. The phrase "signa uexillaque" appears to be a periphrasis for auxiliary detachments - no legionaries were involved[128]. Vitellius had withdrawn the normal auxiliary cohorts ("uires cohortium") and substituted what Tacitus depreciates as an armed force of local villagers. The Batavians are well enough known ; Nervian cohorts are found on the roman side later. But who are the "Germani" here ? The names of various local peoples have been suggested as emendations, especially as

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the defection of a "Tungrorum cohors"[132] to Civilis is mentioned in the account of the ensuing battle. "German" here, however, may be a generic for a specific name, or a re-appearance of the old Cisrhenane Germans : most of the peoples in this region claimed a Germanic origin[132]. The phrase "Tungrian cohort" should make us wary of interpreting "magnis numerus" above as a reference to a different category of soldier. The derogatory tone is intended to reflect on Vitellius, and at most means that the Nervians and Germans were recently recruited and badly trained. But they were formed in cohorts : before Civilis joined in battle with them he offered them all safe conduct to return to their "hiberna"[133]. The name of the original 2 cohorts has not survived. Civilis allowed prefects whom he had captured to return to their communities in Gaul : like Alpinius Montanus, they must have been Gallic[134]. The cohorts were allowed to return home or to join the rebellion. They too may have been Gallic, although any people in the vicinity would serve. We have at this juncture an auxiliary force normally stationed in small forts of their own for the winter. They are drawn together in an emergency, and placed under the command of a comparatively high-ranking legionary officer. The names involved are Nervian and Tungrian, German in all probability, and possibly Gallic.

Information next appears when the commander of the army of Upper Germany, Hordeonius Flaccus, ordered a legionary legate, Munius Lupercus, to proceed against Civilis. He took the following forces : "legionarios ... praesentibus, Ubios e provincia, Treuirorum equites haud longe agentis ...

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addita Batauorum ala"[135]. They are referred to again as "legiones cohortesque ... alae", and the centre element in the phrase "Vbiorum Treuirorumque alilia". Ubian cohorts are next heard of during Civilis' siege of Vetera (Xanten)[136]; they fell prey to Civilis' German allies who surprised them "in uico Marcoduro" (Düren). In spite of this, however, "Ubii" continued to plunder the Germans across the Rhine, until completely crushed by the rebels. The use of the term "cohorte" in two different references, and the word "auxilia" creates the impression that the Ubians accompanying Munius Lupercus formed regular auxiliary units. The Ubians, however, who raided across the Rhine stand like a local force acting on its own initiative. The Treverans were also attacked by Civilis' forces. "Treuiri"[137] are said to have erected defence works against the attack, but to have suffered heavy losses. More must have been involved than a professional auxiliary unit. Such a unit - an ala - appears when "Classicus praefectus alae Treuirorum" decided to change sides and join Civilis after the death of Nordeonius Flaccus[138]. Classicus and the Treveran ala are last recorded in the Vitellian forces that repulsed the Othonians in their attempt on Gallia Narbonensis. The most likely explanation is that Classicus and his regiment had since returned to the Rhineland and that the "equites" accompanying Munius Lupercus were in fact this ala. There can be no doubt about the professional character of the Batavian ala referred to in the passage under discussion. We are informed that its commander was a Batavian, Claudius Labeo, who was captured by the rebels and sent to the Frisians for custody[139]. We have, then, a Ubian cohort (or cohorts), a Treveran and a Batavian ala.

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At the same time as Mordeonius Flaccus despatched Munius Lupercus against Civilis, orders came from Vitellius that "Batauorum et Cannenefatium cohortis"[140] were to proceed to Rome. These Batavian cohorts were not officially part of the German army : earlier they are described as "Britannicae auxilia, Batauorum cohortis missas in Germaniam ... ac tum Moguntiaci agentis"[141]. They were the famous 8 cohorts on their way back to britain, temporarily camping at Moguntiacum (Mainz), but then recalled to Italy by Vitellius. This is the only reference to a cohort (or cohorts) of Canninefates associated with them. At what stage they had joined them is not clear. These cohorts had already been tampered with by Civilis : their reaction in receiving their orders to proceed to Rome are instructive. "Pretium itineris donativum, duplex stipendium, augeri equitum numerum. promissa sane a Vitellio, postulabant, ut non adsequerentur, sed causam seditioni"[142]. Their demands were not intended to be taken seriously, as they were already determined to revolt. The donative for the journey and the doubling of their pay are easily understandable. The "increase in the number of cavalry" is less clear. The motive is clear : cavalry received higher pay than infantry[143]. The cohorts must have been "equitatae" for an increase in cavalry (rather than for the creation of cavalry) to have been demanded. But whether the mutinous troops intended the normal proportion of cavalry to infantry in "cohortes equitatae" to be altered, or whether they were pressing for elevation to the status of alae is not apparent. The cohorts then proceeded northwards to join Civilis. At Bonna (Bonn) the legionary legate, Herennius Gallus, opposed them with 3000 legionaries, "tumultuarias Belgarum cohortes, simul paganorum

/lixarumque .....

lixarumque ignaua sed procax ante periculum manus"[144]. The countrymen and the camp-followers ("pagani lixaeque") were obviously pressed into service for the emergency. Godley compares the "Belgarum cohortes" to the Nervians and Tungrians (discussed above) of the first clash with Civilis : they were part of the province of Belgica at this date. This would incline one to understand "cohortes" here in its professional sense; and, in fact, "tumultuarias"[145] does not prevent. By the time of Tacitus "tumultus" had long lost its early sense of a sudden incursion in Italy, especially in Cisalpine Gaul. Here "tumultuariae" must mean hastily or recently levied. In effect the Belgian cohorts were untrained and useless, but in intention they were regular cohorts, not a local militia. Herennius Gallus' force, therefore, consisted of legionaries, improperly trained or embryonic cohorts, and an armed mob.

Nordeonius Flaccus had meanwhile sent agents to collect "auxilia" from the provinces of Gaul[146] : he moved up himself and established his headquarters north of Bonna in Colonia Agrippinensis (Cologne) : there considerable numbers of Gallic auxiliaries reached him[147]. These "auxilia Gallorum" must have been intended for regular auxiliary service, but were obviously unable to be trained before being put to use.

The next large-scale engagement between the Romans and Civilis took place at Gelduba (Krefeld-Gellep), north of Colonia Agrippinensis. On the way the rebels overwhelmed the winterquarters of an ala at Asciburgium (Moers-Asberg, north of Gelduba)[148]. The ala concerned was in

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all probability the ala Frontoniana[149]. After their victory at Asciburgium, the Batavians bore down upon Deldubo with such speed that Dillius Vocula, a legionary legate to whom Nordeonius Flaccus had surrendered the effective command of the troops, was unable to draw up his forces in time. The auxiliaries involved comprised unnamed cavalry and "Neruiorum cohortes" and "Vasc[illegible]num ... cohortes" (the latter being summoned after the start of the battle)[150].

The Roman fortunes reached their lowest ebb after the surrender of the legions and the destruction of Vetera by the Batavians. Further outposts were destroyed : "cohortium alarumque legionum hiberna subuersa cremataque, iis tantum relictis, quae Moguntiaci ac Vindonissae sita sunt"[151]. Moguntiacum and Vindonissa (Windisch) were legionary headquarters : the passage however is of interest for showing that there was a clearly integrated system of legionary and auxiliary forts at this date. When the surrender at Novaesium (Neuss) occurred, the forces involved are described as "legio sexta decima cum auxiliis simul deditis"[152] - auxiliaries clearly being associated with the legion. One of the units involved was the ala Picentina, which, however, returned to its Roman allegiance almost immediately. After the surrender of the legions, the Romans profited by divisione among the rebels. Claudius Labeo, the pro-Roman Batavian, collected a small force, described as "Baetasiorum Tungrorumque et Neruiorum tumultuaria manus"[153], and attempted to withstand Civilis. The Tungrians and Nervians had joined Civilis by this date : the fact that some of them supported Labeo shows that these tribes too were not united against Rome.

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on the Gallic side, the Sequanians opposed the pro-Batavian Lingones[154]. The rebels failed to take advantage of their success, which enabled the Romans to send forces from the South up to the scene of the rebellion : "unaetuicensima legio Vindonissa, Sextilius Felix cum auxiliaribus cohortibus per Raetiam inrupere; accessit ala singularium excita olim a Vitellio deinde in partis Vespasiani transgressa. praecrat Iulius Briganticus sorore Ciuilis genitus ... inuisus auunculo"[155]. The ala singularium is of interest here. Fiebiger has defined "singulares" as "militarische Einzelpersonen, die höheren Offizieren angeteilt waren und von Ihnen als Ordonnanzen verwendet wurden". This definition does not fit this particular case, except for the element of individual selection or choice. Stein's suggestion "dass ihren Kern die 'equites singulares' eines Heerescommandanten, vermutlich von Untergermanien, gebildet hatten" may be true. But probably Vitellius selected sufficient cavalrymen from existing alae or from alae that had been reduced in number in the fighting of the civil wars and formed a new regiment from them. It is noteworthy that he assigned the command to a Batavian, even if he had Roman citizenship. This appears to be the first definite instance of a prefect of 'native' origin commanding an ala of a different tribal or national origin to himself.

The auxiliaries on the Rhine of which we have record before the arrival of the reinforcements from East a and the army of Germania Superior may now be listed.

/ala .....

ala Batavorum.

cohors Batavorum, under the command of Civilis himself[156].

(The 8 Batavian cohorts at Moguntiacum, specifically called "britannica auxilia", can obviously not be included).

cohortes Belgarum.

cohors Cannirefatium, although some doubt attaches here.

auxilia Gallorum.

Germani, though difficult to define.

cohortes Nerviorum.

ala Treverorum.

cohors Tungrorum.

cohortes Ubiorum.

cohortes Vasconum.

ala Picentina.

unnamed regiments include

an ala (presumably the Frontoniana).

alae.

II cohortes (possibly Gallic).

cohortes[157].

Among the irregular forces were

lixae.

the Baetasians, Tungrians and Nervians of Labeo.

Sequani (?)

Ubii (?)

/At .....

At this juncture Petilius Cerialis arrived with further forces to put down the rebellion. He sent troops that had recently been levied in Gaul back home, with the boast that the legions would be sufficient[158]. But this claim must not be allowed to mislead : from references to "equites", "praefecti", "cohortes" and "alae"[159] it is perfectly clear that Cerialis' legions were supported by auxiliaries in the normal fashion. His attitude to the recent Gallic levies did not extend to what were proved and tried auxiliary regiments, none of which is named by Tacitus. From the account of one of Civilis' last offensives we learn that Cerialis had been able to restore the previous system of posting regiments in permanent quarters : Civilis attacked "praesidia cohortium alarum legionum", special mention being made of "Grinnes Vadumque, cohortium alarumque castra"[160]. The plural probably indicates that there was more than one auxiliary regiment in each of these forts.

The way in which Civilis' forces grew may now be set beside the Roman soldiers for comparison. As noted above, Civilis started out with a single cohort of Batavians. He won the support of the majority of his own tribe, and then of the neighbouring Canninefates and Frisians[161]. The Canninefates were currently supplying auxiliaries to Rome : the Frisians had done so under Augustus, but no Frisian regiment is recorded as such[162]. These three peoples formed the core of Civilis' resistance movement. In the first engagement after the attack on the 2 cohorts stationed near the coast, Civilis was strengthened by the defection from the Romans of a cohors Tungrorum. In the clash with Munius Lupercus an ala Batavorum deserted to

/the .....

the rebels. Next the 5 Batavian and the Cannine-fatian cohorts left Moguntiacum to join them. These were a great asset and, as Tacitus says, turned Civilis into a general in command of a proper army - "Ciuilis aduentu ueteranorum cohortium iusti iam exercitus ductor"[163]. After the victory of the Batavians at Rome over Herennius Gallus and the refusal of the legionaries at Vetera to swear allegiance to Vespasian, the whole Batavian tribe is said to have rushed to arms, the Bructerans and Tencterans, who lived without the Roman Empire across the Rhine, joined Civilis and "Germania" - presumably other tribes in free Germany - was contacted[164]. In other words Civilis has active and prospective free German allies from this point onwards. From Tacitus' account of the fighting at Gelduba we learn that the Cugernians, a German people on the left bank of the Rhine north of the Ubians, had joined Civilis[165]. The Ubians themselves were crushed, and had to become unwilling allies of the rebels[166]. At the battle of Gelduba itself the Nervian cohorts deserted to the insurgents[167]. Further south, Chattans, Tsipians and Mattiacans attacked Moguntiacum[168] ; these were 'free' Germans from across the Rhine. It is not stated whether they were acting in concert with Civilis or using the confused situation to their own advantage.

The next stage was more dangerous - certain Gallic tribes joined Civilis. But, as Brunt[169] has shown, they only came in after the death of Vitellius. Before this, as noted above, they had been fighting for the Romans. No open move was made until after the murder of Hordeonius Flaccus : the people who acted first were the Treverans and Lingones, who

/had .....

had supported Verginius Rufus against Vindex early in 68 A.D. and who had been punished by Galba for so doing[170]. Their sympathies would naturally lie with troops loyal to Vitellius, the "German" emperor. The instigators were "Classicum ... praefectum alae Treuirorum", who obviously felt that his position in his tribe should resemble that of Civilis among the Batavians, and "Iulius Tutor et Iulius Sabinus, hic Treuir, hic Lingonus, Tutor ripae Rheni a Vitellio praefectus"[171]. After the destruction of Vetera, the surrender of the Roman legions and the occupation of Colonia Agrippinensis, Civilis won over the Bunucans - "occupatis Bunucis et iuuentute eorum per cohortes composita"[172]. The Bunucans lived between the Ubians and the Tungrians : they were Germanic or semi-Germanic and must not be reckoned with Civilis' Gallic supporters. They were drafted by him into cohorts. The word here must refer to tactical units, and the phrase creates the impression of Civilis using Roman methods of organization. The Baetasians, Tungrians and Nervians of the pro-Roman Claudius Labeo have already been noted : Civilis succeeded in winning these peoples over, and in particular gained control of the whole tribe of the Tungrians[173]. The next development occurred after the Romans started their offensive against the rebels when the legion from Vindonissa and the auxiliary forces of Sextilius Felix advanced towards the scene of the fighting. The Treveran, Julius Tutor, opposed Felix with a force described as follows : "Treuirorum copias, recenti Vangionum, Teeracatium, Tribocorum dilectu auctas, ueterano pedite atque equite firmauit, corruptis spe aut metu subactis legionariis"[174]. Two comments are called for. The Vangiones and Tribocans, and presumably

/the .....

anninefates, two peoples connected to

l rule. The Frisians belong here too

by the Agrippinenses. His loss on this occasion involved "flagrantissima cohortium suarum integra, quae e Chaucis Frisiisque composita Tolbiaci in finibus Agrippinensium agebat"[177]. Like the Frisians, the Chaucans had once the otherwi
cannot be c
Tutor's force had a "Roman" pattern. It comprised actual Roman legionaries, professional Treveran "auxilia" and newly drafted troops of less value. Tutor was defeated, lost his legionaries, and the Vangiones, Caeracates and Tribocans returned to their Roman allegiance. One of the first engagements in which Petilius Cerialis was involved was against the Treverans under Valentinus at Rigodulum (Ehlei). Cerialis captured "nobilissimos Belgarum, in quis ducem Valentinum"[175]. Here it is clear that by "Belgians" Treverans must be mainly meant : Tacitus in using a larger for a more specific term. In a speech delivered soon after this, Civilis referred to Belgians on his side, calling them "quod roboris sit" of the Gallic forces[176]. Here too tunity to rejoin the Romans. Civilis advanced into their territory and encamped at Tolbiacum (Zülpich) : he lost a cohort as a result of a stratagem

encamped at Tolbiacum (Zülpich) : he lost a cohort as a result of a stratagem by the Agrippinenses. His loss on this occasion involved "flagrantissima cohortium suarum integra, quae e Chaucis Frisiisque composita Tolbiaci in finibus Agrippinensium agebat"[177]. Like the Frisians, the Chaucans had once

supported the Romans. They were now however not under Roman control. The Chaucans appear once again, as "auxilia" coming to aid Civilis in the final stages of the revolt just before the attack on Grinnes and Vada[178].

Civilis' forces fell into several distinct groups. His main supporters were the Batavians and Canninefates, two peoples connected to Rome, but not under direct provincial rule. The Frisians belong here too,

/even .....

even if such a relationship had not been restored after their revolt under Tiberius. The next group consisted of comparatively unimportant people of Germanic origin on the left bank of the Rhine - the Cugernians, Gunucans, Baetasians, Ubians. The Cunerians and even the Nervians may be included here, although they were much more powerful. Such peoples could be described as "Germani cisrhenani"[179]. Also of Germanic origin, but further south, were the Vangiones, Tribocans and Triboccans. The Gallic element was represented by the Lingones and Treverans, at times classified as Belgians. The peoples on the right bank of the Rhine, the "free Germans", were the Bructerans, the Tencterans and the Chaucans. Further south the Chattans, Usipetes and Mattiacans fell into this group. This distinction between the different groups of Civilis' supporters is reflected in Tacitus' use of generic terms as well as in the actual tribal names discussed above. On occasion the three main elements are juxtaposed as Gaul, Batavian and German[180]. The distinction between the "Germanic" peoples supporting Civilis and his "free German" allies is more interesting. In one of the first attacks on Vetera Civilis supplemented his "rotur Batauorum" with "Germanorum manipulis"[181], where "externus", apart from being derogatory, probably also refers to the native formations. A second way of distinguishing these two groups was the use of "transrhenani" for the free Germans, as in the phrase "latus transrhenanique"[182]. But when viewed from another angle, especially when confronted with the Romans, both groups are subsumed under the name "Germani", especially in the final phases of the conflict after the arrival of Cerialis[183]. But at times the

/Batavians .....

and Frisians) appear simply as "Germani"[184]. Sometimes the name is used in a neutral ethnographical sense[185], but at others it is distinctly pejorative[186], and approximates to "barbari"[187]. Tacitus uses "Germanus", especially in a derogatory sense, to discredit Civilis. A Roman auxiliary who does not remain loyal takes on the worst characteristics of one of Rome's greatest enemies, the barbaric Germans.

Certain military aspects of the Batavian Revolt should be noticed. The Batavians and their close allies fought in "cunei", that is, in native-style formations[188]. The fighting methods of the Germans proved unequal to an assault on the walls of the Roman fortress Vetera. But "perfugae captiuique" from the Roman side instructed them so that they were able to build rudimentary war machines[189]. Such contacts would have led to the adoption of Roman methods and eventually to the improvement of native methods and a raising of the standard of auxiliary recruits.

The manuscript of the "Histories" unfortunately breaks off before the description of the final surrender of the Batavians and Vespasian's operations in Germany later in his principate. For references to auxiliaries during this period we are reduced to two diplomas and two inscriptions. The first diploma, dated to 79 A.D., names the soldiers of 6 alae and 12 cohorts who were "in Germania sub Cn. Pinario Cornelio Clemente"[190]. The alae were the

I Flavia Gemina

I Cannenefatium (sic)

/II Flavia .....

II Flavia Gemina

Vicentiana (sic)

Scubulorum

Claudia nova,

the cohorts were the

I Thracum

I Asturum

I Aquitanorum veterana

I Aquitanorum Biturigum

II Augusta Cyrenaica

III Gallorum

III Aquitanorum

IIII Aquitanorum

IIII Vindelicorum

V Hispanorum

V Dalmatarum

VII Raetorum.

Pinarius Clemens had conducted campaigns which led to the annexation of the salient between the Rhine and the Danube comprising the district called the "Agri Decumates" (in the Black Forest) by the Romans. Almost nothing is known of the scale of the operations: they were however of sufficient compass for Clemens to have been awarded the "ornamenta triumphalia" "ob res in Germania pro pere gestas". Some, if not all, of the auxiliary

/units .....

units of the diploma must have been involved in the fighting. 2 alae bear the title "Flavia Gemina". "Gemina" means formed from the remains of earlier alae[191]. Presumably the earlier alae had been decimated in the Batavian Uprising. The addition of Vespasian's "gentilicium" to their title may imply that the men had distinguished themselves earlier, or that a sense of pride was to be fostered in the unit. The I Cannenefatium recalls the ala Canninefatium mentioned in the Frisian revolt of 28 A.D. and the Canninefates associated with the Batavian cohorts stationed at Noviomagus at the outset of the Batavian Uprising[192]. The Canninefates played a prominent role in the Uprising, as detailed above. It is not possible to speculate whether the soldiers discharged from it in 74 A.D. with at least 25 years service included men who had participated in the rebellion and been pardoned. It is at any rate clear that the regimental name did not suffer because of the revolt. The next 3 alae are unnumbered. The Vicentina received honourable mention for retracting its surrender to Civilis at Novaesium[193]. The cohort I Thracum recalls the "cohors Thracum" used by Caecina against the Helvetians on his march to Italy[194]. The III Gallorum suggests the "Gallicae cohortes" of Germanicus at the battle of Idistaviso in 16 A.D., the "cohortes Gallorum" that Caecina sent ahead to Italy against Otho and the "Gallorum auxilia" and "auxilia e Gallia" recorded during the Batavian Uprising[195]. The IIII Vindelicorum and the VII Raetorum suggest the "Raetorum Vindelicorumque ... cohortes" under Germanicus at the battle of Idistaviso ; the "Raetorum iuuentus" that assisted Caecina against the Helvetians were probably not

/in .....

in regular cohorts[196]. It is clear that in several cases links can be established between regiments listed in this German diploma and those operating earlier in the area. The clearest case is that of the ala Picentiana.

The next diploma names 6 alae and a cohort "in Germania sub C. Iulio Cordino Rutilio Gallico"[197] in 78 A.D. Rutilius Gallicus was celebrated for the capture of Veleda, the Bructeran prophetess who had served as a figurehead in the Batavian Uprising almost a decade before. The regiments from which the soldiers were discharged were the alae

Noricorum

singularium

Moesica

Afrorum veterana

Siliana

Sulpicia[198]

and the cohort

I Flavia Hispanorum.

"Noricorum iuventus" has been recorded, but cannot be equated with a professional ala Noricorum[199]. The circumstances surrounding the formation of the ala singularium in 69 have already been discussed[200]. Whether the ala Moesica was one of the alae at the battle of Bedriacum, or formed part of the "Moesici auxiliares" sent by the Flavians to Italy is not clear,

/but .....

but an ala Moesica is recorded at Asciburgium, most probably replacing the ala Frontoniana there. The ala Gilliana has appeared on several previous occasions[201]. The alae are all without a number, but the cohort in the diploma has one. Whether its title "Flavia" points to a new formation by Vespasian or honours an act of bravery cannot be established. The recipient of the diploma, a Praevaran, belonged to the ala Moesica "cui praest T. Staberius T. f. Qui. Secundus". This commander of the ala is known from an inscription discovered in Rome, where his career is given as

praef. coh. Chalcid. in Africa tribuno militum leg. VII Geminae felicis in Germania praef. equit. alae Moesicae felicis torquatae[202].

This is the sole place where the ala has the title "felix torquata". The fact that the inscription was erected by T. Staberius Secundus' mother at her own expense (no further posts are named) may indicate that she took a special interest in a decoration awarded to the ala during her son's command. His previous post, the tribunate in the Seventh Legion, can most probably be dated to 73 - 74, when that legion was in Germany. It was during this period that it acquired the title "Felix"[203]. This leads one to speculate that the ala Moesica may have been decorated with its similar title for an operation in conjunction with the legion.

The two inscriptions referring to the "auxilia" of Germany are those recording the careers of the brothers Domitius Lucanus and Domitius Tullus[204]. They both filled the post of "praef. auxiliorum omnium aduersus Germanos", but the question is when. Dessau rejects the early

/view .....

view that this occurred during the Batavian revolt, and accepts the suggestion that it was during the expedition of Pinarius Clemens. Groag prefers the expedition of Sutilius Gallicus, and has the support of Thomasson. von Domaszewski does not discuss the matter, but remarks that such posts were held after a legionary legateship. Alföldy, however, has announced that in an as yet unpublished work he will argue for the older view of the Batavian revolt. The brothers served as military tribunes in the legio V Alaudae which was stationed at Vetera until 69 A.D. This would have been during the latter part of Nero's principate. The special auxiliary command may have followed soon afterwards. On the other hand, the command is associated with various special legateships and honours accorded to the brothers, and is in a section at the head of the inscription in each case before the praetorship and junior posts prior to that are mentioned in descending order. The honours consisted of decorations normally given to those of praetorian rank and adlection into the patriciate. The latter item is usually dated to the censorship of Vespasian and Titus in 73 - 4 A.D. It seems to reward special services in Africa as well as the auxiliary prefecture against the Germans. But as this part of the inscriptions is not in chronological order and the brothers did not hold the same special legateships or receive identical honours, it is not possible to date any single item. Nor is it possible to associate the special legateships or the honours with the regular stages of the "cursus honorum" that came in the second part of the inscription in each case. The question of the date must therefore remain open. It is

/difficult, ...

difficult, too, to categorize the post of "praefectus omnium auxiliorum aduersus Germanos" itself. Knaelin has compared the command of Didius Gallus of the cavalry in the British expedition of Claudius. But this in itself raises difficulties. At first sight it would appear that the brothers, either jointly or in succession to each other, were placed in command of all the auxiliaries, presumably of the Lower or Upper German army, in an emergency caused by a German war. Whether this implies the temporary separation of the "auxilia" from their legions for a joint auxiliary offensive is not clear. This question must also remain open.

Turning from Germany to Britain, we have a few brief general notices concerning "auxilia". As noted above, British auxiliary cohorts were among the forces which Galba found in Rome on his arrival there late in 68 A.D.[205] On the proclamation of Vitellius as emperor by the Rhine armies, trouble broke out in the British army before it joined the side of Vitellius. A dispute arose between the governor, Trebellius Maximus, and Roscius Coelius, legate of the Twentieth Legion. The situation degenerated: "sedetia exercitus corrupta eoque discordiae uentum ut auxiliarium quoque militum conuiciis proturbatus et adgregantibus se Coelio cohortibus alisque desertus Trebellius ad Vitellium perfugerit"[206]. Tacitus regards the involvement of the auxiliaries as a sign of even greater disgrace. Another interpretation that may be placed upon it, however, is the evidence it affords of the ever-increasing "professionalism" of the "auxilia". The governor has obviously turned to them for support, but they had aligned themselves with the legionary legate. They felt themselves as much

/part .....

part of the quarrel on the legions. It is probable that by the auxiliaries Tacitus means all the auxiliaries of Britain. It would be interesting to know how their support was organized by one of the legionary commanders. A linguistic point should be noted : the technical phrase "cohortes alaeque" is used as the equivalent of the more literary "auxiliares milites". The auxiliaries in Britain are mentioned for the third time[207] in the year of the Four Emperors in connection with troubles in the Brigantian area. The queen of the Brigantes, Cartimandua, who had long been supported by the Romans, was attacked by her ex-husband and rival for the throne, Venutius. She sought "praesidia" from Rome. "Cohortes alaeque nostrae" saved her, but the kingdom fell to her husband. As Frere suggests, the legions were probably not involved because they were below strength as a result of having supplied detachments to Vitellius. The next item of information[208] comes from Agricola's campaigns in Wales in 78 A.D. Not long before his arrival, the Ordovices (in Powys) had all but destroyed a cavalry regiment : "alam in finibus suis agentem". The phrase implies that the ala was operating apart from the legions and other "auxilia" : whether its stay in Ordovican territory was temporary or permanent cannot be determined from the phrase quoted. But the fact that, on his arrival, Agricola found military detachments, i.e., auxiliary units, scattered throughout the province ("sparsi per provinciam numeri") implies that the stationing of units in their own forts was the normal practice at this stage. In spite of the lateness of the season, Agricola decided to attack the Ordovices. His gathering together of his forces is described in the words : .....

words : "contractis legionum uexillis et solida auxiliarium manu". Here we have the co-operation, not of a legion and "auxilia", but of detachments of legions and "auxilia". The rebellion were crushed and Agricola advanced on Mons Graupius. The force chosen to head the landing on the island consisted of "lectissimos auxiliarium, quibus nota uada et patrius nandi usus, quo simul pectus et arma et equos regunt". This description, as already noted[209], probably refers to Batavians, whose old relationship with Rome appears to have been reinstated after the suppression of the Batavian revolt.[210].

In the Danubian area various tribes used the opportunity of the civil wars of 68 - 69 A.D. to invade the Roman provinces. The Rhoxolanians, "Sarmatica gens", broke into Moesia cutting 2 auxiliary cohorts to pieces. However the Roman forces in the shape of "tertia legio adiunctis auxiliis" managed to destroy them when catching them off their guard. Tacitus[211] uses the incident to describe the Sarmatian cavalry and its method of fighting in some detail. The cavalry was normally irresistible on account of the weight of its mailed armour, the "catafracta". Sarmatians appear again when, as noted above[212], the Flavian leaders thought it wise to conciliate them before advancing into Italy against the Vitellians. Josephus[213] reports an invasion of the Sarmatians in 70, when the governor of Moesia, Fonteius Agrippa, fell. Josephus refers to the slaying of [illegible] in this invasion. Presumably the Roman guards involved included auxiliaries.

/The .....

The successor of Fonteius Agrippa restored the situation with more and stronger "garrisons". These [illegible] must have been mainly auxiliary forts. Another Transdanubian people, the Dacians[214], also crossed the Roman frontier in this area. They chose the time when the "Moesian army" had been removed to fight the Vitellians in Italy and stormed "cohortium alarumque hiberna" before proceeding against the "castra legionum". However Mucianus was able to check them on his journey from the East to Italy. This was at the end of 69, before Fonteius Agrippa was appointed governor of Moesia. As on the Rhine and, though less clearly, in Britain, a picture emerges of auxiliary units stationed on the Danube in permanent headquarters of their own. A military diploma[215] of 78 A.D. records discharges from cohorts stationed in Moesia under Sex. Vettulenus Cerialis. The regiments concerned were the

I Cantabrorum

I Thracum Syriaca

I Sugambrorum tironum

II Lucensium

III Gallorum

VIII Gallorum

Cilicum

Mattiacorum.

The Cantabrians were last mentioned when Strabo recorded that they were fighting for Rome after Augustus' Spanish wars[216]. A "Sugambra cohors" was

/recorded .....

recorded fighting in Thrace under Tiberius[217]. A cohors III Gallorum is attested in Germany in 74 A.D., which was later itself transferred to Moesia. But this is probably not the same regiment[218]. Cilices supported Piso against Germanicus under Tiberius[219].

From the Danube, attention goes to the East where, as under Nero, Judaea proved to be the focal point in the initial period of Vespasian's principate. There are, however, some minor incidents outside Judaea that call for comment. Under Otho a false Nero[220] appeared in Greece. He won over destitute deserters and even soldiers who were returning from their leave. His next accession of strength consisted of strong slaves whom he had stolen from their owners. It is interesting to note that he was unable to gain the support of the local population in this part of the Empire. Vespasian was faced with trouble in Pontus after Lucianus had gone to Italy. The leader of the insurrection there was Anicetus, a former slave of king Polemo and commander of the royal navy before Pontus became a province in 63 or 64 A.D. Like Civilis in Germany, he claimed to be acting on behalf of a Roman emperor, Vitellius. Winning the support of the tribes adjacent to Pontus, he attacked Trapezus (Trebizond or Trabzon), slaying the troops there. Tacitus describes them as follows : "Caesa ibi cohors, regium auxilium olim; mox donati ciuitate Romana signa armaque in nostrum modum, desidiam licentiamque Graecorum retinebant"[221]. "Auxilia" next appear in the East in the expedition of Caesennius Paetus, then governor of Syria, in 72 against Commagene. His forces consisted of the Sixth Legion

[illegible][222]. He was assisted by king Aristobulus of Chalcidice and king Sohaemus of Emesa. In other words, Paetus' force consisted of the usual elements : a legion, professional cohorts and alae, and royal assistance. Shortly after this the Parthians were troubled by an invasion of the Alani ans. Volo[illegible]ses appealed to Rome for help. Domitian is said[223] to have been keen to lead Roman forces to the assistance of the Parthians, but Vespasian refused. The incident recalls Volo[illegible]geses' earlier offer of assistance to Vespasian durin, the Year of the Four Emperors, and is in the tradition of Roman support for friendly powers.

On hearing of the death of Nero Vespasian suspended active operations in Judaea. They were not resumed until he set out for Rome to become emperor himself. He left his son Titus to conclude the war. Generally speaking, Josephus merely refers to auxiliaries or cavalry without giving details. Some aspects of his account of the closing campaigns, however, repay study. He describes Titus' army as he set out for Jerusalem. He had 4 legions, [illegible][224].

Tacitus lists the legions and then says "comitabantur quinti nonae cohortes, octo equitum alae, simul Agrippa Sohaemusque reges et auxilia regis Antiochi validaque et solito inter accolas odio infensa Iudaeis Arabum manus ..."[225]. Josephus then describes Titus' order of march. The[226] van consisted of [illegible]. After various specialised detachments, such as the surveyors, came Titus and his special troops and the legionary cavalry

[illegible] .....

(τοῦ τάγματος τὸ ἱππικόν). After the engines were μετ' ἐπιλέκτων χιλίαρχοι καὶ στρατηγοὶ ἔπαρχοι . The legions followed, then the baggage-train, then τὸ οἰκετικὸν ἑκάστου τάγματος . Last of all were οἱ μίσθιοι καὶ τούτων φύλακες σύραγοί . Josephus' first statement is too brief to be of much assistance. The fact that the auxiliaries were "from Syria" probably means that they were part of the Syrian army rather than that they were all Syrians. Tacitus names the kings, known in any case from the campaigns of Vespasian under Nero. But he adds the fact that there was a "band of Arabs", useful because of their neighbourly hatred for the Jews. They must have formed a different category to the professional "auxilia" and the royal armies to be mentioned separately under the name of "manus". One wonders whether they were what Josephus in the second passage calls οἱ μίσθιοι who brought up the rear of the marching column. The order of the army on the march is similar to that of Vespasian described in Book III.[227]. Auxiliaries form the van in both cases. The prefects of the cohorts are together in the centre in both cases. The servants of the legions or "culones" are noted on each occasion. The rear is formed by οἱ μίσθιοι , regarded as paid auxiliaries in Vespasian's army and here possibly to be equated with the Arab force mentioned by Tacitus. Tacitus supplies certain figures for the "auxilia". If it can be assumed that he is describing the same army as that in Josephus, and if the figures for various units that are not specified in him, but are detailed in Josephus' enumeration of Vespasian's forces can be used, it is possible to suggest figures for Titus' army :

/Legions : .....

Legions :	4 x 6,000	24,000
Cohorts :	25 x 500 (or 1,000)	12 or 25,000
Alae :	8 x 500 (or 1,000)	4 or 8,000
Kings :		? 9,000
Arab Force :		? 6,000
TOTAL :		53 or 67,000

The force of the kings has been put at 9,000 : it should be noted that they had earlier supplied Caestius Gallus with 14,000. This may imply that the number was lower by the time of Titus. Further, Tacitus' "Arab force" may not have been the same as Malchus' Arabs under Vespasian. The different totals are of course to be explained by the difficulty of deciding whether the professional auxiliary regiments were all of the same size, and whether they were quingenary or milliary. Presumably the lower figure (53,000) is to be preferred, given the military situation at the end of 69 A.D. If the legions were at full strength, and the lower figures be favoured, the professional "auxilia" formed less than 60% of the legionary total. But when the royal and "Arab" contingents are added, the auxiliaries (in the broader sense) must at least have equalled, if not considerably exceeded, the number of legionaries. But even so, it should be noted that Titus had 1 legion more than his father. (Cestius Gallus had set out with the equivalent of 2 legions.)

Such was the composition of Titus' army in so far as it can be recovered. The few occasions on which ethnical names appear may now be

/listed. .....

listed. An Idumaean leader fell when struck by an arrow shot by an Arab[228]. Jewish deserters and refugees were cut open by "the Arab mob and the Syrians"[229] on the Roman side when it was discovered that some had concealed gold coins by swallowing them before fleeing from Jerusalem. An act of courage was performed by a Syrian - τῶν δ' ἐν ταῖς σπείραις στρατευομένων Σοῦρος τοὔνομα γένος ἀπὸ Σαρίας [230]; in spite of his being a Syrian, his name was a common Latin one. Another such act was performed by τοῦ Ῥωμαϊκοῦ τις στρατοπέδου Ῥοῦφος γένος Αἰγύπτιος [231]; the Egyptian Rufus is not specifically called an auxiliary, but was in all probability one. The description of the arrival of Antiochus Epiphanes before Jerusalem is interesting, because it shows an ethnic title being applied to a force because of its fighting methods, not because of its race. He brought numerous ἀκλίτας and περὶ αὐτὸν στῖφος Μακεδόνων καλούμενον. This consisted of tall young troops armed and trained in the Macedonian fashion ὅθεν τὴν ἀπίθανον εἶχον ὑστεροῦντες οἱ πολλοὶ τοῦ γένους [232]. Some personal names are also on record. A spectacular feat was performed by a cavalryman Longinus[233], another by Pedanius, described as τῶν ἀπὸ σπείρας τις ἱππέων [234]. If this description is correct, Pedanius was a cavalryman from a cohort. This implies a "cohors equitata". A certain Pudens, however, is described as τις ... τῶν ἐξ ἴλης ἱππέων - hence a cavalryman from an ala. When Pudens fell, he was avenged by a centurion called Priscus, who despatched his slayer with an arrow. One wonders whether Priscus was not a centurion of an auxiliary regiment of

Parchers[235]. .....

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