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Problems in the development of the auxiliary system in the Roman army of the late Republican and early Imperial period

Saddington, D. B. (Dennis Bain)

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archers[235]. Another centurion is described as [illegible] [236]. The phrase "centurion of those from Bithynia" may imply an auxiliary contingent of Bithynians. On the other hand, the words may merely mean that Julianus was of Bithynian origin himself and not necessarily in an auxiliary regiment. Bithynian regiments are not otherwise attested, which would favour the second view. The names that Josephus gives do not prove to be very informative. Apart from an item concerning the bodyguard of a client king, only Arabs, Syrians and an Egyptian specifically appear.

Certain tactical aspects may now be noted. When taking up a position outside Jerusalem in the early stages of the siege, Titus drew up his forces with 3 lines of infantry in front and 3 lines of cavalry in the rear. In the middle however he placed a seventh line, consisting of archers[237]. When his engineers at war were under heavy attack, he protected them at one stage by mounted cavalry and archers on either side[238]. In general, it may be remarked that he made special use of these two arms. Archers have not been prominent in other engagements considered so far. The composition of a scouting party at one juncture consisted of 2 [illegible], the standard-bearer of the Fifth Legion, two cavalrymen [illegible] and a trumpeter[239]. It is not clear whether the "guards" were legionary or auxiliary. But the party as a whole exhibits the closest co-operation between the 2 arms of the service. After the temple in Jerusalem had been fired, Titus decided to try to save the building and ordered [illegible] [240] to clear a way through the rubble [illegible]

/and .....

and extinguish the blaze. These "picked men from the cohorts" appear to be auxiliaries, unless cohort is here used as a subdivision of a legion. If they were auxiliaries, we have an instance of infantry auxiliaries being selected from various regiments and assigned a specific task. This had been observed before in cavalry : its appearance in the infantry is much less usual. Throughout the account of Titus' reduction of Jerusalem the auxiliaries appear in no less professional a light than the legionaries. A reverse item can now be mentioned. The Jews had possessed themselves of engines of war taken from the Romans. Josephus[241] plays down their skill in using them, but informs us that they had been instructed in their use by deserters. As observed in the case of the Batavians, this was one way in which Roman skills were passing to the enemy and so presumably eventually leading to the improvement of the quality of auxiliary recruits and their easier assimilation to legionaries.

After the fall of Jerusalem, Titus left behind sufficient troops to deal with the isolated pockets of resistance that remained and to garrison Judaea on a permanent basis. Josephus[242] describes this force as φυλακήν ... τῶν τεγμάτων τὸ δέκατον καὶ πέμπτος ἴλας ἱππέων καὶ λόγους πεζῶν . It is clear that φυλακή must mean "garrison" here, and that λόγους replaces the normal σπεῖρας for cohorts. Prior to an attack on the enemy stronghold of Machaerus (Makawir), the governor of Judaea, Lucilius Bassus, concentrated all his forces. These are described as being scattered in small units[243]. From this it is apparent that the alae and cohorts referred

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to above must have been stationed at various points throughout the province. The same concentration of troops was ordered by the next governor for the assault on Masada (Sebbeh). As the advance on Masada was made, troops ( ) were stationed at suitable points around the fortress[244]. These circumvallation camps have been recovered by the archaeologists[245], and it has been suggested that they were entrusted to auxiliaries. From the size of the installations it has been calculated that the Roman force consisted of a legion, a milliary cohort, 2 quingenary cohorts and a quingenary part-mounted cohort. This would make the auxiliary forces about half the strength of the legionaries. Unfortunately the names of the regiments involved are not known. In Judaea, then, we are left with a picture of a legion and its "auxilia", the latter stationed at various points throughout the country, but concentrated in whole or part for specific emergencies. Finally a chance remark of Josephus' enables us to add another piece of information. He says that when Vespasian became emperor he removed the ala and the 5 cohorts of Caesareans and Sebastenians that had been stationed in the province elsewhere (unfortunately not specifying where)[245a].

African "auxilia" are mentioned in connection with the attempt of Clodius Macer to become emperor. In addition to the forces already available, others were drafted : "legio cohorteseque delectae a Clodio Macro"[246]. The legion was known as I Germina Liberatrix, but the number and names of the cohorts are unrecorded. Galba disbanded these troops, but Vitellius later pressed them into service again and instituted further levies in Africa, but the recruiting proved unpopular : "ceteris inuentum dabat ingens nomina"[247]. However these were extraordinary measures to be explained by the abnormality of the times. Similarly Tacitus[248] next reference to Africa, relating the death of the Governor, L. Piso, in 7[illegible].

/He .....

He gives a brief historical resume' of the military situation there, stating that the "legio in Africa auxiliaque tutandis imperii finibus" had been under the command of the proconsular governors in the time of Augustus and Tiberius, but that under Gaius they had been placed under the command of a separate imperial legate. At the accession of Vespasian, L. Piso was proconsul, Valerius Festus legate. Piso was under suspicion of disloyalty to Vespasian, and his death had been secretly ordered by Mucianus. However "Claudius Sagitta, praefectus alae Petrianae" had succeeded in reaching Africa in time to warn Piso of the danger he was in. The development of events after this was rapid, and cannot be traced here. Eventually Festus sent "equites" to murder Piso. To do this, he chose soldiers who would not know Piso : "magna pars dilectus ignari, quod Poenos auxiliaris Maurosque in eam caedem delegerat". Immediately after this Festus turned his attention to a dispute between two African cities, one of which had called in the nomadic Garamantes to their assistance, "gentem indomitam et inter accolas latrociniis fecundam"[249]. Festus succeeded in driving the Garamantes off : "interuentu cohortium alarumque fusi Garamantes". The action of Claudius Sagitta can be explained by the fact that the Ala Petriana belonged to the German army and was presumably inclined to favour a man who was regarded as a possible organizer of Vitellian opposition to Vespasian. One can see no other reason for bringing in the regimental name in this context. Festus' cavalry used to murder Piso were "Punic auxiliaries and Moors". It is not likely that untrained recruits would have been used on a confidential mission of this character. Trustworthy agents were essential.

/They .....

They must have been members of the regular "auxilia", but the evocative names, Punic and Moor, were used to underscore the nature of their deed. The cohorts and alae that were deployed against the Garamantes are unnamed : here the context is unemotional, as a "foreign" expedition is being described. In this affair we note the close involvement of auxiliaries in Roman domestic contests, and the use of a border incident in an attempt to restore normality.

The auxiliaries in the Mauretanias were also involved in the effects of the struggles of 69[25]. Suetonius Albinus, the procurator of Mauretania Caesariensis, and later of Tingitana as well, was acting on behalf of Otho. He had considerable military strength available : "decem novem cohortes, quinque alae, ingens Maurorum numerus aderat, per latrocinia et raptus apta bello manus". The 19 cohorts and 5 alae were regular auxiliaries. As Albinus had been placed in charge of both the Mauretanias, these numbers probably reflect the total of the auxiliary forces in the two provinces. The Moors are described in terms usual for irregulars. There must have been additional levies from this source, for a rumour had gained currency that Albinus had rejected his title of procurator and assumed the name of Juba and the trappings of a king. This may not have been true, but shows that local traditions were regarded as powerful factors in emergency recruitment. This apparently led to a revulsion of feeling against Albinus, who was killed. At the same time 3 auxiliary commanders fell : "Asinium Pollio alae praefectus, e fidissimis Albino, et Festus et Scipio cohortium praefecti opprimuntur"[251]. Their

/names .....

names and rank are significant : it is clear that their deaths had nothing to do with Moorish aspirations or concerns, but were the result of Roman factional developments.

Josephus[252] mentions Jewish discontent that evinced itself in Cyrenaica : a minor insurrection occurred in 73 A.D. The governor was able to suppress it without difficulty, by sending in "infantry and cavalry". Probably auxiliaries are meant.

Most of our information concerning auxiliaries in the provinces from Galba to Vespasian comes from the comparatively detailed descriptions of the Batavian Revolt and the Jewish war that we owe to Tacitus and Josephus. An account of normal conditions after Vespasian had suppressed these two revolts is sadly lacking. A single general item can be added. Vespasian cancelled the commission of a young Roman to a "praefectura" because the youth reeked of perfume when he came to thank the emperor for his appointment. Suetonius[253] records this as an example of Vespasian's reformation of military discipline. It tells us more about Vespasian than the auxiliary system.

NOTES.

1. For C. Julius Vindex, cf. "P.I.R." I 628.

2. Plut. "Gal." 4.

3. Tac. "H." I, 51; IV, 17. For the Sequani, cf. below, p.154. Galba later rewarded these tribes with gifts of citizenship, (I, 8). The names, but not the tribes, of 3 of Vindex' supporters are known - Asiaticus ("P.I.R." A 1215), Flavus (F 451) and Rufinus (Tac. "H." II, 94). Although not discussed in "P.I.R.", the name Asiaticus seems strange for a Gaul. Cf. however Valerius Asiaticus (Reynand, "R.E." VII A, 1948, 2541 ff. (no. 106)), condemned under Claudius. One of the charges brought against him at his trial was that he was trying to tamper with the German legions and was able to rouse the tribes around his native Vienna against the emperor : "diffita per prouincias fama parare iter ad Germanicos exercitus, quando genitus Viennae multisque et ualidis propinquitatibus subnixus turbare gentilis nationes promptus haberet" (Tac. "Ann." XI, 1). This was a generation earlier.

4. With "legiones", which is rhetorical for recruits for legions (Vienna was a colony) - Tac. "H." I, 65. For Vienna, cf. above, n. 3, and A. Bruhl, "R.E." VIII A, 1958, 2113 ff. (no. 2); for Lugdunum, Cramer, VIII, 1927, 1718 ff. (no. 1).

5. "Hist." 1962, 91.

6. "Gal." 6.

7. Tac. "H." IV, 17. Cf. Brunt, "Hist." 1959, 553, n. 1, for the view that Civilis (for whom cf. below, p.154) may have been intriguing with Vindex. For L. Verginius Rufus, cf. A. Schuster, "R.E." VIII A, 1958, 1536 ff. (no. 27); Ritterling-Stein, 1932, 18.

8. Tac. "H." IV, 69. For the Treveri, cf. above, p.80n.1 for the Lingones, below, p.131.

/9. .....

9. I, 51.

10. "Gal." 10, 2. Galba created a special guard for himself from local persons of equestrian status : "delegit et equestris ordinis iuuenes, qui ... euocati appellarentur excubiasque circa cubiculum suum uice militum agerent" (10, 3).

11. "H." II, 86; III, 7; 21. In III, 10 it is called "Galbiana legioni", elsewhere described by a periphrasis (I, 11; III, 22; 25). Ritterling ("R.E." XII, 1925, 1630) and Heubner (ad loc.) regard the "legio Hispana" of I, 6, as identical with the VII Galbiana.

12. IV, 33. For the Vasconea, cf. A. Schulten, "R.E." VIII A, 1955, 439.

13. Tac. "H." I, 15; Suet. "Oth." 4; Plut. "Gal." 20.

14. Tac. "H." I, 6.

15. I, 31; cf. 36; II 11; 17; 22 for variants; "prima classicorum legio" (II, 67); "prima" or "primani" (II, 11; 23; 86; III, 13; IV, 68); and, where confusion could result, "prima adiutrix" (II, 43; III, 44). Heubner ad I, 6 traces the difficulty of the relation between the "classiarii" slain by Galba and the members of this legion to Plutarch's failure ("Gal." 15) to distinguish the two categories. Cf. Suet. "Gal." 12. 2; Ritterling, 1381.

16. 1967, 13. Saxer does not discuss the evidence adduced below.

17. Tac. "H." I, 26.

18. I, 43. For Sulpicius Florus, cf. Stein, "R.E." IV A, 1931, 75 (no. 46).

19. 26; 31. Suetonius ("Gal." 20, 1) calls it "Germanicianorum uexillatio". This vexillation had been sent to Alexandria in Egypt for Nero's Aethiopian expedition and had since been recalled. Cf. Schur, 1923, 1963, 41; 108.

20. For "uexillum" and its cognates, cf. A. Neumann, "R.E." VIII A, 1958, 2439 ff.

/21. .....

21. Tac. "H." I, 26; 31. For "Illyricum" cf. above, p.100. Plutarch ("Gal." 25; cf. Hardy ad loc.) calls the vexillation [illegible]

22. "Gal." 12.

23. Tac. "H." I, 57. For the Agrippinenses of the colonia Claudia Augusta Ara Agrippinensium (and the Ubians) cf. above, p. 67 and Kornemann "R..." 14, 1[illegible], 543 (no. 138); for the Treveri and the colonia Augusta Treverorum, cf. above p. 129 and Kornemann, 544 (no. 148); for the Lingones, who were granted citizenship by Otho, Tac. "H." I, 78; Kornemann, 544 (no. 2[illegible]) and Cramer AJPh, 1926, 714 f. This passage is referred to below, p. 135 again.

24. Tac. "H." I, 59; 64. The legio I Italica is specially mentioned in the fighting in Italy (II, 41). For the ala Gauriana, cf. below, p. 304

25. "H." I, 61; for Fabius Fabius, cf. "P.I.R.²" F 66; for A. Caecina Alienus, C 17; Alföldy, 1967, 8.

26. Syme, 1956, 162, considers the figure too large by at least a third.

27. Tac. "H." II, 17.

28. ad I, 61.

29. Tac. "H." I, 51. Cf. above, p. 88.

30. I, 70. For the ala Petriana, cf. below, p. 304.

31. Davies and Irvine, and, most emphatically, Guilleumier, ad loc. For "u. villum", cf. above, p. 131. Gasser, 1967, does not discuss the passage. The second view is that of Heutner ad loc. For the ala Siliana, cf. below, p. 304

32. Tac. "H." II, 14. On the number of "turmae" in an ala cf. Cheesman, 26, quoting [Hyg.] "Mun. Castr." 16. For the Lungri, cf. above, p. 119 n. 21

/33. .....

33. Tac. "H." II, 22.

34. Thus, too, Heubner ad loc.

35. Tac. "H." II, 68. The auxiliary is rather strangely described as "altero e Galli auxiliaribus". Thus the O.C.T., surely a misprint for "e Gallis auxiliaribus" (cf. B.T.).

36. II, 69.

37. It is not necessary to assume that all the Gallic "auxilia" belonged to the new recruits of Vitellius.

38. II, 27; cf. I, 59; 64. That all of them joined the invasion of Italy is the natural interpretation of the words in II, 27.

39. That of I, 68, if the common interpretation (as, e.g., of Heubner ad loc.) be accepted.

40. I, 67. For the Helvetii, cf. Haug, "R.E." VIII, 1912, 209 ff. (esp. 211).

41. Tac. "H." I, 68. cf. "Raeticis copiis" joining Vitellius (I, 59). For the "cohors Thraecum", cf. Stein, 1932, 213.

42. So Heubner ad loc.

43. 70.

44. ibid.; cf. II, 17, and above p.113, below, p.304.

45. II, 13 : "concita gente (nec deest iuuentus) ... quibus temere collectis". Otho's soldiers brought to Southern France by the fleet consisted of "urbanas cohortis et plerosque e praetorianis" (I, 87). For the "montani", cf. H. Philipp, "R.E." XVI, 1933, 203 f. (no. 2).

46. II, 15; 26. As Heubner explains ad loc., the emendations "Tungricarum" and "Tungrorum" are unnecessary.

47. II, 14. For the Ligures, cf. J. Weiss, "R.E." XIII, 1926, 522 ff. (esp. 533).

48. ibid. Irvine ad loc. regards the "Alpinos" as a variant for the "Ligurum cohors".

/49. .....

49. 16.

50. 17.

51. "Vorbemerkung" to 17 (p. 75).

52. 22. For Julius Briganticus, cf. "P.I.R."^{2} I 211.

53. Heubner on Tac. "H." II, 22, referring to 18. The phrase "paucitati cohortium" (describing this force) in 23 shows the "tactical" use of the word "cohors" again.

54. II, 23. The auxiliaries appear in the phrase "Vitellianorum auxilia" here. In a later engagement, the gladiators were worsted by Vitellian "Germani", who are contrasted with the gladiators as proper "milites" (35).

55. 24. As Heubner explains ("Vorbemerkung" to the passage, p. 100), the cavalry referred to in the division of the van of the troops is distinct from that of the main body of troops that came on afterwards.

56. 25. For C. Julius Antiochus Epiphanes, cf. "P.I.R."^{2} I 150.

57. Tac. "H." II, 27 - 9. The old-fashioned term "socii" for the Batavian cohorts should be noted.

58. II, 34 - 5. For difficulties in reconciling the accounts of Plutarch and Tacitus on this incident (other than those discussed below) cf. Heubner "Vorbemerkung" ad loc. p. 132.

59. 43. Alfenus Varus ("P.I.R."^{2} A 522) was a "praefectus castrorum" at this stage - an example of a comparatively high officer placed in command of an entirely auxiliary force.

60. 10.

61. 12. On the phrase [illegible], Hardy (ad loc.) remarks that the Batavian cohorts must have been "equitatae".

62. On Tac. "H." II, 43, cf. IV, 19. For the Canninefates, cf. above, p. 82 n. 48

/63. .....

63. I, 87. On these, cf. Ritterling, 1932; Syme, 1950, 681, and for Nero, cf. above, p.130.

64. Tac. "H." II, 11. (Heubner ad loc. makes the identification).

65. II, 40. For the technical meaning, cf. Heubner ad loc. and Hardy on the parallel passage in Plutarch ("Otho", 11).

66. Tac. "H." III, 2, further discussed below, p.145.

67. I, 52.

68. 84.

69. II, 21.

70. 32.

71. 70.

72. 4. For C. Licinius Mucianus, cf. Kappelmacher, "R.E." XIII, 1926, 436 ff. (no. 116a).

73. Tac. "H." II, 76. The association of "robora" with auxiliaries rather than legionaries should be noted.

74. II, 81. For the wings, cf. above, p.108.

75. 82.

76. IV, 51; cf. II, 82. The combination in the phrase "sociorum auxiliis" should be noted. For Vologeses, cf. above, p.95.

77. "Vesp." 6.

78. Tac. "H." II, 83; Cos. "D.C." IV, 11, 1.

79. Thus Tacitus' sneering phrase ("H." I, 81).

80. For M. Antonius Primus, cf. "P.I.R.^{2}" A 866.

81. Tac. "H." III, 6.

82. III, 2.

83. 8.

/84. .....

84. 5. For the Sarmatae, cf. K. Pretschmer, "R.E." IA, 1920, 2542 ff. (no. 1); for the Iazyges, Vulic', IA, 1914, 1189 ff.

85. Tac. "H." III, 21; cf. 5. For Sido, cf. Stein, "R.E." II A, 1923, 2215; for Italicus "I.I.R."[2] I 61; for the Suebi, Schönfeld, "R.E." IV A, 1931, 564 ff. (esp. 570).

86. Tac. "H." III, 5. For the ala Gauriana, cf. below, p. 303. These troops were under the command of the governor of Noricum, Sextilius Felix, for whom cf. Stein "R.E." II A, 1923, 2036 (no. 21).

87. A detachment of "sociorum equites" is mentioned once. Tac. "H." IV, 10.

88. III, 21.

89. 15.

90. 16.

91. 16. For Vipstanus Messala, cf. K. Hanslik, "R.E." IX A, 1961, 170 ff. (no. 6).

92. Tac. "H." III, 2; Jos. "B.J." IV, 11, 3, 642.

93. Tac. "H." II, 57.

94. II, 69; cf. above, p. 132.

95. ibid.

96. 87.

97. 89.

98. Thus Heubner, Vorbemerkung ad loc., p. 290; Saxer, 1967, 15. For the size of detachments, cf. Saxer, 119.

99. Tac. "H." II, 57; 100.

100. 1967, 14; Heubner, Vorbemerkung to Tac. "H." II, 57, p. 214. For the XIVth returning to Britain, cf. Tac. "H." II, 66.

100a. Perhaps the discrepancy can be explained by the "free Germans" of II, 88, who appear to have been ignored in the description of the formal entry into Rome.

/101. .....

101. II, 93.

102. 94.

103. 97.

104. III, 2; cf. 15, where the fear is expressed that an "ingens Germanorum manus" might invade through Raetia. Valens (III, 41) is made to entertain a plan of arousing "Germanicae gentis" for continuing the war.

105. II, 100.

106. III, 22.

107. III, 6. For the ala Sebosiana, cf. below, p.304.

108. 12; cf. II, 100, and for Sex. Lucilius Bassus, cf. Stein, "R.E." XIII, 1927, 1640 f. (no. 22).

109. Tac. "H." III, 35. He was later active in winning Treveran support for Civilis (cf. below, p.154). But at this stage he may have been commanding a non-Treveran regiment (the only known cohors Treverorum belongs to the 3rd century), as probably Julius Briganticus the Batavian (cf. above, p.139). Cf. "P.I.R.²" B 558.

110. Tac. "H." III, 41.

111. III, 50; for the Dalmatae, cf. Patsch, "R.E." IV, 1901, 2448 ff. The marines drafted into a legion formed the nucleus of the later legio II Adiutrix (cf. Ritterling 1438; Parker, 1928, 1961, 108 f.).

112. Tac. "H." III, 12; cf. above, p.150.

113. III, 50.

114. 55. On this "legio", cf. Ritterling and Parker, l.c.n. 111.

115. Tac. "H." III, 57.

116. III, 58. For L. Vitellius, cf. R. Hanslik, "R.E." Suppl. IX, 1962, 1739 ff. (no. 7d). Suet. "Vit." 15, 2, confuses L. Vitellius' forces with those of the rebels.

/117. .....

117. Cf. Tac. "H." III, 78.

118. III, 58; cf. 79; 82; Suet. "Vit." 15, 1, who states that "uoluntariis non modo missionem post uictoriam, sed etiam ueteranorum iustaeque militiae commoda polliceretur".

119. Tac. "H." IV, 3.

120. III, 78 - 9; for Petillius Cerialis, cf. above, p. 119, n. 12.

121. Tac. "H." III, 84; cf. Dio LXIV, 21, 1. In an earlier passage (LXIV, 17, 2) Dio had referred to Vitellius' German bodyguard in the words τοῖς Γερμανοῖς τοῖς σωματοφύλαξιν αὐτοῦ.

122. Tac. "H." IV, 39.

123. Tacitus relates the story in II, 65. On the incident cf. Jullian, 1913, IV, 192 ff.; Stein, "R.E." IV, 1930, 1755.

124. Tac. "H." IV, 12; cf. V, 25; "G." 29, 2; above, p. 88 .

125. "H." IV, 13; cf. Brunt, "Let." 1959, 533, n. 1. For Iulius Civilis, cf. "P.I.R." ^{2} I 264.

126. As Civilis points out in Tac. "H." IV, 17; cf. above, p. 129

127. IV, 14.

128. 13; cf. 31 - 2; V, 25. The "auxilia" here must be the reinforcements (presumably both legionary and auxiliary) that Vitellius summoned (II, 97) from the neighbouring provinces of the west on hearing of the Flavian advance against him. Cf. above, p. 150.

129. IV, 15; cf. 33, where the Nervians appear as "Neruiorum cohortes". For the Nervii, cf. E. Linckenheld, "R.E." XVII, 1936, 56 ff. (esp. 61). For Aquilius, cf. "P.I.R." ^{2} A 986.

130. On its first appearance (Tac. "H." II, 18), the phrase refers to praetorian cohorts and legionary detachments. But here the context is different. The contrast implied in with the not infrequent "aquila signaque" of legionaries.

/131. .....

131. IV, 16.

132. Cf. above, p. 67 .

133. 16.

134. 17. Cf. above, p. 151 .

135. 18. For Cordeonius Flaccus, cf. Gaheis, "R.E." VIII, 1913, 2405 ff. (no. 5); Ritterling-Stein, 1932, 19; for Munius Lupercus, H. Fluss, XVI, 1933, 642 (no. 1); Alföldy, 1967, 10; for the Ubii, H. Schmitz, VIII A, 1955, 532 ff. (esp. 538).

136. Tac. "H." IV, 26.

137. IV, 37.

138. 55 ff. For Classicus and the ala Treuerorum, cf. above, p. 133 .

139. 18. For Claudius Labeo, cf. "R.E." [illegible] 906.

140. Tac. "H." IV, 19. For the Canninefates cf. above, p. 142.

141. IV, 15. Cf. above, p. 132.

142. 19. In their negotiations before the battle at Bonna they complained of their long service and their desire to retire to their homeland (20) : these are the old themes of length of service and separation from the places of recruitment.

143. Cf. Cheesman, 35.

144. Tac. "H." IV, 20. A "multitudo lixarum" is found assisting the beleaguered legionaries at Vetera (22) as well. For "lixa", cf. Grosse, "R.E." XIII, 1926, 927 f. For Herennius Gallus, cf. Gaheis, "R.E." VIII, 1912, 667 f. (no. 28); Alföldy, 1967, 10.

145. For Herennius Gallus, cf. Alföldy, 1967, 10. Cf. Godley ad loc.

146. Tac. "H." IV, 24 : "missis per Gallias qui auxilia concirent". Cf. 29 : "per Gallias Britanniasque et Hispanias auxilia orabat" (naturally there was insufficient time for "auxilia" to come from the other provinces). Soon, however, the Gauls refused to supply further troops : "dilectum tributaque Gallias aspernantes" (26).

/147. .....

147. 25 : "adfluentibus auxiliis Gallorum".

148. 33.

149. Stein, 1932, 137; cf. below, p.304 .

150. Tac. "H." IV, 33. For C. Dillius Vocula, cf. "P.-W." 2 5 90; Alföldy, 1967, 9; for the "Heruiorum cohortes" cf. above, p. 129, and for the "Vangionum cohortes", p. 130 .

151. IV, 61.

152. 62. For the ala Vicentina, cf. below, p.304.

153. 66. For Claudius Labeo, cf. above, p. 157, and for the Baetasii, cf. Ihm, "R.E." II, 1896, 2762.

154. Tac. "H." IV, 67. For the Sequani, cf. above, p.129 , and Keune, "R.E." II A, 1923, 1539 ff. (esp. 1648).

155. Tac. "H." IV, 70. For Sextilius Felix, cf. above, p. 86 ; for Julius Briganticus, p. 139. On the ala Singularium, cf. Fiebiger's article in "R.E." III A, 1927, 237; Stein, 1932, 132.

156. Tac. "H." IV, 16; cf. 32, where Civilis calls himself "praefectus unius cohortis".

157. The unnamed "cohortes" in 27 may perhaps be added here.

158. 71 : "dilectus per Gallias habitos in ciuitates remittit ac nuntiare iubet sufficere imperio legiones : socii ad munia pacis redirent securi uelut confecto bello quod Romanae manus excepissent. auxit eo rem Gallorum obsequium : nam recepta iuuentute facilius tributa tolerauere, proniores ad officia quod spernebantur." The first sentence is highly rhetorical, as the use of the old term "socii" shows. It is replaced by the more technical "iuventus" in the second sentence. The men referred to must have been recruits to be trained for formal auxiliary service. For Petilius Cerialis, cf. above, p. 152; Ritterling-Stein, 1932, 55.

159. 71; 78; V, 14; 16; 20.

/160. .....

160. 20. Grinnes was Bossum; Vada is unknown.

161. IV, 15 - 6; 79. For the Frisii, cf. above, p. 50, and Ihm, "R.E." VII, 191[illegible], 105 ff.

162. From after this period, i.e. 105 A.D., comes a cohors Frisiavonum (Ihm, ibid.); cf. for Frisiuns in auxiliary service above, p. 89, and Kraft, 584 (later in the 2nd century A.D.).

163. Tac. "H." IV, 21.

164. ibid.; cf. 77, and for the Bructeri swimming across the river Rhine, V, 18.

165. IV, 26; cf. V, 16.

166. IV, 28; cf. 55; 64; 77.

167. IV, 33.

168. 37. For a cohors Usiporum in Britain under Agricola, cf. above, p. 88.

169. "Lat." 1959, 551 f. Brunt stresses how little evidence this affords of an anti-Roman Gallic "nationalism".

170. Cf. above, p. 129.

171. Tac. "H." IV, 33. Julius Classicus ("P.I.R." I 267) was in command of the Treveran ala operating against the Othoniana in the Maritime Alps (cf. above, p. 87). For Julius Tutor, cf. "P.I.R." I 607; for his position as "praefectus ripae Rheni", which presumably involved keeping guard at strategic river crossings, cf. Stein, 1932, 47; Gnaalin, "R.E." XXII, 1954, 1335. For Julius Sabinus, cf. "P.I.R." I 535. The Lingones are found fighting for Civilis later (Tac. "H." IV, 77). When they finally surrendered, their armed strength was said to have been 70,000 men (Front. "Strat." IV, 3, 14).

172. IV, 66.

173. ibid.

/174. .....

174. 70. For the Vangiones, cf. above, p. 92 ; for the Triboci, cf. E. Linckenheld, "R.E." VI A, 1937, 2405 ff. (esp. 2406).

175. 71. For Julius Valentinus, cf. "[illegible]" I 611.

176. Tac. "H." IV, 76.

177. IV, 79. For the Chauci, cf. above, p. 81, 27

178. V, 19.

179. Cf. above, p. 117, 121 l.c.p. 1[illegible]; above, p. 129, l.c.p. 57.

180. Tac. "H." IV, 61; 70.

181. IV, 22. Cf. 27; 28 ("Ciuilem ... uniuersa Germania"); 33 (Civilis' "ueteranae cohortis et quod e Germanis maxime promptum"); V, 17 ("Germanos Batavosque").

182. IV, 23, and "passim".

183. 29 ("Germanos ... [illegible] miles"); 51 ("in partibus nostris ... e Germanis"); 57 ("Germanos" contrasted with Treverans); 60; 66; 76 (the "Germanos" in council here include not only the Batavian and the "free" group, but the Treverans as well. Later in the chapter, in a speech assigned to Tutor, "Germanos" means the free Germans); 79; V, 14 ("miles Romanus ... Germanos"); 16 ("Germanos, quod roboris fuerit" in a speech of Gerialis); 20.

184. IV, 60; 79; V, 14; 15.

185. e.g. IV, 16, where the Batavians and Canninefates are called "Germani, laeta bello gens".

186. e.g. IV, 60, where the Germans break faith with the Roman legionaries that surrendered at Vetera.

187. 29; cf. 61; V, 14.

188. IV, 16; 20; V, 16. For the German "cuneus", cf. "G." 6, 5, 7, 3 and Anderson ad loc.

189. Tac. "H." IV, 23; cf. 59 for a named Roman deserter.

/19[illegible]. .....

190. C.I.L. XVI, 20 = I.L.S. 1992. For Clemens, cf. "P.I.R."^{2} C 1341; Ritterling-Stein, 1932, 22; I.L.S. 5957, where his command is given as "leg. ... pro pr. exercitus Germanici superioris". The Scubuli are otherwise unknown; for the Bituriges, cf. Ihm, "R.E." III, 1897, 548 f.

191. Cf. Cichorius, 1241; Birley, "J.R.S." 1928, 56 ff.

192. Cf. above, p. 72 . 158

193. Cf. above, p. 160

194. Cf. above, p. 136.

195. Cf. above, p. 68 ; 131; 159

196. Cf. above, p. 68 , 136

197. C.I.L. XVI, 23 = I.L.S. 9052. For Q. Julius Cordinus C. Rutilius Gallicus, cf. Groag, "R.E." I A, 1914, 1255 ff. (no. 19); Ritterling-Stein, 1932, 58. O. Walser, "R.E." VIII A, 1955, 617 ff. (on Veleda) doubts whether Veleda was actually "captured" by Rutilius Gallicus.

198. For this regiment, cf. below, p. 304.

199. Cf. above, p. 146.

200. Cf. above, p. 161 .

201. Cf. above, p. 137, cf. 139

202. I.L.S. 2729; Stein, "R.E." III A, 1929, 1925 (no. 5).

203. Cf. Ritterling, "R.E." XII, 1925, 1631 f.; Birley, "J.R.S." 1928, 59.

204. For Cn. Domitius Afer Titius Marcellus Curvius Lucanus and Cn. Domitius Afer Titius Marcellus Curvius Tullus, cf. I.L.S. 990 - 1 and Dessau ad loc.; "P.I.R."^{2} D 152; 167 and Groag ad loc.; Ritterling-Stein, 1932, 138; Domaszewski, 1908, 1967, 183; Alföldy, 1967, 11; Ensslin, l.c.n. 171, 1283 (and above, p. 18 nn);

/Thomasson, ...

Thomasson, 1960, II, 153 ff. Romanelli, 1959, 292 f.

205. Cf. above, p. 130.

206. Tac. "H." I, 60. For M. Trebellius Maximus, cf. H. Hanslik, "R.E." VI A, 1937, 2265 f. (no. 13); for M. Roscius Coelius, Groag, I A, 1121 (no. 13).

207. Tac. "H." III, 45 and Frere, 1967, 98. Statius ("Silv." V, 2, 143 ff.) ascribes the erection of "speculas castellaque" to the governor involved. If this can be taken literally, it would imply the stationing of auxiliary units in the area.

208. Tac. "Agr." 18, and the useful notes of Ogilvie and Richmond ad loc. For Cn. Julius Agricola, cf. "P.I.R."^{2} I 126, and Ogilvie and Richmond, appendix 1, for the latest discussion of the date of the Welsh campaign.

209. Cf. above, p. 88 .

210. The Bataviens are specifically named in 84 (ibid.). For their recovery of their old position, cf. Tac. "G." 29, 2 and Anderson ad loc.; Klose, 1934, 22 ff.

211. Tac. "H." I, 79.

212. Cf. p. 146.

213. "B.J." VII, 4, 3, 89 ff. For C. Fonteius Agrippa, cf. "P.I.R."^{2} F 466; A. Stein, 1940, 32.

214. Tac. "H." III, 46.

215. C.I.L. XVI, 22. For Sex. Vettulenus Cerialis, cf. A. Stein, 1940, 33. For the Mattiaci, cf. above, p. 164, and Schönfeld, "R.E." XIV, 1930, 2320 f.

216. Cf. above, p. 49 .

217. Cf. above, p. 74 .

/218. .....

218. Cf. above, p. 169 and C.I.L. XVI, 28 = I.L.S. 1996; Wagner, 1938, 138.

219. Cf. above, p. 74 f.

220. Tac. "H." II, 8.

221. III, 46 f. For Anicetus, cf. "[illegible]" [illegible]; for Julius Polemo, I 472 and above, p. 99 .

222. Jos. "B.J." VII, 7, 1, 225 f. For Paetus, cf. above, p. 98, and for Aristobulus and Sohaemus, p. 95 .

223. Suet. "Dom." 2, 2. For Vologeses, cf. above, p. 144 f

224. Jos. "B.J." V, 1, 6, 41 ff. Josephus mentions the fact that one of the legions was the Twelfth, which had been defeated under Cestius Gallus, but said t[illegible]t had a reputation for courage (ὅπερ καὶ ἄλλως ἐπίστ[illegible] ἐπ' ἀνδρείαν [illegible]). He also states that the replacements for the troops that had accompanied Mucianus to Italy consisted of 2000 ἐπίλεκτοι from [illegible] and 3000 [illegible] from the Euphrates. The latter contingent is difficult to explain. It sounds like a detachment from one or all of the legions stationed in Syria (III Gallica, IV Scythica, VI Ferrata). Saxer, 1967, 21, quotes the "Alexandrian" "uexillarii" but does not discuss these 3000. In fact, he cuts them out of the quotation.

225. Tac. "H." V, 1. Tacitus names all the 4 legions and adds "adductos Alexandria duoetuicensimanos tertianosque". The latter detachment must have been drawn from the III Cyrenaica (Ritterling, 1509). For the kings, cf. above, p. 95 .

226. "B.J." V, 2, 1, 47 ff.

227. Cf. above, p. 109 for Vespasian, and p. 108 for Cestius Gallus.

228. Jos. "B.J." V, 6, 5, 290.

229. V, 13, 4, 551; cf. 5, 556.

/230. .....

230. VI, 1, 6, 54.

231. VII, 6, 4, 199.

232. V, 11, 3, 460. For Antiochus Epiphanes, cf. above, p. 140. Tacitus names Epiphanes' father as one of the three kings supplying "auxilia" to Titus (cf. above, p. 179). Presumably the son was the actual leader of the troops supplied by his father.

233. V, 7, 3, 312.

234. VI, 2, 8, 161.

235. VI, 2, 10, 172 ff.

236. 1, 8, 81 ff. For Julianus, cf. "P.I.R."[2] I 86.

237. Jos. "B.J." V, 3, 5, 131.

238. V, 6, 4, 281.

239. VI, 1, 7, 68.

240. VI, 4, 3, 243; cf. above, p. 180.

241. V, 6, 3, 267. Dio LXV (LXVI), 5, 4, refers to Roman deserters to the Jews.

242. Jos. "B.J." VII, 1, 2, 5.

243. VII, 6, 1, 164 : [illegible] ... [illegible] ...., [illegible]
[illegible]

244. 8, 1, 252; 2, 275.

245. Richmond, "J.R.S." 1962, 142 ff., esp. 151 f.

245a. Jos. "A.J." XIX, 9, 2, 366 and cf. above, p. 141

246. Tac. "H." II, 97; for L. Clodius Macer, cf. "P.I.R."[2] C 1170; for the legio I Macriana Liberatrix, Ritterling, 1417 f.

247. Tac. "H." II, 97.

248. IV, 48 - 50. For L. Calpurnius Piso, cf. "P.I.R."[2] C 294, Thomasson, 1960, II, 44 f. For C. Calpetanus Rantius Quirinalis Valerius Festus, Groag, "R.E." III, 1897, 1363 f. (no. 2); Thomasson, II, 149 f. .....

149 f. For earlier references to the "auxilia" in Africa, cf. above, p. 112. For Claudius Sagitta cf. "P.I.R."^{2} C 1004, and, for the ala Petriana, above, p. 133.

249. Tac. "H." IV, 50. Romanelli, 1959, 289, n. 1, reports the suggestion that Publilius Memoralis, whose career is given as "praef. coh. III Cyrenaicae sagittarior. trib. mil. leg. X Fretensis praef. gentis Numidar. dilictat. (sic) tironum ex Numidia lector. [...] Aug. in Africa ..." (I.L.S. 9195 as emended by Gordon, "C.P." 1952, 91, who suggests "proc." for the lacuna) and known to have been procurator of Corsica under Vespasian, was responsible for enlisting troops as "dilectator" for this war. For Memoralis, cf. Stein, "R.E." XXIII, 1959, 1919 (no. 2[illegible]).

250. Tac. "H." II, [illegible] - [illegible]. For Succeius Albinus, cf. Stein, "R.E." XIII, 19[illegible], 1[illegible] (no. 11), and for [illegible], above, p. 21; 78

251. Tac. "H." II, 5[illegible]. For Asinius Pollio, cf. "P.I.R."^{2} A 1240 and for Festus and Scipio, Stein, "R.E." VI, 19[illegible], 225[illegible] (no. 5); II A, 1921, 823 (no. 2).

252. "B.J." VII, 11, 1, 4[illegible]. The governor's name was Catullus (cf. "P.I.R."^{2} C 562).

253. "Vesp." [illegible], 3.

VIII. THE "AUXILIA" IN THE LITERARY RECORD.

Thus far the discussion has centred almost entirely on the evidence afforded by historians of the early imperial period. Before turning to consider the epigraphical record it will be useful to analyse the terminology of the writers concerned to establish the main trends in their usage. The major source has, of course, been Tacitus, but Velleius Paterculus and Suetonius have also been of use. On the Greek side Josephus was the most important figure.

The earliest operations in which auxiliaries played a prominent part and which Tacitus reports at length were those of Germanicus on the Rhine from 14 to 16 A.D. The various categories into which the auxiliaries fell in Tacitus' account have already been described[1]. It was not possible to establish the status of the various units beyond doubt. But a comparison of the wording used in the more formal, general listing of the armed forces deployed for a particular campaign or battle with that used in the description of incidental actions led to a considerable degree of certainty. The actual vocabulary can now be assessed in its context.

The plural term "auxilia" is used in a general sense by itself (as in "postremum auxiliorum agmen"[2]) and in conjunction with "socius" ("immensa sociorum auxilia", "auxilia et socii"[3]). A specific use occurs for the forces supplied by a friendly tribe in the area of the campaigns ("Chatti cum auxilia pollicerentur, in commilitium adsciti"[4]).

/Accordingly .....

Accordingly the term is not reserved for trained or professional auxiliaries attached to the Roman legions. The adjectival form, "auxiliaris" or "auxiliarius", is comparatively common. It qualifies "equites", obviously to designate an ala, and is used in conjunction with "cohortes" to indicate what are patently professional units. "Auxiliaris" is also used substantivally, normally in the plural, both with numbers (Caecina's "quinque auxiliarium milia") and with a tribal name (the "auxiliares Galli Germanique").

"Ala" is found only with "equites" ("octo equitum alae"). The subdivision of the ala, the "turma", occurs once ("Sertinius cum ceteris turmis"). "Cohors", too, is expanded or defined, as in "auxiliares cohortes". The phrase "socine cohortes" (with the specific number 26) appears in a context where it is clear that "socine" is merely a variant for "auxiliares" and that professional units are meant. In the phrase "ceterae ... sociorum cohortes", however, where "socii" is substantial, the tactical meaning of cohort is probably uppermost. The other adjectives found associated with "cohortes" ("expeditae", "leues", "subsidiariae") denote function or armour. Tribal names also appear ("Raetorum Vindelicorumque et Gallicae cohortes"). However caution must be applied, since legionary, praetorian or urban cohorts may be meant, as in Caecina's "quadringinte cohortes Romanae" (where, however, "Romanae" helps to prevent confusion).

But once the standard terms "auxilia", "ala" and "cohors" are avoided, uncertainty increases. The old term "socius", already noted in

/conjunction .....

conjunction with "auxilia" and "cohors", is found by itself (as in "arma classem socios" or "classis legiones ac socii"), or as a variant for what had previously been specified as "auxiliarias cohortes" ("ceteri sociorum"). Like "auxilia", therefore, "socius" is a general term covering all types of auxiliary, from the professional to the local "ad hoc" assistant. Specification of cohorts by tactics or weapons has already been noted. Such terms are also found independently, sometimes with "pedites" or the collective singular "pedes". Thus there were "pedites sagittarii", "sagittarii", "funditores librariosque" and "armatura levis". Another word is "expeditus" ("expedita cum manu"). On the cavalry side, "equites" (or "eques") is commoner than "ala", although, as noted, they can be combined. A specific type of cavalry is mentioned once (the "eques sagittarius" at Idistaviso). Then there are alternates to the regimental terms cohort and ala, or their subdivisions, like "turma". One such is "manus" (noted above in "expedita cum manu" - here used without derogatory overtones). "Caterva" (as in the phrase "tumultuarias caterva Germanorum ex Rhenu colentium") is intended to underline the inferiority of hastily drafted units. This effect is produced since the word is frequently used of enemy units.

The tribal designations given by Tacitus in these chapters all come from the wider German front. The "auxiliares Galli Germanique" probably included professional regiments, especially as they embraced the "Nasorum Vindelicorumque et Gallicae cohortes". Regiments with the names

/of .....

of all these peoples are known from the epigraphical record. The standard usage is the genitive plural of the tribal name. Tacitus, however, also uses the adjectival form ("Galli Germanique") and the derivative adjective ("Gallicae" - though here probably in a special sense). Then the tribal name is used substantivally in the plural, as in the reference to the "Chauci". This is particularly clear in the case of the Batavians : in the phrase "postremus auxiliorum hinc Batauique in parte ac ..."[4] "Bataui" must represent a batavian regiment (or regiments). Cognate here, too, the description of the Batavian commander "Chariouualda dux Bataucrum"[5]. Another auxiliary, or person of auxiliary origin, who is singled out, is Flavus[6]. He is described as follows : "erat is in exercitu cognomento Flauus, insignis fide et animo per uu'nus oculo paucis ante annis duce Tiberio". In his interview with Arminius, Flavus is made to list the rewards he had received from the Romans : "Flauus auctis stipendiis, torquem et coronam aliaque militaria dona remorat". Unfortunately he does not give us his rank, and the syntax of the "dona militaria"[7] had not yet been standardized, so that his rank cannot be deduced from the decorations which he had received. But the wording used could apply equally well to a legionary, showing how integrated the two forces could be. These quotations show that tribal and individual names can be used in Tacitus to refer to auxiliary units, whether of the professional or non- professional variety.

The detailed analysis which has just been given of Tacitus' language about auxiliaries in the Germanicus campaigns is confirmed by the rest of the "Annals". His usages in the whole work may now be considered.

/But .....

but as an exhaustive treatment would entail the repeating of a large amount of unnecessary detail, only the main features will be noted.

The word "auxilia" is nearly always qualified in some way or other. An example occurs in the review of the non-legionary part of the armed forces of the Roman Empire which Tacitus gives under 23 A.D. There "auxilia conortium" is merely a periphrasis for "cohortes", as the neighbouring "alae" shows[9]. Another phrase is "auxilia prouincialium" referring to cohortes in 51 and interpreted as regular units of one kind or another[10]. "Auxilia regum"[11] means forces supplied by client kings, and therefore not part of the professional auxiliary forces. Various adjectives accompany "auxilia". In 35 a force of 4,[illegible] legionaries and "delecta auxilia"[12] was used in Cilicia. The select auxiliaries could have been various units chosen for the operation or men chosen from different units. "Lecta auxilia" occur in 50[13]. "Tribal" or provincial appellatives appear in the description of the division of forces between Corbulo and Caesennius Paetus in 62[14]: it was argued that the "Pontica et Galaticarum Cappadocumque auxilia" were, respectively, auxiliaries supplied by the kings of Pontus and auxiliaries stationed in Galatia and Cappadocia. The adjectival use of "auxiliaris" or "auxiliarius" need not be discussed. The substantival use is both qualified and unqualified. The "auxiliaris manipulus ac demetae"[15] that helped repulse a Chattan raid in 50 are a case in point: they were taken as "professional".

The word "cohort" occurs alone especially when it is contrasted with cavalry or when it is in a context where its meaning is apparent from

/other .....

other references or indications[15a]. The "quod ... alarum cohortiumque" that accompanied Corculo into Armenia in 63 are a somewhat forced alternative for a precise figure[16]. More specifically cohorts are designated as auxiliary by "socius"[17]. Terms referring to weapons are used, such as "leues", "expeditae" and the variant "citae"[18]. A tribal name, in the adjectival form, is used in "Sugambra cohors"[19]. Before leaving the word cohort, it should be noted that it can refer to the legionary cohorts, even when unqualified by some such adjective as "Romana". An example of this occurred in the list of charges brought against Germanicus' envoy, Piso, in 19 A.D.[20]. "Ala", like "cohors", stands alone, or with numerals or their equivalent. It is also found with "equites", as in the phrase "ala equitum, quae conscripta e Treuiris militia disciplinaque nostra nubebatur". This was regarded as a full description of a regular cavalry unit : it is the equivalent of the more "epigraphical" "una ala Treuirum" under the command of Iulius Indus. As noted, it had earlier been referred to in the very vague words "cum delecta manu"[21]. An adjectival form of a tribal name is used with ala in "alam Canninefatem"[22]. "Alaris" and "alarius" are used as variants for "ala", once with a tribal adjective added : cf. "alaris quoque Gallorum, robur equitatus"[23]. A unit of cavalry was subdivided into "turmae". This word is then used to indicate alae[24], and is sometimes accompanied by a numeral or a descriptive adjective[25].

As alternatives to cohort Tacitus uses "peditum", or the singular "pedes", or the collective "peditatus"[26]. "Pedes sagittarius"[27] occurs.

Numerically .....

Especially noteworthy are the German auxiliaries referred to as "quod peditum Germanorum inter nostros merebat"[28]. But "pedes" and its cognates may of course refer to legionary infantry. Words indicating armour and weapons are other substitutes for auxiliary infantry. Such are "sagittarii" and the old-fashioned "lenia arcatura" and "libritores funditoresque"[29]. The latter phrase, in the reverse order, occurred in the Germanicus section. This is its second and only other occurrence in the "Annals", where Corbulo's attack on an Armenian stronghold in 54 A.D. is being described. In the account of the final defeat of Caratacus in Wales there are references to auxiliary "spatae" and "nautae" as distinct from the legionary "gladii ac pilae"[30]. As far as the cavalry is concerned, "equites", "eques" and "equitatus" are the equivalents of "ala". In fact the two words are often combined. It should be recalled, however, that the Roman legion was provided with a small detachment of cavalry, so that "equites legionum" can appear[31].

The next word to consider is "socius", regularly used for "auxilia". A comparatively standard phrase is that based on the contrast between "citizen", in the sense of "legionary", and "ally", in the sense of "auxiliary". Thus in the "libellus" which Augustus is said to have left behind at his death the army is designated in the words : "quantus ciuium sociorumque in armis"[32]. On one occasion the word appears associated with a regular item of Roman military organization, the unit standard - "quod sub signis sociorum"[33]. Used adjectivally, or in its derivative form of "socialis", it qualifies nouns such as "cohors", "turma", "copiae"

/and .....

and "reges", as various phrases quoted above have made clear. Several words denoting military groups of indefinite sizes are applied to detachments of auxiliaries. One of the commonest is "manus". As noted, Julius Indus' ala was referred to as a "delecta manus". The phrase "auxiliaris manus" occurs in the same context[34] as Indus' ala, the revolt of Florus and Sacrovir in Gaul in 21. This too consisted of regular cavalry. But the word also refers to untrained local contingents. In the closing stages of the revolt of Tacfarinas the Romans received assistance from the Mauretanians, who organized raiding parties : "praedatorias manus delecti Maurorum duxere"[35]. In 68, Verculo hastily levied local troops : "tumultuarium provincialium manus armat"[36]. "Delectus" (and "lectus"), especially when followed by the genitive, are often used for special forces, naturally in a good sense. It would be interesting to know whether such phrases as "peditum et equitum auxiliarium delectos" or "delectos sagittariorum"[37] or those in which the words are used as ordinary adjectives represent choice by unit or individual selection from various units to form a special task force. The word can of course also refer to legionary detachments[38]. Several less specific expressions are found, such as "copiae" or "uires"[39]. The word "robur" is usually found in association with legions, but it can refer paradoxically to auxiliaries[40]. "Exercitus" is found in the setting : "Qui militis Romani ad excindendo castellorum ardua, simul Hibero exercitu campos persultante"[41]. The Iberians were largely cavalry, and were co-operating with the Romans as allies rather than auxiliaries. The sense is quite clear from the preceding "miles Romanus"

(characteristically .....

(characteristically in the genitive after the singular of "uires") of the legionaries, and from the contrast between the largely artillery operations left to the Roman experts and the cavalry function of scouring the plains assigned to the Iberians. "Exercitus" is not only a useful variant for the obvious "eques" or its equivalent, but also serves to suggest the higher status of the Iberians. "Milites"[42] is seldom used of auxiliaries, though an example occurs in a reference to the Jewish-Samaritan clashes in Judaea under Claudius. Less respectable words are "prouinciales" (examples of which have already been seen) and "populares". For the latter, compare Tacitus' description of Arminius while he was still true to the Romans : "in castris Romanis ductor popularium meruisset"[43].

References to "auxilia" lie behind tribal or individual names[44]. For convenience these may be listed in chronological order, as follows :

the Treveran ala in the revolt of Florus and Sacrovir in 21.

Mauretanian "bands" in the revolt of Tacfarinas in 24.

the Sugambrian cohort in the Thracian troubles of 26.

the Cannineferian ala in the Frisian revolt of 28.

German "pedites" associated with it - probably in cohorts.

Bosporans "in Roman armour" in their homeland in 4[illegible].

Vangiones and

Nemetans, "auxiliaries", presumably cohorts, in the Chattan raid of 5[illegible].

the Pannonian ala in Armenia in 6[illegible].

(As already suggested, the "Pontica et Galatarum Cappadocumque auxilia",

/also .....

also operative in Armenia in 62, probably represent men supplied by the client king of Pontus, and auxiliaries stationed in Galatia and Cappadocia, rather than "Galatian and Cappadocian" auxiliaries as such, and therefore cannot be added here). Of those listed, the Mauretanians and the Bosporans approximate more to the local levy variety, while the others have claims to professional organization. The individuals named are :

Arminius, the Cheruscan, "ductor popularium" under Augustus.
Flavus, his brother.
Ornospades, the Parthian, simply called an "auxiliator", active in the Pannonian revolt of 6 - 9 A.D.

Boiocalus, the Ampsivarian, first recorded in 58, but claiming service ("stipendia meruisse") in the German campaigns of Tiberius and Germanicus (9 - 16 A.D.).

Tacfarinas, the Numidian, "auxiliaria stipendia meritus", who rebelled in 17 A.D.

"Delecti Maurorum", the commanders of the Mauretanian "bands" that helped to crush Tacfarinas in 24.

Julius Indus, the Treveran, obviously commander of "una ala Treuirum", although not specified as such, in the revolt of Florus and Sacrovir in 21.

Gruptorix, probably a Frisian, a veteran by the time of the Frisian revolt in 28.

Gannascus, the Canninefatian, a deserter who led a Chaucan raid on Gaul in 47.

Of these only Arminius and the unnamed Boerian leaders are said to have

/been .....

been commanders of contingents. Indus must have been one. Ornospades was obviously a special case, since he was an exile from Parthia at the time of his service to Rome. It would be hazardous to argue from the later prominence of Boiocalus, Vecfarinas and Mannaecus to earlier positions of authority in the Roman auxiliary system. Vercingetorix' position is even less certain. We do not have names of Romans who were indubitably in command of single units in the "Annals" but the ranks of "praefectus" and "decurio" are mentioned[45]. Sometimes the specific "praefectus equitum" is used. Further, "praefectus" and "tribunus (militum)" can represent auxiliaries and legionaries respectively, as can the phrase "legati praefectique"[46].

Various words are found associated with enemy forces[47]. Those referring to divisions among them are especially "caterua", "manus" and "globus". "Iuuentus" is especially common for recruits drafted at the outset of a campaign. "Latrones" designates some of fighting. Although brigandage or terrorism may be meant, resistance or guerilla fighters or partisans is often an appropriate rendering, at least from the non-Roman point of view. Little difficulty is likely to arise with these terms, even when they are applied to Roman forces. But it should be noted that typically Roman terms are used to denote enemy units. Thus "exercitus"[48] is found, and the forces of civilians in their revolt in 21 appear surprisingly as "ciuium exercitus" [illegible][49]. Rebels have their own "auxilia"[50]. Enemy forces are crushed. Thus the army of Florus and Sacrovir in 21 had a nucleus of "armatae cohortes" supported by nearly

/4,000 .....

40,000 "iuventus" and "crupellarii". These three elements are then referred to as "cohortes", "semermi" and "ferrati"[51]. Similarly Tacfarinas' forces evolved from an untrained mob ("incondita turba") of migrant brigands ("ungi ... et latrociniis sueti") that were then divided into Roman units ("uexilla et turmae"), armed and disciplined like Romans in camps. In such contexts the tactical sense of such technical terms as cohort is dominant.

The military is far more prominent in the "histories" than in the "annals" and the references to auxiliaries correspondingly more frequent and detailed. However, to avoid unnecessary duplication, usages already noticed in the "annals" will not normally be discussed again. Under the heading of "auxilia" a statement concerning the early principate should be noted : the proconsular governor of Africa had command of the legion and auxiliaries there under Augustus and Tiberius, but under Gaius the legion was taken from the governor and assigned to an imperial legate. "Legio in Africa auxiliaque tutandis imperii finibus sub diuo Augusto Tiberioque principibus proconsuli parebant"[53] - the wording implies a connection between the legion and the auxiliaries and that the latter were as much part of the system of frontier defence as the former. "auxilia" is qualified by the derivative form of the provincial adjective in the phrases "Vipstanus Messala tribunus cum Moesicis auxiliaribus" and "Britannica auxilia, Batauorum cohortis missas in Germaniam ... ac tum Moguntiaci agentis"[54]. The second example, which specifies that the "auxilia" were in fact Batavian cohorts, makes it perfectly clear that

/"Britannica" .....

"Britannica" means "stationed in", or "coming from Britain". Messala's men are similarly referred to by the army from which they came rather than by their regimental names. Auxiliaries are also referred to by the imperial candidate for whom they were fighting, as in "Vitellianorum auxilia"[55]. The singular "auxilium" occurs. Some new arrivals are called "recens auxilium", a corps of gladiators pressed into service under Otho "deforme auxilium" and a cohort that had once formed part of the army of Polemo, the client-king of Pontus, "regium auxilium olim"[56].

Cohorts and alae are naturally much in evidence. The most interesting example is Tacitus' description of Vitellius' formal entry into Rome[57]. As far as the use of tribal names with the cohorts is concerned, it should be observed that the same "variatio" as occurred in the "Annals" obtains. For example, "cohortes" are designated as both "Tungrorum" and "Tungrae"[58]. Like "auxilia" "cohortes" can be designated by the provincial adjective in "-ic-". "Gallicae" and "Britannicae" can be quoted[59]. Like "auxilia", cohorts are called "Vitellianae"[60]. In the "Histories" cohorts are once described as "tumultuariae", an adjective reserved for "manus" and "cuterua" in the "Annals" (and on its second appearance in the "Histories"[61]. Alae are designated by the province from which they came (as "Gallicae", "Pannonicae ac Moesicae"[62]). However the "ala britannica"[63] in the singular must have been so named : it appears in the epigraphical record. Then there are the alae whose names derive from personal Roman "nomina" - the alae Taurianae, Petrianae, Silianae, Aurianae, Sebosianae and Vicentinae[64]. The second is once referred to as

/"Siliani", ...

"Siliani", the fifth appears in the guise "alam, cui Sebosianae nomen"). Lastly there is the "ala singularium"[65]. As in the "Annals" alae can be represented by their subdivisions, the "turmae". These are sometimes found operating separately (as in "quattuor equitum turmae") and designated by a tribal name ("Treuirorum turmae")[66]. Auxiliaries appear to be designated by their regimental standards in the "histories", cf. the phrase "signa uexillaque"[67].

"Socius" in the "histories" does not require comment. To the less precise or more metaphorical terms denoting army groups that were discussed in the "Annals" "numerus" should be added in the specific sense of "unit"[68]. After "numerus" the singular of "uires" may be noted. It is used for indeterminate numbers of non-provincial allies offered for a specific occasion by the Sarmatian Iazyges[69].

"Iuuentus" is the most important among the "less Roman" words. An example is afforded by the Baetian "iuuentus"[70] mentioned during the Vitellian advance to Italy. We also hear of the "Noricorum iuuentus"[71]. In a levy which Vitellius held in Africa, the "iuuentus" showed reluctance to enlist, presumably both for legionary and auxiliary service[72]. Besides "populares", "plebs" and "pagani" are used[73].

Auxiliary and para-auxiliary forces are represented by provincial or tribal names. As in the case of the "Annals" the names may be listed[74]:

Batavians, Belgians, Britons, Cabninefates, Gauls, Ligurians, Lusitanians, Nervians, Pannonians, Thracians, Tungrians and Vascones.

/(The .....

(The German cohorts mentioned in the Othonian-Vitellian context in North Italy probably belonged to Vitellius' transalpine allies. "Cohort" therefore is being used in a tactical, not in a "professional" sense[75]).

2 "tribal" alae are named - of Batavians and Treverans.

The names associated with "auxilia" are

Gallia, Germans, "Raeni" and Ubiens.

Those associated with the non-technical terms, and usually referring to local "ad hoc" contingents are

Arabs, Baetasians, Germans, "Mauri", Nervians, Noricans, Tungrians.

The tribal or geographical name is unqualified in the following cases :

Alpini, Batavi, Belgae, Caeracates, Dalmatae, Galli, Germani, Mauri, "Montani", Norici, Pannonii, Parthi, Raeti, Sequani, Suebi, Transrhenani, Tribuci, Tungri, Vangiones.

Individual auxiliaries are also named or referred to. Those in positions of authority are fairly prominent. The names given include "praefecti" who were of Roman origin. The abstract term "praefectura"[76] is used. However not much will be gained by giving all the details. Many of the terms discussed above appear in descriptions of enemy forces, especially in the lengthy account of the Batavian revolt led by Civilis.

Finally certain passages in which auxiliaries are discussed in a rhetorical way should be noticed. These occur mainly in the speeches which

/Tacitus .....

Tacitus put in the mouths of the main protagonists in the struggles that are described[77]. Generally speaking less complimentary terms are used, and the tribal or non-professional origins of the auxiliaries are emphasized. The shifting of emphasis caused by rhetorical considerations can also be illustrated from variations in the terminology used for enemy forces modelled on the Roman pattern. The most notable example occurs in the handling of Civilis' cisrhenane and "free" German allies.

The rhetorical slant in certain parts of the "Histories" dealing with "auxilia" is far less prominent in the "Annals", but an example from the latter work may be quoted. This occurs in the speech of C. Silius, the legate of the upper German army, in the revolt of Florus and Sacrovir. After outlining earlier victories he belittled the forces which had won them as follows : "una nuper cohors rebellem Turonum, una ala Treuirum, paucae huius ipsius exercitus turmae profligauere Sequanos"[79]. In fact the single cohort was not an auxiliary, but an urban one. The ala Treverum with its seemingly epigraphical title was in all likelihood the ala Indiana, and the "paucae turmae" had previously appeared as an "auxiliaris aenus" and consisted of at least one ala.

The third work of Tacitus that should be considered is the "Agricola", although its main emphasis is on the period after Vespasian. Auxiliaries appear in one rhetorical context, the speech put in the mouth of the British leader Calgacus. The Roman army, he maintained, was a compound of disparate elements : in particular he names Gauls, Germans

/and .....

and Britons ("ex diuersissimis gentibus"; "Gallos et Germanos et (pudet dictu) Britannorum plerosque"[80]. Agricola's enlistment of Britons from the pacified south is in fact recorded[81]. Three other tribal names occur, all in special contexts. A "cohors Usiporum per Germaniam conscripta et in Britanniam transmissa" mutinied while being trained and then underwent a series of adventures described in a problematic chapter of the biography[82]. 4 Batavian and 2 Tungrian cohorts[83] are singled out for special mention in the climactic battle of "mons Graupius". Professional alae and cohorts[84] are mentioned in the description of battle, but without their regimental names. Elsewhere, except for the unnamed ala which was almost totally destroyed in Wales just before Agricola's arrival in Britain, variants appear for the two technical terms. One that may be noted is "numerus" and another is the description of the auxiliaries whose use of/special skill of being able to swim across rivers in armour with their horses leads to their identification as Batavians. But the designation "Batavian" is avoided. It is notable that these three instances all come from the same chapter[85] (in it Agricola has his first experience of the military situation in Britain as governor). Other expressions do not present anything new : in passing it may be noted that no details are given on pre-Agricolan auxiliaries except for the bare statement that the invading force under Claudius consisted of "legiones auxiliaque"[86].

In making a general assessment of Tacitus' terminology for the auxiliaries it is important to remember that his highly individual style cannot easily be made to fit into rigid categories. In fact, it is

/doubtful .....

doubtful whether the categories were rigid even in practice. In addition, Tacitus would be reporting the abnormal or unusual : the regular and normal would be taken as read. Allowance must also be made for the fact that neither the "Annals" nor the "Histories" is complete. Up to th point a roughly chronological sequence has been followed. But of course the works excerpted were written in the reverse order to that used above. The "Agricola" is normally dated t 98 A.D., the "Histories" within the next decade, and the "Annals" at least another decade later[87]. This means that the events related in the "Agricola" occurred some 1 to 2 years before publication, those in the "Histories" up to 4 years before and the earliest events in the "Annals" at least a century before writing.

The "Agricola" belongs to a different genre to the historical works. In general it tends not to give the names of units except in a highly dramatic incident and a famous battle scene; the names given are known from other literary works. "Cohors" and "ala" are not used except where military precision is of importance. Where, however, general expressions like "auxilia" or vague terms like "equites" are used, it is pretty clear that professional regiments are meant. By the time of Agricola the auxiliary system was fully developed. However Tacitus avoids technical vocabulary to a large extent.

By the nature of its subject the "Histories" required considerable detail and precision in military matters. Armies and military groups of various sizes are often specified. These conform to a general pattern :

/legionaries, ...

legionaries, professional auxiliaries and local assistance. The latter varies from the highly trained armies of client kings to hastily drafted provincials or even allies from across the frontiers of the empire : in Italy contestants had to have recourse to gladiators and unsuitable volunteers. A careful reading of such army descriptions will usually allow the professional auxiliary element to be distinguished. "Cohors" and "ala" are the standard words, but the non-auxiliary senses of cohort as well as its tactical use can cause confusion. "auxilia" covers the whole range of auxiliaries and therefore has to be carefully investigated before its precise import can be established. Regular variants for these terms are "peditor", "equites" and "socii", the latter usually archaizing. All three can refer to any type of auxiliary. Another type of variant is to mention the commander, officers or subdivisions of regular units : "praefectus", "decurio" and "turma" are the commonest terms. This usage is most frequent in a cavalry context : in effect the auxiliary "centuria" and "centurio" do not occur. The words for standards ("vexillum" and "signa") are occasionally used like the last group.

General military terms may include or represent "auxilia". "exercitus" and "milites" are very rare in this sense, although found. "Copiae" is more usual. "electi" and "selecti", especially when followed by a partitive genitive, have almost taken on the sense of "unit" or "detachment". "numerus" has begun to be used in the same sense. "Vexillum" is not confined to legionaries. The metaphorical terms "vires" and "robur" are borrowed from legionary contexts for complimentary use. "manus" is

/used .....

used of a small number, not infrequently in a derogatory sense. "Iuuentus" on a larger, and "caterua" on a smaller scale are words more commonly applied to enemy hordes, but can be used, normally disparagingly, for special effects. The uncommon "populares" and "pagani" are also applied to people serving in an auxiliary capacity. It should be noted, however, that the auxiliary significance of these words is nearly always made clear by their context and by the use of qualifying adjectives or phrases of one kind or another. This applies even to the more technical vocabulary discussed in this paragraph. When "geographical" indications are given, usually tribal but also provincial, there is a wide spectrum. The proper title may appear, an adjectival form may be substituted or the tribal name may be used substantively without "cohors", "ala" or other equivalent term. The general may be given for the specific : thus it is not often clear whether a Gerean or a Gallic cohort represents a "cohors Germanorum" or "Gallorum" as such or is merely a means of avoiding an obscure name, such as Tungrian or Sequanian.

The "Annals" cover a period fifty times longer than the "Histories", one too in which the main developments took shape. Military events play a much smaller role. "Cohors", "ala", "auxilia" and their equivalents all appear. But "pedites" and "equites" are more frequent than in the "Histories". "Cocius" is much more common. "Praefectus" and "turma" can be used as variants as in the earlier work. However the use of words for "standards" in this way does not occur. The general group appears with omissions and one addition, that of "prouinciales". "Caterua" is not used of a unit as in the "Histories", "vexillum" is avoided. "Iuuentus" is almost confined

/to .....

to enemy forces, and "paganI" is not used of auxiliaries. Generally speaking the technical vocabulary is much less common and proper names are avoided to a large extent. It is rare for tribal names to be given. Individuals appear as infrequently - more often then not after they had deserted Rome and rebelled.

A final general comment may be made. Out of the way detail occurs especially in passages dealing with the North western frontier areas - Gaul, Germany and Britain. This is shown by types of weapon or strategy noted, or by the use of certain archaisms. This may be due to the accident of arrival, or to a special interest or special sources available to Tacitus.

The first author to be considered after Tacitus is Velleius Paterculus. Since he served in the German and Pannonian wars fought at the end of the principate of Augustus, special interest attaches to his references to auxiliaries in the Pannonian revolt of 6 - 9 A.D.[88] He remarks in general that all the Pannonians had a knowledge of Roman discipline, which would imply extensive co-operation with the Romans as auxilieries. He mentions an army of five legions operating with "auxiliaribusque et equitatui regio". Then in the next sentence, technical terms are used : "fusa regiorum equestris acies, fugatae alae, conversae cohortes sunt, apud signa quoque legionum trepidatum". In enumerating the complete forces used by Tiberius against the rebels, he names 10 legions, 10,000 veterans, a large number of special recruits called "voluntarii" and then the auxiliary part comprising more than 7 infantry cohorts, at least 14

/alae .....

alse and cavalry supplied by a client king. There is less detail on the Varian disaster in Germany in [illegible]. We are informed that the Romans lost three legions and "[illegible] alarum et sex cohortium"[69].

From these passages it is clear that Velleius, like Tacitus, distinguishes between more professional cohorts and alae and "ad hoc" support by client kings. His use of numbers with the cohorts and alae is precise and it is obvious that the "auxiliares" of the first passage is merely a shorthand term for the fuller phrase. Lastly it should be noted that Velleius[70] informs us that both his father and he had served as "praefecti equitum" in the [illegible] this appointment dated from 4 A.D. : when his father's began is not stated. As such they must have commanded cavalry units and are evidence for professional alae under Roman officers going back to early in the principate of Augustus. In view of this it would be useful to date the time of composition of Velleius' work precisely. The only fixed point is 30 A.D. since it was dedicated to the consul of that year. This means that at most some 2[illegible] years intervened between the events mentioned and the final completion of the work. The vocabulary therefore may be that of the latter part of Tiberius' principate, but there is no real reason for thinking that Velleius was not using the terminology in use during the campaigns in which he participated.

The next references to be noted are in the fourth book of the "strategemata" that goes under the name of Frontinus. Corbulo is said to have punished certain auxiliary units in Armenia in 58 A.D. by making them

/camp .....

camp outside the fortified lines. They appear as "duas alas et tres cohortes"[91]. Tacitus relates the same incident, but the troops involved are called "praefectos militesque" : typically, precise figures and precise terms are avoided, although the context makes it clear that auxiliary units are in question. Secondly, the punishment of an auxiliary commander in the same campaign is reported as follows : "Aemilio Rufo praefecto equitum, quia parum instructam armis alam habebat ..."[92]. Here too the language is technical.

Suetonius has a few passages relating to auxiliaries in the "Twelve Caesars", a work published early under Hadrian, presumably not long after the "Annals". Claudius is made to appoint Felix governor of Judaea in the following words : "Felices, quem cohortibus et alis prouinciaeque Iudaeae praeposuit ..."[93]. When Vespasian took command of the Jewish war in 67 his forces consisted of legions, 3 alae and 10 cohorts[94]. In 68 Galba had a legion, 2 alae and 3 cohorts in Spain before recruiting extra troops for his attempt to become emperor[95]. During his preparations against Vitellius in 69, Vespasian received an offer of "quadraginta milia sagittariorum" from the king of Parthia. In Tacitus they are described as "quadraginta milia Parthorum equitum". Suetonius' language is precise (as is Tacitus' in this case) : the exact number and the distinctive weapon are given[96]. On other occasions the general term "auxilia" is preferred[97]. In contrast to Velleius' statement that 3 legions, 3 alae and 6 cohorts were lost in the Varian disaster in 9 A.D., Suetonius merely says "tribus legionibus ... et auxiliis omnibus caesis"[98].

/Ile .....

He comments on the stationing of auxiliaries in two phrases[89]. Auxiliary commanders are mentioned comparatively frequently[90]. One would not expect the auxiliaries to feature largely in biographies of emperors. But there are sufficient references to allow one to conclude that Suetonius used the technical vocabulary. And on one occasion where he used the general term "auxilia" Velleius shows that professional units were in fact meant. Further, like Velleius, he uses the professional vocabulary of the principate of Augustus.

Josephus is the most important among the Greek writers. Broadly speaking, he uses general rather than specific terms. It will be best to begin with his descriptions of the three armies with which the Romans invaded Judaea at various stages of the Jewish war. These were those of Cestius Gallus, Vespasian and Titus[91]. From these accounts in Josephus it can be seen that he used σπεῖρα or σπεῖρα σπείρων for "cohors" and ἴλη or ἴλη ἱππέων for "ala". Sometimes weapons or armours are specified, as in the case of archers or τοξόται . The general word for auxiliaries is ἐπίκουροι or some form of σύμμαχοι . ὑποσπόνδους should probably be regarded as a variant to be interpreted by its context. Special attention is given to the forces supplied by client kings : βασιλεῖς and σύμμαχοι appear in various forms, especially in combination.

It is not necessary to illustrate these points further, except to note that the technical word ἴλη is used for the principate of Augustus. In the troubles that broke out in Judaea after the death of

/Herod .....

Herod the Great in 4 B.C. the then governor of Syria came to Judaea with 2 legions and "the 4 alae of horse that were with them"[102]. Some features of Josephus' auxiliary vocabulary not yet discussed can now be mentioned. Τάγμα normally means a legion, but can be used of an auxiliary unit[103]. Both instances occur in the "Antiquities", not the "Bellum". Τάξις is found, also in the "Antiquities"[104]. It is true that it is accompanied by the numeral, one, which presumably led to Feldman's note explaining it is "a contingent of 128 men", by which he seems to have meant a sub-division of a cohort. The parallel passage in the "Bellum" does not report the incident in the same way, but just refers to ἡ [illegible] σπεῖρα operative in Jerusalem at the time. In view of the rather loose use of [illegible] in the "Antiquities" it would be surprising to find [illegible] used with the exactness that Feldman suggests, especially as the precise sense is only attested in technical manuals on military tactics. It seems preferable therefore to regard [illegible] here simply as a variant for unit. [illegible][105], too, normally associated with the heavy armed soldiers of the legion can refer to auxiliaries. It is not always clear whether it is being used with specific reference to the armour being worn or whether it is simply another word for soldier. A cohort can be called a λόχος[106] instead of σπεῖρα. The phrase [illegible] ἀπὸ σπείρας [illegible] apparently implies a "cohors equitata"[107].

Unfortunately tribal names are very rare in Josephus. The reference to Syria just above has been interpreted as meaning that the

/auxiliaries .....

auxiliaries named came from Syria rather than that they were all ethnically Syrians. The "auxiliaries from Syria" in this sense definitely occur as early as 4[illegible] A.D.[108]. On occasion however actual Syrians occur[109]. Arabs are mentioned, and probably an Ituraean, but as individuals rather than as members of units carrying their ethnic name[110]. The best attested units are those of Caesareans and Sebastenians (the latter coming from Samaria)[111]. It is interesting to note that the local name of "Samaritan" is used for an "ad hoc" levy, clearly distinguishing it from the professional regiment with its formal Greek name "Sebasterian". Lastly the term "Roman" should be noted. As just seen Josephus calls the unit of soldiers normally stationed near the temple in Jerusalem during the passover ἡ Ῥωμαϊκὴ σπεῖρα : he also refers to ἡ Ῥωμαϊκὴ φρουρά there[112]. However the regiment must have been auxiliary, and only bears the title 'Roman' because it was part of the army of occupation from the Jewish point of view. As far as regimental commanders are concerned, Josephus has χιλίαρχοι, ἔπαρχοι ("praefecti"), ἐπάρχοις and, at a junior level, ἑκατοντάρχαι and ὀκταδάρχαι (centurions and decurions)[113].

Broadly speaking, Josephus' armies correspond to Tacitus'. There are legions, professional auxiliaries and supplementary troops supplied by client kings or less respectable sources. The words τάγμα and ὅπλιται can lead to confusion, but otherwise Josephus' vocabulary is comparatively straightforward. On two occasions Josephus and Tacitus

/refer .....

refer to the so-called auxiliaries. In the first (the Jewish-Samaritan clashes under Claudius), Tacitus' "military" are explained by Josephus in detail. In the second (Titus' army in 69) it is Tacitus who supplies the more precise information. This helps to confirm the impression that both are describing the auxiliary situation as it was in the early Principate.

The evidence of the New Testament can be added to that of Josephus. The term σπεῖρα occurs for the troops guarding Jesus at his trial under Pontius Pilate[114]. There are two passages in "Acts" where there are named cohorts - the Italian and the Italian[115]. The most senior of the officers mentioned in the New Testament was Claudius Lysias ὁ χιλίαρχος τῆς σπείρης[116]. ἑκατοντάρχαι or centurions are mentioned on several occasions: once the Latin word appears transliterated as κεντυρίων[117]. The language of the New Testament on this subject is closely parallel to Josephus' and must reflect the same military situation.

The earliest Greek writer whom we consult is Strabo, who is generally considered to have composed most of his "Geography" under Augustus, with additions under Tiberius. He lists the Roman forces in Egypt in 24 B.C. as 3 legions, 9 ἐπίλεκτοι ἱππεῖς and 3 ἔπαρχοι or units of cavalry[118]. From Strabo, therefore, regular auxiliary units can be posited for the period of Augustus, at least in Egypt.

If Strabo is chronologically equivalent to Velleius, Plutarch matches Tacitus. Both record the same incident, the arrival of fresh

/support .....

support for the Vitellians at the battle of Bedriacum in 68. Although the interpretation of the forces involved raises several problems, it is clear that the same vocabulary is used by the two authors.

Dio of course cannot be classified with the writers of the early principate. But for the sake of completeness his few extant references to auxiliaries in the period under discussion may be listed. He describes an auxiliary as [illegible] Κελτός [11]. As Κελτός in Dio normally means 'Germanus', Lusio was presumably a German or Gallic auxiliary in a cavalry unit. He reports the crossing of the Medway in Kent in the Claudian invasion of Britain by [illegible] who swam the river in full armour : these can only have been Batavians[12]. Just before Vitellius was killed, a soldier from his side appeared to aim a blow at him. While Tacitus refers to him as "obuius e Germanicis militibus" Dio[121] calls him [illegible], definitely suggesting either an auxiliary or a member of the German bodyguard. Dio uses [illegible] to correspond to "auxilia"[122]; another term is [illegible][123]. If the full text of Dio had survived, more would no doubt have been recoverable. At least it can be said that his evidence does not conflict with that of the other writers who have been discussed.

Although not as extensive as that of the Latin, the Greek evidence is essentially in agreement with it. There is the same general picture of armies consisting of legions, a core of professional infantry and cavalry auxiliaries, and an element of local troops supplied for the occasion by nearby kingdoms or tribes.

/Some .....

Some general comments may be made. Tacitus remains our most important source. The fact that he uses a complex vocabulary and deliberately resorts to "variatio" should not obscure the value of his information. All the authors take the professional auxiliary system more or less for granted. The cavalry is given greater attention than the infantry, and officers often receive special mention. Velleius and Strabo record alae and cohorts in operation under Augustus. So does Josephus. Tacitus and Suetonius ascribe administrative action on auxiliaries to Augustus. Yet the local contingent and the tribal chieftain are still very much in evidence in 69 A.D. The need for extra troops in a crisis was not met by the ordinary professional "auxilia" - even gladiators had to be used when no other forces were available.

NOTES

1. Cf. above, p. 71, and, for the phrases listed below, p. 65 ff.

2. Tac. "Ann." II, 8.

3. I, 60.

4. II, 8.

5. 11.

6. 9 - 10. For Flavus, cf. " [illegible]" F 450.

7. He is called an "explorator" in Tac. "Ann." XI, 16, but the term there is intended to be deliberately disparaging. For the "dona militaria", cf. Fiebiger, "[illegible]" V, 1903, 1528 ff.

8. Full lexical compilations will be found in Gerber et Greef, 1877 - [illegible], 1962, s. vv.

9. Cf. above, p. 70.

10. P. 94 f.

11. Tac. "Ann." XIII, 38; XV, [illegible], cf. II, 7[illegible].

12. Cf. above, p. 75.

13. P. 93.

14. 98 f.

15. 92.

15 robore legionum socialis copias"); XII [illegible]lained by the earlier "sine

16. Cf. above, p. 100. [illegible] 8; XV, 10.

16 17. Tac. "Ann." XIII, 38; XIV, 26; XV, 9.

17 18. E.g. IV, 73; 25; XII, 31 (cf. however [illegible] to legions).

18. E.g. IV, 73; [illegible] XIV, 26, for "citae" applied to legions).

19. .....

19. IV, 47.

20. Cf. above, p. 74.

21. P. 69.

22. 72.

23. 99.

24. 86.

25. Cf. "paucae turmae" (III, 46 - a rhetorical passage intended to disparage the number of cavalry involved; XIII, 36); "turmas socialis" (IV, 73).

26. The last term occurs when a legion is described as having been transferred "cum equitibus alariis et peditatu cohortium" (XIII, 35) where the context and the addition of "cohortium" makes it plain that auxiliary infantry is meant. An instance of "cohortium" similarly added to another general term - "auxilia" - was noted above (p. 211).

27. XIII, 40.

28. Cf. above, p. 72.

29. Cf. e.g. Tac. "Ann." IV, 47; XIV, 34; XIII, 39.

30. Cf. above, p. 86.

31. Tac. "Ann." IV, 73.

32. Cf. above, p. 57.

33. Tac. "Ann." II, 52.

34. III, 45.

35. Cf. above, p. 76.

36. P. 98.

37. Tac. "Ann." IV, 73; 47; respectively. Saxer, 1967, 4, notices the usage, but does not discuss the point raised here as such.

/38. .....

38. As the "tria milia delecti peditis" (cf. Tac. "Ann." XV, 10) from the "legio duodecima" mentioned just above the phrase. Cf. the "uexilla delectorum ex Illyrico et Aegypto", discussed above, p. 100.

39. Cf. "socialis copias" (p. 85); and, for "uires", p. 78 ("neque multo secus in iis uirium").

40. VI, 37; XV, 10 (quoted above, p. 212).

41. XI, 9. Cf. above, p. 93.

42. Cf. above, p. 104.

43. [illegible] 1. Cf. the wording used for Rhoemetalces' forces (p. 73).

44. Such names are conveniently listed in Fabia, 19[illegible], 19[illegible]4, s. vv. They are discussed in their historical context in the preceding chapters.

45. Tac. "Ann." IV, 73; XII, 39; XIII, 40 ("decurio equitum"). For these terms, cf. Cheesman, 36 f.

46. Cf. above, p. 86; Tac. "Ann." XIII, 37.

47. For some examples, cf. above, p. 77; p. 121, n. 40; 124, 94.

48. Cf. above, p. 77.

49. P. 82, n. 47.

50. Tac. "Ann." II, 65; III, 39; 73; IV, 23.

51. Cf. above, p. 64.

52. P. 77.

53. 112.

54. 147; 15[illegible].

55. 133, n. 54.

56. Tac. "H." II, 43 (cf. p. 141); II, 11 (142 f.); III, 47 (178).

57. Cf. above p. 148; 150.

/58. .....

58. P. 138.

59. 136; 139.

60. 150.

61. 15[illegible] f.; 209, 38; Tac. "H." IV, 66.

62. Cf. above, p. 136; 145.

63. P. 151.

64. Cf. Fabia, 19[illegible], 1964, s. vv. and below, p. 303.

65. Cf. above, p. 161.

66. P. 133; 138.

67. 155.

68. Cf. the discussions on p. 151; 155 f.

69. P. 146.

70. 156.

71. 146.

72. 185.

73. 146 (The Germanians and the Suebians); 138 (and cf. "pagis" in Tac. "H." IV, 15, quoted on p. 155).

74. Cf. Fabia, 19[illegible], 1964, s. vv. For discussion, cf. chapter VIII above.

75. Tac. "Hist." II, 22 ("cohortis Germanorum, cultu truci et more patrio nudis corporibus super umeros scuta quat antium"); cf. 23 - "paucitati cohortium" (referring to this force). Cf. above, p. 134; 139.

76. P. 144.

77. 143 f.; 163 and 170, n. 136.

78. 167 f.

79. .....

79. Tac. "Ann." III, 46; cf. above, p. 64 f.; 212 ; and 236, n. 7, for a similar device.

80. Tac. "Agr." 32, 1; 32, 4. That "Germani" is being used collectively is shown by the phrase "ceteri Germani quam nuper Usipi reliquerunt" (32, 4). Other German tribes that are named are the Batavians and the Tungrians. For Salgacus, cf. "[illegible]" [illegible] 224.

81. Tac. "Agr." 2[illegible], 2 ("ex Britannis fortissimos et longa pace exploratos").

82. 28. Cf. above, p. 88.

83. Tac. "Agr." 36, 1; cf. the form "Bataui" (3[illegible], 2). Cf. above, p. 88.

84. 37. For another reference to cohorts, cf. 4[illegible], 2, where apparently the term is used quite generally for military units.

85. 18. Cf. above, p. [illegible].

86. 13, 5 (cf. above, p. [illegible]). For similar phrases, cf. 1[illegible], 3; 24, 3.

87. After [illegible]. Syme, 1958, 1[illegible]; 118 ff.; 471 ff.

88. Cf. above, p. 54.

89. p. 51.

90. 59, nn. 13; 18.

91. 90.

92. 122, n. [illegible].

93. 104.

94. 125, n. 117.

95. 129.

96. 145.

97. 55; 127.

98. 51.

/[illegible]. .....

99. 58; 78 f.

100. 58; 79; 115.

101. 108; 109 f.; 179 ff.

102. 57.

103. 102 f.

104. Jos. "B.J." [illegible], 5, 3, 106. [illegible] στρατιωτῶν μίαν τάξιν . Cf. Feldman ad loc. [illegible] s.v. I 4b quotes only technical military writers for the sense proposed by Feldman. For the incident, cf. above p. 103 f. and Jos. "B.J." II, 12, 1, 224.

105. Cf. above, p. 104; 105; 182.

106. p. 184.

107. 182.

108. 102.

109. 182.

110. ibid.

111. 102 f.; 104.

112. 104; 105.

113. 104; 108; 125, n. 100; 112.

114. Cf. above, p. 101.

115. p. 102; 106.

116. 106.

117. 101; 102; 106; 125, n. 82.

118. 56.

119. [illegible].

120. 65.

/121. .....

121. 152 f.

122. 51; 58.

123. 93; 123; cf. 53.

IX. THE EPIGRAPHICAL EVIDENCE.

The previous chapters have been concerned mainly, but not exclusively, with literary evidence. The most useful non-literary documents, the diplomas, have already been registered. These however do not antedate the Claudian period and are not common till the later Flavian period. From the chronological point of view stamped military tiles, in themselves a later development, are of comparatively little value. Other official military documents are rare and practically confined to Egyptian papyri. This means that, if one wishes to trace the historical development of the "auxilia" from epigraphical sources, most of the material will have to be provided by inscriptions set up by the men and the officers serving in the auxiliary regiments. The bulk of these inscriptions are tombstones.

They are not amenable to precise dating. Various guidelines have been laid down. In commenting on the epitaphs of Colonia Agrippinensis (Cologne) in 1902, Klinkenberg[1] stated that the formula "hic situs est" was pre-Flavian, and noted that the phrase "Dis Manibus" appeared rarely in the Flavian period, but was more common in the 2nd century A.D. At the same time, but with reference to the whole Rhineland, Weynard[2] made the same remarks, adding the observation that the abbreviation "D.M." for "Dis Manibus" was later than the full form. He noted further that the age and length of service of the deceased was often given in the genitive case. There was considerable variety in the concluding formulae. The common "heres faciendum curavit" and its variants (with "frater" or a name

/replacing .....

replacing "heres" or the plural being used) is sometimes combined with "testamento fieri iussit", or "ex testamento" or "pecunia sua" or "sere suo". Instead of "faciendum curauit", some form of the simple "facere", "ponere", "dedicare" or "curam agere" is found. As far as the form of Roman names was concerned, he noted the absence of "cognomina" on early tombstones : its use only becomes general in the period from Claudius onwards. In the 1st century a Roman rarely omitted his tribe and place of origin ("tribus" and "domus"). Schober[3] commented on the grammatical structure of the epitaphs. In the first century they usually consisted of two or three short sentences, each a main clause. In the second century a single long sentence, making use of the relative "qui" became fashionable. On the formula 'hic situs est' he stated that, although it was not used on the Rhine after 90 A.D., it appeared occasionally in the second century in the Danube region. Kraft[4] stated that "aera" was earlier than "stipendia" in the phrase recording length of service. On the Rhine it was not unusual to record the rank of the deceased in a phrase like "miles ex cohorte". If the number of a regiment is absent from the title (e.g., ala Asturum) or appears after the tribal name (e.g., ala Asturum II), and if the word "ala" appears in the ablative (instead of the genitive) case, it is likely that the inscripden emergence of phrases of the type[5] "uixit anotner criterion - the sudongside the use of the genitive case for age and annis" and "meruit annis" ose first in Moesia around Oescus (Gigen). Thesed length of service. This aonly rough guides, and refer specifically to indications for dating are only rough guides, and refer specifically to

/the .....

the tombstones of ordinary auxiliaries on the Rhine and the Danube fronts. These criteria cannot be applied with any great exactness : in fact Nesselhauf[6] remarks that, although it is comparatively easy to distinguish pre- and post-Flavian epitaphs, it is almost impossible to give specific dates to pre-Flavian inscriptions.

Accordingly the early inscriptions will not be used for chronological purposes unless other indications assist. The main factor is administrative or military history; the second is nomenclature. If a serving auxiliary or a veteran recorded on a tombstone, whose general characteristics are "early" or first century, has the imperial elements C. Julius, Ti. Julius, Ti. Claudius or Ti. Flavius in his name, the likelihood is that he received citizenship from Augustus, Tiberius, Claudius, Nero or the Flavians. The name C. Julius could be derived from an ancestor who had received citizenship from Julius Caesar, or even possibly refer to the emperor Gaius. Von Petrikovits[7] has examined the "cognomina" of 28 Gauls and Germans with the "praenomen" and "nomen" C. Julius in the Julio-Claudian period. He found that the retention of an old indigenous name as "cognomen" was rare : the commoner form was a "geographical" name such as "Alpinus". However this applies more to prominent persons such as tribal chieftains awarded Roman citizenship. The ordinary auxiliary was in a different position. Alföldy[8] has shown that although it was customary for new citizens to take the imperial "gentilicium" as their new "nomen", some freedom of choice obtained, and "nomina" and "praenomina" could vary from one generation to another. Nomenclature', then, must be

/used .....

used with caution. Naturally all these criteria do not apply to the inscriptions of the commanders of auxiliary regiments.

There are very few inscriptions recording auxiliaries in the republican period. The most famous is that of the "equites Hispani" given citizenship in 88 B.C. for services rendered in the Italian or Social war[10]. The "milites Glanici" of the Civil war of 49 B.C. have already been discussed[11]. An inscription found in Italy mentions Spanish auxiliaries[12] :

...]et Sabino praef[...] / [au]xiliarici Hispan[ei].

Sabinus has been identified with a Sabinus known from Appian who put down brigands infesting the country in 37 B.C. (In passing it may be noted that "auxiliarius" is extremely rare in inscriptions. Cf. however the early imperial stone to

Ambidrabo f. equiti auxiliario a. XX. h.s.e.[13]

This inscription comes from Noricum, from the vicinity of Virunum (Klagenfurt), near which the cohors I Montanorum was stationed in the earliest imperial period. The three republican instances just quoted all use a plural, not a collective name like ala, with the tribal designation attached to it as an adjective.

The most secure dating of inscriptions under Augustus depends upon the mentioning of governships or other important posts. Pflaum[14] has argued that a ...]ius Rex[..., who was a governor of Cyprus, could in fact have only been governor at some time between 27 and 22 B.C., since he

/designated .....

designated himself as an imperial governor, and Cyprus became senatorial after 22. After his somewhat unusual governorship he became

praef. ch. (sic) / [---] equitatae

There is no indication of what is missing before "equitatae". The inscription then is evidence of a commander of an unnamed part mounted cohort in the early part of Augustus' principate. The next case is that of

Q. Aemilius Q. f. Pal. Secundus in castris diui Aug. sub P. Sulpicio Quirinio legato Caesaris Syriae honoribus decoratus praefect. cohort. Aug. I praefect. cohort. II classicae[15].

Sulpicius Quirinius was governor of Syria in 6 A.D. (the connection with the account of Luke in the "New Testament" cannot be discussed here). This would date Aemilius Secundus' prefectures of the two cohorts to that date. In passing it may be noted that the cohors Augusta has its numeral placed after its title, whereas the cohors classica has it in front of its name. Sulpicius Quirinius' name recurs on an inscription recording the career of a Caristanius Fronto who acted as "praefectus" for him when he was honorary 'duovir' of Antioch in Pisidia (Yalovac) possibly in 2 A.D. The earlier military posts of Fronto were as follows :

C. Caristanio C. f. Ser. Fronto Caeciano Iulio praef. fabr. trib. mil. leg. XII Fulm. praef. coh. Bos[---][16].

Fronto was commander of a cohors Bosporanorum at some date in the last decades of the 1st century B.C. The next item comes from the west :

/Staio .....

Staio Esdragass. f. Vobec. principi Trumplinorum praef. cohort. Trumplinorum sub C. Vibio Pansa legato pro praet. in Vindol. ---[17]

Pansa's governorship of Vindelicia probably falls in the period from the conquest of the area to the withdrawal of the legions from it, i.e., 15 B.C. to 9 A.D. The Trumplinians were a North Italian Alpine tribe (cf. the modern name of Val Trompia). It is noteworthy that Staius was chief of his tribe, and not a Roman senator or equestrian, as the other prefects mentioned so far. It is safe to say that in the last part of Augustus' principate an Alpine tribal chieftain commanded a cohort formed from his tribe on service in an area across the Alps that had only recently been conquered. The dating of the procuratorship of Q. Octavius Sagitta in the same area is of importance since he had earlier been a "praefectus equitum"[18]. Although Ritterling-Stein placed his procuratorship c. 17 - 21 A.D., it has since been shown that it must have occurred soon after the conquest of Vindelicia and Raetia in 15 B.C. Prior to his procuratorship, Sagitta held a military tribunate (presumably, as Pflaum suggests, in a legion that shared in the conquest of the area). Before this came his cavalry command. It is not possible either to localize or to date it other than to say that it was some years before 15 B.C. Another "praefectus equitum" is dated by the fact that he was "praefectus fabrum Ti. Caesaris"[19], i.e. "praefectus fabrum" of Tiberius after his adoption by Augustus and before his accession to the principate (i.e. between 4 and 14 A.D.). The interval between the two prefectures can of course not be established.

/Three .....

Three "praefecti equitum" can be dated to the Augustan period by epigraphical aspects of the inscriptions recording them[20]. The case of the [illegible] helmet, which shows an early form of lettering, is less certain. It appears to have recorded on it the following letters

[illegible][21].

Egger's interpretation of them is as follows :

Marigenati Tei (sc. filii) u(exillarius or -exillatio) a(larum) III Il(lyricarum).

In other words the helmet belonged to a Germanic auxiliary who served in a detachment drawn from, or consisting of, 3 alae stationed in Illyricum. Egger accepts the suggestion that Marigenat fought in the Pannonian war of 6 - 9 A.D. This would be a very early use of the term "uexillatio" for an auxiliary formation, but Egger does not query it.

Various auxiliaries seem to have acquired citizenship from Augustus : hence their regiments can be assigned to his principate. Such was

C. Iulio Agedil[illegible]li f. Voltini[illegible]a Macro Sant. duplicario alae Tectorigianae stipendis emeritis XXXII aere incisso, euocato Senatorum De castello Ircauio, clupeo coronis aenulis donato a commilitonibus[22].

C. Julius Macer came from Mediolanum Sanctorum (Saintes) in Aquitania. If all his 32 years of service occurred under Augustus, he would have joined

/the .....

the ala Atectorigiana in 10 B.C. at the latest. But his later service as an "euocatus" may well have occurred under Augustus as well, since the otherwise unknown fort of Arcavium was probably in Raetia, which was subdued in 16 B.C., so that he may well have enlisted earlier. The "gaesati" were North Alpine or Southern Gallic soldiers who often served as mercenaries. It would seem that Macer, having been disciplined and promoted in a regular ala, was then entrusted with a group of less professional native fighters. Another C. Julius was

C. Iulius Mastaius chor. sag. misicius (sic)[23].

He served in a cohors sagittariorum, and was, according to Kraft, probably an Oriental.

C. Iul. Thiridatis f. dec. ala Parthо. an. XXVI dom. Roma h.s.e.[24]

was an Oriental, to judge by his father's name. Whether his citizenship was connected with his appointment as decurion in the ala Parthorum cannot be determined. An Aquitanian inscription may record an early Julius, if that is the correct expansion of "Iul.".

Iul. Attonis f. Icco miles [?] ex cohor. [?] Alpinor. [?] ann. LV stipend. XXXV h.s.e. SI (sic) herdes (sic) pie fec.[25]

The first doubtful mark was probably a punctuation sign. The sign after "cohors" -co- has been interpreted as -co, the abbreviation for "milliaria", but such an early use on this type of epitaph is most unlikely. Presumably

/some .....

some type of punctuation mark is intended. The letter after "Alpinor." has been regarded as a T for "t(rucidatus ?)" or as the number 1. Auxiliary regiments were stationed in Aquitania as late as 21 A.D. On this ground it is possible to date the soldier's entry into service to 13 B.C. or earlier (if his 35 years of service be subtracted from 21 A.D.). Thus either from nomenclature or from military history, it would appear that a Jul(ius) Loco entered a cohors Alpinorum or a cohors Alpinorum I early in the Augustan period.

Inscriptions sometimes refer to both Augustus and Tiberius, or to "diuus Augustus". This means that they were set up under Tiberius, but that the auxiliary element of the career could well have fallen under Augustus - two "praefecti equitum" are known in this group[26], and a "praefectus levis armaturae"[27]. In other cases actual regiments are named. This occurs on the dedication to

M. Vergilio M. f. Ter. Gallo Lusio patri prim. pil. leg. XI praef. cohort. Ubiorum peditum et equitum donato hastis puris duobus et coronis aureis ab diuo Augusto et Ti. Caesare Augusto[28].

Presumably under Augustus, Gallus Lusius was appointed commander of a cohors Ubiorum. The cohort must have been what was usually called "equitata" if it contained "equites" as well as "pedites" according to the inscription. This in fact is how it appears on another inscription recording a C. Julius whose son changed his praenomen to Tiberius, and therefore falling into the category under discussion !

/ii. .....

Ti. Iulio C. f. Pab. Viatori subpraef. coh. III Lusitanorum IIIIuir. iur. dic. praef. coh. Ubior. equitatae - C. Iulius Aug. l. Linus filio -[29].

The numbering of the cohors III Lusitanorum should be noted, as the inscription is an early.

Sex. Iulius C. f. Pol. Rufus euocatus diui Augusti praefectus [?] cohortis Corsorum et ciuitatum barbariae in Sardinia[30].

Rufus was an "euocatus" under Augustus, and presumably received his appointment as prefect of a cohors Corsorum under Tiberius. It is not certain what was written before "cohortis" : the manuscript records a T, which is generally emended to the numeral I. In view of this it cannot be taken as absolutely certain that the regiment was cohors I Corsorum, and the question must be left open. The early Tiberian date, however, seems fairly certain. A fairly detailed record of troops engaged in construction work near Coptus (Kift) in Egypt under Augustus or Tiberius has survived[31]. The section referring to auxiliaries is as follows :

[...i.s.s.]

alarum III dec. V

dupl. I sesquiplic. IIII

equitos DCCCXXIIII

coh. I Theb. cui praecest

Sex. Pompeius Verula

7 C. Terentius Maximus

7 C. Iulius Montanus

7 L. Domitius Aper

sum. 7 III

i.s.s. coh. VII 7 A

eq. DXI mil. DCCCXXIIIA

/(N.B. i.s.s. .....

(N.B. f.a.s. = fit summa summarum, 7 = centurio.)

There were accordingly 3 alae involved and 7 cohorts. The number of the officers and men engaged in the operation is given. One of the cohorts was the cohors I Thebaeorum, obviously named after the Egyptian Thebes. Since it contained "equites", as the total shows, it must have been "equitata".

Certain inscriptions under Tiberius can be assigned to actual years. The first is that to

Sex. Pedio Sex f. An.Lusiano Mirruto prim. pil. leg. XXI praef. Raetis Vindolicis uallis Poeninae et leuis armatur.[32]

Since he acted as "praefectus" on behalf of Germanicus in his home town when the latter was given an honorary duovirate there, and since Germanicus left the Rhine in 16 A.D., it is probable that Mirrutus was governor of Raetia and commander of the "leuis armatura" or auxiliary forces there at the very outset of Tiberius' principate. Another Italian inscription is dated by Germanicus. Unfortunately it is fragmentary, but mentions Germanicus' consulship in 18 A.D. Two phrases refer to auxiliary matters - "praefecto sagittar[---]" and "Ascalonitanae"[33]. Ascalon (or Ashkelon, near 'Asqalan) was in Judaea, and many archers came from the east. Presumably therefore a corps of "sagittarii" from Ascalon were honouring their Italian commander in some way or other in 18 A.D. Another "praefectus" of Germanicus who was earlier a "praefectus equitum" is known[34] : the cavalry prefecture must antedate the death of Germanicus in 19 by several years. L. Cornelius

/Dolabella .....

Dolabella[35], who was governor of Illyricum from 14 - 20 A.D., is mentioned on an inscription there set up by the cohors VI voluntariorum. One of the "centumuiri" at Veii in 26 A.D. had previously held the following military posts :

praef. cohort. scutatae primo pilo leg. XIII trib. milit. leg. III[36].

How long before 26 his command of the cohors scutata had occurred can of course not be determined. A procurator of Aquitania and Narbonensis whom Dio later mentions as prefect of Egypt in 32 had earlier been a "praefectus equitum". The interval between the two appointments can of course not be established[37].

Two inscriptions are dated simply by a reference to Tiberius or a member of his family. A

praef. fabrum praef. cohortis II u[et]era[nae---]iorum exercitus [---[38]

must be Tiberian : his brother was a "praefectus" of Tiberius' son, the younger Drusus, who died in 23 A.D. What regiment is referred to by the fragmentary title cohors II veterana [---]iorum is not known. The second inscription records a "praefectus equitum"[39].

Ostensibly early regiments that contained Ti. Julii as soldiers or veterans, and therefore datable to the Tiberian period are the ala Asturum II, the ala Augusta Iturasorum, the ala Scubulorum, ala Sebastiana, the cohors Montanorum prima, a cohors [sagittariorum, the cohors Silauciensiu. Meant

/for .....

for Seleuciensium), the cohors Ulpiorum[40]. The writing out of the word "prima" in the case of the cohors Montanorum, instead of the use of the numeral I, and its place after the tribal name is paralleled by an Aquitanian cohort in which a Ti. Julius served :

Ti. Iul. Ittixonis f. Nigro centurioni cohort Aquit. quart.[41]

His brother's name, and three other names on the inscription are Celtic. Thus in spite of his rank of centurion, which might give pause, his citizenship was probably Liberian. Comparatively recently a

Liber. Julius Sanguius mil. coh. Lusitanorum[42]

was discovered at Novaesium (Neuss) in lower Germany. Alföldy[43] discusses an early inscription recording a "Lib. equus" who had 2 freedmen. Presumably Liberius, who must have been an auxiliary, took his name from the emperor.

Inscriptional evidence for the "corporis custodes" starts under Tiberius. Several refer to themselves as Germanicani, implying that they had previously belonged to Germanicus. The inscriptions continue under the later Julio-Claudians[44].

The first dated inscription under Gaius comes from 39 A.D. and was set up in Egypt by

cohors. Ituraeor. cui praest L. Sienus L. f. Fal. Saturninus[45].

A community in Spain established a relationship of/commander ....ip with the

/commander .....

commander of an ala Augusta in 4[illegible] :

Clunienses ex Hispania citeriore hospitium fecerunt cum C. Terentio Basso C. f. Fab. Hefanate Strusco praefecto alae Augustae liberis posterisque eius -[46].

A procurator of Gaius, C. Herennius Capito, who had held the military posts of

trib. milit.III praef. alae praef. ueteranorum[47],

executed a commission for a deceased centurion of the legio VI Ferrata which had been given him in 36 A.D. before the death of Tiberius. Since both the centurion and Herennius Capito belonged to the same tribus, and probably the same home-town, and since both had served in the East, it is likely that the ala was stationed in the East, and that the procurator had commanded it under Tiberius.

A "praefectus fabrum" made a dedication to Claudius in 49.

[p]prim[ip]ilaris p[raef. coh. ...] / [tr]ibunus militum[48].

[p]Unfortunately, due to the fragmentary nature of the inscription, no details

Unfortunately, due to the fragmentary nature of the inscription, no details

can be recovered concerning the cohort. A certain

[C. I]ul. C. f. Volt. V[ictor?][49]

set up a dedication to the emperor at Mediolanum Santonum in the same year.

/The .....

The same name appears twice on another inscription from the same town :

C. Iulio Congonnetodubni f. Volt. Victori Accedomopatis nepoti praefecto fabrum tribuno militum cohort. [--]rum sacerd. Romae et Augusti ad confluentes C. Iulius Volt. Victor filius.

Some have identified the dedicant of 4[with the father in the second inscription, but the editor of "C.I.L." XIII, with greater probability, identifies him with the "filius". This would mean that the first C. Julius Victor in the second inscription belonged to the previous generation to that of 4[, which would make him Tiberian or even possibly late Augustan, as his name (C. Julius) may indicate. To judge by his father's and his grandfather's Celtic names he was presumably a tribal notable who was granted Roman citizenship and allowed a Roman military career. His position as "tribunus militum" of an auxiliary cohort is remarkable, and would be one of the earliest inscriptional instances of such a rank in a cohort ; normally a "tribunus militum" commanded a military regiment. However the title was on occasion given as an honour, and may not imply that the cohort was in fact military. The lacuna before [-]rum has been filled by [I Belg]arum, but, as van de Weerd points out, the emendation is most uncertain. At best we have a Romanized Gaul of the late Augustan or of the Tiberian period commanding an auxiliary unit with an especially honourable or an unusual rank. A "cohors Bosporanorum" is dated by a dedication of 54 A.D.

Claudius' name appears on two inscriptions recording auxiliaries. One was set up to a procurator of the emperor who had earlier been a

"praefectus .....

"praefectus equitum"[51]. The other marks the establishment of a boundary between the cohors IV Gallorum and a community in Spain :

terminus pratorum coh. IIII Gall. inter coh, IIII Gall. et ciuitatem Bedunienaium[52].

Certain inscriptions can be dated to the principate of Claudius because the changes which he introduced into the Roman alphabet appear on them. One records a centurion of the "coh. I c. R. ingenuor."[53], i.e., the cohors I civium Romanorum ingenuorum. The military posts of "praif. coh. Gaitul. tr. mil. leg. 4"[54] appear on another. A third preserves a "praefectus equitum"[55]. As noted above, Claudius introduced a new arrangement of the equestrian "tres militiae". This is illustrated by inscriptions[56]

praef. fabr. praef. cohort. German praef. equit. trib. mil. legionis V

praef. fabr. / praef. coh.[---] / praef. equ[---] / ala Hispanorum -

praef. coh. [illegible] praef. alae Aurean(ae) Hispan. I tr. mil. leg. XX --- ala Aurean(a) Hispan. (prima).

In some cases military history allows a dating under Claudius with greater or less probability. Two fragmentary inscriptions refer to a Q. Cornelius Valerinus who was in charge of detachments in Thrace, presumably in connection with its annexation in 46 A.D. On the first he appears as :

pra[ef ---] praef. uexillariorum in Tracia XV [--- V Mace]donica a leg. VIII Augusta a tribunis la[ticlauis et --- minor]ibus a praef. chortium statuis coroni[a donato ---

/and .....

and on the second there is the following information :

praef. cohort. I [- /--] trib. equitum coho[---] / donato coroni[s ---] / clipeis imaginib[us ---] / laudatione a numer[is ---] / item ab eis numeris q[---] [2]

Cornelius Valerinus appears to have been honoured by 2 legions, the V Macedonica and the VIII Augusta, by the military tribunes serving in them, and by the commanders of cohorts, which were presumably auxiliary. If the last part of the second quotation refers to this, it would be an early instance of the use of 'numerus' in the sense of detachment or unit. Valerinus' career is more difficult to reconstruct. He was commander of a cohors I - the name no longer survives. What positions he held before his command of a "uexillatio" cannot be recovered. Whether the "uexillarii" in Thrace included auxiliaries is not stated, but likely in view of their being named elsewhere in the inscriptions. The number XV comes at the end of a fragmentary line and does not have a clear meaning. In "I.L.S." it is proposed to fill the lacuna before "trib. equitum" in the second inscription and expand the phrase as follows

[praef. uexillationib.] trib(us) equitum coho[rt(ibus)?]

This would make him commander of 3 detachments of cavalry and an unspecified number of conorts. The unsatisfactory condition of the inscriptions does not permit any further conclusions except the general remark that an operation in Thrace, under Claudius in all likelihood, involved the close co-operation of legionary and auxiliary elements.

/The .....

The first dated "testimonium" under Nero belongs to 56 A.D. It records a dedication by the

ala Gallor. Petriana per C. Iulium Augurinum praefectum[58],

and was set up in Moguntiacum (Mainz) in upper Germany. An ala Augusta is named in 57 in Egypt[59]. In 5[illegible] a cavalryman of the ala Vocontiorum was involved in a court case :

Λουκίῳ Οὐεττίῳ ἱππεῖ ἄλης Οὐοκοντίων τύρμης
Λογγίνου [60].

He has a Roman sounding name and is cited by his "turma". In 63 the prefect of Egypt heard a military delegation on the rights of discharged soldiers :

Ἐπὶ τῶν μισσικίων, περὶ τῆς πολειτίας· Ποῦσκος· εἶπον ὑμεῖν καὶ
πρότερον ὅτι οὐκ ἔστιν ἀμφία οὐδὲ ἡ αὐτὴ ἑκαστοῦ ὑμῶν ἀπόδεσις·
οἱ μὲν γὰρ ὑμῶν εἰσὶν ἐκ λεγιῶνον ἀπεστρατοί, οἱ δὲ ἐξ εἰλῶν, οἱ δὲ
ἐκ σπειρῶν, οἱ δὲ ἐκ τοῦ ἐρετικοῦ, ὥστε μὴ εἶναι τὸ αὐτὸ πάντων
ὃ ἴκαιον[61].

At this stage it is sufficient to note that the distinction between legionaries, auxiliaries and members of the fleet was a bone of contention. This can be taken as evidence of a feeling on the part of the auxiliaries that they felt as much part of the professional Roman army as the legionaries. It should be noted that the technical term "missicii" includes them, and

/that .....

that they are referred to by the Greek equivalents of "alae" and "cohortes" (ἴλαι and σπεῖραι). On an Egyptian inscription of 65 a certain "L. Quintius Victor decurio"[62] is named after 2 centurions who give their legions. Presumably Victor was a decurion in an auxiliary detachment.

Other documents cannot be dated to specific years. The ala Augusta Germanica set up a dedication to a

proc. Neronis Claudi Caesaris Aug. Germanici prouinciae Cappadociae et Ciliciae[63].

A papyrus which is dated by a fragmentary imperial titulature which could fit either Claudius or Nero, and therefore belongs to 41 - 68 A.D., contains part of the proceedings of a legal case in which auxiliaries were involved :

quod inter Dionysium Manlii f. equitem Siscicium cuius absentis causam defendit M. Trebius Heraclides eques ala Apriana turma Acastantis filius eius Dionysii et inter M. Apronium et C. Manlium equites ala Vocontiorum turma Domestici ageretur[64].

Dionysius appears to have been of peregrini status, but his son's "tria nomina" imply citizenship in spite of the absence of tribus. The son is designated by his "turma". Later in the document the "decurio" Domesticus is called Octavius Domesticus, a name implying citizenship in spite of the absence of a praenomen. It should be noted further that the ala Vocontiorum was mentioned above (in a document of 59). The next figure is dated to the Neronian period by the "Epistles" of Pliny :

/L. Calpurnius .....

L. Calpurnius L. f. [illegible]. Fabatus --- praef. fabr. trib. iterum leg. XXI Rapac. praef. cohortis VII Lusitanor. /et/ nation. Gaetulicar. sex quae sunt in Numidia[65].

Inscriptions bearing characteristics of the early empire and recording Ti. Claudii probably fall into the principates of Claudius or Nero. From Kraft[66] the following regiments may be extracted : the ala I Hispanorum, ala II Hispanorum [illegible], ala I Thracum, and the cohors I Asturum. Other examples include the ala Pannoniorum I, ala II Thracum, cohors III Alpina, and the cohors I Cretum[67]. The unusual adjectival form of Alpina instead of the genitive of the tribal name in the case of the cohors III Alpina should be noted. The auxiliary concerned called himself "eques", which means that the cohors must have been "equ[illegible]ata". A

Ti. Iulius Iulianus praef. fabr. trib. con. VIII uoluntariorum quae est in Dalmatia[68]

was the son of an imperial freedman who had presumably received citizenship from Tiberius. Hence the commander of the cohors VIII voluntariorum in Dalmatia probably saw service in the Claudian period.

The year of the four emperors saw a great number of army movements and other developments which enable certain auxiliary regiments to be dated with considerable precision. The ala Siliana, operative in Italy in the Vitellian campaigns, had been transferred from Africa there by Nero at the end of his principate. An African stone records that

/hax. .....

Sex. Veturius ueteranus alae Silianae uixit annis L[X]X h. s. e.[69]

C. Vibius C. f. Vel. Publilianus scr. q. praef. coh. IIII Thracum equitatae tribunus militum bis leg. IIII Macedonicae et legion. XXI Rapacis in Germania reuersus inde Herculi inuicto d. d.[70]

must be prior to 69 when the IV Macedonica left Germany. Hence the co[h]. I IV Thracum equitata can be dated to the Claudian period.

Proculus Habili f. Col. Philadel. mil. optio coh. II Italic. c. R. 7 Faustini ex uexil. sagit. exer. Syriaci stip VII uixit ann. XXV. Apuleius frater f. c.[71]

This inscription was found at Carnuntum (Deutsch Altenburg) : it has been proposed that Proculus formed part of the detachment of the Syrian army that Licinius Mucianus brought to Italy via the Danube in 69. Proculus' father's name is Arabic, his domus Philadelphia in Arabia (Rabath Ammon). If the abbreviation Col. represents "tribu Collina" he was a Roman citizen. The cohors II Italica civium Romanorum may then be regarded as part of the Syrian army in the pre-Flavian period. When it received the title "civium Romanorum" is not clear.

Dis Manibus sacrum. L. Serentius Secundus natione Noricus h. s. est translatus in praetorio [---- ex] coh. II Treucorum mil [---][72]

Many soldiers transferred from one branch of the army to another in Rome during the chaos of Vitellius' principate. In all likelihood this

/inscription .....

inscription can be taken as an instance of such a transfer, the cohors II Breucorum can be dated to c. 6[illegible] A.D.

D. [illegible]. Catiuigni Iuomagi f. Siliti coh. III Britannorum 7 Gesati uix. ann. XXV sti. VI exercitus Raetici [illegible]aternus h. f. c. commilitoni carissimo[73]

must belong to the same context. The stele was found in North Italy, the epigraphical indications are 1st century, and the "Raetian army" participated in the fighting in the Po region in 69. Vespasian was commander of the Jewish war from 66 to 69 which dates the ala Gaetulorum of the next inscription :

C. Valerio C. f. Stel. Cleme[illegible]mipilari --- decuriones alae Gaetulorum quibus praefuit bello Iudaico sub diuo Vespasiano Aug.[74]

A commander of a cohors III Hispanorum can be dated to before Vitellius since he later held a post in the imperial bureaucracy which that emperor temporarily transferred from freedmen to equestrians. His military career was as follows :

trib. mil. leg. IIII Macedonic. praef. coh. III Hispanor. hast. pura et coron. aurea don.[75]

The connection of the following cases with the Year of the Four Emperors is less certain. The troop movements in Gallia Narbonensis that resulted from the struggle between Otho and Vitellius have already been discussed. An inscription from Vintium (Vence) in Gallia Narbonensis records a

/coho. .....

praef. chor. III Alp/Inor. ---/ianorum

Cintusumus Dacraionis f. Cruncis ciues Tribocus aequs alae Frontonianae ano. L stipendi XXIV hic situs est. her. fu(nus) f. c.[78]

These three documents conform to the pattern of those already discussed,

coho. pr. T.[76]

Since troops were not normally stationed in the area, the suggestion that this is in fact a reference to a "cohors prima Tungrorum" is most likely : Tungrian units are known to have been in the region from the literary record. Tacitus mentions a Pannonian cohort in North Italy in the same war. It seems likely that

Adiutor Lmuci f. ciues Venapius[77]

of the cohors I Pannoniorum who was buried in Aquileia must date from this time and this war. As noted above, an ala at Asciburgium (Moers-

ala Moesica there in 70. A stele of the first ala from Asciburgium can probability the ala Frontonianna which seems to have been replaced by the ala Moesica there in 70. A stele of the first ala from Asciburgium can

therefore be regarded as pre-Flavian :

Cintusumus Dacraionis f. Cruncis ciues Tribocus aequs alae Frontonianae ano. L stipendi XXIV hic situs est. her. fu(nus) f. c.[78]

These three documents conform to the pattern of those already discussed, although caution may be expressed in the case of the first on account of its extreme abbreviation.

The first dated document under Vespasian comes from 75 and records the career of

Marcelli 7 leg. XI Cl/aud --- pr/aef. ciuitatis Baeze/Iorum ---/iatium praef. chor. III Alp/Inor. ---/ianorum[79]

/Marcellus .....

Marcellus was a centurion of the legion XI Claudia who was made "praefectus" of two peregrine communities in the Dalmatian-Pannonian border area and, presumably thereafter, commander of a cohors III Alpinorum. Since the inscription recording this was set up after Marcellus' death in 75, his command of the cohort could have been Neronian or early Vespasianic. A badly damaged stone of 75 A.D. has been thought to refer to a cohors Mattiacorum and a cohors Gallorum :

coh(ortes) [Mattiacorum ? et Gall]orum quibus praesunt [---] e[t] q. Varius Secundus[80]

inscriptions

In 77 A.D. there is a fragmentary mention of a

---pr]ae(f). eq. a[l]ae---[81]

from Raetia. In the same year an auxiliary in the ala Apriana bought a horse, according to an Egyptian papyrus :

C. Valerius Longus eq. ala Apria. emit equom Cappadocem nigrum --- de C. Iulio Rufo 7 leg. XXII.[82]

The "eques" C. Valeriu[illegible] Claudian period. The dating of the next 2 [illegible] the regnal years of the Jewish king Agrippa II. The ala Apriana was recorded in the Claudian period. The dating of the next 2 inscriptions depends upon the regnal years of the Jewish king Agrippa II.

Ἡρώδη λίμου στρατοπεδαρχήσαντι ἱππέων Κολωνειτῶν καὶ στρατιωτῶν καὶ στρατηγήσαν (ἔτη -ωντι) βασιλεῖ μεγάλῳ Ἀγρίππῳ[83].

/Herodes, ...

Herodes, the son of Aumas (?), set up his dedication either in 75 or in 80. He had served in the army of Agrippa II and had then apparently become commander of the ala Colonorum, if his career is in descending order. He would be an example of an officer in the army client king who was integrated into the Roman system. Similarly

Λούκιος Ἰφοδλίτης [illegible] σκίρης Λεγούστης [84]

belongs to 76 or 88 A.D. Although without an actual regnal year, there is another inscription mentioning Agrippa II that can be considered here. It was discovered fairly recently and comes from the Syrian area, and records the career of Titus Mucius Clemens as follows :

ἐπάρχωι σκ[είρης---]/[illegible] μεγάλου Ἀγρίπ[πα. ---]/Τιβερίου Ἀλεξάνδρου ἐπάρ[χου---]/ἐπάρχωι σκείρης [illegible] ἱππικῆς [illegible]/Τιβερίου Κλαυδίο[υ---]/ [illegible] [85]

Avi-Yonah wished to take the career in descending order, which would mean that his command under Agrippa was his last appointment. But the editors of "l'Année Épigraphique" consider that it is in ascending order. This is more plausible : as earlier examples have shown, it was more common for the local leader to be incorporated into the Roman auxiliary service than the other way round. Mucius Clemens then served in the royal army of Agrippa, who, as noted above, assisted in the Jewish war of 66 - 70 A.D. It was presumably during the war that he came into contact with Tiberius

/Alexander, ...

Alexander, who served as Titus' chief of staff at the end of the war. Clemens was assigned the cohors prima Lepidiana equitata (to accept the emendation offered). His position under the imperial procurator Ti. Claudius [---] need not concern us here. If this reconstruction is correct, Clemens was placed in command of a professional part-mounted unit, presumably because of his local knowledge and familiarity with Jewish methods of fighting. Ti. Alexander's command in the Jewish war is mentioned on the Aradus (Ruad or Arwad) inscription, which records a certain ...]inius Secund[us (now no longer thought to be the same as Pliny the Elder). Before assisting Alexander in the Jewish war, Secundus had been

[illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [illegible]—]86

i.e. "praefectus" of the cohors Thracus (where the placing of the numeral is noteworthy) and of an ala. This must have been in the Claudian period.

Vespasian's name dates several inscriptions. One records a certain ...]tilius Lol[lian]us (?) who was adlected into praetorian status by the emperor. His military posts were :

trib. mil. leg. IIII Scythic. beneficio diui Claudi praef. coh. III sagittar. adlecto inter praetor. ab imp. Vespasiano Aug.[87]

It is not clear whether only his military tribunate was owed to Claudius, or his prefecture of the cohors III sagittariorum as well. In any case the latter was presumably pre-Flavian. Another senator similarly adlected had

/been .....

been "praefectus alae Longinianae"[88], whether under Vespasian or Nero is not clear. A procurator of Vespasian's had exhibited the military career pattern of prefect of a cohort, military tribune, prefect of an ala[89].

Divus Vespasianus and Titus are named on other inscriptions. C. Minicius Italus held the following posts

praef. coh. V Gallor. equit. praef. coh. I breucorum equit. c. R. praef. coh. II Marc. eq. trib. milit. leg. VI Victric. praef. eq. alae I sing. c. R.[90]

before being decorated by the "late" Vespasian. The honorary title "ciuium Romanorum" given to the cohors I Breucorum and the ala I singularium should be noted, as well as the full phrase "praefectus equitum alae" instead of "praefectus alae". Italus had commanded 3 "equitatae" cohorts in succession before his tribunate and his cavalry command proper. Another commander who

praef. coh. VI Astur. trib. mil. leg. VI Vic. praef. equitum alae Sulpiciae

praef. coh. VI Astur. trib. mil. leg. VI Vic. praef. equitum alae Sulpiciae c. R.[91]

The phrase "praefectus equitum alae" re-appears, and the ala is "ciuium Romanorum". A quaestor of divus Vespasianus had previously been

trib. mil. leg. V Macedonic. praefecto alae [illegible][92]

The ala Bosporanorum appears in the career of another Flavian senator recorded in Antioch in Pisidia :

/C. Caristanio .....

C. Caristanio C. f. Ser. Frontoni trib. mil. praef. eq. al. Bosp. --- leg. Imp. diui Vespasian. Aug. leg. IX Hispanae in Britann.[93]

It will be recalled that another Caristanius Fronto, also from Antioch in Pisidia, commanded, not an ala, but a cohors Bosporanorum under Augustus. This Fronto commanded the IXth in Britain under Agricola (c. 77 A.D.) : his cavalry prefecture must be late Neronian or early Vespasianic. Pflaum[94] has reconstructed two fragmentary inscriptions from Italy to produce a career including the posts

/praef. coh. II/ / /Matt/inc. /t/rib. /mil.---/

and mentioning priesthoods of divus Vespasianus and divus Titus. The cohors II Mattiacorum rests on an insecure foundation, but can be allowed to stand. Titus honoured a Spaniard with equestrian status. His military career was

praef. fabr. bis praef. cohor. secund. Astur. in Germ. trib. leg. V Mac. in Moesia praef. alae Arbygum (sic) item praef. alae III Thracum in Syria[95].

The writing out of "secund(ae)" and the naming of the provinces in which the auxiliary regiments were stationed is unusual. An anonymous procurator of Titus had earlier been "praef. cohort. I Breucorum"[96]. A priest of divus Titus, who therefore may be post-Flavian, was "praef. coh. IIII Thrac. eq."[97].

Several documents may be regarded as early Flavian on account of their connection with events or persons in the principates of Vespasian or Titus. A /Ti. Claudius/ Heras who was

ἔκαρχον σπείρης Ὀτουραίων, εἶτα χειλίαρχον λεγεώνων δύο δωδεκάτης κεραυνοφόρου καὶ τρίτης [illegible]κῆς[98]

probably served in the Jewish war : the XII Fulminata and the III Cyrenaica formed part of Titus' army. An

[illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [illegible][99]

recorded at Litha "under the great king M. Julius Agrippa", but not under any specific year, combined the command of a cohors Augusta with oversight over some nomadic tribes of Arabia. (The cohors Augusta has been mentioned above.) An anonymous imperial procurator who spanned the Year of the Four Emperors, to judge by the irregularities in his career, had earlier been

p. p. bis praef. ala[e ---] / item or[ae maritum.] in Mauret/---[100] ;

that is, after holding two primipilate centurionates, he had been commander of an unspecified ala with oversight over the coast of Mauretania. A dedication to

C. Rutilio C. f. Stel. Gallico --- consuli designato

by

M. Aemilius M. f. Pal. Pius Praef. coh. I Sapp. et coh. I Hisp.[101]

can unfortunately not be dated precisely. Groag puts Rutilius Gallicus'

/consulate .....

consulate in 70 at the earliest, more probably in 71 or 72. At best, then, M. Aemilius Pius can be taken as commander of the cohors I Vasporanorum and the I Hispanorum at the outset of Vespasian's principate. A "praefectus alae Taurianae"[102] became procurator of Epirus later in his career : since this procuratorship was not created till 67 A.D., he must be dated after then, and presumably in the Flavian period. This regiment appears on a dedication to

Mex. Attio L. filio Vol. Suburano Aemiliano praef. fabr. praef. alae Taurianae torquatae ---[103].

Attius Suburanus is later in no serving under Vibius Crispus, governor of Hispania citerior and under Julius Ursus, prefect of Egypt. The latter's prefecture of Egypt has been dated to [illegible] and to [illegible]. Whichever date is chosen, Suburanus' command of the alae can be regarded as Vespasianic : the title "torquata", absent from the previous "testimonium", should be noted.

The citizenship of various T. Flavii may go back to Vespasian. The following regiments containing T. Flavii have been extracted from the lists in Kraft :

ala Claudia, Noricorum, Pannoniorum, Mauroniorum, Lusitanae[104].

By way of conclusion, the regiments discussed in this and earlier chapters may now be listed. In the Julian period, i.e., under Augustus, Tiberius and Gaius, there was one ala, the

ala Augusta (in Spain in 40 A.D.).

/Another .....

Another ala Augusta appeared in Egypt in 57 A.D. The named cohorts were the coh. [---] equitata, Augusta I, II classica, Bospanorum, Corsorum, Ituraeorum, III Lusitanorum, sagittariorum, scutata, Trumplinorum, Ubiorum equitata, II veterana [---]iorum, VI voluntariorum.

The coh. Bosporanorum appeared again in 54 A.D. A coh. Ituraeorum, also presumably in the East, was fairly securely dated by the Jewish war of 66 - 9 A.D. A coh. sagittariorum (in upper Germany) was dated to the Julian period by names including the elements C. [illegible] and Ti. Julius. The coh. Ubiorum equitata also appeared as coh. Ubiorum [illegible]itum et equitum. Less certainty attaches to the

alae III Illyricae and the

coh. I Thebaeorum,

where the criterion applied was basically epigraphical. Caution too was expressed concerning the following regiments labelled Julian on the basis of nomenclature :

ala Asturum II, Atectorigiana, Capitoniana[105], Augusta Ituraeorum, Pansiana[105], Parthorum, Scubulorum, [illegible].

The Scubulorum appeared on a diploma from upper Germany of 74 A.D.[106], and was also dated to the Vespasianic period by a "nomen". The cohorts included the

/coh. Albinorum, ...

coh. Alpinorum, Aquitanorum quarta, Lusitanorum, Montanorum prima, I sagittariorum, sagittariorum (as mentioned above), /Silauciens., Surorum.

The coh. Alpinorum may have borne a number. Whether the coh. Lusitanorum - from lower Germany - is the same as the coh. III Lusitanorum above cannot be determined. Lastly the

corporis custodes

were first attested epigraphically in the Julian period.

In the Claudian period (i.e., under Claudius and Nero) the following alae were recorded :

ala Gallorum et Thraecum Antiana[107], Apriana, Augusta (in Egypt, as noted), Gallorum et Thraecum [...], veterana Gallorum et Thraecum, Gemelliana, Augusta Germanica, Gallorum Petriana, Vocontiorum, Aoitana[108].

The Apriana was recorded in 77 A.D. again; the Vocontiorum twice in the Claudian period.

coh. [---]arum, I Alpinorum[107], II Alpinorum, I Asturum et Callaecorum, Bosporanorum (as noted above), Gaitulorum, IIII Gallorum, I Hispanorum, II Hispanorum, I c. R. ingenuorum, V Lucensium et Callaecorum, VII Lusitanorum.

It is difficult to connect the coh. Alpinorum above with the 2 cohorts Alpinorum here : the first came from Aquitania, the second 2 from Illyricum.

/As .....

As noted above[107], the coh. II Hispanorum also appeared as coh. Hispanorum equitata. The

ala Aureana Hispanorum I, Hispanorum, Indiana[108], Thracum, prima Thracum cohort. I [---], coh. Campana, Germanorum, [..] Thracum[109], VI Thracum

were dated by administrative or military considerations to the Claudian period. Nomenclature produced the

ala II Aravacorum, Hispanorum pr(im-), Pannoniorum I, I Thracum, II Thracum

coh. III Alpina, I Asturum, I Cretum, VIII voluntariorum.

Whether there was any connection between the ala Hispanorum (and from the ala Aureana Hispanorum I) and the ala Hispanorum prima cannot be established: the first 2 come from prefectural stones and so cannot be located, the last from Pannonia Inferior. Similarly the alae Thracum. The first 2 come from Britain, the third from Pannonia Superior, and the II Thracum from Mauretania. Further, a decurion of an ala I Thracum was recorded in Noricum[110].

The next group belonged to 69 A.D. and the early Flavian period, although some went back to the later Claudian period :

ala Afrorum veterana[111], Apriana (as noted), Bosporanorum (twice), I Cannenefatium, Claudia nova, Colonorum, Gaetulorum, I Flavia Gemina, II Flavia Gemina, Longiniana, Moesica, Noricorum, Thracum, Picentiana, Scubulorum (as noted), Siliana (twice), singularium, Sulpicia, Tauriana torquata, III Thracum.

/The .....

The Claudia nova appeared simply as the Claudia on a stone of an auxiliary with the nomen of Flavius. The Moesica also appeared as Moesica felix torquata. The Noricorum was also attested by a Flavian nomen. The singularium also appeared as I singularium c. R. The Sulpicia was also c. R. on a second appearance. The Taurinna torquata was simply Taurinna on another inscription.

Coh. III Alp/Inorum/, I Asturum[111], secunda Asturum, VI Asturum, III Aquitanorum, IIII Aquitanorum, I Aquitanorum veterana, I Aquitanorum Biturigum, Augusta (twice), I Bosporanorum, I Breucorum, I Breucorus eq. c. R. (if a different regiment to the preceding), II Breucorum, III Britannorus, I Cantabrorum, Chalcidenorum, Cilicum, II Augusta Cyrenaica, V Dalmatarum, /Gall?/orum, III Gallorum (recorded twice : in lower Germany in 74 and in Moesia in 78), V Gallorus, VIII Gallorum, I Hispanorum, I Flavia Hispanorum, III Hispanorum, V Hispanorum, II Italica c. R., I Lepidiana eq., II Lucensium, Mattiacorum (twice, if /Mattiacorum/ be accepted), /II Matt?/iacorum, VII Rastorum, III sagittariorum, I Sugambrorum tironum, Thracum I, I Thracum, III Thracum eq., I Thracum Syriaca, II Varcianorum eq., IIII Vindelicorum.

Whether the coh. III Alpinorum which, although here on a prefectural stone, yet seems to be in a southern Pannonian context, is the same as the coh. III Alpina of Dalmatia of the Claudian period is not clear. The coh. IIII Aquitanorum (in upper Germany) could be the same as the Aquitanorum quarta of the Julian period : the regiment was then named on a monument set up

/in .....

in Aquitania by a centurion who had served in the cohort. The stones recording the cohorts I Breucorum are both prefectural. In view of the large number of cohorts I [illegible]norum known, it would be hazardous to link the prefectural I Hispanorum here, the I Flavia Hispanorum here (of lower Germany) and the I Hispanorum of Illyricum of the Claudian period. The coh. Mattiacorum and the proposed coh. /Mattiacorum/ both come from Moesia, as does the /II Matt/iacorum, though here recorded on an Italian prefect's tombstone. The number of cohorts I Thracum is large [illegible] the Thracum I here, that is prefectural, the I Thracum here of upper Germany and the /..../ Thracum of Britain of the Claudian period may not be connected.

Less definite were the

ala Frontoniana

and the

coh. III Cyrenaica sagitt[illegible]rum[illegible], Ituraeorum, I Pannoniorum, pr(ima) T(ungrorum?).

Nomenclature supplied the

ala Claudia (as such, as noted), Mauricorum (as noted), Pannoniorum, Scubulorum (as noted), Sampsana.

Certain epigraphical comments may now be made. Regimental titles are at their briefest on the tombstones of actual auxiliaries. Too great [illegible] to the presence or absence of a unit significance need perhaps not be paid

/number, ...

number, or to its placing after the name rather than before it, or to its being written out in letters rather than being given as a digit. The titles of regiments on the early diplomas tend to be short. The regiment usually, but by no means invariably, has a number. Imperial elements like Augusta or Flavia appear. Double titulatures, both of the type Gallorum et Thracum and of the type Aquitanorum Biturigum, the provincial appellative, as in Thracum Syriaca, and the adjectival "veterana" and "tironum" are all found. The styles of prefects tend to considerable precision. Cohorts are often stated to be "equitatae". A regiment with the "personal" name of Petriana was also given the tribal designation of Gallorum. In the later Claudian period, but more commonly in the Flavian period, the province where the regiment saw service under the prefect concerned is named, as "in Dalmatia" or "in Numidia". From the Flavian period onwards honorific titles like "civium Romanorum" (for units of provincial origin), "torquata" and "felix torquata" are found added to the names of certain regiments.

Certain changes in vocabulary usage may be noted. The republican "equites" or "auxiliarii" or "sagittarii" (without "cohors" or "ala") survive into the imperial period, but only to a limited extent. The early form of the title of a cavalry commander was "praefectus equitum". This survives to the Claudian period, when the form "praefectus equitum alae" first appears, continuing into the Flavian period. "Praefectus alae" is first recorded on documents from the principate of Gaius, one probably referring to the late Tiberian period. The title "tribunus" was used of

/the .....

the commanders of the cohorts VI voluntariorum and VIII voluntariorum, as well as in the puzzling phrase "tribuno militum cohort. /---/ arum" from Mediolanum Santonum.

NOTES.

1. Klinkenberg, "B.J.", 1902, 88 ff.; 97.

2. Reynard, "B.J." 1902, 190 ff.

3. Schober, 1923, 11 ff.

4. Kraft, p. 18 ff.

5. Wagner, "Germ." 1963, 321. Cf. Gerov, "Act. Ant." 1967, 93; 102.

6. Nesselhauf, "J.R.G.Z.M." 1960, 158.

7. von Petrikovits, "B.J." 1966, 177.

8. Alföldy, "Lat." 1966, 40 ff.

9. The technical terms of Roman nomenclature - praenomen, (nomen) gentilicium, cognomen, domus, origo and ethnicum - will be used without quotation marks in what follows.

10. I.L.S. 8888.

11. Cf. above, p. 12.

12. I.L.S. 2488. Cf. Dessau ad loc. and App. "B.C." V, 13, 132; and for Sabinus, Stein "R.E." I A, 1920, 1595 (no. 3).

13. C.I.L. III 4753. Cf. Egger, "A.A.W.W." 1959, 86. For Virunum, cf. H. Vetter, "R.E." IX A, 1961, 244 ff. (no. 1) (esp. 279 f.).

14. Pflaum, 1960, I, 1 ff., on C.I.L. X 7351.

15. I.L.S. 2683. For M. Aemilius Secundus, cf. "P.I.R."^{2} A 406; for P. Sulpicius Quirinius, cf. Groag, "R.E." IV A, 1931, 822 ff. (no. 90) (esp. 838 f.).

16. I.L.S. 9503 and Dessau ad loc. for the date. For C. Caristanius Fronto Caesianus Julius, cf. "P.I.R."^{2} C 425; for the Bosporani, above, p. 121, n. 48.

/17. .....

17. I.L.S. 847 as emended in Ritterling-Stein, 1932, 108, who give the date 15 B.C. - 9 A.D.; Wagner, "Germ." 1963, 325, favours the earlier limit. For the Trumplini, cf. E. Polaschek, "R.E." VII A, 1939, 707 ff.; for C. Vibius Punsa, W. Enssslin, "R.E." VIII A, 1958, 1977 (no. 43); Ritterling-Stein, 1932, 108; for the Vindelici, H. Neuberger, "R.E." IX A, 1961, 1 ff. (esp. 13).

18. I.L.S. 9007; for Q. Octavius Sagitta, cf. Stein, "R.E." XVII, 1937, 1855 (no. 85); Ritterling-Stein, 1932, 109; Pflaum, 1960, 13 ff.; Neuberger, above, l.c. n. 17.

19. C.I.L. XIII, 6816. Since this inscription comes from Moguntiacum and records no posts after that of "praefectus fabrum", it can probably be dated to 10 - 13 A.D., when Tiberius was on the Rhine.

20. I.L.S. 2676 (and Dessau ad loc. for the date; for A. Castricius Myrio, cf. "P.I.R."^{2} C 541); 911 (with Dessau; for P. Numicius Pica Caesianus, cf. Groag, "R.E." XVII, 1937, 1342 f. (no. 5)); A.E. '54, 104, recording a "praefecto equitum bis" (dated by priesthoods).

21. A.E. '60, 53; cf. Egger, "A.A.W.W." 1959, 77 ff.; Saxer, 1967, 6.

22. I.L.S. 2531; Kraft, 161 (who suggests Voltinia rather than Fabia as tribus). For the ala Atectorigiana, cf. below, p. 303. For the Gaesati, cf. Ihm, "R.E." VII, 1910, 462 f.; for Ircavium, Haug, IX, 1916, 2032. Another probable C. Julius of the Augustan period from the same town is discussed below, p. 256 f.

23. C.I.L. XIII, 7515; Kraft, 177. For "sagittarii" in the Roman army, cf. Fiebiger, "R.E." I A, 1920, 1743 ff. (no. 1) (esp. 1744).

Incorrect or unusual spellings on inscriptions will not be noted after this unless they are of special difficulty.

25. C.I.L. XIII 922; cf. Ritterling, "B.J." 1906, 173.

26. I.L.S. 937; 2691 (cf. Pflaum, 1960, 17).

27. I.L.S. 2638, - a Sex. Aulienus, for whom cf. "P.I.R."^{2} A 1422.

/28. .....

28. 2690; for M. Vergilius Gallus Lusius, cf. Pflaum, 1960, 23; H. Chochole, "R.E." VIII A,1955, 1020 f. (no. 6); for the Ubii, above, p. 196, n. 135.

29. I.L.S. 2703; for Ti. Julius Viator, cf. "P.I.R."^{2} I 625.

30. 2684; Meloni, 1958, 16; 78. For the term "praefectus ciuitatis" here and elsewhere in the chapter, cf. below, p. 325.

31. I.L.S. 2483; Lesquier, 1911, 94; 238 f.; for Thebes, cf. H. Kees, "R.E." V A, 1934, 1553 ff. (no. 2) (esp. 1578).

32. I.L.S. 2689; cf. Ritterling-Stein, 1932, 108, and above, p. 248, and n. 17 for the position in Raetia at this juncture.

33. C.I.I. IX 3664; for Ascalon, cf. Benzinger, "R.E." II, 1896, 1609 f. A coh. I Ascalonitanorum is attested in 88 on a Syrian diploma (C.I.L. XVI, 35), and is entitled "sagittaria" on C.I.L. XVI 106 of 156/7 A.D.

34. C.I.L. XI, 969.

35. "P.I.R."^{2} C 1348; A.E. '64, 227, which mentions the "trib(unus)" of the regiment. For "uoluntarii", cf. A. Neumann, "R.E." IX A, 1961, 886 ff. (esp. 887 f.).

36. I.L.S. 2692, and Dessau ad loc. for the date, which is established by I.L.S. 6979. For the term "scutata", cf. Fiebiger, "R.E." II A,

37. C.I.L. X 3871 as restored by Pflaum, 1960, 18 ff.; Dio LVIII, 19, 6 - Vitrasius Pollio, for whom cf. R. Hanslik, "R.E." IX A, 1961, Vitrasius Pollio, for whom cf. R. Hanslik, "R.E." IX A, 1961, 418 (no. 6).

38. I.L.S. 6747.

39. I.L.S. 6285. Since the elder Agrippina's children, Nero and Drusus, are mentioned, the inscription was not set up before the end of Tiberius' principate, when these were prominent.

/40. .....

40. Kraft 152 = C.I.L. III, 15205, 3; 422 = III, 4368; 552 = I.L.S. 9137; 562 = "B.R.G.K." XVII, 216; 1661 - 4 = C.I.L. III, 4844, 11554, 4847, 4846 (to which A.E. '54, 100 should be added); 1774 = I.L.S. 2571; 1811 = I.L.S. 2565; 1831 = "B.R.G.K." XXVII, 113. For the Astures, cf. above, p. 128, n. 156; for the Iturmei, Beer, "R.E." IX, 1916, 2477 ff.; for the "montani", above, p. 192, n. 45; for the Scubuli, above p. 202, n. 190; cf. Stein, 1932, 212, for the suggestion that the Silauciensiu. represent the Seleucenses of Pieria, the port of Antioch in Syria (for which, cf. Honigmann, "R.E." II A, 1921, 1184 ff. (no. 2)).

41. "C.I.L." XIII, 17.

42. "B.R.G.K." XL, 244.

43. Alföldy, "Epigr." 1964, 86 ff. Wagner, "Germ." 1963, 318 ff., discusses a "Ti Iulius Icci f. Acutus dublicarius ala Pancian. dom. Treuer ---", (A.E. '60, 127), presumably Tiberian, and "Iulius Saturio Iuli l. dom. Haed(uus) missic. ale Capit(oniana) ---" (A.E. '12, 187), presumably Augustan or Tiberian (cf. "Primus [Iuli l.] Asalus d[up. ala] Cap. ---" A.E. '67, 425; cf. Gerov "Act. Ant." 1967, 91 f.) from the Oescus area in Moesia. For the Treveri, cf. above, p. 80, n. 11; for the Aedui, cf. Ihm, "R.E." I, 1893, 475; for the Azali, Tomaschek II, 1896, 2631.

44. I.L.S. 1717 ff. Cf. above, p. 52 f.

45. I.L.S. 5809.

46. 6102. For Clunia, cf. Hübner, "R.E." IV, 1900, 113 f. (no. 2).

47. A.E. '41, 105; cf. Pflaum, 1960, 23 ff.; "P.I.R."[2] H 103, where the suggestion is made that the ala was the ala Capitoniana of A.E. '12, 187 (quoted above, n. 43).

48. C.I.L. V, 6969.

/49. .....

49. C.I.L. XIII, 1037; 1042 - 5; for "tribuni militum" in auxiliary service, cf. Lengle, "R.E." VI A, 1937, 2437 f. For the name of the regiment, cf. van de Weerd, "A.C." 1936, 347, and for another reference to "auxilia" in Mediolanum Santonum, cf. above, p. 249.

50. A.E. '22, 209.

51. A.E. '56, 15.

52. A.E. '61, 345. For Baeduniæ, cf. Hübner, "R.E." II, 1896, 2758. Cf. Garcia y Bellido, "A.E.A." 1961, 150 ff.

53. I.L.S. 1348.

54. I.L.S. 5004; for Sp. Turranius Proculus Gellianus, cf. Stein, "R.E." VII A, 1948, 1443 f. (no. 12); for the Gaetuli, cf. Demaau, "R.E." VII, 1910, 465 f.

55. C.I.L. III 7271; for ... Fabius Gaspel[..., cf. "P.I.R."^{2} F 24.

56. Cf. above, p. 115; I.L.S. 2681; C.I.L. V,4058; A.E. '66, 124. For the ala Aurianæ, cf. below, p. 303.

57. C.I.L. II, 3272; I.L.S. 2713; cf. "P.I.R."^{2} C 1471; Ritterling, 1648 f., proposed a rather different reconstruction, which, however, does not alter the general conclusion in the main text. Maxer, 1967, 9, would fill the lacunae in the first inscription as follows : praef. uexillariorum in Thracia XV [numerorum honoreto a leg. IV Scythica a leg. V Mace]donica --- a tribunis la[ticlauis ab alis a praef. alarum a cohort]ibus, and in the second : praef. cohort. I [--- praef. uexil. auxilia]ribus equitum coho[rtium alarumque XV] donato --- a numer[is ex. Rhen. i]tem ab eis numeris q[uibus praepositus erat] ---. This would give the auxiliary alae and cohorts greater prominence, and suggest that the "vexillationes" consisted of auxiliaries only.

58. I.L.S. 2491; for Julius Augurinus, cf. "P.I.R."^{2} I 187/8; Ritterling-Stein, 1932, 16; for the ala Gallorum Petriana, cf. below, p. 302.

/59. ....

59. Lesquier, 1918, 73, preserving the name of an auxiliary, M. Antonius Dionysius.

60. P. Hamb. I, 2. For the Vocontii, cf. H. Rolland, "R.E." IX A, 1961, 204 ff.

61. P. Fouad, I, 21; Daris, 101. For C. Caecina Tuscus, cf. "P.I.R."^{2} C 109; A. Stein, 1950, 35 ff. The soldiers' report back on their interview with Tuscus survives as P. Yale 1528, (Daris, 103), where the different branches of the army are described as follows : ἄλλη ἡ ἀγορῆ ἡ τῶν λεγεωναρίων, ἄλλο ἡ τῶν χορταρίων, ἄλλο ἡ τῶν κατ λατῶν.
[illegible] is not listed in L.S.J., but cf. [illegible] or [illegible] = "cohors" (L.S.J. Suppl.); [illegible] is a misspelling for [illegible].

62. I.L.S. 8759a.

63. A.E. '14, 128; '66, 472. Cf. Magie, 1950, 1420.

64. P. Mich. III, 159; C.P.L. 212. For the ala Vocontiorum, cf. above, p. 260; for the Apriana, below, p. 303. The document goes on to refer to a decurion of an otherwise unknown ala Xoitana, presumably named after the Egyptian town of Xois, for which cf. W. Helck, "R.E." IX A, 1967, 2152 f. (esp. 2154 f.).

65. I.L.S. 2721; cf. "P.I.R."^{2} C 263 for the date.

66. Kraft 347 = C.I.L. III, 15163 (where the regiment is not named); 348 = "Arch. Anz." XXIV, 1909, 290 (- a "messicius eques ala Hisp. pr(ima)"); 372 - 4 = C.I.L. III, 3271, 14039, 12359 (where the element "Hispanorum" does not appear in the title; for the Arevaci, cf. Hübner, "R.E." II, 1895, 682). 641 = III, 4244 (where the regimental reference is not quite certain); 1083 = III, 4839 (also recording a decurion of an ala I Thracum).

67. I.L.S. 2513 - 4; 9166; A.E. '64, 262.

68. A.E. '13, 194.

/69. .....

69. I.L.S. 9139.

70. I.L.S. 2706; for C. Vibius Publilianus, cf. W. Enßlin, "R.E." VIII A, 1958, 1979 (no. 47); Ritterling-Stein, 1932, 151.

71. I.L.S. 9168. Cf. Tac. "H." II, 83 and above, p. 145. Cf. Saxer, 1967, 19 f.

72. I.L.S. 2046. For the Breuci, cf. Patsch, "R.E." III, 1897, 831. Cf. Tac. "H." II, 94 and above, p. 150.

73. I.L.S. 2560; Kraft, 1241; cf. Tac. "H." I, 67 - 8; above, p. 136.

74. I.L.S. 2544. For C. Valerius Clemens, cf. R. Hanslik, "R.E." VII A, 1948, 2411 f., who seems to have made two persons out of the same man (nos. 132 - 3).

75. I.L.S. 1447; cf. Tac. "H." I, 58; for Sex. Caecilius Propertianus, cf. "P.I.R."^{2} C 204; Pflaum, 1960, 88 ff.

76. C.I.L. XII, 16. Cf. above, p. 133; 137 f.; van de Weerd, "A.C." 1936, 358.

77. I.L.S. 2564; Kraft, 1605. Cf. above, p. 139; van de Weerd, "A.C." 1937, 72; for the Menapii, cf. H. G. Wackernagel, "R.E." XV, 1931, 766 ff. (esp. 767).

78. A.E. '31, 30. Cf. above, p. 199 f.; 171 f; Oxé, "B.J." 1930, 62 ff.; van de Weerd, "A.C." 1936, 363 f. For the Triboci, cf. above, p. 201, n. 174; for the ala Frontoniana, below, p. 309.

79. "C.I.L." IX, 2564. The lacuna recording the "civitates" have been filled as follows: Baeze/iorum (cf. Fluss, "R.E." XIV, 1928, 283 ff. (esp. 286)) Vangio/nitium (cf. Patsch, IV, 1901, 1982 f.) --- /Colop/inorum (cf. Patsch, IV, 1900, 361).

80. A.E. '57, 307. For the Mattiaci, cf. above, p. 203, n. 215.

81. A.E. '11, 228; for T. Saturius, cf. Ritterling-Stein, 1932, 111.

82. P.S.I. VI, 729; C.P.L. 186.

/83. .....

83. I.G.R.R. III 1144. For Agrippa II, cf. above, p. 179. Στρατοπεδαρχεῖν is not recorded in L.S.J.; Στρατοπεδάρχης is quoted in the sense of "praefectus castrorum", but the general meaning of "military commander" is more appropriate here.

84. A.E. '25, 12[illegible].

85. A.E. '67, 525; cf. Avi-Jonah, "I.E.J." 1966, 258 ff. For Ti. Julius Alexander, cf. "P.I.R."^{2} I 139. Cf. above, p. 179. For the cohors I Lepidiana, cf. below, p. 372.

86. I.G.R.R. III 1015; cf. Pflaum, 1960, 108, n. 1.

87. C.I.L. III, 335. For --/tilius Lol/lian/us (?), cf. Miltner, "R.E." XIII. 1927, 1371 (no. 9).

88. XII, 3166 - a C. Fulvius Lupus Servilianus, for whom cf. "P.I.R."^{2} F 548; for the ala Longiniana, cf. below, p. 304.

89. A.E. '36, 1 - a L. Venuleius Patoecius, for whom cf. R. Hanslik, "R.E." VIII A, 1955, 823 (no. 10).

90. I.L.S. 1374 : the actual date of the inscription is 103 A.D. For another inscription recording Italus' career, cf. C.I.L. XIV 4456, where the coh. V Gallorum equitata is mistakenly given as coh. III equitata Gallorum (sic). For C. Minicius Italus, cf. Groag, "R.E." XV, 1932, 1826 ff. (no. 15); for the Varciani, cf. above, p. 128, n. 158; for an ala singularium, above, p. 199, n. 155.

91. C.I.L. II 2637; cf. A.E. '66, 187 - a Pompeius Faventinus, for whom cf. R. Hanslik, "R.E." XXI, 1952, 2271 (no. 78); for the ala Sulpicia, cf. below, p. 304.

92. C.I.L. X, 1258.

93. I.L.S. 9458; for C. Caristanius Fronto, cf. "P.I.R."^{2} C 423; Frere, 1967, 106.

94. C.I.L. XI 4782 - 3; cf. Pflaum, 1960, 136 ff.

95. I.L.S. 2711.

/96. .....

96. I.L.S. 1399.

97. C.I.L. II, 4212.

98. I.G.R.R. III 230 and Cagnat ad loc. For the legions, cf. Tac. "H." V, 1; above, p. 179; 204, n. 225; Ritterling, 1509; 1707.

99. I.G.R.R. III 1136.

100. C.I.L. XI, 5744, as emended and dated in Pflaum, 1960, 54 ff.; 960.

101. I.L.S. 9499. For Rutilius Gallicus' consulship, cf. Groag, l.c.p. 202, n. 197; Syme, 1958, index, s.v., gives "c. 71"; for M. Aemilius Pius, cf. "P.I.R."^{2} A 393.

102. C.I.L. III 12299; cf. Pflaum, 1960, 123.

103. A.E. '39, 60. For Sex. Attius Suburanus Aemilianus, cf. "P.I.R."^{2} A 1366 (which does not know the document quoted); for Q. Vibius Crispus, cf. R. Hanslik, "R.E." VIII A, 1958, 1970 (no. 28), who places Crispus' governorship of Spain after 73; for L. Julius Ursus, "P.I.R."^{2} I 630; cf. Stein, 1950, 42 f.; Syme, 1958, 635 f.; Pflaum, 1960, 130 ff.

104. Kraft 235 = C.I.L. III, 10033; 465 = I.L.S. 2512; 477 = C.I.L. III, 14453 - a decurion decorated by Vespasian; 554 = XIII, 7580; 491 = I.L.S. 2515 (for the ala Taspiana, here said to be part of a "uex(illatio) Brit(annica)", cf. below, p. 3[illegible]).

105. Cf. above, p. 283, n. 43.

106. Cf. above, p. 169.

107. P.P. 116 f.

108. P.P. 283, n. 64.

109. 89 f.

110. 285, n. 66.

111. 168 f.; 171 f.; 177.

112. 206, n. 209.

X. THE ORIGINS OF THE IMPERIAL AUXILIARY REGIMENTS

If the literary evidence, summed up in chapter VIII, be compared with the epigraphical evidence, discussed in chapter IX, various correspondences become apparent. Before proceeding to the more technical vocabulary, it may be noted that Tacitus' use of "auxiliaris" and "auxiliarius" is paralleled by some early inscriptions. Another common usage of his, "pedites" and "equites", besides forming part of the regular wording of the diplomas, is used on the tombstone of M. Vergilius Gallus Lusius, who is described as "praefectus cohortis Ubiorum peditum et equitum". Two terms referring to armour and weapons occur as such on inscriptions : "levis armatura" and "sagittarii". Tacitus uses "numerus" in the sense of regiment or military unit : this is confirmed epigraphically in the Claudian period[1].

As far as the normative ala and cohors are concerned, Velleius and Strabo, as well as the later Josephus and Suetonius, all report the words under the principate of Augustus. Ala is not found epigraphically as such until the very end of the Julian period, but the title "praefectus equitum" under Augustus points to the existence of the ala. This is confirmed by the evidence afforded by nomenclature, since several C. Julii were veterans of alae. Cohort is found qualified by the adjective "equitata" or by such titles as II classica or Bosporanorum[2].

The appearance of the same names in the epigraphical and the

/literary .....

literary record may now be listed[3]. To begin with the cohorts of the Julian period, a comparison may be made between the

Augusta I : and the [illegible] of the New Testament (if [illegible] be taken as "Augusta"). Cohortes Augustae appear twice in the Flavian period as well.

Bosporanorum : and the Bosporani of 49 A.D. in Tacitus. Cohortes Bosporanorum occur in the Claudian and Flavian period (as does an ala Bosporanorum).

III Lusitanorum : and the cohort (or cohorts) of Lusitanians in the "Histories". A coh. Lusitanorum is dated to the Julian period by nomenclature and a coh. VII Lusitanorum to the Claudian period.

"Sagittarii" : and Tacitus' "sagittarii". Cf. the coh. sagittariorum dated to the Julian period by nomenclature and the Flavian III sagittariorum and III Cyrenaica sagittariorum. It may further be noted that a soldier in the coh. II Italica c. R., presumably of 69 A.D., is described as "ex uexil. sagit.".

Ubiorum (equitata) : and the Ubians of the "Histories".

VI voluntariorum : and the "uoluntarii" of the Pannonian Revolt of 6 - 9 A.D.[4]

Cf. too the coh. VIII voluntariorum of the Claudian period.

The next group of regiments were dated to the Julian period by the criterion of nomenclature. There are 2 alae and 3 cohorts to consider :

Parthorum recalls the Parthian Ornospades.

Sebosiana : mentioned in the "Histories".

/Alpinorum : .....

Alpinorum : Alpini were involved in the Othonian-Vitellian contest. Several numbered cohortes Alpinorum are recorded in the Claudian and Flavian period.

Montanorum prima : "Montani" were involved in the same context as the Alpini.

Surorum : Syrian auxiliaries are named by Josephus.

The imperial "corporis custodes" are mentioned under Augustus[5] and later emperors.

Several links have already been traced between the regiments of the diplomas of the Claudian and early Flavian period and those of the literary record. For the sake of completeness these will be included in the lists that are considered now. In the Claudian period there are several alae whose tribal elements consisted of

Gallorum et Thracum : Such double regiments are confined to the epigraphical record, but Galli and Thraces are found separately in the authors, and will be considered below.

The cohort to be considered is the

IIII Gallorum : Gallic auxiliaries are found in Tacitus both under Germanicus and in the Year of the Four Emperors. Cohortes Gallorum are found in the Flavian period, and the joint alae Gallorum et Thracum have just been named.

/Claudian .....

Claudian administrative history and nomenclature produced the alae

Aureana Hispanorum I : Cf. the Auriana of the "Histories".

Thracum, I & II Thracum : A cohors Thracum is found in the "Histories". Thracian cavalry is recorded under Augustus under a client king, and there was dissatisfaction among Thracian auxiliaries under Tiberius[6]. An ala III Thracum occurs in the Flavian period.

Pannoniorum I : A Pannonian ala operated in Armenia in 62, 500 Pannonians are mentioned in the Auritiae Alps in the Othonian-Vitellian contest, and a Pannonian cohort was captured in North Italy in the same war. Earlier Velleius[7] reports that the Pannonians were familiar with Roman discipline by the time of the Pannonian Revolt of 6 - 9 A.D. An ala Pannoniorum can be assigned to the Flavian period on the grounds of nomenclature.

Among the cohorts the coh.

Germanorum : recalls the German auxiliaries of the Germanicus episode, the Frisian Revolt and of the "Histories".

[.]Thracum & VII Thracum : The literary link has been discussed under the alae.

Various Flavian cohortes Thracum are known.

In the Year of the Four Emperors and under Vespasian the as yet undiscussed units include the following alae :

/I Cannenefatium : .....

- Cannenefatium : An ala Canninefatium operated in the Frisian Revolt, a Canninefatian deserter (Gannascus) is known for 47, and a cohort or cohorts of Canninefatians accompanied the Batavians in 69.

Moesica : Cf. the alae Moesicae that supported the Flavian attack on Italy.

Noricorum : (also attested by nomenclature.) Norican "iuuentus" and Norici are known from the "Histories".

Picentiana : cf. the Picentina.

Siliana : also in the "Histories".

singularium & I singularium c. R. : an ala singularium is in the "Histories".

Taurianа (torquata) : in the "Histories".

The cohorts :

III Britannorum : Cf. the cohors or cohortes Britannorum in the army of Vitellius.

I Cantabrorum : Cantabrians "fought" for the Romans after their conquest under Augustus[8].

Cilicum : The "reguli Cilicum" supported Piso with auxiliaries under Tiberius[9].

V Dalmatarum : A fresh levy of 6000 Dalmatians supported the Flavians in 69.

II Italica c. R. : (also noticed under "sagittarii" under Augustus.) Cf. the [illegible] of the New Testament.

VII Raetorum : Raetians are found under Germanicus and in the Year of the Four Emperors.

I Sugambrorum tironum : A "cohors Sugambra" fought against the Thracians in the troubles under Tiberius.

/IIII Vindelicorum : .....

IIII Vindelicorum : A cohors or cohortes Vindelicorum assisted Germanicus.

Two cohorts were dated to 69 because of likely movements of troops.

I Pannoniorum : Cf. the remarks on the ala Pannoniorum I of the Claudian period.

pr(ima) T(ungrorum) : (if accepted.) Cf. p. 265.

A final correspondence between Tacitus and the inscriptions should be noted. His variant form of cohors Tungra for cohors Tungrorum is occasionally found on stones, as in the case of the coh. III Alpina above[10].

The number of correspondences found in the two types of evidence is large. This confirms the impression gained from the literary records alone that professional regiments can be in question[11]. Obviously caution needs to be applied : the links noted above will be discussed in more detail later in the chapter when the origins of the actual regiments are considered. But where, as is often the case, the context makes it clear that a regular regiment is meant, there seems no reason for rejecting the evidence of Tacitus[12] and other writers on the early imperial period. And even where local "ad hoc" contingents are obviously what is meant, the possibility exists that they developed later into professional units.

But before actual origins can be investigated, the late republican situation should be recalled[13]. There was the same distinction between local forces and auxiliaries serving far from their home areas as in the

/imperial .....

imperial period. It is the latter type that is of interest here. The most frequently mentioned of these were Gallic and Spanish cavalry. Among the Gauls the Allobroges happen to be singled out. German cavalry is closely associated with the Gallic[14]. Only Lusitanians are mentioned among the Spaniards outside Spain[15]. Numidians operated in Sicily in 36 B.C.[16] Among the client kingdoms Thrace[17] was the most active. Archers are sometimes named : the Cretans were particularly prominent, but Caesar also used Syrians and Ituraeans in his African campaigns[18]. Otherwise troops are specified by their weapons or armour alone, notably archers, slingers (cf. the "funditorum cohortes sescenariae II" at Pharsalus) and "levis armatura"[19]. Although the list is naturally much smaller than that of the early imperial period, the literary evidence of the late republic is not very dissimilar to that of the principate.

It is difficult to say what effect the recruitment of troops had on the origins of the later regiments. Indications concerning the levying or obtaining of auxiliary, as distinct from legionary soldiers are few and scattered[20]. The three main methods are summed up in a phrase describing some auxiliaries collected by Pompey before the battle of Pharsalus : "partim sescenarios, partim imperio aut gratis comparatos"[21]. The first category, that of mercenaries, was a feature of all major wars involving equal contestants. Probably Vitellius' transrhenane Germans[22] fell into this category. But this would not be a typical source of recruitment in normal circumstances : some regiments may go back to "mercenary" origins, but only exceptionally. The second method, that of command, is illustrated by Caesar's

/acquisition .....

acquisition of auxiliaries additional to those he had had "in all his former (i.e. Gallic) wars" at the outset of the Civil war prior to the Spanish campaigns. The careful attention which Caesar paid to the number and calibre of the auxiliaries he demanded from the "ciuitates" of the Gallic area should be noted[23]. This became the routine method of the empire. Two levies of Dalmatians, one under Augustus and one in 69 A.D. may be recalled as examples[24]. The third way, "influence", is well illustrated by the reason which the Gastulians, who deserted to Caesar during the African campaigns of the Civil war, gave for their action. They and their ancestors had enjoyed a "beneficium" from Marius, and they had heard that Caesar was a relation of his. They were therefore now prepared to support Caesar[25]. The system of the "clientela" which this implies continued to operate in the imperial period, as the charge of raising troops among the tribes of his home area which was made against Valerius Asiaticus under Claudius shows[26]. A false Nero found it easy to gain support[27]. Groups of troops gained through "gratia" and then used for a long period of time could form the basis of a later regiment. Besides the "dilectus" or levy (the second method above), there was considerable voluntary enlistment[28]. But this would probably account more for individuals joining regiments than for the creation of new regiments. A consideration of the methods of recruitment has not shed much light on the question of the origins of regiments. It will be best to consider the history of these area by area, insofar as this can be recovered.

Two groups fall without the geographical scheme to a certain

/extent, ...

extent, the "citizen" cohorts and the "personal" alae. The "Bürger-kohorten", as Kraft[29] calls them, were apparently of Italian origin and consisted of the cohortes Campanae or Campanorum, Campestres, classicae, ingenuorum and voluntariorum.

The first name is usually found abbreviated as "Camp."[30], but 2 inscriptions have

P. Cloelius miles coh. Campanae, and

C. Iulius C. [f. ...] Cerialis [... coh.] Campan[ae][31].

The first may be regarded as pre-Claudian at least, since P. Cloelius has not got a cognomen. The regiment appears with a number on the tombstone of a centurion :

---]o Arimin. mil. leg. XIII donat. torq. armil. phal. et 7 coh. I Camp. an. LX t.f.i.[32]

The opinion has been expressed that he was decorated in the Pannonian Uprising of 6 - 9 A.D., when the XIIIth legion was in Illyricum. The above inscriptions seem early, pre-Claudian and possibly Augustan in the last case. As Alföldy[33] points out, the names of the recruits known from the early inscriptions are Campanian in origin or from Latium. This encourages one in taking Campana in its normal geographical meaning and comparing what Caesar said about recruiting around Capua (S. Maria Capua vetere) at the outset of the Civil war in 49 B.C.[34]

/Since .....

Since the expansion of "Camp." to "Campestris" has been abandoned on the diplomas[35], the coh. III Campestris is the only securely attested regiment bearing this title. There is no evidence for it prior to the 2nd century, and no explanation has been offered for the meaning of the name. The suggestion may be hazarded that it forms a contrast to a cohors equestris.

The "cohortes civium Romanorum" are mentioned in Tacitus[36], who states that they received the same donative as the legions in Augustus' will. As far as the inscriptional evidence is concerned, there is the dedication to

P. Cornelio P. f. Sab. Cicatricu.[illegible] prim. pil. bis praefect. equitum praef. class. praef. cohortium civium Romanor. quatuor in Hispan. trib. mil.[37]

The promotion from a senior centurionate to a cavalry command and the large number of commands in no particular order point to the early principate if not to the Julian period itself.

T. Corn. Titi f. Pom. Flavo mil cho. I c. R. 7 C.Nuci Clementis[38]

from the Alpes Graiae appears early as well, but otherwise there appears to be no pre-Flavian evidence for these cohorts. Similarly the ala I civium Romanorum cannot be dated before the Flavians.

The coh. II classica was noted in Syria in the 1st decade of the 1st century A.D.[39] The tombstones of 2 Roman citizens who served in the coh. I classica were erected in Aquitania[40]. The first had at least 20 years service to his credit. Taking 21 A.D. as the date of departure of auxiliaries

/from .....

from Aquitania means that his entry into the regiment can be placed at about the birth of Christ, if not before. Kraft[41] has advanced a plausible theory on the origin of the cohortes classicae. He suggests that they were drawn from the personnel of the fleet that was stationed at Forum Julii (Fréjus) on the southern coast of Gaul at the outset of Augustus' principate and that they were used by M. Valerius Messala Corvinus in the final conquest of Aquitania in 28 B.C. The Syrian cohort may have been one transferred from the West or one drawn from the fleet in the East.

Next come the cohortes ingenuorum. Brunt[42] reports an unpublished inscription referring to a "dilectus ingenuorum quem Romae habuit Augustus et Ti. Caesar", referring it to 6 or 9 A.D. "Ingenui" served in the legions, but some may have been drafted into special cohorts. The evidence for early cohortes ingenuorum is slight. The coh. I c. R. ingenuorum of the Claudian period has already been mentioned[43]. The coh. VI ingenuorum is attested only for the Flavian period. Kraft[44] however has suggested that an inscription from Gallia Narbonensis recording a commander of a coh. ingenuorum

L Attio L. f. Vol. Lucano signifero centuri. tribuno cohort. V ingenuorum

should not be amended, pace the editor of C.I.L. XII, to cohort. "/I ci/u. /Rom./ ingenuorum", but should remain as coh. V. (or VI) ingenuorum. The early date is established by the promotion from the centurionate to the command of the cohort.

Little can be added to the στεῖρα Ἰταλική of "Acts" and

/the .....

the coh. II Italica c. R. discussed under 69 A.D. as far as early evidence for cohortes Italicae goes[45].

A coh. VI voluntariorum has been noticed under Tiberius and a coh. VIII voluntariorum in the Claudian period[46]. But there appear to be no early inscriptions to soldiers or veterans in the cohortes voluntariorum, which makes the question of their origin difficult to decide. They have usually been assigned to the special levies which Augustus held in 6 and 9 A.D. after the Pannonian Revolt and the Varian disaster[47]. Velleius calls the troops enlisted "voluntarii", but also refers to the recruitment of "libertinus ... milites", while Suetonius definitely calls them freedmen. Further Macrobius[48] says that "Caesar Augustus in Germania et Illyrico cohortes libertinorum complures legit, quas uoluntarias appellauit". This would appear to identify the voluntarii and the "libertini". Kraft[49] however has come out against the usual view that the cohortes voluntariorum were originally the units of freedmen which Augustus enlisted during the two crises. His first argument is literary, that "voluntarii" were always regarded as free men in Latin, and he explains the Macrobius passage by saying that the equation of free "voluntarii" and freedmen was due to the elevation of the status of slaves in later Roman philosophical thought. The normal meaning of "voluntarius" is not in dispute, and obviously Macrobius is inaccurate, at least to the extent that the "freedmen" were not recruited in Germany and Illyricum, but for use in these two areas. (Further, Kraft explains Suetonius' statement that the freedmen were kept apart from "ingenui" and armed differently by saying that the cohortes

/voluntariorum .....

voluntariorum could not have consisted of freedmen at their formation. But the contrast is probably with the legions, not the cohortes voluntariorum.) Most of the first century soldiers in the cohortes voluntariorum were undoubtedly Roman citizens, and Kraft uses this fact as his second main argument for denying the freedmen origin of the cohorts concerned. In particular he quotes 2 cases which he suggests may go back to the original enlistment, the epitaphs of P. Cloelius and

M. Vettius Hospes mil. cohortis Camp. domo Suessa annorum XLV stipendiorum (sic) XXII testamento iussit fieri[50]

(where Hospes' domus in Latium (now Sessa) should be noted). But it has not been proved that these belonged to the original enlistment. More serious is the fact that both served in a cohors Campana. Kraft's theory would involve the equation of the cohortes Campanae with cohortes voluntariorum, but this seems unlikely at this date[51]. Neither of Kraft's main arguments seems compelling. He has himself referred to the euphemistic interpretation of especially Macrobius' reference to freedmen, and this seems to offer the best solution. In the shortage of recruits at the dates mentioned it was necessary to enrol second best material or freedmen. These were drafted into cohortes voluntariorum, but, as in the case of some of the questionable legions of the late republic, the recruits were regarded as Roman citizens in official eyes. Otherwise one is left with a large enrolment of freedmen who disbanded soon afterwards besides an enlistment of cohortes ingenuorum (one of which bore the

/number .....

number VI) and of cohortes voluntariorum (which apparently reached the number XXXII at least) at a time when citizen recruits for the legions were at a premium.

The recently discovered cohors Apula should be added to the above group. L. Salvius of the following bilingual inscription

---]rte Apula [illegible]
[illegible] [---][52]

was undoubtedly a citizen as his filiation and tribe show. His lack of cognomen argues for a pre-Claudian date. The cohors Apula was probably originally a regional Italian unit parallel to a cohors Campana.

Except for the ala I civium Romanorum, all the regiments discussed so far have been cohorts. This is an added reason for not reviving an old theory concerning the origin of the ala Picentina (as Tacitus has it) or Picentiana[53]. At present it seems generally agreed to refer the name to a

L. Rustius Picen[us] tr. mil. uouit praef. eq. fecit[54].

This would mean that the unit was one of the "personal" regiments to be discussed below. However the spelling Picentina, which is also found on inscriptions[55], and the fact that the form Picentiana is first attested on a diploma of 74 A.D., may give credence to the view that the title derives from Picenum in Italy[56]. Picenum had long been a Pompeian stronghold, and we hear of a levy there at the outset of the Civil war of 49 B.C. that soon

/went .....

went over to Caesar[57]. Some such occasion could well have been the origin of an ala Picentina if this explanation of the name be adopted. If so, this could be another regiment to add to the series of Campana and Apula. However the suggestion can at best be regarded as purely tentative.

Technically originating from Italy, but of a completely different character was the coh. Trumplinorum[58]. The Trumplini were conquered as a prelude to the attack on Raetia. The commander of the cohort, serving in all likelihood during the conquest of Raetia, was a "princeps" of his tribe. Whether he had been pre-Roman before the incorporation of the Trumplini into northern Italy or whether he formed the cohort after the submission of the tribe is not clear. In any case the cohort appears to be a regiment drafted for a particular campaign or war in a different "province".

The next category of regiments to be considered may be called "personal", since they seem to be named after individuals, not tribes or peoples. Nearly all were cavalry. The following is a list of the known alae :

Agrippiana.

Antiana[59].

Apriana.

Atectorigiana.

Auriana.

Capitoniana[60].

/Classiana .....

Classiana.

Flaviana.

Frontoniana.

Gemelliana.

Herculania.

Iadiana.

Longiniana.

Pansiana[61]

Patrui.

Petriana.

Picentiana[62].

Pomponiana.

Proculeiana.

Ruconia.

Sabiniana.

Scaevae.

Sebosiana.

Siliana.

Sulpicia.

Tampiana.

Tauriana.

(The Antiana has already been noticed in 54 A.D. with the composite title of Gallorum et Thraecum Antiana; the Apriana occurred in the Claudian

/period .....

period and in 76 A.D.; the Atectorigiana in the Julian period; the Auriana in the form Aureana Hispanorum I under Claudius and in 69; the Capitoniana with a Tiberian nomen; the Frontoniana before 70; the Gemelliana on a diploma of 64; the Indiana on an early British tombstone; the Longiniana under Vespasian; the Pansiana with a Tiberian nomen; the Petriana as the ala Gallorum Petriana in 56 and twice in 69 (without Gallorum in the title); the Sebosiana with a Tiberian nomen and in 69; the Siliana was attested before 69, in 69 and 78; the Sulpicia in 78; the Tampiana with a Flavian nomen; the Tauriana in 69 and twice early under Vespasian (once with the title "torquata")[63].)

Various links have or can be established between titles derived from Roman names and historical figures. The ala Agrippiana naturally recalls Agrippa. The ala Flavia Agrippiana, however, as Stein points out[64], was probably a different regiment. It is recorded in the East, whereas the Agrippiana was in Germany in the early period and probably the same as the Agrippiana Miniata listed in Britain on a diploma of 122 A.D. Stein suggests that ala Flavia Agrippiana was probably a regiment of the Jewish king Agrippa II incorporated into the Roman army at his death in 93 A.D. The Antiana has been associated with Germanicus' legate in 16 A.D., C. Antius[65], who had assisted in the census of Gaul in 14. The regiment is first recorded on a diploma of 54 in the form ala Gallorum et Thracum Antiana, which records the discharge of a Thracian veteran :

equiti Romaestae Rescenti f. Spiuro.

/If .....

If the stipulated minimum of 25 years be subtracted from 54, the veteran's year of entry into service can be dated to 29 A.D. at the latest. Since he was a Thracian, the possibility exists that he could have entered a purely Thracian unit which was amalgamated with the Gallic Antiana only at a later stage. But as Wagner has pointed out, this is extremely unlikely so soon after the Thracian Uprisings of 21 and 26. The veteran must have entered the combined unit, and the date of 29 can stand for the Antiana as well. The ala Pansiana has been linked with C. Vibius Pansa, "legatus pro praetore in Vindolicis ---" between 15 B.C. and 9 A.D.[66] The soldier whose epitaph is the sole evidence for the unit, Ti. Julius Acutus, received citizenship from Tiberius in all likelihood[67]. His 36 years of service meant that he must have entered the unit under Augustus in 1 or 2 A.D. at the latest. On this showing the regiment is Augustan, and Wagner goes so far as to suggest that it was created by Pansa, whose early career is unknown, before he became governor of Raetia, perhaps as a senatorial officer under Tiberius in 16 B.C. when preparations for the conquest of Raetia were being made. For the ala Petriana Stein favours not a Petreius of the Republic but T. Pomponius Petra who after being a "praefectus equitum" served as "praefectus" for Germanicus in his home when the latter was elected to an honorary duovirate there[68]. The Proculeiana has been assigned to C. Proculeius, friend of Augustus in the triumviral period : it is not attested before 122 A.D.[69] The ala Scaeva is known from

Q. Anchari. C. f. Pol. Narbones. eques cuneatus annor. mat. XXIII ala Scaeua[70].

/Although .....

Although originating from Narbo (Narbonne), Q. Ancharius was buried at Minturnae (Minturno) in Italy. He was notably a full Roman citizen. His lack of a cognomen makes him pre-Claudian. Probably he was much earlier - Dessau suggests that he was a soldier of Caesar's who was "evocatus" by Octavian. The ala Scaeva has been traced back to a centurion of Caesar's who appears more than once in the literary record with praise for his great bravery. The ala Siliana has been connected with C. Silius, legate of the upper German army in 14 A.D.[71] The Sulpicia, since it bears his gentilicium, was probably a regiment raised by Galba in Spain in 68[72]. The Tampiana recalls L. Tampius Flavianus, governor of Pannonia in 69 A.D.[73] On a badly damaged monument to Tampius Flavianus, reference is made to

---]opsidibus a Tran[sdanuuianis acceptis lim]itibus omnibus ex[ploratis (?) hostibus ad uectig]alia praestanda [tradactis ---]

it would be most interesting to know whether the ala was perhaps originally drawn from the Transdanubian hostages or enemies who were taken into Pannonia. von Domaszewski[74], however, disputes the origin discussed above. He would refer the regiment to an uncle of Ovid's third wife who was called Rufus and who may have been a "primipilus" under Caesar. Rufus' gentilicium is not known, but Domaszewski suggests that it was Tampius since a Tampius Rufus had a farm at Fundi, where Rufus is also known to have had a farm. The evidence for the regiment cannot be put before the end of the 1st century, so that either hypothesis is possible. The first seems more plausible. The Taurians may go back to T. Statilius Taurus, who triumphed from Spain under Augustus[75].

/One .....

One or two regiments seem to go back to Gallic chieftains. The Atectorigiana presupposes an Atectorix : the name appears on coins of the Pictones in Aquitania, where the ala is first attested[76]. The veteran concerned, C. Julius Facer, entered the regiment in 16 B.C. at the latest, but possibly much earlier - even in the period of the Civil Wars of the late republic if his 32 years of service preceded his command of 600 Gaesati in Raetia soon after its conquest in 15 B.C. Thus it may be possible to place the Atectorigiana, like the Scaeva, before Augustus. Arminius' brother, Flavus, has been mentioned in connection with the Flaviana : the regiment is not attested before 99[77]. Although the Spanish chieftain Indo who fought as Caesar's ally in 45 B.C. has been regarded as the founder of the Indiana, it is far more likely that the unit was named after the Treveran Indus who is specifically known to have raised an ala of Treverans in the revolt of Florus and Sacrovir in 21 A.D.[78]

Several of these regiments have ethnic titles on diplomas or prefectural inscriptions. They may be listed as follows[79]:

Antiana	Gallorum et Thracum A..	(54 A.D.).
Atectorigiana	I Gallorum A.	(under Antoninus Pius)[80]
Capitoniana	I Claudia Gallorum C.	(under Antoninus Pius)[80]
Claudiana	Gallorum et Thracum C. c. R.	(122 A.D.).
Flaviana	Gallorum F.	(99.)
Indiana	I.Gallorum	(134.)
Petriana	Gallorum P.	(58.)

/Vicentiana .....

Picentiana	Gallorum P.	(122.)
Procleiana	Augusta Gallorum P.	(122, deduced from 145.)
Sposiana	Gallorum S.	(103.)
Tauriana	Gallorum T. torquata victrix c. M.	(114 - 7.)
Frontoniana	I Tungrorum Front.	(133.)[81]
Auriana	Hispanorum Aureana I	(Claudius.)
Sabiniana	I Pannoniorum S.	(122.)
Trajana	I Pannoniorum T.	(103.)
Aureliana	Thracum A.	(106.)

By 139 A.D., as Wagner points out[82], the Gallorum Antiana had dropped the element "et Thracum". On a diploma of 109[83] the Classiana is still simply the Classiana c. M. The position of Gallorum in Indiana Gallorum is unusual. The Picentiana has not got the adjunct Gallorum on diplomas of 74 and 82. The Tauriana is simply so-called in 88, and appears as I Flavia Gallorum Tauriana on a diploma dated to 121 - 8[84]. Tungrorum had been added to the Frontoniana by 110. On a diploma of 107 the Auriana has a different position for the numeral.

Most of these regiments had "Gallorum" added to their titulature : the "Tungrorum" of the Frontoniana can be included here. Kraft[85] is even prepared to suppose that the 2 "Pannoniorum" regiments arose from an

/original .....

original double regiment of "Gallorum et Pannoniorum", from which the first element eventually disappeared. The other 2 peoples named, the Spaniards and the Thracians, were also important in the auxiliary system at an early stage. The dating of the ethnic adjunct seems to show no clear pattern. After 5 official Claudian appearances, some regiments where it might have been expected - the Classiana, Ticentiana, Tauriana and Frontoniana - are recorded on diplomas without it. If any reliance can be placed on our fragmentary evidence, the ethnical addition seems not to have been used in the Flavian period, but to have re-appeared from Trajan onwards, although even then there was not complete consistency.

Much of what can be deduced about regiments containing names derived from persons in their titulature rests upon supposition, some very tenuous. But a picture does emerge of a tradition in the Roman army of associating crack regiments of especially Gallic cavalry with individuals of note at the local or the imperial level. Cavalry prefects, military tribunes and legates are found besides provincial governors. The tradition is best understood in the light of the Roman system of "clientela"[86]. Caesar's relations with Gaul were especially close, and were drawn tighter by the civil war. The comradeship and loyalty of his well-disciplined army are well known. His praise for the distinguished officer is unstinted : all this points to the strength of the personal ties that could arise in the all important arm of cavalry. the ~~personal~~ Augustus inherited Caesar's relations with the Gauls, and, during the tri~~Augustus inherited Caesar's relations~~on

/his .....

his defence of the West and his devotion to his adoptive father. It is more than likely that he would allow the tradition of the personal regiment to continue in Gaul even after Actium.

"Hospitium"[87] or the relationship of "guest friendship" was established between the military and tribes or local communities. In 68, the Lingones and other tribes were smarting under a sense of injustice because the tribes who had supported Vindex had been rewarded by Galba while they, who had been on the side of "authority", had been neglected. They therefore approached the legions on the Rhine through their "hospitium" with them. It was noticeably an "ancient custom" : "miserat ciuitas Lingonum uetere instituto dona legionibus dextras, hospitii insigne"[88]. Ritterling[89] has drawn attention to the establishment of the same relationship between individual officers and particular communities, quoting the following case :

senatus populusque Sisgitanus hospitium fecerunt cum C. Silio C. f. Fab. Auiola trib. mil. leg. III Aug. praefecto fabrum eusque posterosque eius sibi posterisque suis patronum coptauerunt. C. Silius C. f. Fab. Auiola eos posterosque eorum in fidem clientelamque suam recepit.

The people of Sigitana (Gear Essitt) in Africa were pleased to place on record their "clientela" relationship with a relatively junior officer of the Roman army in 27 A.D. The case of the Cluniensees of Spain and a prefect of the ala Augusta in 40 has already been noted[90]. It is easy to see how special or "personal" regiments could owe their genesis to such relationships. On occasion a prominent chief might act as the creator

/and .....

and original commander of the regiment rather than a Roman. This was especially noticeable in Gaul, where Caesar followed a policy of conciliating the chiefs[91]. The ala Indiana shows this tradition operative under Tiberius, and Civilis and the Batavians exhibit it as late as the 70's.

Due to the uncertainty of the evidence, it is not easy to date the development of the growth of the personal regiment. The probable origins of the ala Scaeva and even the Atectorigiana as well as some of the names dependant on prominent historical figures point to the triumviral period and even to Caesar's wars. The Sulpicia, even if the Tampiana be not accepted, belongs in all probability to 69 A.D. In fact it is useful to recall Galba's show of republicanism : was the naming of the Sulpicia a deliberate revival of an earlier tradition ?

The regiment bearing an individual's name was nearly always composed of cavalry. However 3 cohorts are known, the Apuleia, the I Clodia equitata and the I Lepidiana equitata[92]. Their origins are obscure : possibly the Clodia was a local variant of a Claudia.

The majority of regiments with ethnical titles can now be discussed province by province.

Sardinia and Corsica seem to have local regiments serving in the province from the outset. The coh. Corsorum of the Augustan period has already been noted[93]. A coh. Sardorum (and a coh. I Sardorum, if not the same regiment) is known, but of uncertain date. By 88[94] the diplomas

/have .....

have a coh. I gemina Sardorum et Corsorum and a coh. II gemina Ligurum et Corsorum. The first was presumably an amalgamation of the 2 separate regiments mentioned above. The diploma is fragmentary, and does not give the name of the discharged, but taking the normal 25 years from 88, it can be said that the double regiment was in existence at least from 63. The first element of the second joint regiment has been traced to a coh. Ligurum, dated by a reference to Nero's mistress Acte, and therefore not long before the probable formation of the joint regiment under Vespasian :

C. Cassio Pal. Blaesiano dec. coh. Ligurum principi equitum --- Ti. Claudius Actes l. Eutychus[95]

(the cohort must have been equitata to account for Blaesianus' office).

The Alpine area was the scene of sporadic fighting in the first part of Augustus' principate, but the area was sufficiently quiet for the attack on Raetia in 15 B.C. An early cohors Alpinorum was noted in Aquitania, from which it was probably withdrawn by 21 A.D. The auxiliary concerned had served for 35 years. This means that he must have enlisted in the cohort almost immediately after the settlement of the area, and presumably the formation of the regiment itself[96]. Besides cohortes Alpinorum, the Alps produced cohortes Ligurum. A Neronian example has just been quoted. Tombstones of auxiliaries belonging to a coh. Ligurum or a coh. I Ligurum, are known for the Julio-Claudian period, but cannot be precisely dated. The composite coh. I Ligurum et Hispanorum is attested in

/the .....

the Maritime Alps and in Germania superior (from 116 A.D. at least). Hefner[97] has made the attractive suggestion that the amalgamation may have been due to Galba in 69 as he passed from Spain to Italy. (Hefner's statement that Galba recruited in the Maritime Alps is however wrong.) The Alpine Montani also gave their name to a cohort. 5 Tiberii Julii of the coho. Montanorum prima have been recorded : 2 of them had 42 "stipendia" each; hence their date of entry can be put at 15 B.C. at least. This would imply the existence and perhaps the formation of the cohort soon after the period of conquest. The ala Vallensium[98] is the only cavalry unit known. It appears under Domitian or Trajan in upper Germany. One may suggest that it was formed when the district of Vallis (Valais) was added to the Alpine provinces by Claudius.

Gallic auxiliaries operating away from Gaul were prominent in the late republican period. There is no reason for assuming that they did not continue to be used under Augustus. The considerable number of engagements fought in Aquitania and the rest of Gaul after the battle of Actium and later may have led to the formation of new regiments. Gauls were especially noted as cavalry, and many of the personal regiments seem to have been Gallic in origin. But there is little actual evidence for early Gallic regiments that might throw light on their origins. The alae Vocontiorum[99] are likely to have been early. The Vocontii were in Gallia Narbonensis; this province was senatorial from 22 B.C., and very few regiments from senatorial provinces are known. (Kitterling[100] himself gave up his earlier view that no regiments

/were .....

were drawn from senatorial provinces, which entailed dating the alae Vocontiorum to before 22 B.C.). Two alae are known : that of Egypt and the East first appeared in the Claudian period. That of the West is recorded on a stele set up in the interior of Belgica.

...]us Secci f. Aruernus eques ale Vontiorum (sic) an. XXV stipend. VII h. s. est.

Since the main forces of the Roman army in Gaul were moved to the Rhine not later than 16 - 13 B.C.[101], the stele may probably be dated before then, giving an early date for the enlistment of the "eques". The cohors Aquitanorum quarta of the Tiberian period has already been noticed[102]. There is no other early evidence for Aquitanian regiments, and Ritterling[103] has suggested that coh. I Aquitanorum in Britain and the II - IV in upper Germany go back to a new set raised about the time of Vespasian. The Aquitanian Bituriges supplied a cohort : it appears as I Biturigum except on the diploma of 74 quoted above[104]. An early cohort of Gauls bears the high number of XI :

...] d[es]. cho. XI Gall. domo Pataui ann. XLVI stip. XV[105].

The unknown decurion from Patavium (Padua) was presumably a legionary transferred to the cohort. The inscription comes from Dalmatia, and Alföldy suggests that it may go back to the Pannonian Revolt in which the Dalmatians were involved. Several double Gallic alae[106] are known from the diplomas, the

/ala .....

ala I Gallorum et Bosporanorum	(144 A.D.)
ala I Gallorum et Pannoniorum	(134 A.D.)
ala II Gallorum et Pannoniorum	(164 A.D.)
ala Gallorum et Thracum	(54 A.D.)
ala veterana Gallorum et Thracum	(54 A.D.)
ala Gallorum et Thracum Constantium	(91 A.D.)

As noted in the case of those with a personal name in their titulature, these probably arose when recruits from more recently conquered areas were put into long established regiments for easier training and greater security. The Belgian auxiliaries will be discussed with those of the German provinces.

Spanish auxiliaries were as prominent as Gauls in the late republican period. The Lusitanians once received separate mention. The Cantabrians[107] and Celtiberians are only mentioned for Spanish campaigns. Strabo, probably with reference to Augustus, mentions Cantabrians fighting for Rome. Tacitus records the creation of cohorts of Vasconnes under special circumstances by Galba. These names appear in the epigraphical record, but few can be dated early. A Spaniard with 15 stipendia in an ala Hispanorum was buried in Augusta Trevererum (Trier)[108]. Augusta Trevererum is not likely to have had a garrison after it became a colony early in the principate of Claudius. Seeing that the deceased was a Spaniard, he may have belonged to an earlier period in Julio-Claudian times, but it is not possible to be more precise. A cohors III Lusitanorum

/and .....

and a coh. Lusitanorum were dated to the Julian period on grounds of nomenclature[109]. Even the cohorts of Vasconnes cannot be brought down to 69 A.D.: a coh. II Vasconum c. R. is first known from a British diploma of 105[110], which does not allow a date much before 80.

Many other Spanish tribes gave their names to regiments, but hardly any can be dated to the beginning of the principate.

Albanus Excingi f. eques ala Asturum natione Ubius stip. XII an. XXXV h. s. est. Rufus frater et Alba[-...][111]

was buried at Cavillonum (Chalon sur Saône) in the interior of Gaul and not on the Rhine. This, and the lack of a numeral, marks the ala Asturum as early. Further since Albanus was a Ubian, and not a Spaniard, he probably was not part of the original draft into the regiment, a further indication that it goes back to the Augustan period. The Julian ala Asturum II has been noticed. The unknown Scubuli have been regarded as Spanish, hence the ala Scubulorum[112] may be classified here. A Ti. Julius discharged from it was noticed above. His "stipendia" totalled 30, which means that he must have entered the regiment at the end of the second decade B.C. A decurion in an ala I Gigurrorum[113] has recently been recorded in Spain, but he cannot be dated. Spanish regiments with more than one ethnicum in their title are either of the type Hispanorum Vettonum, where the second name is a subdivision of the first, or they combine two peoples, one of which may be non-Spanish, such as the coh. I Ligurum et Hispanorum discussed above. The ala or cohort Asturum et Luggonum[114], that has been

/recently .....

recently discovered, has an intrusive "et" that is not normally found where a subdivision of a larger ethnical entity is named after it.

The incorporation of Raetia and Noricum into the Empire is dated to 15 B.C. The king of Noricum had sent Caesar 300 cavalry in 49 B.C., and Raetian and Vindelician cohorts participated in Germanicus' campaigns in 14 - 16 A.D. Both Noricum and Raetian "iuuentus" operated in 69. There are several tombstones of auxiliaries of Raetian cohorts in the early principate, but none can definitely be brought close to 15 B.C. The same remark applies to the combined cohors Raetorum et Vindelicorum. Secure pre-Flavian inscriptions for cohortes Vindelicorum appear not to have been discovered. A single ala and a single cohors Noricorum are known, but evidence for them is not pre-Claudian[115]. As noted above, there was an enforced removal of Raetians from their homeland after the conquest in 15 B.C. : presumably the origin of the Raetian units lies there[116]. Stein, followed by Nuber[117], explains the duplication of Raetian cohorts with the same numerals by positing the creation of a second series of cohortes Raetorum from the "iuuentus" of 69. The small number of Norican, as compared with Raetian and Vindelician regiments, is explained by their readier incorporation in the Roman empire : it was not necessary, as Betz[118] points out, to reduce their military strength to the same extent. Finally, the 600 Gaesati Raeti under the "euocatus" C. Julius Necer from the ala Stectorigiana should be recalled. The Raetian Gaesati occur in the 2nd century, and a coh. I Aelia Gaesatorum milliaria is first attested

/on .....

on a diploma of 1[illegible] A.D.[119]. Presumably Hadrian, to judge by the date and the imperial nomen given to the regiment, decided to form a regular cohort out of this type of soldier.

Belgian units are best considered together with German troops : the military commands over the "exercitus Germanici superioris" and "inferioris" was technically part of Belgica until the creation of the 2 provinces of Germany by Domitian. In distinction to the areas discussed so far, the origins of the auxiliaries drawn from the Rhineland must be sought in the literary rather than the epigraphical record. The reason for this is that there are hardly any pre-Flavian inscriptions recording regiments from this area. This has led Kraft[120] to state that there is a major discrepancy here. He maintains that because of the almost complete absence of cohorts of German origin in the epigraphical record, in spite of the existence of inscriptions recording alae and cohorts named after non-local tribes, Tacitus' Rhineland units cannot be regarded as professional cohorts. Thus Tacitus' Nervian cohorts have nothing to do with the later cohh. I - IV Nerviorum. Most of Tacitus' infantry auxiliaries would not have qualified for diplomas : hence they were not professional. In Tacitus "cohors" merely means a tactical association of a particular size, and not a Roman cohort. This last sense is found in Tacitus[121], and there were of course local contingents as in Germanicus' campaigns. But this does not mean that all the German units fell into this category. Kraft himself has quoted the late Augustan or early Tiberian prefect of the cohors Ubiorum equitata, and has shown how many individuals from the German tribes

/mentioned .....

mentioned by Tacitus served in non-German cohorts[122]. The absence of inscriptions recording Nervians or Canninefatians in a coh. Nerviorum or Canninefatium is rather to be explained by local burial customs. The erection of a tombstone recording the name, regiment, age and "stipendia" of an auxiliary argues a degree of Romanization and withdrawal from local usage that had not yet occurred in the case of east Belgians or Germans serving in the regiments known from Tacitus and, to a great extent, from the military diplomas of Britain of the early 2nd century. As Oxe[123] has pointed out, even the commanders of units stationed on the Rhine seem to have preferred to have their ashes sent home to Italy for burial rather than to have been buried near where they served. He quotes the following explicit case :

L. Claudius Ani. Prudens Considianus praefectus alae Frontonianae h. s. e. Ossa monumentum domi.

Therefore it is unnecessary to apply in this area a different principle to that enunciated in the introduction to this chapter, namely, that it is possible to distinguish professional regiments in Tacitus by paying careful attention to the context in each case.

Belgian[124] auxiliaries are not mentioned as such until the "Histories", but a lacuna has been filled to produce a possible coh. [I Belg]arum in the Julian period. An inscription that has probably been defectively transmitted records a coh. I Belgica of the pre-Flavian period :

/"Belgica" .....

"Belgica" however does not normally mean "Belgarum", but "stationed in Belgica". German[125] auxiliaries appeared not infrequently in the late republican period : Caesar had found them useful in the Gallic Wars. Germanicum used them in his campaigns and they are recorded during the Frisian Revolt of 28 A.D. A coh. Germanorum occurs on a Claudian prefectural stone. Nervians[126] assisted Drusus during his invasion of Germany, but do not re-appear until the Batavian Revolt and the British military diplomas. The Batavians[127] received a particularly good press in the Julio-Claudian period until their revolt in 69. Thereafter they appear on inscriptions and diplomas. The Batavians assisted Germanicus in his German campaigns, but contact with them must go back to the initial invasions of Drusus in 12 B.C. In the "Germania" Tacitus refers to the "antiqua societas"[128] they had with the Romans. They were exempt from taxation but as it were "set aside for war". In the "Historiae"[129] the "vetus institutum" of their being commanded by their own chieftains is mentioned. The origin of the Batavian auxiliary regiments is to be found in the treaty which they concluded with the Romans, presumably at the time of Drusus, wherein they agreed to supply troops under their own commanders. In spite of this arrangement they were no less "professional" than other alae and cohorts, since they are found serving far from their home area in the period under discussion. A Sugambrian[130] cohort operated away from home in Thrace in 26 A.D. The Sugambrians had proved troublesome at the time of the Augustan invasion across the Rhine, and in 9 B.C. Tiberius had accepted the surrender of Suebians and Sugambrians, 40,000 of whom were

/transferred .....

transferred from the right to the left bank of the Rhine[131]. It is most probable that Sugambrian regiments were created at this juncture to draw off some of the militarily active among the transferred settlers. An ala Canninefatium[132] assisted the Romans in the Frisian Revolt of 28 A.D. The Canninefates, who reappear in the "Histories", were closely associated with the Bataviane and lived next them. It is most probable that the origin of the Canninefatian auxiliaries is the same as those supplied by the Batavians. Vangiones and Nemetans[133] helped to repulse a Chattan raid in 50 A.D. The question of when the Vangiones and Nemetans were allowed to settle on the right bank of the Rhine together with the Triboccans[134], who are mentioned in the "Histories", cannot be considered here. If the transfer does not go back to Caesar, it must have occurred in the early imperial period. One may surmise that the regiments of Vangiones and Nemetans originated at the time of their formal settlement in the Worms-Speyer region.

A lengthy list of peoples living in the vicinity of the Rhine and involved in one military capacity or another in the upheavals of 69 A.D. was culled from the "Histories"[135]. They were the

Baetasians, Batavians, Belgians, Caeracates, Canninefatians, Germans, Helvetians, Lingones, Nervians, Sequanians, Sunucans, Treverans, Triboccans (discussed above), Tungrians, Ubians, Vangiones.

(It is true that some of these were the supporters of Civilis, but the circumstances suggest that this was a temporary defection and that earlier they had supplied auxiliary assistance to Rome.) The Caeracates are

/otherwise .....

otherwise unknown. No Tribocan regiment is known, but individual Tribocans served in auxiliary regiments[136]. The coh. I Helvetiorum and the coh. I Sequanorum et Rauracorum were creations of Hadrian, the coh. II Treverorum of the Severan emperors, but individuals from these peoples served in other regiments in the early empire[137]. The Batavians, Belgians, Canninefatians, Germans, Nervians and Vangiones have already been discussed. The coh. Ubiorum of the late Augustan or early imperial period has also been noted above. The Ubians had sought, or been forced to accept protection from Caesar during the Gallic wars. Agrippa is credited with having transferred them to the left bank of the Rhine[138]. Whether they were transferred earlier under Caesar, or when Agrippa transferred them cannot be discussed here. They certainly must have supplied auxiliaries from the date of their resettlement if the inscription just mentioned is to be explained. Possibly some of the "German" auxiliaries of the late republican period came from them. The Baetasians, the Batavians, the Lingones, the Nervians, the Sunucans, the Tungrians and the Vangiones are all attested in regiments mentioned on diplomas of the Flavian period from Britain. It is true that, as in the case of the Canninefatians and Ubians, regiments of these peoples are found in other provinces, but the large number of "Germanic" units in Britain, several of which are not found in the above list from Tacitus, but are known only from the epigraphical record, point to a wholesale transfer of regiments from the Rhine to Britain, presumably by

/Vespasian. .....

Vespasian. The earliest on record is of the coh. II Lingonum and the coh. II Nerviorum of 98, pre-supposing an enlistment of soldiers into the units at the latest by 73. This particular transfer does not exclude the presence of regiments of Germanic or Belgian origin in Britain earlier : some Batavians at least were in Britain before 69. All indications however point t. a special measure taken by Vespasian to deal with the aftermath of the Batavian Revolt.

Two further items may be noticed. A coh. I Aresacum[139] is known from a single reference, a dedication to a prefect commanding it. The Aresacea were a small tribe in the vicinity of Bogu . (mainz) in upper Germany. Only one "double" regiment apart from the late coh. I Sequanorum et Rauracorum is known, the ala Asturum et Tungrorum[140].

The peoples discussed from this region fall into several groups. Several, especially the Belgians and subdivisions such as the Nervians, were prominent in Caesar's Gallic Wars where their military excellance is commented on. At what stage permanent units were formed from them cannot be determined. Others such as the Ubians are known to have had diplomatic dealings with Caesar and to have been re-settled on the left bank of the Rhine not later than the early Augustan period. (The Sugambrians form a special case here.) The transfer would appear to be the natural occasion for the creation ofregular auxiliary regiments. Others, such as the Batavians, seem to owe their involvement in the auxiliary system to the campaigns of Drusus and his successors from 12 B.C. onwards. Certain

/transrhenane .....

transrhenane tribes supplied "auxilia" as late as Germanicus in 14 - 16 A.D. Had Rome taken permanent occupation of the region between the Rhine and the Elbe the Frisiavones, Chaucones, Cheruscone[141] and others would no doubt have given their names to regular units. But the disaster of Varus and the cessation of campaigning across the Rhine in 16 prevented this development.

Britain has a fixed "terminus ante quem" - 43 A.D. A cohors or cohortes Britannorum was involved in the Vitellian attack on North Italy in 69. Agricola used "Britanni" from the long pacified South at the battle of Mons Graupius in 84[142]. A con. III Britannorum[143] has been dated to 69 A.D. It was described as part of the "exercitus Raeticus". The deceased recorded was only 25, with 6 "stipendia", which means that the regiment cannot be dated before 63. When it was raised is not clear, but it must have been transferred from Britain at some stage under Nero for it to have formed part of the Raetian army by 69. The inscription

T. F. Draccus eques alae I F. D. Brit. m. c.R. civis Sequanus an. XXXV stipendiorum XXII[144]

may be included as the next datable evidence, although it refers to an ala Britannica : in view of the uncertainty regarding the names of British regiments, units entitled Britannicae will be included here. T. Flavius Draccus must have acquired his citizenship under Domitian, if D is correctly expanded to Domitiano. The bestowing of the imperial name and the grant of citizenship was probably made during one of Domitian's Danubian wars, that is either in 86 or 92/3. The inscription comes from Vindobona

/(Vienna), ...

(Vienna), where the regiment is recorded on the tombstones of 2 other T. Flavii, but with Augusta replacing Domitiana, due to Domitian's "damnatio memoriae". The ala I Britannica, which recalls the ala Britannica in Italy in 69, can be brought down to 74, if Draccus died in the last year of Domitian's principate. Should he have died in either of the wars mentioned above, it can be brought down as early as 70 or even 64. Presumably it was milliaria from the outset. Whether it owed its title F(lavia) to Domitian or to Vespasian is not clear.

.../ Virseuccius /.../si eq. imag(inifer)coh. I brit. tur. monta. ann XXXV sti. XV h. s. e. Dodiccius imag. et Albanus h. p.[145]

has been assigned to the Flavian period on epigraphical grounds. The names Dodiccius and Virseuccius are Celtic, if not actually British. But since the regiment comes from Pannonia, where a coh. I Britannica is recorded, Britannica must be the correct expansion of Brit. Presumably the soldiers concerned were Britons drafted into a coh. I Britannica that was transferred to Pannonia in the Flavian period. A coh. I Fl. Brittonum[146] occurs in Dalmatia in the Flavian period. /"coh. I Br. --> eq."[147] was commanded by a prefect who was a "fidelis divi Titi" and therefore presumably to be dated not long after Vespasian or Trajan, allowing the regiment to be regarded as Flavian. In the Flavian period tiles were fired in lower Germany by a coh. II Brit. (at Vetera-Xanten) and coh. II Brit. m. e. (at Fectio-Vechten) and a coh. VI Br. (at Vetera). These two regiments were Brittonum[148].

/The .....

The titulatures found on the earlier diplomas may not be listed. The

ala I Flavia Britannicians milliaria c. R. occurs in	102
(ala I Flavia Aug. Britannic. —ɔ c. R.	114)
coh. I Britannica (in Pannonia)	80 and 84
(coh. I Britannica milliaria	85
coh. I Britannica —ɔ c. R. (in Moesia superior)	105)
coh. III Britannorum (in Raetia)	107
coh. I Brit. milliaria	85
coh. II Brittonum —ɔ c. R. p. f. (in Moesia superior)	100
coh. II Brittonum (in Mauretania Caesariensis)	107
coh. III Brittonum	100

If the minimum of 25 years be subtracted from the dates given, the coh. I Britannica can be brought down to 55 and the coh. I Brittonum milliaria to 60. The other regiments remain Flavian. The lengthening titulatures and the use of the sign —ɔ for "milliaria" on the later examples should be noted. The ala I Flavia (Augusta) Britannica —ɔ c. R. of 102 and 114 (77 and 89) confirms the titulature of the ala I Flavia D(omitiana) Brit(annica) m(illiaria) C. R. noted above. The coh. I Brit(annica) has been discussed above, as well as the coh. III Britannorum, which must have returned to Raetia after the civil wars of 69.

The nomenclature of the British regiments causes difficulties,

/especially .....

especially when abbreviations occur. The coh. III Britannorum is the only definitely attested regiment Britannorum in the epigraphical record. The cohortes Brittonum form the majority. The title Britannica would normally mean "coming from" or "stationed in Britain", not "consisting of Britons". Cheesman[149], however, has remarked that "it does not seem possible to make any distinction, chronological or otherwise, between the titles Britannica, Britannorum, and Brittonum". Fabricius[150], however, has defined the Brittones as "die zu Beginn der Flavierzeit noch unabhängigen Briten und die in den folgenden Dezennien aus den Neuunterworfenen gebildeten Truppen, im Gegensatz zu den Britanni, den früheren römischen Untertanen der Insel, und den alae und cohortes Britannicae, den aus den britannischen Provinzialen ausgehobenen Britten Auxilien". But, as noted, the coh. I Brittonum milliaria goes back to 60, just before the revolt of Boudicca under Nero, and the other cohortes Brittonum listed above go back to 75 - 8, before the great thrust north in the middle Flavian period. Therefore Fabricius' contrast between Brittones and Britanni does not appear tenable. There seems no reason for interpreting the term Britannica in the senses proposed by either Cheesman or Fabricius. If Fabricius' "Provinzialen" mean "Roman citizens in Britain", the names quoted above do not bear his contention out. It is true that Britons appear to have been recruited into the coh. I Britannica before it was transferred to Pannonia, but it was usual for the peregrine inhabitants of a province to be drafted into any regiment in the province. The ala I Britannica is significantly named

/the .....

the Britannicians on the first diploma in which it is mentioned : this termination for units stationed in a province, both legionary and auxiliary, is found even in the literary record[151]. Accordingly the ala I Britannica and the coh. I Britannica probably need not be regarded as the equivalent of regiments Britannorum.

The evidence for British auxiliaries cannot be dated earlier than the principate of Nero. But already by then a regiment had been transferred to Raetia. It seems likely that British units were raised soon after the invasion under Claudius but that the vagaries of the literary record and the fact that the habit of erecting stelae was not adopted immediately have resulted in a lacuna in the evidence.

Illyricum, later Dalmatia and Pannonia. The Scordiscans are named as allies of Tiberius in 12 B.C.[152] A Dalmatian levy, also under Augustus, led to the Pannonian Revolt of 6 A.D. Dalmatians supported the rebellion of Furius Camillus Scribonianus in 42 A.D. under Claudius. Licinius Mucianus levied 6000 Dalmatians, most probably for auxiliary service, in 69 A.D.[153] Velleius describes the Pannonians during the revolt of 6 - 9 as if they had previously been in auxiliary service, and an ala occurs in Armenia under Nero[154]. No Scordiscan regiment is known, but a Scordiscan is recorded in the ala Frontoniana in the 1st century[155]. A coh. IV and a coh. V Dalmatarum were stationed on the Rhine in the pre-Flavian period, but cannot be dated close to the revolt, after which they were presumably formed. Nesselhauf has argued that a fresh series of Dalmatian regiments

/was .....

was formed by Claudius and sent to Africa in connection with the establishment of the Mauretanian provinces. He does not refer to the rebellion of Scribonianus, which would certainly have formed a reason for the creation of new regiments if one were needed. Certainly epitaphs of the 1st century of Dalmatians in a coh. VI and a coh. VII Dalmatarum have been found in Mauretania Caesariensis[156]. These 2 regiments were "equitatae", since "equites" are recorded in them. One regiment that was not called Dalmatarum but came from the Dalmatian region was discovered after Cichorius drew up his lists, the coh. Liburnorum[157]. An unnumbered ala Pannoniorum is attested in Dalmatia, probably in the Julian period, since it was early moved to Pannonia, by the tombstone of a standard[158]. As noted, a man with a Claudian nomen served in ala Pannoniorum I (with the "early" position of the numeral)[159]. The coh. I Pannoniorum was noted in 69, but is attested earlier by Julio-Claudian epitaphs in upper Germany[160]. The South Pannonian tribe of the Breucans is represented by a coh. II Breucorum, noted under 69; Cichorius would place a prefect of a coh. I Breucorum known from Tarsus in the 1st half of the 1st century and the coh. VII and VIII Breucorum are recorded on pre-Flavian inscriptions from upper Germany[161]. As far as double regiments are concerned, the 2 alae Gallorum et Pannoniorum have already been mentioned. A coh. I Pannoniorum et Dalmatarum eq. c. R. is first recorded under Trajan. 2 neighbouring small Pannonian tribes were combined in the coh. I Latobicorum et Varcianorum according to a diploma published after the war[162]. The unit was stationed in Germany in 80 A.D., which confirms the expansion Latobi(corum) rather than Latobi(enium;

/on .....

on a stone from Colonia Agrippinensis (Cologne) :

Aemilius Lascius ci(uis) Cannan. mil. cho. I Latabi. an. VL sti. XXII h. f. c.[163]

It is not clear whether the Cannanefatian soldier served in a coh. I Latabicorum that was later joined to a coh. Varcianorum, or whether the joint title was abbreviated on the stone. The coh. II Varcianorum eq. noted above was a separate regiment.

Moesia produced very few regiments : it will be convenient to consider the Thracian and Bosporan areas that were associated with it at this stage. Although Thrace did not become a province until 46 A.D., Thracian auxiliaries had fought with Roman armies from republican times. Under Augustus the Odrysians may well have supplied auxiliaries. The Thracian king Rhoemetalces provided cavalry for the Romans during the Pannonian Revolt. Although the Thracians were still in client status, they were threatened with the Roman "dilectus" under Tiberius and "rebelled"[164]. An ala I Thracum, a coh. Traecerum (sic - probably = I Thracum), I Thracum, IV Thracum and VI Thracum with Thracians serving in them are known from the Rhine front in the Julio-Claudian period. Kraft has accepted the date of 5 A.D. for the following inscription :

C. Tutius Mani f. Dans. eq. ex co. IIII Thrac. ann. XXV st. X h. s. e.[165]

None of the other inscriptions can be definitely dated to before Claudius.

/This .....

This inscription would therefore be a remarkable exception and would prove the existence of Thracian units serving far outside Thrace before the troubles under Tiberius. As noted above, 3 double regiments comprising a Thracian element are recorded on a diploma of 54 A.D. Further, as noted above[166], a Thracian was discharged from a double regiment containing a Thracian element, the ala Gallorum et Thracum Antiana, in 54 A.D., which means that his enlistment can be brought down to 29 at least - very soon after the suppression of the Thracian troubles under Tiberius. The epigraphical evidence remains inconclusive : Thracian regiments certainly existed soon after 26 A.D., long before Thrace became a province. The literary references make it likely that they existed before then, operating on the Danube front at least. A coh. I and a coh. II Flavia Bessorum[167] are known from Trajanic diplomas. These may have been the only Thracian units named after a particular Thracian tribe. The question of the "mysterious"[168] ala VII Phrygum may be raised here. It may well be the same unit as the Flavian ala Phrygum, a prefect of which was noted above. The ala is normally ascribed to the Phrygians of Asia Minor, but it is possible that it was raised from the Phrygians who had settled in the Thracian area and who were more usually known as Bryges to the Romans.

Bosporan auxiliaries were noted in 49[169]. But although Bosporus remained a client kingdom until the late imperial period, a coh. Bospanorum was attested under Augustus. As noted, an ala Bosporanorum appeared on prefectural stones of the Flavian period, but is attested in the pre-Flavian

/period .....

period by the epitaph of a Gallic auxiliary in Syria and a Ubian in Moesia[170]. As noted, a double ala I Gallorum et Bosporanorum occurs on a diploma of 144 A.D. ; whether the pre-Flavian Gallic auxiliary just mentioned can be pressed to mean that the regiment bore a double title by that date seems doubtful.

Strabo[171] reports the transfer of 50,000 Getans from across the Danube into the Moesian area by Aelius Catus (who was consul in 4 A.D.) He says that these people were then called Moesians. Whether this transfer involved the drafting of men into auxiliary units cannot be decided, since there are regiments neither of Getans nor Moesians. The ala I Vespasiana Dardanorum[172] came from Moesia. It is known from a diploma of 99, enabling it to be dated to 74 at the latest. Presumably the large number of Thracian regiments - even the Dardanians were regarded as Thracian - accounts for the absence of a series of Moesian units.

Much of the evidence for Eastern regiments is Flavio-Trajanic or later, and therefore not of great value for investigating origins. Further many client kings, who had their own professional armies, continued to supply auxiliary assistance throughout the 1st century A.D. This meant that the creation of professional auxiliary units did not have to occur on the same scale as in the west. Cretan archers were famous in the republican period, as noted ; a coh. I Cretum was dated to the Claudian period by nomenclature. Whether the establishment of the unit antedates the formation of the joint province of Crete and Cyrene in 27 B.C. can of course not be decided.

/Cyprus[173] .....

Cyprus[173] was made an Imperial province in 27 for a brief period before it became senatorial : however the date of the coh. IV Cypria and the unnumbered coh. Cyria that was stationed in the client kingdom of the Bosporus cannot be established with precision.

Regimental names appear not to have originated in the province of Asia. Even if the tentative "Thracian" suggestion for the ala Phrygum given above be not accepted, it is more likely that the Phrygian unit came from the province of Galatia, to which part of Phrygia was added in 25 B.C. Further East there were auxiliaries from Pontus supplied by the client king. When the area became a province under Nero, at least 1 cohort of the old royal army was incorporated into the Roman army. It was garrisoning Trapezus (Trebizond or Trabzon), and Tacitus bitingly describes its condition in 69 A.D. : although honoured with Roman citizenship and armed in the Roman way, its discipline showed "Greek" laxity[174]. Pontus however does not appear in epigraphical titles. Cilicians[175] appeared in the republican period and on supporting the rebel Piso under Tiberius in 36 and 52 one of their dissident tribes had to be disciplined. Parts of Cilicia had come under Roman provincial control in the republican period, but Vespasian first established the imperial province of Cilicia. The Moesian diploma of 78 noted above mentioning a coh. Cilicum records the discharge of a

Veranii Publi f. Aeg.

As Neesselhauf points out, Aeg. is probably an abbreviation of Aegae in

/Cilicia .....

Cilicia (Ayasch) rather than Aegiasus in Moesia (Tultscha). If so, we have a Cilician recruit discharged after the minimum 25 years from a Cilician unit. In all likelihood the unit was in existence by 53 at the latest. It may well go back to Tiberius or even earlier. Antiochus of Commagene[176] regularly supplied troops for Roman wars in the East : he had been king from the time of Gaius until Vespasian annexed the area after invading it in 72. However Commagene had been a province under Tiberius (from 17 - 38). A prefect of an /ala C/ommacen. is recorded on a badly damaged inscription from Galatia of Tiberian date. This has been referred to the Pisidian town of Commacum, but in view of the common variation between C and G on Latin inscriptions, Petersen's suggestion that an ala (?) Commagenorum is meant seems more likely. He would ascribe the unit to the period when Commagene was a client kingdom, that is before 17 A.D. However it may have been formed when the area became a province. An ala Commagenorum is next mentioned on an Egyptian diploma of 88, implying the existence of the regiment in 58. Other Commagenian units do not appear to provide pre-Flavian evidence.

Syrian auxiliaries occurred in the republican period and are recorded in the Jewish wars of the principate by Josephus. A coh. Surorum was dated to the principate of Tiberius by nomenclature.

C. Iulius Dapnus charte Surorum annorum L militauit annis XX missione accepit pro meritis suis fecit Iulia Vartinig uiro suo ob meritis b. s. e.[177]

is difficult to assess. Since it comes from Mauretania, it would appear to

/belong .....

belong to 42 or later, since Mauretania was incorporated then. However the 30 "stipendia" and the nomen C. Julius, with the element Julia in the wife's name, seem to point to the Julian period. The possibility may be ventilated that the veteran was involved in the fighting that broke out after the execution of Ptolemy of Mauretania under Gaius, and owes his name to that emperor, settling in Mauretania after it had become a province. If this possibility is accepted, Dannus' entry into the regiment can be dated to the end of Augustus' principate. The coh. Silaucienaiu.[178], dated by a Tiberian nomen, was assigned to Seleucia Pieria (near Suveydiye), the port of Antioch. The Herodian Aristobulus[179] who was transferred from the kingdom of lesser Armenia to Chalcidene in northern Syria in 71 assisted in the Roman invasion of Commagene, as noted. He seems to have remained king of Chalcidene until the end of the Flavian period. A prefect of a coh. Chalcidenorum of the Neronian period is known, which means that the district was supplying regular "auxilia" from before the Flavian period. Sohaemus of Emesa (Homs)[180] assisted in the same invasion. Emesa became Roman under Domitian, but the coh. I Hemesenorum is not known before the middle of the 2nd century. A coh. II Cyrrhestarum[181] is attested in Dalmatia in the 1st century. One stone records a non-citizen with 35 "stipendia" to his credit. This probably makes him pre-Claudian, when citizenship was normally awarded for such lengthy service. If this is so, the unit must go back to Augustus. The regiment probably owes its name to the Syrian district of Cyrrhestica.

Moving south of Syria, the cities on the coast of Judaea, which

/ contained .....

contained sizeable non-Jewish elements in their populations, the Ituraeans and even the Arabs supplied "auxilia". A corps of "sagittarii", apparently from Ascalon (Ashkelon near Askalan), honoured an auxiliary prefect in 1[illegible] A.D.[182] The evidence for the Caesareans is entirely and for the Sebastenians mainly Josephus[183]. It was seen that the 300X Sebastenians in the client army of Herod the Great had become 1 ala and 5 cohorts, each quingenary, presumably soon after Judaea became a province in 6 A.D. When Judaea temporarily reverted to the status of a client kingdom (from 41 to 44 A.D.) the regiments came under the control of the Jewish king. At his death they were regarded as Roman once again, and Claudius threatened to transfer them away from Judaea (without doing so). They remained in Judaea until Vespasian sent them to an unspecified place or places. A coh. I Sebastena was stationed in Syria in 88, according to a diploma. This leads one to assume entry of recruits in the cohort by 63. Most of Iturasea[184] remained a client kingdom until the death of Agrippa II about 93 A.D. Ituraeans provided a bodyguard for Mark Antony and served as auxiliaries in the late republican period. Aemilius Secundus' expedition against them during Sulpicius Quirinius' governorship of Syria under Augustus is known from an inscription (quoted above). Nomenclature places the ala Augusta Ituraeorum under Tiberius. A prefect of a coh. Ituraeorum set up a dedication in 50. Obvious Easterners served in a coh. I Ituraeorum stationed on the Rhine in the pre-Flavian period. Agrippa II[185] regularly assisted Roman generals fighting in the East. 3 of his officers also commanded Roman auxiliary

/regiments. .....

regiments. Whether whole units of his passed into the Roman army or not is not recorded : the possibility that an ala Agrippiana was named after him (and even that one was named after his father Agrippa I) has been noted. If some of his army was incorporated into the professional Roman system after his death it is probable that the regiments involved bore the ethnic title Iturraeorum. The early Iturraean regiments may be continuations of late republican units, or have been created after clashes such as that recorded under Augustus. Some of the Iturraean regiments in Egypt are not recorded before the Flavian period and may have originated in the fluctuating fortunes of the client kingdom under the two Agrippas. Arab[186] auxiliaries are known from the republic and the Jewish wars of the principate. Single units of Arabs, however, are unattested before the "Notitia Dignitatum". The cotbined ala Parthorum et Arabum will be discussed below.

The Parthians were not in a client relationship to Rome, yet Parthian regiments are found. The Parthian auxiliaries known from the late republic and the principate, (when they materialized), are to be classified rather as supporters of Roman factions than as auxiliaries[187]. Ornospades, however, the "haud inglorious auxiliator" of Tiberius in the Pannonian Revolt, who presumably had a retinue of followers, was a temporary refugee from Parthia. His participation in a Roman war has led to the theory that the Parthian units originated from hostages and refugees in Rome. In particular the C. Julius who was decurion in an ala Parthorum and presumably owed his citizenship to Augustus and who gave his domus as Rome has been thought

/of .....

of as a hostage[188]. But there is nothing to go on as regards the ala Parthorum of Mauretania or the problematical ala Parthorum veterana, the sole evidence[189] for which is a soldier's ring discovered in Germany. So too the coh. Parthorum[190] of Mauretania which is not pre-Trajanic, since its prefect made a dedication to the "Genius Ulpii". The joint ala Parthorum et Araborum occurs on an inscription from upper Germany :

Mario Casiti f. anno. L stip. XXX ala Parto. et Araborum turma Variagnis. Masicates frater et Tigranus posierunt[191].

The comparatively lengthy "stipendia" without citizenship and the obvious Orientals serving in an Oriental regiment together with the usual epigraphical indications allow a pre-Flavian date. Nesselhauf would place the inscription in the pre-Claudian period. In a careful discussion of the inscription, Petersen has shown that 3 of the names are Arabian, 2 (Variagnis and Tigranus) Parthian. Although not rejecting the theory that other Parthian regiments go back to hostages and refugees, he uses this fact to suggest this regiment was formed by Cotys when he was given the client kingdom of Armenia Minor (from where the Parthians would come) and some Arab districts by Gaius. This occurred c. 38 A.D. If Maris belonged to the original enlistment of the unit, the inscription would be dated by his "stipendia" to the very end of the Julio-Claudian period. This seems rather a late date, and tells against the suggestion. Further if Cotys formed the unit, it seems strange that he used Parthian rather than Armenian in the title. However, as in all these discussions, it is a

/question .....

question of one probability being weighed against another.

The early regiments raised in Egypt - the pre-Claudian coh. I Thebaeorum and the ala Xoitana of the Claudian period - have already been noted[192]. The coh. I - and II - Thebaeorum may go back to the early Augustan period, especially since a "defectio Thebaia" is known under the first imperial prefect of Egypt.

It is difficult to know whether Cyrenaica (which formed a joint province with Crete) was the origin of the various cohortes Cyrenaicae that are known. Normally the form Cyrenaica would mean "stationed in Cyrenaica" as in the coh. I Lusitanorum Cyrenaica. Cheesman[193] suggests that in some cases Cyrenaica must mean Cyrenaeorum. There do not appear to be epitaphs of early soldiers in the units which might decide the question : the earliest evidence for a unit is prefectural, from the principate of Nero.

Little survives concerning Africa and the Mauretanias. Numidians are found outside Africa in the late republican period. In the wars[194] fought under Augustus in Africa triumphs were awarded from Africa : the Gaetulians and the Musulamians feature - the Gaetulians supplying the triumphal "agnomen" Gaetulicus. In the revolt of Tacfarinas under Tiberius the Musulamians appear as normally allied. Claudius was responsible for the formation of the 2 Mauretanian provinces : Mauretanian auxiliaries and irregulars appear in 69 A.D. The Moors of the late republic and pre-Claudian period were supplied by client kings. A prefect of a "coh. Gaitulorum"[195]

/has .....

has been recorded for the Claudian period. A series of tombstones of soldiers with African names who had served in a coh. Gaetulorum in the 1st century has been found in the Maritime Alps. These two items of evidence allow the cohort to be placed early : an ala Gaetulorum was dated by a reference to Vespasian. The ala Afrorum[196] is known for the Flavian period on the Rhine : Cagé suggests that it may have come there with the ala Siliana. Regiments with the title Musulamiorum or Numidarum are not known in the pre-Flavian period. An unfortunately damaged stone from Sardinia records a prefect of a double unit including Moors, the coh. Maur. et [Afr?]orum[197]. The coh. Cisipadensium, named after a tribe living near the Syrtes, may be dated to Nero if the centurion serving in it (who had previously been a soldier in the leg. IV Scythica) was transferred to the cohort when the legion left Moesia for the East c. 62 A.D.[198].

The final group of regiments that needs to be considered is that whose titles refer to armour or mode of fighting. This was a common way of describing auxiliaries in the late republican period, as well as in the early principate, in the literary authorities. The term "sagittarii", for example, also occurs on inscriptions, as on a prefectural stone of 18 A.D. There it would seem that the archers were in fact "Asculonitani"[199]. From Dalmatia we have

Beres sagit. h. s. e.[200]

As Alföldy points out, Beres, whose name appears to derive from Beroea in

/Syria, ...

nautarum rather than to an otherwise unkno
ption gives the form nautic. (probably nau

Syria, probably belonged to the coh. II Cyrrhestarum (discussed above : the 3 soldiers known from it in Dalmatia all give Beroea as their domus). Cases such as these explain an apparent discrepancy between the literary and the epigraphical record. Where the first gives "sagittarius", the second came to name an Eastern regiment. There was however a coh. I sagittariorum[201] on the Rhine in the early imperial period with Orientals (and a Cretan) serving in it. It appears both with and without the numeral I. One of the soldiers, a Ti. Julius, had 40 "stipendia" to his credit. This means that he must have entered the regiment at the beginning of the Christian era. The prefect of a coh. equitata who was later recorded in his home town in 26 A.D. has been noted[202]. In the 1st century a coh. Maut.[203] was stationed in the Maritime Alps. It has been expand A new inscription gives the form Matheeine unknown tribal name. A new the Younger[204] mentions a cohors sexta equestris in Bithynia and Pontus the Younger[204] mentions a cohors sexta equestris in Bithynia and Pontus under Trajan - presumably an equestrian unit. The Raetian Gaesati have been considered above.

It has been possible to discover the actual origin of a specific regiment only rarely. In most instances all that we have is a series of references stretching from the late republican or early imperial period to the first epigraphical evidence, in itself hardly susceptible of accurate dating. At precisely what point in this continuum the professional regiment emerged can only be a matter for conjecture. The origin of only 2 regiments can be dated in the late republican period with any plausibility, ...

plausibility, the ala Scaevae and the ala Atectorigiana.

The most definite indications of origins come from the client kingdoms. While the client kingdom was in existence, the ruler might maintain his own army and put it at the disposal of the Romans when required to do so. This applied especially in the East with such kings as Agrippa II or Antiochus of Commagene. The king's forces were usually of a professional calibre, and it was little more than a formal act to incorporate them in the Roman army when the kingdom was incorporated in a province. This is best illustrated by the fortunes of the regiments of Caesareans and Sebastenians or the forces of Polemo of Pontus. But other client kingdoms also supplied troops that came increasingly to fight on the same basis as those drawn from subject tribes. Such were Bosporus and Thrace. However the Thracian troubles under Tiberius show that "professionalization" could be unwelcome.

It is commonly believed that many regiments owed their origin to the enforced removal of young men of military age immediately after the conquest of their tribe[205]. This may be substantiated in the case of Raetia, but even there the evidence is not entirely explicit. It is true that some professional regiments, such as the cohortes Alpinorum and Montanorum, seem to have been in existence almost immediately after conquest. But this does not necessarily mean that the formation of the regiments was regarded as a measure to prevent further resistance. There must have been standard procedures for the provision of "auxilia" by conquered tribes

/or .....

or peoples whose entry into the empire was peaceable. But it would seem that in the early stages new regiments were created for specific purposes rather than as a precautionary measure. The Dalmatian levy that sparked off the Pannonian revolt was intended for the war against the Marcomanni. Indus created his ala to help in the suppression of the revolt of Florus and Sacrovir. Probably the "princeps" Batiana organized his Trumpliniana for the ensuing invasion of Raetia. Similarly the Batavian regiments were probably first provided for the elder Drusus' invasion of Germany. Even where populations were transferred (most notably in the case of the Sugambriani), the same principle probably operated.

The origin of the early imperial professional auxiliary regiments must be sought in the agreement made with Rome when a community was incorporated in the empire or established some other type of relationship. A western tribe, a client king or an eastern city and its surrounding territory would supply troops according to this agreement in the first instance. These agreements are now no longer recoverable in any detail : only the "antiqua societas" of the Batavians survives. As time developed voluntary enlistment or the levy would ensure a continued supply of auxiliaries or even the formation of new regiments. This would be the basic system. But there were also many particular occasions in times of war when special events or personal relationships - as in the case of the "personal" regiments, the alae Parthorum, the cohortes Vasconum - led to the emergence of new units. Their performance in actual engagements and tradition would lead to their acceptance as regular regiments. Too great uniformity must not be sought.

NOTES.

1. Cf. above, p. 211 and 240; 212 f. and 251; 213 and 253; 220 and 259 - this last correspondence is discussed by Callies, "B.R.G.K." 1964, 176; 178 ff. However he does not quote the case of Q. Cornelius Valerinus' "numeri", but gives as his first example an inscription of the end of the 1st century A.D.

2. Cf. above, p. 235 and 275; 249 f.; 247.

3. The epigraphical lists are found on p. 272 ff. For the Tacitean evidence, cf. 209; 215; 216; 219; and esp. 220 - 1. For the Greek evidence, cf. 231; 233.

4. Cf. p. 54(and for the measures taken after the Varian disaster, p. 53).

5. Cf. p. 253 and 52 f.

6. P. 54; 73.

7. 54.

8. 50.

9. 75.

10. Cf. e.g. p. 138 and 262.

11. Cf. above, p. 234 f.

12. Kraft's evaluation of Tacitus' "German" cohorts will be considered below (p. 317).

13. For general comments on the republic, cf. Theodor Mommsen, 7 ff., Callies, l.c.n.1. 139 ff.

14. Cf. above, p. 11; 12; 18 (Germans); 19 (Allobroges) and passim; cf. too the Noricans, p. 11.

15. P. 12; 19; 35 (Lusitanians).

16. 37 f.

/17. .....

17. 15; 35 and passim; cf. too the Thracian Bessi and part Thracian Dardani and even Phrygi, p. 16; 18.

18. 15; 20 (Cretans); 24 (Syrians and Ituraeans - cf. 34); other Eastern peoples, such as the Cilicians are mentioned (17; 20). The Parthians obviously formed a separate category (25; 35; 40). The Arabs, too, were probably involved because of the unusual conditions prevailing in the civil war (18; 35).

19. e.g. 13; 15.

20. Cf. Cheesman, 15 ff.; 52 ff.

21. Caes. "B.C." III, 4, 6.

22. Cf. above, p. 132; 134. Dio XLVII, 27, 4, reports of Alchaedamus the Arab (cf. above, p. 26) that he was prepared to sell his services to the highest bidder.

23. Cf. the passage quoted above, p. 13. For "nouis Gallias dilectibus" before Caesar's invasion of Italy, cf. Caes. "B.C." I, 18, 5. For Pompey's recruiting, cf. App. "B.C." II, 5, 34. For legionary levies in the late republic, cf. Brunt, "J.R.S." 1962, 74 f.

24. Cf. above, p. 53; 151.

25. "B. Afr." 32, 3 - 4; cf. 35; 55; Dio XLIII, 4, 2; above, p. 24; and for "clientela" in the republic Badian, 1958, 252 ff.

26. Cf. above, p. 189, n. 3.

27. P. 128.

28. Tiberius' complaint (Tac. "Ann." IV, 4) about insufficient volunteers applies only to recruits for the legions and to Italy.

29. Kraft, p. 82 ff. For convenient lists of the different groups of "auxilia" cf. Cheesman, 170 ff. For methods of quoting regiments, cf. above, p. 2[illegible].

/30. .....

30. I.L.S. 9156; Kraft, 3002 (quoted below, p. 301); cf. the prefect of the coh. Camp. of the Claudian period mentioned above, p. 258.

31. I.L.S. 2600; Kraft, 3001; C.I.L. III, 14623, 3; Kraft, 3003.

32. I.L.S. 2597.

33. Alföldy, "A. Arch. Hung." 1962, 267; cf. 293.

34. Caes. "B.C." I, 14, 4. The recruiting in this instance was Pompeian, but other levies later in the wars of the end of the republic may well have occurred in the same area, especially as the veterans were settled by a law of Caesar's. (Cf. Brunt, l.c.n. 23, 80).

35. Cf. Nesselhauf's correction of C.I.L. XVI 112 on p. 216 of C.I.L. XVI, and C.I.L. XVI 179 - 80. Accordingly the equation of the coh. I Campana with a supposed coh. I Campestris in "R.E.", Wagner, 114, and Kraft, 3000, must be abandoned. The distinction had been made in Cheesman, 65 - 6, n. 1.

36. Tac. "Ann." I, 8.

37. I.L.S. 2693; "P.I.R." C 1337.

38. "A.E." '55, 113.

39. Cf. above, p. 247.

40. C.I.L. XIII 923 - 4; Kraft, 3021 - 2. For the departure of troops from Aquitania, cf. above, p. 251.

41. Kraft, p. 96 ff., in preference to Cheesman, 66, n. 2. For M. Valerius Messalla Corvinus, cf R. Hanslik, "R.E." VIII A, 1955, 131 ff. (no. 261) (esp. 148). The theory of the origin of the coh. I classica from the fleet at Forum Iulii is perhaps supported by a veteran of the early imperial period who was buried at Forum Iulii and in all probability originated from that city, as Kraft says (I.L.S. 9158; Kraft, 3023). One of the soldiers buried in Aquitania (C.I.L. XIII 923) definitely gives his domus as Forum Iulii.

42. Brunt, l.c.n. 23, 74, n. 60.

/43. .....

43. Cf. above, p. 258. Kraft, p. 195 f., has queried the dating of this inscription to the Claudian period, presumably on the grounds that the procurator to whom it is dedicated is called "proc. Augustor." Usually the mention of the plural Augusti refers to the joint principates of Marcus Aurelius and L. Verus, but it is possible for "Augusti" to be used of successive emperors (cf. e.g. Fitz, "Lat." 1968, 50). This would leave the inscription in the Claudian period because of the Claudian spelling which it exhibits (cf. StHelin, 1927, 1948, 110, n. 3).

44. Kraft, p. 194 f., on C.I.L. XII 3177.

45. Cf. above, p. 102; 263.

46. P. 254; 262.

47. P. 53; 54 f. and Vell. II, 111, 1 for the phrase quoted. Dio (l.c. p. 60, n. 24) also uses the word "freedmen".

48. Macrob. "Sat." I, 11, 32.

49. Kraft, p. 87 ff. Cf. the subsequent discussion of A. Neumann, l.c. p. 282, n. 35, who would allow freedmen as "voluntarii", but says that they would have been disbanded after the crisis had passed. Brunt, l.c. n. 42, appears to accept the traditional view.

50. I.L.S. 2600; Kraft, 3001; 9156; Kraft, 3002; cf. above p. 277 The lack of filiation and "tribus" is strange for citizens. Schillinger-Häfele, "Badische Fundb." 1962, 87 f., suggests that they may have been freedmen.

51. It is true that "voluntariorum" appears in the titulature of a coh. Campana, but not before Trajan (Kraft, p. 93, n. 19). The cohortes classicae also have it after Trajan, but Kraft does not place them on the same level as the cohortes voluntariorum proper.

52. A.E. '66, 478. For an unpublished reference to a coh. Apula, cf. Brunt, l.c.n. 23, 86.

/53. .....

53. Cf. above, p. 160; 169.

54. I.L.S. 2679. L. Rustius Picens is otherwise unknown.

55. Cf. a Greek inscription of a procurator of the Claudian period, L. Pupius Praesens (for whom cf. A. Stein, "R.E." XXIII, 1959, 1994 (no. 15) who had been [illegible] (I.L.S. 8848); an epitaph of Germania superior, most probably of the Flavian period (C.I.L. XIII 7296; Kraft, 523). On several inscriptions (I.L.S. 2497; Kraft, 521; C.I.L. XIII 11869; Kraft, 522; A.E. '62, 290) the name is abbreviated to Picent. or Pic. Cf. above, p. 169, for the diploma spelling.

56. Thus Jullian, 1913, vol. IV, 137, n. 1; rejected by, e.g., Stein, 1932, 147, n. 192; 148.

57. Caes. "B.G." I, 12, 3. For Pompey and Picenum, cf. Brunt, l.c.n. 23, 71; 77; 85.

58. Cf. above, p. 248. Wagner, "Germ." 1963, 325, dates the regiment to 15 - 14 B.C.

59. C.I.L. XVI 3; 87.

60. Cf. above, p. 283, n. 43.

61. ibid.

62. Discussed above under the "citizen" or Italian regiments, but more commonly classified here.

63. Cf. above, p. 116; 261 and 266; 249; 258 and 146; 283, n. 43; 265; 116; 90; 269; 283, n. 43; 260 and 133 and 186; 254 and 150; 263 and 171 and 137 and 159; 171; 272; 132 and 272.

64. Stein, 1932, 121 f., referring to C.I.L. XVI 69; and followed by Gilliam, "C. Ph." 1961, 100. Stein mentions the possibility that even the Agrippiana (Miniata) was named after a Jewish Agrippa, since Agrippa I accompanied Gaius on his German expedition in 39 - 40 A.D. For the Jewish kings, cf. above, p. 101; 95.

/65. .....

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62. Discussed above under the "citizen" or Italian regiments, but more commonly classified here.

63. Cf. above, p. 116; 261 and 266; 249; 258 and 146; 283, n. 43; 265; 116; 90; 269; 283, n. 43; 260 and 133 and 186; 254 and 150; 263 and 171 and 137 and 139; 171; 272; 132 and 272.

64. Stein, 1932, 121 f., referring to C.I.L. XVI 69; and followed by Gilliam, "C. Ph." 1961, 100. Stein mentions the possibility that even the Agrippiana (Miniata) was named after a Jewish Agrippa, since Agrippa I accompanied Gaius on his German expedition in 39 - 40 A.D. For the Jewish kings, cf. above, p. 101; 95.

/65. .....

65. "P.I.R." A 780. Cf. above, p. 116; cf. the discussion in Wagner, l.c.n. 58, 326 f., n. 39, and, for the veteran, Kraft, 291.

66. For C. Vibius Fansa, cf. above, p. 248; cf. Wagner, l.c.n. 58, 317 ff., esp. 326 f.

67. Moreau, "Viertelj. Trierer Gesells." 1960, 2 (also in 1964, 244 ff.) dates the inscription to the Flavian period on epigraphical grounds, but the argument for the Tiberian nomen outweighs this.

68. For T. Pomponius Petra, cf. R. Hanslik, "R.E." XXI, 2952, 2343 (no. 63) above, p. 253; cf. Stein, 1932, 146 f.

69. C.I.L. XVI 69; cf. Stein, 1932, 148 f.; for C. Proculeius cf. R. Hanslik, "R.E." XXIII, 1957, 72 f. (no. 2).

70. I.L.S. 2490 and Dessau ad loc. For M. Cassius (or Caesius) Scaeva, cf. Münzer, "R.E." III, 1899, 1744 (no. 87).

71. Cf. Cheesman, 46, n. 1; for C. Silius, above, p. 65.

72. Cf. above, p. 129; Stein, 1932, 153.

73. For L. Tampius Flavianus, cf. B. E. Thomasson, "R.E." Suppl. IX, 1962, 1391 f. (no. 1a); Reid'nger, 1956, 43 ff. (who gives the emended form of I.L.S. 985 referring to the transfer of "Transdanuuiani" into Pannonia, but who does not accept the connection between Tampius Flavianus and the ala Tampiana). For a similar transfer, probably under Nero, cf. I.L.S. 986 : "plura quam centum mill. ex numero Transdanuuianor. ad praestanda tributa cum coniugib. ac liberis et principibus aut regibus suis traneduxit".

74. Domaszewski, 1908, 1967, 122. Cf. the doubts of Wagner, "Festschrift des R.G.Z.M." III, 1953, 97.

75. For T. Statilius Taurus, cf. Nagl, "R.E." III A, 1929, 2199 ff. (no. 34).

76. Cf. above, p. 249 f., and Stein, 1932, 123.

77. For Flavus, cf. above, p. 210; 69; and Stein, 1932, 137, referring to C.I.L. XVI 44.

/78. .....

78. Cf. above p. 90, and, for Indus, 65; Stein, 1932, 141 f. For Indo, cf. above, p. 137 and Münzer, "R.E." IX, 1915, 1369, and Kitterling, "B.J." 1[illegible], 182, for connecting him with the alu.

79. The Antiana, Petriana and Aurlana have been discussed above. The evidence for the other regiments, unless given, will be found under the year stated in C.I.L. XVI.

80. In a diploma referred to by Wagner, l.c.n. 58, 326 (cf. A.E. '61, 128). For the Capitoniana, cf. also A.E. '62, 264.

81. A.E. '62, 255. A praef. alae I Tungrorum Frontoniana" is recorded on C.I.L. XI 4745 : not pre-Vespasianic, since leg. VII Gemina has the title "felix" on it (for which, cf. Kitterling, 1371.). For the Tungri, cf. above, p. 119, n. 21.

82. Wagner, l.c.n. 58, 326 f., n. 31.

83. A.E. '62, 253.

84. A "praef. alae I Fl. Gallorum Taurianae" is recorded on I.L.S. 2751 (from Africa).

85. Kraft, p. 33 f.

86. Badian, 1958, 212 ff.

87. On "hospitium", cf. W. Leonhard, "R.E." VIII, 1913, 2493 ff.; "D.S." III, 1044 ff. (esp. 1058 ff.). Cf. above, p. 129, for the incident.

88. Tac. "Hist." I, 54.

89. Kitterling, l.c.n. 78, 167, referring to I.L.S. 6099.

90. Cf. above, p. 255 f.

91. Hatt, 1959, 59 ff. The municipal position of the Allobroges Roucillus and Egus at the outset of the Civil war of 49 B.C. has been noted (p. 19) and may be taken as an example of the extension of the system away from the home area, as it were.

/92. .....

92. For the I Claudia eq., cf. A.E. '55, 216; for the I Lepidiana eq., above, p. 267.

93. Cf. above, p. 252.

94. C.I.L. XVI 34; cf. 40.

95. I.L.S. 2993; cf. the discussion in Meloni, 1958, 1966, 77 ff.; for the Ligures, cf. above, p. 192, n. 47.

96. Cf. above, p. 250 f.; cf. Ritterling, "Klio" 1927, 82 ff. on the Alpine cohorts generally.

97. Hefner, "Germ." 1966, 401. For Galba's recruiting, cf. above, p. 129 f.

98. C.I.L. XI.I, 6361. Kraft, "J.R.G.Z.M." 1957, 100, has argued that the ala Vallensium was early since it has no numeral. For the Vallenses and their incorporation in the Alpes Graiae et Poeninae, cf. H. van Effenterre, "R.E." VIII A, 1955, 280 ff.

99. For the Egyptian regiment, cf. above, p. 280; 281; for the western regiment I.L.S. 9141; Kraft, 711; quoted below; for the Vocontii, cf. above, p. 285, n. 60.

100. Ritterling, l.c.n. 78, 183, as corrected in Stein, 1932, 151, n. 266.

101. Cf. e.g. Stein, 1932, 87 f.

102. Cf. above, p. 255.

103. Ritterling, "Korresp. Bl. westd. Z." 1897, 239.

104. Cf. above, p. 169, and Stein, 1932, 184, n. 186, on the alleged coh. II Biturigum.

105. I.L.S. 2993; cf. Alföldy, l.c.n. 33, 296.

106. Kraft, p. 26 ff. Cf. above, p. 116; 274; 280. As Wagner has pointed out (l.c.n. 82), the veterana Gallica, but not the Gallorum et Thracum, had dropped the adjunct "et Thracum" by 88. For the ala Gallorum et Thracum Constantium, cf. A.E. '61, 319.

/107. .....

107. Cf. above, p. 13; 25; 49; 130.

108. C.I.L. XIII 11[illegible]7; Kraft, 341; cf. Keune, "T.A." 1935, 76 ff., who suggests that another soldier at Augusta Trevererum whose father's name is common in Spain, but whose regiment is not known (3636) probably belonged to this ala. For the date of the foundation of the colony cf., e.g., Kornemann, l.c.p. 191, n. 23; Kau, l.c.p. 80, n. 11.

109. Cf. above, p. 252; 255.

110. C.I.L. XVI 51; the regiment appears as "coh. II Vasconum equit." on a prefect's stone from Spain, and as "cohors II Hispana Vasconum ciuium Romanorum" on one from Narbonensis : presumably the need to explain the tribal name caused the insertion of the provincial adjective, which reappears in the slightly different form of "coh. II Hispanorum Vasconus c. R." in Mauretania Tingitana in 156/7 (I.L.S. 2712; 5274; C.I.L. XVI 181 - 2).

111. I.L.S. 2509; Kraft, 131; for the Ubii, cf. above, p. 196, n. 135; for the ala Asturum II, p. 254.

112. For the Scubuli, cf. above, p. 2[illegible]2, n. 190; 254; Kraft, 350; Wagner, 64 ff. Gerov, "A. Ant. Hung." 1967, 93 ff., in discussing A.E. '67, 426, which records an early decurion of the ala in Moesia, disputes Wagner's suggestion that the regiment was stationed in Aquileia, claiming on the basis of the new evidence that it was on the Moesian front from the Tiberian, if not the late Augustan period.

113. García y Bellido, "A.E.A." 1961, 139 ff.; cf. A.E. '63, 27. (For the Gigurri, cf. Hübner, "R.E." VII, 1910, 1357).

114. ibid.

115. Thus Kraft, 460; Wagner, 173 f. on I.L.S. 2757, recording "L. Volcacio [illegible]. f. Vel. Fr[illegible] praef. coh. I Noricor. in Germ. praef. ripae Danuui et ciuitatium duor. Boior. et Azulior. trib. milit. leg. V Macedonicae in Moesia praef. alae I Pannonior. in Africa" :

/Macey .....

Mocsy "Hist." 1957, 495, n. 51, puts the command in the Neronian period. For the Noii, cf. Ihm, "R.E." III, 1897, 630 ff. (no. 1) (esp. 632 - here the Pannonian branch is meant; for the Gallic, cf. above, p. 153); for the Azali, cf. above, p. 283, n. 43.

116. Cf. above, p. 50; Stein, 1932, 204.

117. Stein, 1932, 205; Nuber, "Limes" VI, 90 ff. Nuber, however, would assign, not 4, as Stein, but 5 regiments to this formation. He suggests that this number was realised not only from the "iuuentus", but also from the "Raetica auxilia" mentioned by Tacitus ("H." I, 67). These however are defined as "Raeticae alae cohortesque" (above, p. 136) and were properly constituted regiments, whether consisting of Raetians or not. (An Raetian alae are known.) They cannot therefore be regarded as a pre-professional force like the "iuuentus". Nuber posits a third occasion, in the Flavian period, on which Raetian cohorts were created.

118. Betz, "Festschrift für E. Meyer" 1952, II, 274 f.

119. "A.E." '62, 245. Cf. above, p. 242 f., and Stähelin, 1927, 1948, 231 f. (cf. 107; 33).

120. Kraft, p. 37 ff.

121. Cf. above, p. 225; 66.

122. Kraft, p. 45 ff.

123. Oxe, "B.J." 1930, 69 f.; quoting C.I.L. XIII 8848.

124. Cf. above, p. 129; 257; C.I.L. XIII 7038; Kraft 1161.

125. Caes. "B.G." VII, 65, 4; cf. VIII, 13, 2; VII, 13, 1. Cf. above, p. 67 f.; 72; 238. A centurion of a "cohors prima Germanorum" is recorded at Aquileia (A.E. '53, 95b).

126. Cf. above, p. 50; 129. "B.R.G.K." XL, 171, records a possibly pre-Flavian Nervian regiment if ---]rvi(?)or. c(?). K. can be so interpreted.

/127. .....

127. Cf. above p. 68, and passim.

128. Tac. "G." 29, 1 - 2, and Anderson ad loc. Cf. the account in "H." IV, 12, discussed above, p. 154.

129. Quoted above, p. 154.

130. Cf. above, p. 73.

131. Suet. "Aug." 21, 1; "Tib." 9; Tac. "Ann." XII, 39; II, 26; cf. Dio LIV 20, 4 - 5; 32, 1 - 2 for earlier Sugambrian raids. For transfers on the Danube Front, cf. above p. 307, 350, n. 73; below, p. 333.

132. Cf. above, p. 72.

133. P. 92. For a discussion of the transfer, cf. Nesselhauf, "Bad. Fundb." 1951, 78 ff.

134. Cf. above, p. 165.

135. P. 220 f.

136. Kraft, p. 36.

137. Ibid, p. 25 f. For the coh. I Helvetiorum and the I Sequanorum et Rauracorum, cf. Kraft, l.c.n. 98, 100; Nesselhauf, "J.R.G.Z.M." 1960, 169. For the Rauraci, cf. Haug, "R.E." I A, 1914, 289 ff. (esp. 290), and for Rauracans serving in the "auxilia", Kraft, p. 49; cf. above, p. 90.

138. Caes. "B.G." IV, 8; 9, 6; 16, 5; Strabo IV, 3, 4, 194; Tac. "Ann." XII, 27; "G." 28, 5; Schmitz, l.c. above p. 198, n. 135, 533 ff.

139. A.E. '29, 173; cf. Klumbach, "Limes" III, 69 ff.; Ihm, "R.E." I, 1903, 125.

140. The coh. II Nerviorum et Callaecorum of C.I.L. XVI 179 - 80 is a mistake for Asturum et Callaecorum : cf. Nesselhauf ad loc.

141. For these peoples, cf. above, p. 50 f.; 63.

/142. .....

142. Cf. above, p. 133; [illegible].

143. P. 264.

144. I.L.S. [illegible]; Kraft, [illegible]. The dating and interpretation here is based on Wagner, 2. ff. Cf. C.I.L. III 4575; Kraft 2[illegible]; T. Fl. Barbi. meter. alae I Fl. Ang. Brit. [illegible] c. R. and 4576, 2[illegible]; T. F. Verecund. Mag... eques alae I Fl. Ang. Brit. [illegible] c. R. turma Italici an. XXXX s. XXX n. s. ss. [illegible] et [illegible] [illegible] et [illegible] hered. For the ala Britannica, cf. above, p. [illegible].

145. I.L.S. 2501; Kraft, [illegible] (on the names); Wagner, [illegible].

146. C.I.L. III 2[illegible]; Kraft, [illegible]; for the date, cf. [illegible], l.c.n. 33, 267.

147. C.I.L. V 6995. Cichorius regards the regiment as Brittonum, since the Brevoorum is not known to have been milliaria.

148. C.I.L. XIII 12424, 1 - 2; 12425; 12423. Cf. the discussion in Rogners, "Nuanga" 1963, [illegible]; "Limes" VI, 65.

149. Cheesman, 171, n. 1. The "I.L.L." and the "C.I.L." do not distinguish the senses.

150. Fabricius, as quoted in Stein, 1932, 245, and largely accepted since then. Cf. e.g. Rogners l.c.n. 148; Frere, 1967, 194.

151. Cf. above, p. 19[illegible], n. 19. For "Britannicae legiones", cf. Inc. "A." II, 1[illegible]; III, 22.

152. Cf. above, p. 53.

153. P. 53; 93; 151.

154. 54; 99.

155. C.I.L. III 3400; Kraft, [illegible].

156. Hesselhauf, "Epigr." 195[illegible], 44 f., discussing I.L.S. 2576 - 7; C.I.L. VIII 9354; A.E. [illegible]21, 31.

/157. .....

157. A.E. '50, 111. Cf. "D.E." s. v. Liburnorum, and Fluss, "R.E." Suppl. V, 1931, 582 ff.

158. I.L.S. 2530; Kraft, 471; cf. Alföldy, l.c.n. 33, 262.

159. Cf. above, p. 262.

160. P. 265.

161. 263; C.I.L. III, 13622; A.E. '45, 78; Kraft, 1211.

162. C.I.L. XVI 158. For the Latobici, cf. Fluss, "R.E." XII, 1924, 965f.; for the Varciani, above, p. 128, n. 158.

163. I.L.S. 9163. Cf. the discussion in A. Alföldi, "A.C." 1948, 13 ff.; above, p. 269, for the coh. II Varcianorum eq.

164. Cf. above, p. 73.

165. C.I.L. XIII 7050; Kraft, 1901, and his comment ad loc. - I have not been able to consult Gerster's work on the date; for the Dans(alae) or Denselethae, cf. Oberhummer, "R.E." IV, 1901, 2101 f.

166. Cf. above, p. 303, 274, 116.

167. For the Bessi, cf. Oberhummer, "R.E." III, 1897, 329 ff. (esp. 330); cf. above, n. 17.

168. Cheesman, 61, n. 7. For the ala Phrygum, cf. above, p. 270, and for the Bryges, cf. Oberhummer, "R.E." III, 1897, 920 f. "Phrygian" auxiliaries were noted in the republican period (cf. above, n. 17).

169. Cf. above, p. 94.

170. P. 269; 270; I.L.S. 2510; Kraft, 281; "A.E." '25, 70; Kraft, 282. Gerov, l.c.n. 112, 101, dates the last inscription to the pre- or early Claudian period.

171. Strabo VII, 3, 10, 303; for Sex. Aelius Catus, cf. "P.I.R."^{2} A 157; cf. A. Stein, 1940, 17.

172. For the Dardani, cf. Patsch, "R.E." IV, 1901, 2155 ff. (esp. 2157); for the republican period, cf. above, n. 17.

/173. .....

173. Cf. above, p. 246 f.

174. P. 178; 99.

175. Cf. above, n. 1[illegible]; p. 75; 95; 177, where C.I.L. XVI 22 is referred to; cf. Nesselhauf ad loc.

176. Cf. above, p. 95; 10[illegible] f.; 178 f. For the /ala C/ommacen. cf. A.E. '26, 82; Petersen "beryt." 19[illegible]6, 68, n. 1, contra Wagner, 29.

177. I.L.S. 2568. Dessau's suggestion ad loc. that the cohort be identified with a "numerus Syrorum" at Caesarea is not convincing : Nesselhauf, l.c.n. 156, 45, accepts it as a cohort. For Ptolemy's execution, cf. p. 112. For other Syrian auxiliaries, cf. p. 106; 182; 255. (Cf. below, n. 184, for the coh. Surorum on the Rhine.)

178. P. 254; 283, n. 40.

179. P. 95; 17[illegible]; 172. For Chalcidene, cf. Benzinger, "R.E." III, 189[illegible], 2074 (no. 3); Jones, 1938, 260.

180. Cf. above, p. 17[illegible]; 122, n. 55; 106 f. For Emesa, cf. Benzinger, "R.E." V, 1905, 2496.

181. I.L.S. 9164; cf. Alföldy, l.c.n. 33, 268. The Syrian Cyrrhestica (for which, cf. Honigmann, "R.E." xII, 1924, 19[illegible] ff.) seems more likely than the Macedonian, which Cheesman, 179, prefers.

182. Cf. above, p. 253.

183. P. 57; 102; 104 f.; 109; 185. A.E. '61, 319, records the coh. I Sebastena again - in 91, still in Syria.

184. For the Ituraeans, cf. above, p. 283, n. 40. For M. Aemilius Secundus, cf. p. 247; for the regiments mentioned 254 f. (Klumbach & Moortgat-Correns' suggestion ("Hermes." 1968, 38) that the coh. I Ituraeorum and the coh. Surorum on the Rhine are "wohl identisch" is most unlikely - regiments named after both peoples are known elsewhere.)

185. Cf. above, p. 95; 108 f.; 267; 271.

/186. .....

186. N. 18; 22; p. 111; 182.

187. N. 19; p. 145.

188. P. 55; 250; Cichorius, 1257, refers to Mommsen for the theory outlined in the text. Cf. Nesselhauf, l.c.n. 191.

189. C.I.L. XIII, 10024, 35, accepted by Cichorius, 1256; Stein (1932, 145) however is doubtful. Uncertainty attaches to the reading ("decu. alae Orthor. (sic) uet. quoi praest P. Vibius Rufus"). Nesselhauf, l.c.n. 191, is prepared to accept the ring, and dates it to the early 1st century.

190. A.E. '56, 62.

191. A.E. '59, 188; cf. Pfeffer, "M.Z." 1957, 120 ff.; "B.R.G.K." XL, 169, with Nesselhauf ad loc.; Petersen, l.c.n. 176, 61 ff. (esp. 68). For Cotys, cf. "P.I.R.^{2}" C 1555.

192. Cf. above, p. 252; 259; n. 64. For the troubles in the Thebaid under Augustus, cf. I.L.S. 8995.

193. Cheesman, 62, n. 6. I.L.S. 2558. "C. Vibius C. f. Cor. Quartus mil. leg. V Macedonic. decur alae Scubulor. praef. coh. III Cyrenei/---" is dated by the transfer of the legion and the cohort to the East in 62 A.D. - cf. Ritterling, 1256; Alföldy, l.c.n. 33, 98. For the ala Scubulorum, cf. above, p. 317, and for a later prefect of the coh. III Cyrenaica sagittariorum (thus entitled), cf. above, p. 206, n. 243; cf. p. 277.

194. Cf. Rommelli, 1959, 175 ff. for these wars. Cf. above, p. 76; 186 f.; 25 f.; 41; 76.

195. Cf. above, p. 258; for the stelae in the Alps, cf. C.I.L. V 7895; A.E. '64, 244 - 5; for the ala Gaetulorum, above, p. 264.

196. Cf. "Germ." 1925, 119 ff. For the ala Siliana, cf. p. 113; 139.

197. C.I.L. X 7600; cf. Meloni, 1958, 1966, 80 f.

/198. .....

198. I.L.S. 9172; cf. Kitterling, 1259; Wagner, 121. For the Classiarii, cf. Ihm, "R.E." Suppl. I, 1903, 299 f.

199. Cf. above, p. 353.

200. C.I.L. III 8734. Cf. Alföldy, l.c.n. 33, 268; 293, 11, 4.

201. Cf. above, p. 250; 254; 268 (for a coh. III sagittariorum).

202. P. 254.

203. For the form "nautic." cf. A.E. '64, 249. 2 apparently early inscriptions record Ti. Julii (C.I.L. V 7887 - 8) without giving "stipendia".

204. Pliny, "Ep." X, 106 - 7; cf. Sherwin- White ad loc., who however regards the term as equivalent to cohors equitata.

205. Cf. the formulation of Huber, "Limes" VI, 90 : Wir wissen von der Aushebung römischer Auxilien in der Kaiserzeit, dass eine besonders starke Rekrutierung bei einer Völkerschaft zu einem bestimmten Zeitpunkt vor allem Strafmassnahme für die Erhebung gegen das römische Imperium war oder als Vorbeugung diente.

XI. REGIMENTAL TITLES.

There was considerable variation in the titulature of auxiliary regiments. This was partly due to the type of document recording the regiment concerned. As has already been seen, the epitaphs of ordinary auxiliaries give the names of their regiments in the briefest form. Stones recording prefects generally have fuller titles. The naming is at its most precise on the military diplomas, although variations have been noted even on these. In spite of the unevenness of the evidence, it is possible to trace certain historical developments in the forms in which titles appear.

Legionary cognomina appear in the late republican period[1]. Some of these are of interest because of parallel developments in the "auxilia". But even auxiliary formations are given names, such as the cohortes Hispanae[2]. Legions are distinguished by the provinces in which they were operating, as the legiones Syriacae[3]. One, the legio Pontica[4], preserves the name of the region where it was irregularly recruited. Some have the name of their commander, like the Afrenianae[5]. The social status of the recruits is referred to in the legiones vernaculae[6] : the "cohortis duae, quae coloniae appellabantur"[7] at Corduba (Cordova) in Spain may be compared with these : the cohorte consisted of citizens from a Roman colony. The "Deiotari legiones"[8] are of especial interest, since they bear the name of a client king which survives in the legio XXII Deiotariana. However it should be noted, as Lesquier has pointed out, that the cognomen cannot be dated before Trajan. He ascribes its re-appearance to the antiquarianism of Claudius.

/Pompey .....

Pompey gave the title "gemella" to a legion formed from 2 older legions[9]. One of the "glandes" or bullets from the battle of Perusia[10] adds the honorary title of "victrix" to a legion.

During the Civil wars of the late republic groups of soldiers were referred to by the names of their commanders. These groups were either legionary or auxiliary, or combined. In particular the following may be noted[11] :

Gabiniani;

"Germani Gallique Labieniani" holding discussions "cum Caesaris equitibus";

turmae Iulianae;

equites Caesariani;

equites Curioniani;

turma Cassiana;

[illegible].

There are two classes of units named after small tribal units, one Italian, the other Spanish[12] :

duae Marrucinorum cohortes

cohors Illurgavonensis.

Two Spanish units are named after their type of armour, the "scutatae ... et caetratae ... cohortes"[13]. The "funditorum cohortis sescenariae II" of Pompey at Pharsalus are in the same category[14].

/Many .....

Many of these terms obviously derived from special situations created by the Civil Wars and the need to distinguish similar bodies from each other. But they make it easy to understand how certain imperial auxiliary titulatures arose. Like some of the legions, alae and cohorts are named after provinces in which they were stationed. The designation of forces in civil wars by the names of their commanders was repeated in 69 A.D., as the legio VII Galbiana, the cohortes Vitellianae and the legio I Macriana[15] show. Names referring to circumstances of origin, as in the case of "gemella", are found in auxiliary regiments. The alae geminae and the Corsican units entitled geminae have already been instanced[16]. "Victrix" will be discussed below, and the names derived from tribes or weapons are too common to need comment.

Cichorius[17] has distinguished 7 categories of auxiliary title. The first, and commonest, is that derived from a tribal name, usually in the genitive plural of the substantive form. Attempts have been made to provide explanations for the names chosen. Mommsen[18] stated that the regional or tribal names of the "auxilia" reveal notable points of comparison with the divisions of the Roman empire in the Augustan period. Further, recruiting on a tribal basis took place especially in North West Spain and in the Belgian and German areas. "Syrian" auxiliaries came from client kingdoms or from districts subject to the control of large cities. He also maintained that areas from which many legionary recruits were drawn supplied few or no auxiliaries. Cheesman[19] drew a distinction

/between .....

between the more peaceful parts of a province and those where a "clan spirit" existed. The former would use a provincial name, the latter a tribal one. Thus in Hispania Tarraconensis, for example, the cohortes Hispanorum came from the more civilized areas while units such as the cohortes Aravacorum came from the wilder North West part of the province. With particular reference to the Danube front, Von Domaszewski[20] distinguished between areas where the legions were normally operative and those like Thrace where they were not. He also distinguished between the period before and after the Pannonian Uprising. In the first type of area before the Pannonian Uprising recruitment was made on the basis of the tribe or "civitas" alone. The reason why so few "civitates" are represented in the lists of known regiments is that most of those that were formed joined the revolt and disappeared during it. Alföldi[21], on the other hand, interpreted the situation differently. He says that the tribes between the Drave and the Danube were not used because they had not been so actively involved in the rebellion, but that the tribes between the Drave and the Save, who were, were required to supply auxiliaries on a large scale. These were immediately transferred elsewhere so that the tribes concerned would be weakened militarily. He includes the whole series of cohortes Breucorum and the regiments of Latobici and Varciani. The tribal principle was not applied in Dalmatia because the whole region had been compromised in the revolt and could be dealt with on a unitary basis. As far as the Belgic area is concerned, van de Weerd[22] suggested that the more warlike "half barbarian" tribes supplied more regiments on the security principle and also

/perhaps .....

perhaps as an alternative to ordinary taxation, as the Batavians further North were doing.

Two broad patterns of name are apparent, as Mommsen made clear. In the west there are provincial and tribal names, in the East regiments named after cities or client kingdoms. But it does not seem possible to go further than that. As seen in the last chapter, it is hardly ever possible to assign the formation of a tribal unit to a specific date. This makes the reference to a particular historical event hazardous. Further, the "security principle" is itself not explicitly proven. We do not know why some tribal names appear, while others do not. (In Germany for example, there were no Suebian or Tribocan regiments, and the Helvetian units were 2nd century formations[23].) Many tribes or other communities supplied individuals to auxiliary regiments, which leads one to suspect that individual recruitment was far more systematic than the naming of regiments that came to have a place in the history of the Roman army.

There appear to have been no historically significant variations in tribal titulatures. The difference between the use of the substantive and the adjective, both in the literary and in the epigraphical record, was probably stylistic : the examples quoted were Tungrorum /Tungra; Alpinorum / Alpina[24]. As noted above[25], a coh. II Vasconum had the provincial adjective Hispana added to its title on a stone set up outside Spain : the stone-masons or their commissioners allowed themselves considerable latitude in what they inscribed on the stones that were erected.

/Cicheriua' .....

Cichorius' next category, that of regiments bearing the names of provinces in which they had been stationed, requires little comment. The usage had been established in the republic for legions, but for auxiliary regiments first appeared in the Claudian period with the ala Augusta Germanica. But it is difficult to know whether some of the regiments entitled Cyrenaica, for example, were not earlier[26].

The third category, comprising the "personal" regiments, has already been discussed[27]. The main development was the addition of the tribal adjunct. This appeared under Claudius, was absent under the Flavians, but re-appeared under Trajan. But even so variations were noted.

Titles derived from the names of emperors, either alone or added to other elements, form the next group. Most of the early datable examples have already been noted. Augusta[28] is the most frequent imperial name. That it appeared under Augustus himself is shown by the cohors Augusta I[29] commanded by Aemilius Secundus in Syria about 6 A.D. An ala Augusta appeared in Spain in 40, and another in Egypt in 57 A.D.[30] A cohors Augusta was noted under the Flavians in the East[31].

Augusta[32] was combined with other types of name. An ala Augusta Ituraeorum in Pannonia was dated by a Tiberian nomen. The ala Augusta Germanica of the Claudian period has just been noted. The cohors II Augusta Cyrenaica was attested on a diploma of 74. Two later instances are of interest. In 122 A.D. Augusta appeared with Gallorum in the titulature

/of .....

of the ala Proculeiana. Augusta replaced Domitiana in the titulature of the ala I Flavia (Domitiana) Britannica milliaria civium Romanorum after Domitian's "damnatio memoriae". As an additional name, therefore, Augusta is not common in the pre-Flavian period on our evidence.

Claudia is a comparatively infrequent title. An ala Claudia was dated to the Flavian period on grounds of nomenclature[93]. The dedication recording the regiment comes from Dalmatia. Other early inscriptions from Dalmatia call the regiment the nova Claudia or the Claudia nova. A "veteranus" and 2 heirs of soldiers of the regiment bear the imperial nomen Ti. Claudius[94]. Presumably all 3 had received citizenship in the Claudian period, if not under Claudius himself. One of the soldiers had served for 22 "stipendia". Even if his heir's citizenship belongs to the last year of Nero, his entry into the regiment can be placed in 46, which is not long after Claudius' accession. Hence the ala can be dated to Claudius. The variation in the name in the early period - Claudia, nova Claudia or Claudia nova should be noted. In a diploma of 160 A.D. it has the additional element "miscellanea", which Nesselhauf suggests may mean that it was a mixed unit containing "pedites". As far as its origin is concerned, Cichorius felt that it may have been a Claudian creation or that Claudia may have been an honorary title accorded to it like the legions stationed in Dalmatia at the time of the revolt of Camillus Scribonianus in 42. Other appearances of Claudia are much later, as in the case of the cohortes Claudiae, or the ala I Claudia Gallorum. Claudia formed part of the titulature of the ala

/Capitoniana .....

Capitoniana in the middle of the 2nd century ; whether the coh. I Clodia eq. represents a coh. Claudia is doubtful[35].

The ala Sulpicia[36], known from a diploma of 78, was plausibly connected with Galba.

One regiment, the ala I Dardanorum, bears the name Vespasiana[37]. It can be dated to 74. That it bears Vespasian's cognomen rather than his nomen Flavius may perhaps be explained by the possibility that it may have been raised or decorated during the year of the four emperors when Licinius Mucianus was forced to deal with foreign incursions from across the Danube on his way to Italy.

Various alae[38] and cohortes Flaviae are known, but the evidence for these is post-Flavian. Flavia appears under Vespasian in the case of the ala I and the ala II Flavia Gemina (74 A.D.) and the coh. I Flavia Hispanorum (78 A.D.)[39]. The soldiers receiving citizenship in these years from these regiments must have entered service not later than 49 and 53 respectively. The coh. I Flavia Brittonum is dated generally to the whole Flavian period, and the ala I Flavia Domitiana ~~>~~ Britannica (at least with this full title) to Domitian. However a trooper's "stipendia" implied the existence of the regiment in 74, if not as early as 64, and the ala I Flavia (Augusta) Britannica ~~>~~ c. R. could be brought down to 77. Hence the element of Flavia in this case presumably goes back to Vespasian ; the regiment under discussion was presumably the same as the

/ala .....

ala Britannica recorded in 69[40]. In some cases regiments which have already been noted later have Flavia as an additional title. Of the personal regiments, the Agrippiana, Gemelliana and Tauriana were so entitled, but not before the 2nd century[41]. The coh. I and II Flavia Pacatorum are Trajanic; besides the coh. Cilicum (later coh. I Cilicum) of Moesia, there was a coh. I Flavia Cilicum according to an Egyptian diploma of 83 (implying the existence of the regiment, if not the title, by 58)[42]. The ala singularium is Flavia in the Antonine period[43].

If the available evidence on imperial elements in titulatures in the period under consideration be viewed together it is clear that where Augusta, Claudia or Flavia is found with a tribal or other name, the regiment concerned may be assumed in most cases to ante-date the imperial title. In other words the imperial element in a composite title can usually be regarded as conferring distinction on a regiment. In the case of the cohors I Augusta and the ala Claudia nova an Augustan and a Claudian date were attested or reasonably deduced. This may mean that the title represents foundation by the emperor concerned. But Cichorius provided an alternative explanation for the Claudia nova, and the ala Galpicia must have contained soldiers who had enlisted in 53 for it to have appeared on a diploma of 78. One must assume that when Galba "created" the unit or when he named it, at least a nucleus of experienced auxiliaries were drafted into it. The case for regarding an imperial name in a title without tribal or other elements as an indication that the regiment was founded by the emperor concerned is somewhat stronger than that for regiments with composite titles. But in general it

/seems .....

seems wiser to regard imperial names as indications of distinction conferred upon a regiment rather than as proof of their having been founded by the emperor named.

"Sagittaria" is the only term that needs consideration in the category of armour and weapons. The cob. I Hecalonitanorum is so entitled in 156/7 A.D., but Hecalonitani and sagittarii are associated on a monument of 1[illegible] A.D.[44] Similarly the ala I Augusta Ituraeorum is "sagittaria" on a diploma of 15[illegible][45]. "Sagitteriorum" seems to have been the earlier form, as in the case of the cob. I sagittariorum and the III Cyrenaica sagittariorum[46]. Early auxiliaries' tombstones use neither form : occasionally however an auxiliary describes himself as a "sagittarius"[47].

Cichorius includes various tactical concepts, words referring to the size or calibre of a unit or to the original composition in the sixth category. The first that may be taken is "equitata", which appears only on prefectural stones in the early period. As in the case of "sagittaria", the fact that an ordinary auxiliary belonged to a cohors equitata is known if he calls himself an eques[48]. A few tombstones simply record an "eques" as such. Nomenclature or context usually suggests that the "eques" was an auxiliary serving in a cohors equitata. Thus the Dalmatian recorded as follows

Manes Mansuri f. Dalmat eques h. b. m.[49]

and who comes from a town in the Maritime Alps where several auxiliary

/units .....

units are recorded must have been an auxiliary. "equitata" itself was noted in the early Augustan period : an early variant was "peditum et equitum"[50].

The designation "milliaria" was first found applied to British regiments under Domitian[51]. It was first exhibited on 2 diplomas of 85, suggesting that the regiments were in existence by 6[illegible], and presumably "milliaria" at that date. It was applied in the abbreviated form 'm.' in the titulature of the ala I Flavia Domitiana Britannica m. c. R., dated between 74 and 84. (Later, as noted, the symbol ∞ was used.) This means that the emendation "milliaria" (in the form ∞) on a Sulian cohors Alpinorum is quite unlikely, as already stated[52]. If the British regiments were "milliariae" at the probable date of entry of recruits into them given above, the term is Neronian. As noted above, certain regiments involved in the Jewish war were regarded as milliary because Josephus[53] called their commanders [illegible] or "tribuni". The deduction just made from the epigraphical evidence would provide at least chronological support for this.

"Veterana"[54] is an early appellative : its first use occurred on the coh. II veterana [illegible]iorum under Tiberius. A diploma under Claudius has the ala veterana Gallorum et Thracum. The ala Parthorum veterana was dated early in the 1st century. The ala Afrorum veterana and the cohors I Aquitanorum veterana fell under Vespasian. It may be noted that the latter regiment is known from a German diploma, on which a coh. I Aquitanorum Biturigum is also recorded. It seems clear that the term is being used to distinguish an otherwise similar regiment from another. Ritterling[55] has

/argued .....

argued that the coh. Aquitanorum veterana had come from Moesia to Germany, and points out that "veterana" was comparatively common in Moesian titulatures. He instances further the coh. I Hispanorum veterana and the coh. I Sugambrorum veterana. Terms with the opposite meaning are far less common. The coh. I Sugambrorum tironum was noted on a Moesian diploma of 78[56], and the use of "nova" in conjunction with the ala Claudia nova already been discussed. The Spanish cohors nova tironum combines both terms[57].

The titles "gemina" and "singularium" have already been discussed[58]. The alae I and II Flavia gemina was dated by a diploma of 74, implying that soldiers were serving in the original units, from which the alae were formed, if not the gemina themselves, by 43 A.D. Similarly the cohortes I gemina Cerdorum et Corsorum and II gemina Ligurum et Corsorum of 88 can be back-dated in the above sense to 63. The use of the title for auxiliary units may therefore be Claudian or Vespasianic, - presumably Vespasianic. "Singularium" goes back to Vitellius at least.

Finally, honorary titles. "Civium Romanorum" may be ignored, because of the special sense it bears, when it is found associated with a "citizen" cohort, or even with a regiment like the coh. II Italica c. R., dated to 69[59]. But it also appears after tribal or other elements as a sign of distinction : this usage has been dated to the Flavian period[60]. Nesselhauf however has suggested that a fragmentary inscription probably referring to a Nervian regiment entitled c. R. may be pre-Flavian[61]. But otherwise the first evidence is Flavian, and prefectural - the coh. I

/Breucorum .....

Breucorum eq. c. R., the ala I singularium c. R. and the ala Sulpicia c. R.[62]. It is noteworthy that these regiments all appear without c. R. in the same period, even on diplomas. In fact, c. R. does not appear on diplomas until the Trajanic period[63]. The distinction "torq ta" also belongs first to the Flavian period, as the ala Moesica felix torquata and the ala Taurisma torquata have shown[64]. The evidence is again prefectural. It was pointed out above that the title "felix" which the Moesica has associated with "torquata" was also borne by the legion in which its commander had previously served. "Felix", "victrix" and other titles normally given to legions[65] which occur in auxiliary titulatures in the late 1st and early 2nd century may well have resulted from the association of legion and auxiliary regiment in some joint venture that earned an award.

There appears to be almost nothing to add to the existing uncertainty regarding the numbers which regiments bore in the early imperial period. The variation in their position before or after a tribal name, and even their complete absence, especially on the tombstones of auxiliaries, is not regarded as significant[66]. It would have been useful to know what the numbers of the 6 Batavian cohorts[67] that were associated with the XIVth legion in 60 - 9 A.D. were. It would be hazardous to assume that they were I - VIII, or to connect them with the Batavian cohorts after the Revolt whose numbers are known from the non-literary record. It might have been thought that the British regiments would have revealed some pointers to numbering procedures. But, as noted above[68], even in the last quarter of

/the .....

the 1st century, there was difficulty about the interpretation of the form of the "tribal" designation in some cases. There was an isolated coh. III Britannorum, a coh. I, III and VI Brittonum and probably at least 2 cohortes II Brittonum. (In addition there was an ala I Britannica and a coh. I Britannica, but there seemed no reason for regarding these as British regiments in the same sense.) Whether the gaps in an assumed numerical sequence are to be explained by the incomplete nature of the evidence or by another system of numbering is not clear. Different series of regiments raised on different occasions have been posited in some cases, notably the Raetians and the Dalmatians[6]. The criterion in the first case was the duplication of cohort numbers, in the second early stationing in provinces far from each other. In the latter case a pre-Flavian coh. IV and coh. V Dalmatarum are known from Germany[7], while a coh. VI and a coh. VII Dalmatarum are recorded in Mauretania. These Wenselhuf assigned to a different series with the implication, presumably, that the old numbering was continued.

The alae I and II Flavia Gemina and the cohortes I Gemina Sardorum et Corsorum and II Gemina Ligurum et Corsorum[71] seem to provide evidence of a numbering according to sequence in a series from a particular province. In the latter case the title seems to imply that the emphasis fell on the number. The meaning seems to be "the first cohort, formed from 2 previous units (that consisted of Sardinians and Corsicans)" and "the second cohort, formed from 2 previous units (that consisted of Ligurians

/and .....

and Corsicans)". Otherwise the variation between Sardinians and Ligurians would have been sufficient to distinguish the regiments, which could then have borne the same number without confusion. This interpretation seems to be supported by the order in which numbered units are placed on the early diplomas. The arrangement "coh. I Hispanorum I Alpinorum II Alpinorum II Hispanorum" implies that the "tribal" element was secondary to the number on a diploma of 61[72]. The diplomas under Vespasian[73] place regiments in the order of their numbers with unnumbered units placed at the end of the list. It would appear that, however regiments acquired a number in the first instance, in the classification adopted by the writers of the diplomas it was the number that was the operative factor as far as sequence was concerned. The name was secondary. It does not seem possible to use numbering as a basis for dating. In fact in this matter it is as well to recall the caution expressed by Durry[74] in a recent review : "que les anciens raisonnaient et organisaient autrement que nous ferions, ce qu'il convient de ne jamais oublier lorsque faute de documents décisifs nous raisonnons et réfléchissons au sujet de leurs institutions".

The attempt to trace the development of auxiliary titulatures to the time of Vespasian is limited by the fact that different conventions were adopted by the three main types of evidence, the auxiliaries' tombstones, the prefectural monuments and the diplomas. The prefectural evidence is the most fruitful for this purpose. As Wagner[75] has remarked, the names of regiments are at their fullest on the diplomas from Trajan to Antoninus Pius, with some falling off under Hadrian. Yet the legions,

/If .....

if not the "auxilia", were acquiring extra names in the late republican period. It seems safest to posit considerable variation in auxiliary titulatures under Augustus and Tiberius : even the legions show variations at that period. A certain formalism appears under Claudius, but even then there were variations[76]. Prefects started recording additional items at a comparatively early stage. These appear on the diplomas considerably later. It is not at all clear what form of titulature, if any, was regarded as "official" in the Julio-Claudian period. At any rate it is not profitable to read back the developed form of the early 2nd century titles into the pre-Flavian, or even the Flavian, period.

NOTES.

1. Ritterling, 1367.

2. Caes. "B.C." III, 88, 3. For a "turma Hispanorum", cf. "B. Afr." 39, 2 (cf. above, p. 24).

3. Caes. "B.C." III, 88, 3.

4. "B. Alex." 34, 2; cf. above, p. 20.

5. "B. Hisp." 7, 4. For L. Afranius, cf. Kleba, "R.E." I, 1893, 710 ff. (no. 6). Cf. "B. Afr." 31, 2 : "legiones Iuliannae".

6. Cf. above, p. 25.

7. Caes. "B.C." II, 19, 3. For Corduba, cf. Hübner, "R.E." IV, 1900, 1221 ff. (esp. 1223). For legions recruited from colonies in Spain, cf. above, p. 25.

8. "B. Alex." 39, 2. Cf. above, p. 20. For Deiotarus, cf. above, p. 15. Cf. Lesquier, 1918, 40 ff.

9. Caes. "B.C." III, 4, 1 : the legion is also characterised as "veterana".

10. Ritterling, 1367; "D.S." IV, 552. For the Perusine War, cf. above, p. 37.

11. Cf. above, p. 15 f.; 32, n. 121 (for Labienus, 23, n. 53); "B. Afr." 40, 2; 32, 2; 52, 3 (for Curio, cf. above, p. 30, n. 86); "B. Hisp." 26, 1; App. "B.C." IV, 7, 54 (for Sittius, cf. above, p. 32, n. 125).

12. Caes. "B.C." II, 34, 3; for the Marrucini, cf. Philipp, "R.E." XIV, 1930, 1918 f.; above, p. 15.

13. P. 13.

14. 15.

15. 130; 219; 185.

/16. .....

16. 170; 313.

17. Cichorius, 1224 ff.; 234 ff. Cf. Cheesman, 45 ff.

18. Mommsen, "Gesammelte Schriften" VI, 1910, 63 ff.

19. Cheesman, 57 ff. For Spain, cf. above, p.316f., and for the Aravaci, Hübner, "R.E." II, 1895, 682.

20. Domaszewski, "N. Heidel. Jb." 1891, 199 f. Cf. Wagner, 223 f. For the tribes named, cf. above, p. 330 f.

21. Alföldi, "A.E." 1948, 16; cf. Mócsy, 1959, 120.

22. Heerd, "A.E." 1936, 341; 366.

23. Cf. above, p. 323.

24. P. 274.

25. 353, n. 110.

26. 261; 151; 276; 340.

27. 303 ff.

28. Cf. Lesquier, 1918, 73 ff.

29. Cf. above, p. 247.

30. P. 256; 260.

31. 267; 271; 290.

32. 254 (cf. C.I.L. III 4367; Kraft, 421; for another example in the pre-Flavian period); 261; 169; 307; 326.

33. 272. For the short name ala Claudia, cf. C.I.L. XIII, 7023; Kraft, 236, an epitaph of a Dalmatian in Hoguntiacum.

34. Quoted in Alföldy, "A. Arch. Hung." 1962, 270, 1, 5; 2; 6 (cf. Kraft, 232). For the form Claudia nova on a diploma of 78, cf. above, p. 169; for "miscellanea" cf. Nesselhauf on C.I.L. XVI, 111; cf. Cichorius, 1238, and above, p. 93, for the revolt of Scribonianus.

/35. .....

35. Cf. above, p. 308; 312.

36. P. .1, 307.

37. 333; 177.

38. "D.E." III, 154; cf. A.E. '61, 338 for an ala Flavia II c. R. in Spain.

39. Cf. above, p. 165 f.; 171.

40. P. 151.

41. 305; 309 and 351, n. 84; 116.

42. 332; 334.

43. 161; 171; 269.

44. 282, n. 33; 253.

45. 337.

46. 342; 359, n. 193; 206, n. 249.

47. 263, 341.

48. 262, 313; 330.

49. C.I.L. V, 7893; for another example, cf. above, p. 255.

50. P. 247; 251f.

51. [illegible] ff.

52. 250.

53. 104.

54. 254; 116; 339; 359, n. 189; 171; 169.

55. Ritterling, "Korr. westd. Zeitschr.", 1897, 235. For the Sugambri, cf. above, p. 84, n. 53.

55. Ritterling, "Korr. Westd. Zeitschr.",

/57. .....

57. It does not seem possible to date the inscriptions recording this unit - cf. Barbieri, "B.F.I.C." 1941, 273. Barbieri (268) conveniently lists the inscriptions referring to the regiment. One (C.I.L. II, 4224) records a "praef. chor. nouae tironum orae maritumae", another (I.L.S. 2719) a "praef. fabr. praef. chor. IV Thrac. praef. chor. nouae tironum praef. orae maritumae". Several (2716; A.E. '2 , 230; 234) name a "praefectus cohortis I et orae maritumae", while (I.L.S. 2717) one speaks of a "praefectus orae maritumae cohortis I et II". The variation in the name is puzzling : Barbieri (274) accepts the suggestion that the "cohors I" was the original unit, to which a "cohors nouae tironum" was added, later called "cohors II". As he has shown (e.g. 270; 280) there is no need to regard (as e.g. Cichorius. 352) the cohort as a local militia. On the "praefectus orae maritumae" cf. below, p. [illegible].

58. Cf. above, p. 170, 313; 368; 363; 161; 171; 269; 369.

59. P. 298 ff.

60. Kraft, p. 101.

61. Cf. above, p. 354 , n. 126.

62. P. 269; cf. 273 f.

63. Cf. the examples, quoted above, p. 308 f.; 327.

64. 171 f.; 276; 272; 276; for the expression "bis torquata" cf. Radnoti, "Germ." 1961, 458 ff.

65. Cf. what is said in the references above, p. 282, n. 203.

66. P. 247; 278.

67. 88; 132; 135; 141; 148.

68. 327 f.

69. 318; 329 f.

/70. .....

70. 329. The prefect of a coh. III Dalmatarum is known from Germany, and cohortes I and II Dalmatarum appear in Britain, presumably transferred there from Germany.

71. Cf. above, p. 313.

72. P. 116.

73. 168 ff.; 177.

74. Durry, "R.E.L." 1968, 66.

75. Wagner, "Germ." 1963, 347. For some instructive simplification of titles after Trajan, cf. Forni, "Athen." 1958, 185 ff.

76. Cf. e.g. above, p. 117.

XII. THE PLACE OF THE "AUXILIA" IN THE ROMAN ARMY.

The typical Roman army engaged in a major operation in the period under discussion comprised three elements - legionaries, competent or "hard-core" auxiliaries and additional troops drafted for the occasion. In practice the dividing lines between these elements were not clear-cut. In this chapter the different categories into which both legionary and auxiliary might be classified will be considered, and then the relation of the "professional" auxiliaries to these and their function in the army as a whole will be considered.

Firstly there were questionable or "pseudo" legions that arose when the need for legionary recruits was particularly acute. Such were the legio Alauda, Deiotarus' legions, the legio Pontica, the legiones vernaculae, and Brutus' 2 Macedonian legions[1]. In addition to these specific cases, recruits "of all sorts - cuiusquemodi generis", deserters and slaves are said to have been drafted into legione[2]. The first two in the list appear to have survived as legions of the imperial army[3]. The Alauda was originally recruited from Gallia Narbonensis, the Deiotariana from Galatia, both areas which, on the face of it might have supplied auxiliaries, but which in fact did not do so to any appreciable extent. (Macedonia, too, was not an area noted for auxiliary recruits). Legions of questionable origin next appear under Nero, who drafted one from the fleet. Galba formed the VII Galbiana, Otho formed another legion from the fleet, as did Vitellius, while Clodius Macer drafted the I Macriana Liberatrix[4]. The fate of these

/need .....

need not concern. Galba and Macer may have relied mainly upon Roman citizens resident in Spain or Africa for their creations, but the other formations were composed of lower elements in the Roman army system itself. The situation in 69 had altered from the position in the late republic, where what might have been regarded as possible auxiliary material was formed into emergency legions.

Sometimes Roman citizens (or what could pass as their equivalents) were drafted into smaller units than legions. Such were the 2000 volunteers from colonies in Italy that supported Octavian in 36 B.C.[5] The cohors Apulum, the cohortes colonicae and the coh. Parr. formed independent tactical units[6]. The imperial cohortes civium Romanorum and cohortes voluntariae continued this development[7]. Italians were used even as cavalry. Octavia is said to have sent Antony an [illegible] in 36[8]. Plutarch assigned Pompey 7000 cavalry at Pharsalus who were the "flower of Rome and Italy". The number is certainly suspect, but Caesar reports the fact that Pompey trained 500 slaves and shepherds in Italy as cavalry[9]. Italians appear to have served as cavalry not only in the legions but also as separate "alae"[10].

The Roman historians often draw attention to the use of inferior material in times of civil war without stating that it was drafted into legions. The urban plebs was not highly regarded as military material, nor were tenants from Italian estates[11]. Naturally slaves[12] - the "extremum auxilium" - were the most despised, but resort was often had to them, as

/well .....

well as to freedmen[13]. Gladiators - "deforme auxilium" - were found useful, presumably because they had undergone a training of sorts[14]. Those whose base was Italy or who did not have immediate access to the frontiers and the armies stationed on them made full use of such sources in the early principate[15]. Another was that provided by fugitives, deserters and camp-followers[16].

Just as there was a comparatively broad spectrum of material from which legionary and pseudo-legionary formations might be drawn, especially in times of crisis and shortage, so there was wide range in the calibre of recruit used for auxiliary units. Auxiliaries were traditionally regarded as more expendable than legionaries : Labienus, for example, openly boasted during the African campaigns of the Civil war of 49 B.C. that he had acquired such a large number of auxiliaries that Caesar's men would grow weary from the very effort of killing them[17] ; in other words they were "cannon fodder" pure and simple. Much later Tacitus regards it as a matter for congratulation that victories can be gained without the shedding of Roman blood, since auxiliaries could bear the brunt of the fighting[18]. This attitude was especially adopted towards new recruits hastily drafted to meet an emergency for which they could not be trained - such were the Gauls of Vitellius, stigmatized as being "inter insania belli" or the "segnis numerus" of Nervians and Germans he had used as stop-gaps on the Rhine[19]. Such passages must not be taken as indicating that besides the professional auxiliaries there existed another category of troops

/or .....

or "Hilfskontingente" as Gallies proposed[20] - as has been argued in earlier chapters, the troops which he would designate as semi-permanent national contingents were in fact either "ad hoc" auxiliaries supplied for a particular occasion or units that were essentially professional. The criterion is rather one of quality and fighting calibre[21] - Tacitus can bring himself to call the Batavian and Canninefatian cohorts that defected to Civilis a "iustus exercitus"[22].

A type of auxiliary force that does not fit into the general auxiliary pattern is the so-called provincial militia[23]. This was a local force under local control. The only definite example is the body of Helvetian soldiers that garrisoned a "castellum" in their own territory at Helvetian expense[24]. The case of the Raetian "iuuentus" that helped oppose the Helvetians is less clear. The fact that the Raetian "iuuentus" was "aueta armis et more militiae exercita" definitely implies planned military training. But whether they were on quite the same footing as the Helvetian militia is not certain[25]. Even less is known about the "Noricorum iuuentus", also attested in the fear of the Four Emperors[26] : the passage in which they appear implies that they were sufficiently prepared to be able to assist the regular auxiliaries at a time of emergency. Elsewhere "iuuentus" seems to have looser connotations. It is applied to local rebel forces fighting against Rome or sharing in Roman civil contests[27]. Its basic meaning appears to have been that age-group in a community that was ready for military enlistment[27]. This is shown especially clearly by the Jewish "iuuentus" sent to Sardinia[28]. Generally speaking the "iuuentus" was potential military

/material : .....

material : the "iuuentus" found in the revolt of Florus and Sacrovir in 21 or of the Boians in 69, although dangerously numerous, were "semermi" compared with the regular auxiliaries or the legions[29]. It is only in the case of the Raetians and possibly the Noricans that some form of definite military organization is implied. Provincial militias may have been allowed in particular areas without being a regular feature of the early imperial military system, but the term "iuuentus" cannot be taken to imply a militia automatically.

importance of the armies of client kings in the Roman auxiliary system has already been stressed. It will be useful to consider the military assistance which the Romans gave to client kings, although this did not always consist of auxiliary troops or form part of the auxiliary system as such. Suetonius[30] states that Caesar was ready to supply client kings with "auxilia" as part of his programme to gain support for the civil war of 49 B.C. Presumably the kings welcomed such assistance for reasons of both internal and external security. The deployment of Roman troops in a client kingdom is best known in the case of Judaea. In 49 B.C. Caesar gave a Jewish prince 2 "legions" to cause trouble in Syria[31]. Herod the Great received various types of assistance from Roman generals in the period following the death of Caesar. Soon after Actium Octavian presented him with a bodyguard of 400 Gauls who had previously protected Cleopatra[32]. When he became king Agrippa I was allowed to take over 6 auxiliary regiments which had previously served in the Roman army[33]. Although not king of

/Judaea, ...

Judaea but of a neighbouring area, his son, Agrippa II, received support from Vespasian in his own kingdom in 68. Just before this a Roman officer seems to have taken command of archers supplied by client kings[34]. Evidence of a close link between Roman auxiliaries and Agrippa's forces is provided by officers who had served in both armies[35] : the inscriptions mentioning the cohors Augusta with dedications to the king may even seem to suggest that the cohort was in some sense under the king's control. The evidence for the relationship between the Agrippas and the Romans suggests that there were more elements to it than simply the bolstering of a client king by the stationing of Roman troops in his kingdom.

There is less evidence for other areas. Gabinius had left Gauls and Germans in Egypt to support Ptolemy Auletes. Sittius had assisted Bocchus of Mauretania, though presumably on a mercenary basis[36]. The native king long remained an important figurehead for military purposes in Mauretania : in 69 A.D. it could be said of the procurator of Caesariensis that he was prepared to become a new Juba to acquire extra troops. This recalls the "haughty" attitude of Juba that offended the republicans whom he was supposed to be assisting in Africa in 46 B.C., and the suggestion that Ptolemy should be regarded as the nominal commander of the forces that finally crushed Tacfarinas in 24 A.D.[37] This does not amount to tangible proof, but strongly suggests that it was not unthinkable for Romans to be prepared to serve under client kings if the need arose. In 33 B.C. Antony exchanged soldiers with the Medes, presumably so that each could remedy a tactical deficiency in their respective armies[38]. It is probable that,

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when Trebellenus Rufus, an ex-praetor, was sent by Tiberius to act as "tutor" to the children of the recently murdered Cotys in what was then the client kingdom of Thrace, he had a supporting body of troops under him[39]. As noted above, the Cotys who became ruler of the Bosporan client kingdom under Claudius was supported by some Roman cohorts under an "eques Romanus". The arrangement seems to have become permanent in some form or other, since a cohors Thracum and a cohors Cypria are attested epigraphically in the kingdom[40]. Under Koro Tigranes of Armenia was supported by Roman troops[41]. From this it is clear that the Romans were prepared not only to bolster client kings by stationing detachments of troops in their kingdoms but also to allow other types of interchange between client and Roman armies. This did not preclude some of the client kingdoms who were supported in this way from supplying auxiliaries to the Roman army in the normal fashion.

The last category of non-Roman unit drawn from what were normally auxiliary sources was that of the permanent bodyguard. Most prominent leaders in the Civil wars at the end of the Republic had felt the need for protection from a sizeable guard. The type of guard that approximated to the later praetorian guard need not be considered, but the purely foreign bodyguard needs to be reviewed. Caesar used Spaniards. Antony had Ituraeans at one stage. Octavian a Spanish troop[42]. Roman noblemen continued to have personal guards under the empire[43], but increasingly bodyguards came to mean the emperor's "corporis custodes"[44]. Augustus had

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replaced his Spanish guards by Germans who were largely Batavians. Gaius decided to maintain the character of the guard by recruiting Batavians for it - in fact Suetonius describes the guard as a "numerus Batavorum". Later he placed a Thracian, who was presumably a gladiator, in command of them. Before leaving Spain, Galba created a personal guard of members of the equestrian order. He disbanded the German bodyguards (called a "cohors" on this occasion by Suetonius) on reaching Rome, but Vitellius appears to have reinstated them[45]. They are usually referred to by some form of "custodes" or the ethnical term "Germani", although Suetonius calls them a "numerus" and a "cohors". Members of the guard adopted the Roman custom of erecting tombstones recording their service[46]. This still leaves their position in the Roman army ambiguous. Keune is not prepared to assign any importance to the use of the terms "numerus" and "cohors" by Suetonius. But they were obviously thought of and used as part of the army, as their accompanying Germanicus and Drusus the Younger in 14 shows[47]. In other words, being the emperor's personal guard, they were on such a scale that they approximated to a military force.

The provincial militias and the "corporis custodes" may be ranked as para-auxiliary forces : Roman detachments assigned to client kingdoms appear to have been either legionary or auxiliary. This means that apart from what was regarded as unsuitable material for legions in normal times, but which might be used in an emergency as "pseudo"-legionary, the basic pattern of legion, auxiliary regiment and "ad hoc" auxiliary material remains. The variations in the two sub-divisions of auxiliary material were very .....

very great and constantly changing. It remains to list the main roles played by auxiliary forces in the Roman army of the period under study : the emphasis now falls on the more professional auxiliaries.

The relation of auxiliaries to the legions with whom they were associated is not clear. Appian speaks of 5 legions which Pompey had and the cavalry "drawn up with them" ( ); Tacitus assigns "a legion and its 'auxilia'" ("legio ... auxiliaque") to the defence of the frontiers of Africa at the beginning of the principate. Josephus speaks of 4 alae "connected with" 2 Syrian legions ( ) operating in Judaea under Augustus, and uses a phrase suggesting the close association of cavalry and light-armed troops with legions in 37 A.D.[48] The transfer of a legion with auxiliaries is recorded in 58, and at one stage the Fourteenth legion had 8 batavian cohorts as its "auxilia" : legions are spoken of with "their" cavalry in 69[49]. None of these expressions implies more than that auxiliary regiments normally operated with legions : even Cheesman[49a] expresses doubt about the theory that each legion had a certain number of auxiliaries subordinated to it. The picture was somewhat different as far as organization goes.

In 6.A.D. Q. Aemilius Secundus, prefect of 2 cohorts, described himself as having served "in the camp of Augustus under P. Sulpicius Quirinius the legate of the emperor in Syria". Staius, the prefect of the cohors Trumplinorum, served "under C. Vibius Pansa, imperial legate in Vindelicia" (under Augustus). An "evocatus" of Augustus was prefect of a

/cohors .....

cohors Corsorum in Sardinia. A prefect of a cohort in some "army" or other is recorded under Tiberius. A commander of 4 cohorts was "in Spain" in the early imperial period[50]. The diplomas(which first occur at the end of Claudius' principate and under Nero) list regiments in a particular province under a particular governor[51]. In the same period the tribune of the cohors VIII voluntariorum describes it as being in Dalmatia, and Tacitus appears to refer to the auxiliaries of the provinces of Galatia and Cappadocia[52]. In the Year of the Four Emperors "auxilia" are labelled "Moesica" or "Britannica", and alae and conorts "Raeticae", "Pannonicae et Moesicae" (i.e., sets of regiments stationed in those provinces, as distinct from a particular regiment, like the ala Britannica, which happened to bear a "provincial" name)[53]. At the same time auxiliaries supply the information that their unit belonged to the "army of Syria" or the "army of Moesia"[54]. An ala is said to be "in Syria" in the Flavian period[55].

This makes it clear that, in the first instance, auxiliary regiments were not associated with the legions with whom they were operating, but were regarded as belonging to particular army groupings in the provinces under particular commanders. The "provincia" was the basis for calculation, but it is almost impossible to establish the military strength of the auxiliaries in a particular province at a particular time[56]. Strabo informs us that at one stage the army of Egypt consisted of 3 legions, 9 cohorts and 3 alae[57], but the position did not remain constant. In fact Tacitus specifically states that numbers were still fluctuating under Tiberius :

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Author Saddington D
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