

https://dspace.org/

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)

2015-09-11
http://hdl.handle.net/10539/18629

Downloaded from a DSpace repository. https://dspace.org/

only as far as the overall total was concerned was he prepared to say that it was not far different to that of the legions[58]. It is possible to work out the proportion of legionary to auxiliary troops at major battles from Pharsalus to Cremona - the figures have been noticed in previous chapters - but major battles represent disruptions of the normal and do not involve all the troops stationed in a particular area.

However the major role of the "auxilia" remained that of supporting the legions. The classic pattern was one of the heavy armed legions combined with cavalry, archers and various other types of light-armed troops[59]. Besides this, other patterns began to emerge. In the Frisian Revolt in 28 A.D. the auxiliaries bore the brunt of the fighting, while the legions were held in reserve. This pattern was repeated in the early stages of the invasion of Britain[60]. Antonius Primus chose largely auxiliary forces for various advance movements in Italy in 69, probably because he placed a premium on speed, mobility and surprise. When he led the march south to Rome, he left the legions in reserve in north Italy[61]. Eventually, as noted above, generals would pride themselves on winning battles without resorting to legionary intervention at all[62].

Auxiliaries are also found acting independently of the legions on major assignments. An entirely auxiliary force was sent ahead of the legions by the Vitellians to invade Italy ; another was sent to face a serious threat to Gallia Narbonensis. A "praefectus castrorum" commanded a sizeable force of auxiliaries against gladiators later in 69. The Flavians sent an

/entirely .....

entirely auxiliary force against the pro-Vitellian governor of Baetica[63]. Cavalry was especially favoured for independent use. Examples are afforded by its deployment under L. Stertinius during Germanicus' campaigns across the Rhine in 15 - 16 A.D. and by incidents in 69[64] : it was especially Antonius Primus who favoured this arm. It is presumably against this background that the puzzling phrases "praefectus equitatus" applied to Didius Gallus and "praefectus auxiliorum omnium" applied to the brothers Domitius Lucanus and Domitianus Pullus are to be understood[65]. Both occur in the context of major operations - in Gallus' case, the invasion of Britain. Under such circumstances the need for the deployment of "auxilia" on a wide front with great flexibility of movement must have been the reason for the establishment of a separate command, similar to that implied by Primus' strategy in 69.

The "auxilia" were regarded as capable of carrying on independent military operations early. This is shown by the fact that small provinces were assigned entirely auxiliary occupation forces from the outset of the principate. The first recorded case appears to be the "levis armatura" of Raetia[66].

In the civil wars at the end of the republic and in 69 A.D. auxiliary units were left as garrisons of important places[67]. As a result the regiment concerned could gain considerable political importance, as was noted in the case of the ala Siliana in North Italy. In normal times, however, it was along the frontiers that auxiliary regiments served as

/garrisons. .....

garrisons. In discussing the measures which Drusus took to secure his invasion of Germany in 12 - 9 B.C., Florus[68] refers to the placing of garrisons at strategic points on major rivers, and in particular to the erection of more than 50 "castella" along the line of the Rhine. If this statement is correct, the forts must have been manned by auxiliaries. But, as Nesselhauf has pointed out, this cannot be correct as it implies a linear system of defence that was common in the 2nd century when Florus wrote. In the early Augustan system the soldiers were grouped together in large concentrations, and at most the auxiliaries may have been placed in small forts near the legionary camps. Alföldy[69] has suggested that Dalmatia was unusual in having its "auxilia" divided up and stationed at various points in the province in the 1st century - this was due to the fact that the area had been so well pacified after the Pannonian Revolt of 6 - 9 A.D. In discussing the Moesian frontier in the pre-Claudian period, Gerov[70] has suggested that by the end of the principate of Augustus the legion at Oescus (Gigen) was supported by cavalry units stationed at the mouths of small tributaries to the Danube in the area. Safer dating obtains in the literary record. The bringing together of the legion in Africa and the auxiliaries who were "sub signis" in the revolt of Tacfarinas in 17 may imply that by that time the auxiliaries were normally stationed at separate points in the province[71]. As already noted, the first definite indication of auxiliary regiments being placed in a network of forts comes from Britain in the time of Nero[72]. The practice of putting auxiliary units in "hiberna" was established on the Rhine and the Danube front by 69[73]. What became the

/major .....

major deployment of auxiliary regiments - their permanent stationing in forts of their own along the frontiers - must have come about as a result of different developments in different areas. There are, however, strong indications that the system was in full operation in some places by the Claudian period.

A commander of an auxiliary regiment might be assigned a specific function in the area where he was stationed. Under Tiberius the same person was prefect of a coh. Corsorum and of the "civitates" of Barbaria in Sardinia. These communities were in the centre of the island where the population was especially turbulent (the Iliesi today). The next 2 examples, a Neronian "praefectus" of the 2 "civitates" of the Boians and Azalians, and a Flavian prefect of various "civitates" - those of the Maezeans, Daesidiates and possibly the Colapianians - in the Pannonian area, are not specifically stated to have been "praefecti" of auxiliary regiments at the same time. But they were seen in the normal prefectural "cursus", so that auxiliary assistance may be posited for these and possibly some of the other "praefecti ciuitatium" that are known[74]. It would seem that in the less developed areas of certain provinces the Romans gave commanders of auxiliary regiments oversight over specific communities. In Africa the term used was "gens" or "natio". The auxiliary commander who controlled 6 Gaetulian tribes in Numidia has already been noted[75]. The commander of a coh. Augusta of the time of Agrippa II was "praefectus" over some Nomadic Arabian tribes[76]. The "praefectus orae maritimae"[77] was presumably responsible for the safety of a coastal region ;

/comparatively .....

comparatively early instances of such officials who appear to have had associated auxiliary prefectures occur in Mauretania and Spain. The auxiliary commander just noted who was also "praefectus ciuitatium duar. Boior. et Azalior." was also "praefectus ripae Danuui" - responsible presumably for the safety of a section of the Danube as Tutor had been for the Rhine under Vitellius[78].

Besides being used in conjunction with the legions for a wide range of specialist tactic manoeuvres, such as forcing crossings of rivers, as noted in earlier chapters, the auxiliary regiments came to fill a large number of independent roles, only some of which are recorded in the evidence for the 1st century A.D. This increased their "professionalization" and their relative importance in the Roman army to a great extent.

NOTES.

1. Cf. above, p. 12; 20; 25; 35.
2. P. 24 f.; 32, n. 128.
3. Ritterling, 1564 ff.; 1791 ff.
4. Cf. above, p. 130; 142; 152; 186.
5. P. 38.
6. 3[illegible]; 361; 3[illegible]2.
7. 297 ff.; 53.
8. App. "B.C." V, 14, 138, 575.
9. Cf. above, p. 28, n. 45; 12.
10. The ala Vicentina, according to one etymology, was originally Italian (cf. above, p.302f).
11. Cf. above, p. 152 (cf. the tone of Tac. "Ann." I, 31; 16 - although the reference here is to urban legionaries); 12, 15 (cf. Brunt, "J.R.S." 1962, 71).
12. Cf. above, p. 12; 34; 37. The quotation comes from Caes. "B.C." III, 9; 3.
13. Cf. above, p. 21; 37.
14. P. 23; 34; 37; 42 (and 142 for the quotation).
15. 64; 74; 142; 152; 178.
16. 74; 159; 168; 178.
17. "B. Afr." 19, 3 : tantam ex multitudine auxiliorum aduersariis Caesaris sumministraturum ut etiam caedendo in ipsa uictoria defatigati uincerentur atque a suis superarentur (for Labienus in Africa, cf. above, p. 21 ff.; 29, n. 53); cf. above, p. 11.

/18. .....

18. Tac. "Agr." 35, 2. The auxiliaries form the line of battle, the legions are in reserve : legiones pro uallo stetere, ingens uictoriae decus citra Romanum sanguinem bellandi, et auxilium, si pellerentur.

19. Cf. above, p. 134; 155.

20. Callies, "B.R.G.K." 1964 (e.g. 137 ff.; 167 ff.).

21. Of course not all auxiliaries raised to implement regular forces in a crisis were of inferior quality. Indus' troop developed into an ala in all probability, and presumably the "auxilia" who receive honourable mention on the Volubilis inscription were incorporated into the Roman army (cf. above, p. 65; 308 ; 113).

22. Cf. above, p. 164.

23. Cf. e.g. Cagnat, 1892, 1913, 261 ff. (for Africa); Huber, "Limes" VI, 90 (for Raetia); above, p. 350 , n. 57, for the view that the exh. nova tironum was not a locus militiae.

24. Cf. above, p. 136.

25. ibid. Cf. Stahelin, 1927, 143, 145; 190 ff., for both these groups.

26. Cf. above, p. 146.

27. P. 224, 137.

28. 64; cf. 165; 185; 220.

29. 64; 153. Callies, l.c.n. 20, 170, describes most of the "iuuentus" groups discussed in the text as "militärartige militärische Verbände" maintained by tribes that were already supplying regular "auxilia". (But as far as the "auxilia prouincialium" of Cappadocia are concerned, it was argued above that they were normal auxiliaries, and not in the category Callies suggests.)

30. Suet. "Jul." 28, 1.

31. Jos. "A.J." XIV, 7, 1, 123.

32. Cf. above, p. 36; 39 f.; 43.

/33. .....

33. P. 103.

34. 111.

35. 266 f.; 271.

36. 15 f. (for Ptolemy). Appian ("B.C." IV, 8, 59, 256; cf. Lesquier, 1918, 4) - under 43 B.C. - speaks of legionaries who had left with Cleopatra by Caesar, and of legionaries who had survived the defeats of Crassus and Pompey in the East and who were in Egypt - possibly they were in service in Egypt. For Bocchus, cf. 24.

37. 187; 21 ff. (For Juba's haughtiness, cf. "B. Afr." 57); 84, n. 68.

38. 42.

39. Tac. "Ann." II, 69; for T. Trebellenus Rufus cf. A. Hoffmann, "R.E." VI A, 1937, 2261 f. (who denies Rufus any troops, but is obviously thinking of an army large enough to put down the serious uprising that occurred. A token force remains probable). For Cotys, cf. "P.I.R." C 1554. For the setting, cf. above, p. 73.

40. P. 94; for Bosporus and the cohorts cf. Brandis, l.c. p. 121, n. 48 (esp. 788); Cichorius, 277; 341 f.

41. Cf. above, p. 98.

42. App. "B.C." II, 16, 109, 445; cf. Suet. "Jul." 86, 1. Cf. above, p. 14; 34; 53.

43. Cf. e.g. Dio LVIII, 5. 5. Cf. I.L.S. 7448 : Felix German. armiger Tauri f. hic situs est. If, as Dessau ad loc. suggests, "Taurus the son" was T. Statilius Taurus, cos. 44 A.D. (for whom cf. Nagl, "R.E." III A, 1929, 2269 ff. (no. 37)), the inscription could be Tiberian in date.

44. Keune, "R.E." IV, 1901, 1900 ff.

45. Cf. above, p. 52; 90; 114; 131; 190, n. 10; 197, n. 121.

46. P. 255.

/47. .....

47. 70.

48. 16; 112; 57; 75.

49. 96; 132 (cf. 88; 119, n. 16; 135; 141; 138); 147.

49a Cheesman, 51 f.

50. Cf. above p. 247 f.; 252; 254; 298.

51. Cf. e.g. C.I.L. XVI, 4; above, p. 116.

52. Cf. above, p. 262; 99.

53. P. 147; 138; 136; 145.

54. 263 f.

55. 270.

56. Szilágyi, "A. Ant. Hung." 1954, 117 ff., has made an interesting attempt to determine which auxiliary regiments were stationed with the legions in particular provinces at particular junctures in the empire, but, as shown above, the dating of the epigraphical evidence does not permit precision of this order.

57. Cf. above, p. 56. Cf. Lesquier, 1918, 102 ff., for subsequent developments.

58. Cf. above, p. 78.

59. Cheesman, 103.

60. Cf. above, p. 72; 86 f.; and for the basically similar tactic of using a highly trained force to support a spearhead of cavalry, 95.

61. P. 145; 151.

62. Cf. Tacitus' account of the strategy at Mons Graupius quoted, above, n. 18.

63. P. 133; 141; 146.

64. 70 f.; 140; 145; 147 f.; 152.

/65. .....

65. 118, n. 11; 172 f. For an officer in charge of 4 cohortes civium Romanorum in Spain, cf. 290 ff.

66. 251; 253; for Judaea, cf. 104.

67. 12 (at Thurii); Caes. "B.C." I, 63, 1 (Ilerda); cf. above, p. 137; 150 f.

68. Florus, II, 30, 26. Cf. Nesselhauf, "J.R.G.Z.M." 1960, 152 ff. For Drusus' campaigns, cf. above, p. 50.

69. Alföldy, "A. Arch. Hung." 1962, 286.

70. Gerov, "A. Ant. Hung." 1967, 103 f.

71. Cf. above, p. 75.

72. P. 88. Frere, 1967, 75, however, suggests that the auxiliary network was much earlier.

73. Cf. above, p. 155; 159 f.; 163; 177.

74. For the "praefectus ciuitatis" ("gentis" or "nationis"), cf. Enselin, "R.E." XXII, 1954, 1270 ff., and for the examples quoted, above, p. 252; 265; 353, n. 115.

75. Cf. above, p. 206, n. 249, for a praef. gentis Numidar. (without however auxiliaries being mentioned). For "gens" in this sense, cf. "R.E." III, 1922, 484 f.; Cagnat, 1892, 1913, 263 ff.

76. Cf. above, p. 271.

77. P. 271; 380 , n. 57. On this "praefectus", cf. Barbieri, "R.F.I.G." 1941, 268 ff.; 1946, 166 ff.; Enselin, l.c. n. 74, 1333.

78. Cf. above, p. 353, n. 115; 200, n. 171; Enselin, l.c.n. 74, 1335 f.

XIII. HOMANIZATION.

It is a commonplace to point to the auxiliary system as an important factor in Romanization. In this chapter the indications that have emerged regarding its extent in the period under discussion will be considered.

However before this is done it should be recalled that the "auxilia" long retained non-Roman characteristics. This was especially fostered in the sphere of tactics and fighting methods for obvious reasons. However native customs survived as well, as is shown by the readiness with which the term "externus"[1] could be used to denigrate an opponent's forces. It can be applied to legionaries, but the primary sense must derive from the auxiliaries. Allowance must of course be made for rhetorical exaggeration[2] but one merely has to recall Tacitus' description of the cohors Sugambrorum in Thrace under Claudius, or his sneer at the Greek laxity underlying the Roman veneer of the Pontic cohort[3]. At times it was politic to stress the independence of the "auxilia" and to emphasize their non-Roman command. The Romans were happy to regard some forces more as allies than as virtually subordinate subsidiaries. The classic case[4] is Mauretania[5]. The independent spirit of Juba I lived on and a Roman governor is found erecting statues honouring Mauretanian kings with the insignia of Roman "imperatores" for their assistance during the revolt of Tacfarinas, as the following inscription shows :

Veneri signum cum duabus statuis Iubae et Ptolemaei imperatoriis quattuor

/insignibus .....

insignibus ordinatis Sergius Sulpicius Galba procos. Africae ded.[6]

As late as 69 it was felt that a procurator of Mauretania might gain military help if he appeared as a new Juba[7]. 69 is a revealing year in this respect. Although the "auxilia" had been long established by that date those on the Rhine still had a sufficiently non-Roman spirit and character to carry off the Batavian revolt. For this was an event which, for all its "Roman" features, only got off the ground because the auxiliaries still felt closer to their tribes than to Rome. Accordingly it is clear that Romanization was never complete, and allowance must be made for the survival of barbarian features in varying degrees in different stages of development. The various factors that operated in favour of the adoption of Roman attitudes and ways may now be considered.

Not infrequently there had been some preparatory Roman influences at work. The most notable instance of this was the assignation of Roman officials and Roman troops to neighbouring states[8]. How extensive and how enduring this arrangement might be is best illustrated by the Judaean area. The Roman military ideas and something of the ethos of the Roman army would be absorbed by the foreign troops' association with the Romans and by the training given to some of them. When later the area concerned was incorporated into the Roman empire the auxiliary recruits that came from it would not have come to an army system that was completely alien. Less forceful, but probably more pervasive, was the influence exerted by the return of trained chiefs and tribesmen to their own tribe. Attention has

/been .....

been drawn to the effect which the return of Flavus' son, Italicus, to the Cheruscans is likely to have had on their military institutions : Tacitus specifically mentions that he was trained in both Roman and German fighting methods[9]. Deserters, too, like Gannascus, are found putting their expertise at the disposal of tribes on the frontiers[10]. It is true that, in these two instances, the tribes concerned remained outside the Roman empire, but similar situations must have occurred in the early history of peoples who later supplied auxiliary troops on a regular basis - Velleius, for example, notes the transference of Roman discipline to the Pannonian rebels in the uprising of 6 - 9 A.D.[11] Client kings assisted later Romanization by themselves consciously adopting Roman techniques and even Roman terminology for features of their armies[12]. Naturally rebels in the empire modelled their forces as closely on the Roman pattern as possible : the names of Florus and Sacrovir, Tacfarinas and Civilis can be recalled in this connection[13].

Moving to the next stage, it is obvious that the very association of auxiliaries with the legions and their being brought under direct Roman command and discipline forced them to adopt many Roman ideas. This would have been reinforced by their initial training. The classic text is in the "Agricola", where Tacitus refers to a centurion and soldiers put in a new cohort to instil Roman discipline during the period of training[14]. Roman officering also assisted. It is true that some "auxilia", like the Batavians, remained under native commanders, but Roman "praefecti" are known from the beginning of the principate[15]. Regiments with Roman commanders

/must .....

must have had to accommodate themselves to Roman standards and the use of Latin at an early stage. Even decurions (or cohortal centurions) might be Roman. Several were noted in the Julian period, one (Ti. Jul(ius) Niger) being the son of a peregrine whose citizenship appears to have been Tiberian[16]. Others were Claudian and Flavian[17]. However those whose citizenship was recent, like Ti. Julius Niger and T. Flavius Capito, may have been peregrine during part if not the whole of their service : C. Jul(ius) the son of Piridates who was decurion in an ala Parthorum was obviously an Easterner who had been awarded Roman citizenship at some stage or other rather than a Roman citizen placed in a Parthian regiment[18]. In some regiments, such as those of the Batavians, the decurions were obviously not Romans. von Domaszewski[19] considered that the transfer of legionaries to the decurionate in the "auxilia" was characteristic of the early principate, but Cheesman has challenged this view. The evidence referred to above seems to suggest no definite pattern. Probably, as usual, flexibility obtained. If the assumption that certain double regiments arose when a core of trained soldiers served as a nucleus for the formation and development of a new unit drawn mainly from a less experienced people is correct[20], another source of Romanization is revealed. Here however what the Romans required of the new recruits was filtered through non-Romans who had reached the required standard.

The increasing professionalization of the "auxilia" contributed largely to their Romanization. They were felt to belong to the sphere of Roman authority from an early stage. It was this feeling which made Strabo

/and .....

and Josephus call auxiliary units "Roman" cohorts[21]. The degree to which regiments had become professional in outlook is shown by events in the Year of the Four Emperors and by auxiliaries' concern with their status. People of Gallic and other provincial origins were full commanders with all the privileges of Roman citizenship : Julius Classicus, Julius Briganticus, Alpinius Montanus, Julius Civilis and Claudius Labeo form an impressive list from a single area[22]. Auxiliary regiments were assuming positions of authority in relation both to civilian populations and to the legions. The alae Gallicae exerted influence over the politics of Northern Italian towns and the Flavians trained auxiliaries to plunder Italians like any foreign enemy[23]. The Batavians adopted a very independent attitude in their relations with the legions, and had their value openly acknowledged by the legionaries themselves. In Britain the auxiliaries were involved in a dispute between the governor and a legionary commander[24]. It was not however only in the exceptional circumstances of 69 that auxiliaries felt that they could assert their importance. In 61 in Egypt agitation on the part of auxiliaries to be put on the same judicial footing as legionaries was serious enough to call for intervention by the governor himself, who stressed that distinctions between the various arms of service were to be maintained[25].

The most noticeable aspect of the Romanization of the auxiliaries was the granting of Roman citizenship. Precedents and analogies are not far to seek in the republican period. The "equites Hispani" who fought in the Italian war were given citizenship "virtutis causa" in 88 B.C.[26] At the end of the triumviral period Octavian rewarded a Syrian, Seleucus of

/Rhosus, ...

Rhosus, who had presumably assisted him in the naval war against Sextus Pompeius, with citizenship. He also regularized the position of discharged legionaries whose claims to citizenship were invalid or uncertain[27]. After becoming emperor he continued the practice of making viritane grants of citizenship to provincials, as the following inscription from Noricum shows :

C. Iulius Vepo donatus ciuitate Romana uiritim et inmunitate ab diuo Aug.[28]

It is within this context that grants of citizenship to auxiliaries must be viewed. The Cheruscan Arminius had received citizenship and equestrian status from Augustus. Presumably his brother Flavus was also a citizen[29]. Tacitus does not refer to Arminius' citizenship, which is known from Velleius. This leads one to ask whether other chieftains in auxiliary service, like Italicus, had not received citizenship. In any case the citizenship granted to such men may not have been solely a reward for service as an auxiliary, but also part of the process of winning the allegiance of the tribe. C. Julius Macer[30] the "duplicarius" of the ala Atectorigiana, is a much clearer case of citizenship for auxiliary service as such. Two other C. Julii, and a Jul(ius) without a praenomen, were reasonably regarded as belonging to the Augustan period[31]. Thus there is little evidence under Augustus[32], and that is confined to viritane grants. The situation under Tiberius is the same. There is nothing to indicate that Julius Indus[33] received his citizenship as a reward for auxiliary services. But there is a group of Ti. Julii discharged from a wide range of regiments[34].

/Mitterling[35] .....

Kitterling[35] has remarked of those from the cohors Montanorum prima that their length of service suggests that citizenship in the early principate normally came after 30 "stipendia". In fact their "stipendia" totalled 40 in 2 cases, 36 in a third, and 30 in a fourth case. The "stipendia" of other Ti. Iulii, where known, range from 28 (through 36 and 40) to 50. (C. Julius P r had 32, the Jul(ius) without a praenomen 35 years of service eac their credit.).

Under Claudius the commander of the cohort at Jerusalem that guarded St. Paul, Claudius Lysias, had obtained citizenship "with a great sum"[35] : presumably he had acquired citizenship before entry into a military career as a means of reaching a better position than that of an ordinary auxiliary. M. Valerius Severus, commander of an auxiliary force against Sedesos, had obtained citizenship, "conubium" and immunity from taxation for 10 years for his home town[37] : his own citizenship was certainly recent, since his father was a peregrine, so it may have dated from the same incident. Ti. Claudii likely to belong to the Claudio-Neronian period have been listed above[38]. The first diplomas belong to the Claudio-Neronian period[39]. All the Claudio-Neronian and Flavian diplomas use the present tense ("qui militant"[40]) of soldiers in the "auxilia" receiving citizenship after the minimum period of 25 years of service. The implication is that they continued to serve as citizens after the grant. Besides the continuation of viritane grants and the issuing of diplomas, 2 items for Nero and the Flavians remain to be recalled. Tacitus[41] says of the Pontic cohort that it had been granted citizenship, presumably on its incorporation into the Roman army

/when .....

when Pontus became a province under Nero. Secondly, the title "ciuium Romanorum"[42] appears in the Flavian period. This was granted to a regiment for a specific act of bravery in a particular engagement and did not imply that all members of the regiment so entitled were citizens after the date of the original grant : new recruits would retain their pre-entry status.

No indications survive concerning stages in the extension of citizenship to auxiliaries. The introduction of diplomas is dated to the last year of Claudius. Nesselhauf and Sherwin-White[43] have argued the common view, that Claudius was responsible for the decision to grant citizenship to all auxiliaries on active service who had completed at least 25 years of service and, further, to issue documents to this effect. This is certainly of a piece with what is known of Claudius' general interest in spreading Roman citizenship more widely. This however leaves unanswered the question of pre-Claudian practice in this matter. The evidence does not extend beyond viritane grants, although the recipients range from tribal chieftains to ordinary auxiliaries. Since the latter were included, the grants were comparatively extensive. A further question is the nature of the document given to pre-Claudian recipients. The absence of diplomas is the absence of a formalized mass produced document. But C. Julius Nacer[44] refers to a record on bronze ("aere inciso"). What form it took, and whether it was usual for individuals to receive some durable evidence of their new status after being granted citizenship are questions on which the evidence is silent.

Citizenship was not unaccompanied by other privileges. M. Valerius

/Severus[45] .....

Severus[45] obtained "conubium" or the recognition that any marriages that had been contracted by the new citizens of Volubilis with women of peregrine status were regarded as legal in Roman law. Like him, his wife was the child of a peregrine parent. C. Julius Lepnus'[46] wife included Julia in her name, which suggests that "conubium" had been granted. The wording of the diplomas[47] is explicit. "Conubium" applied to only one marriage, either a "customary union" established by the auxiliary while on service or a subsequent marriage that he might contract. As Kraft has pointed out[48], this meant that the soldier himself was free to decide whether to regularize an existing union or possibly seek a wife of higher status befitting his new position in society after his discharge. The diplomas also gave the auxiliary's "children and descendants" citizenship[49].

The bestowal of citizenship may be regarded as formal recognition of the fact that first certain individual auxiliaries, then all auxiliaries had reached an adequate level of Romanization. The granting of supplementary privileges was an indication that the Romans intended to underpin the grant to make its social value as great as possible. A Roman family, rather than individual, was formed. This would maximize the effect of the grant, and encourage voluntary self Romanization to a considerable extent.

So far grants of citizenship have been considered. The possibility that auxiliaries might be given Latin status is suggested by the honorary adjunct "civium Latinorum" that is found in the titulature of the coh. II Lungrorum. Kraft[50] has discussed Mommsen's theory that auxiliaries

/who .....

who have the "tria nomina" normally associated with citizenship but without the "tribus" and giving an ethnicum instead of a city as an origo were of Latin status and shown that it is not tenable. He suggests that if there were auxiliaries of Latin status they came from communities which had that status : they did not receive it during their service. Grosso[51], however, is not prepared to accept Kraft's position; he holds that the "tria nomina" without the tribe must represent Latin status largely on the grounds that this was the position among "equites singulares". But he is mainly concerned with the situation after Trajan. Alföldy[52] has devoted a section of an article to the nomenclature of "Latini", and concludes that there was no fixed pattern. In spite [illegible] it does not seem safe to argue from nomenclature to Latin status. The absence of an element in the names of auxiliaries on their inscriptions may be due to lack of space. Far more important, however, is the fact that all the diplomas speak of grants of citizenship, not of Latin status. This leaves the honorary title in the coh. II Hungrorum [illegible] eq. c. R.[53] unexplained. It is the only case known, and belongs to the late 2nd or the 3rd century. In the middle of the 2nd century certain restrictions[54] were placed on the privileges granted to discharged veterans, and it is possible that this title comes from that context, Latinity being granted instead of full citizenship. Even if this suggestion is acceptable, this isolated instance would not seem to invalidate Kraft's conclusions on Latin status, especially in the 1st century[55].

Much of Romanization was voluntary, the adoption of Roman ways by non-Romans .....

non-Romans of their own accord. This revealed itself in the types of name chosen[56] : peregrine auxiliaries were prepared to choose Latin names or to assimilate their names to a common Latin form. Many of the tombstones erected for auxiliaries refer to wills ("testamenta") which they made. Presumably these were drawn up according to correct legal process. The very erection of a tombstone was in itself a sign of Romanization. It might be that a Roman element was being added to earlier burial customs. The tombstones[57] exhibit Roman art patterns, even if of a low standard, and use the Latin language, even if incorrectly at times. To what extent this can be taken as evidence of acculturation to Roman ways of thought is difficult to determine. The auxiliary system presents a wide spectrum from the retention of non-Roman ways to the adoption of Latin in certain circumstances and of certain Roman customs. That the Romans themselves felt that the level attained was satisfactory is shown by their steady extension of citizenship to those with long service. The auxiliary system was not merely a very important aspect of Rome's military strength and type of administration, but was also a regular and significant channel whereby Roman practices were accepted by provincials and recognized as accepted.

NOTES.

1. Cf. Saddington, "A. Class." 1960, 100; 98.

2. Cf. above, p. 221 f.

3. P. 74; 178 (334).

4. Cf. also Eunones, above, p. 94; 121, n. 49.

5. P. [illegible]7.

6. A.E. '60, [illegible]; Le Glay, "Festschrift" J. Carcopino, 1966, 631. For Juba II and Ptolemy, cf. above, p. 7[illegible]; 76; for the revolt of Tacfarinas, 75 ff. For Galba's governorship of Africa, cf. Thomasson 1960, II, 32 f.

7. Cf. above, p. [illegible]7.

8. P. 3[illegible] ff.

9. 91.

10. 9[illegible]; cf. 16[illegible]; 184.

11. 54.

12. 57; 123, n. [illegible]; 387.

13. 74; 77; 1[illegible] ff. Cf. generally the remarks of [illegible], [illegible]," 1962, 23 f.

14. [illegible] "[illegible]" [illegible] [illegible] [illegible].

15. Cf. above, p. [illegible]; [illegible], [illegible] ff.

16. Cf. above, p. [illegible]; [illegible]; and probably 315; [illegible], n. 12 (the decurion's name was C. Fullonius).

17. 313; 261; 285, n. 64 (on the basis of the decurion's name, L. Gerennius Valens); cf. n. 66, if Bellicius Statutus, as the decurion was named, can be taken as Roman; 359, n. 1[illegible]; 267 (L. Ubulnius); 288, n. 104 (T. Flavius Cupito, whose citizenship was probably Vespasianic).

/18. .....

18. 250.

19. Domaszewski, 1[illegible], 1967, 54; Cheesman 38 f.; Dobson apud Domaszewski, xvi.

20. Cf. above, p. 316.

21. P. 56; 104 f.

22. 133; 139; 151; 154; 157; cf. 156 for presumed Gallic prefects; 257 for an inscriptional example. The Julian nomen of C. Julius Augurinus ([illegible]) suggests a person of provincial origin whose ancestors owed citizenship to Caesar or Augustus.

23. 137; 147.

24. 141; 174.

25. 260; 285, n. 61.

26. 246.

27. Ehrenberg and Jones, 1949, 1955, nos. 301 - 2. The legionaries were presumably of the type discussed above, p.[illegible]f. In these early instances cf. the discussion in Nesselhauf, C.I.L. XVI, p. 147; Sherwin-White, 1[illegible], 1[illegible] f.

28. I.R.S. 1977.

29. Cf. above, p. 51; 21[illegible]; 92.

30. P. 249.

31. 250. The C. Julius Sepnus from Erica ([illegible]) was considered Gaian.

32. Nesselhauf, l.c.n. 27, 14[illegible], has shown that Cheesman (34, n. 2) is wrong to interpret Suet. "Aug." 4[illegible], 2, as a reference to citizenship for auxiliaries.

33. Cf. above, p. 65.

34. P. 254 f.

35. Ritterling, "Elio" 1927, 87 f.

/36. .....

36. "Ac." 22, 26; cf. above, p. 106.

37. P. 112 f.

38. 262.

39. 115.

40. Cf. the summary in Hesselhauf, l.c.n. 27, 157.

41. Cf. above, p. 17[illegible].

42. P. [illegible]. Cf. Kraft, p. [illegible] f., for the significance of the title.

43. Hesselhauf, l.c.n. [illegible]; [illegible]-white, l.c.n. 27, 191 f.

44. Cf. above, p. 24[illegible].

45. P. 113.

46. 335.

47. 115, e.g.

48. Kraft, "Germ." 1[illegible], [illegible] f.

49. Interestingly, restrictions in the privileges granted were introduced under the Antonines. For this cf. Kraft, p. [illegible] ff.

50. P. 70 ff.; cf. exp. n. 25 on p. 74.

51. Gross, "Lat." 1[illegible], [illegible] ff.

52. Alfaldy, ibid., 47 ff. (esp. [illegible]).

53. I.L.S. 2[illegible]. The date is implied by the stationing outlined in Cichorius, 344.

54. Cf. above, n. 4[illegible].

55. The status of the Aeduan "duplicarius" from the ala Pansiana called Julius Saturio and styling himself "Juli libertus" (cf. above, p. 283, n. 43) is not clear - possibly he was one of the Latini Juniani.

56. Cf. the examples noted above, p. 164; 124; 162.

/57. .....

57. r. 320. For discussions of the main types, cf. Klinkenberg, "D..." 1932, 8[illegible] ff.; Reynard, ibid., 185 ff.; cf. Schober, 1923, 13 ff.

XIV. CONCLUSION.

The preceding study of the Roman "auxilia" from Caesar to Vespasian has been restricted by the lack of available evidence that was noted throughout. However certain conclusions emerge even if in a somewhat tentative form.

Literary evidence is more valuable than might be supposed at first sight. Conversely the epigraphical evidence, normally regarded as secure, can reveal considerable variations[1]. The basic pattern[2] of the Roman army at this time - that is, legionaries supported by trained auxiliaries and additional local forces - can be used as a measuring rod to be applied to accounts of battles or other military operations and will usually lead to the isolation of professional auxiliary regiments. The fact that this does not always find confirmation in the epigraphical record need not necessarily cause concern.

As has just been remarked, the basic divisions of the Roman army when fighting during this period were the legions, the professional auxiliaries and extra troops of varying quality drafted for the occasion. In some areas there are traces of local militias, but it is unnecessary to assume that there existed a third category of troops besides the legions and the auxiliaries who were on a more or less permanent basis, namely, the so-called tribal contingents[3]. This is not to maintain that all auxiliaries were at the same level of professionalization : rather there was a wide range of

/quality .....

quality in the auxiliaries that varied from place to place and from time to time.

It is partly due to these differences that it has proved difficult to determine at what stage a particular regiment was first constituted as a professional unit giving long service especially away from its home area. The understandable imprecision in the terminology of the literary authorities, who were not concerned to give the auxiliary regiments they mentioned exact titles, and the comparatively late appearance of inscriptions has added to the difficulty of determining the origins of specific regiments. However it did appear that units might be operating on a fully professional basis although the area from which they came had not been formally incorporated in the Roman empire[4]. Further, particular occasions might lead to the formation of new regiments at any juncture in the period under consideration. But by and large the military provinces of the early empire, and especially the frontier areas of those provinces, supplied the bulk of the professional regiments later known from the diplomas. It is in the history of these areas that origins are to be sought[5].

With these general considerations in mind, the main features of the historical development can be summarised. There had been a long development in the republican period, and Caesar appears to have introduced organizational changes during the Gallic wars[6]. But the Civil wars that began in 49 B.C. and lasted until the Battle of Actium gave the major impulse to the creation of long serving professional units. Leading generals were required to maintain large armies for long stretches of time in

/different .....

different areas of the Roman empire. Major engagements were on such a scale that there were insufficient legionaries (even when liberally interpreted) to satisfy the need for manpower. Differing terrains demanded differing strategies and tactics, which placed a premium upon the diversification which the auxiliaries afforded. Cavalry and, to a lesser extent, archers became increasingly prominent. Indications of incipient professionalization are seen in the probable origin of such personal regiments as the ala Scaevae and the ala Sectorigiana in the triumviral period[7] and the appearance of auxiliaries on inscriptions[8].

That there was a real continuity between the late republic and the empire is shown by the fact that republican type terminology still appeared on inscriptions under Augustus and Tiberius[9]. But there were new developments. Inscriptions have the term "cohors" in the sense of an auxiliary infantry regiment, and distinguish some cohorts as "equitatae"[10]. They record "praefecti equitum"[11] in that wording, which implies the existence of professional alae. The term "ala", however, does not appear on them, although virtually contemporary writers use it[12]. Further, administrative action regarding prefects of alae on the part of Augustus is specifically recorded[13]. But to judge by the variations found on inscriptions, there was no definitive system either of titulature or in the numbering of auxiliary regiments[14].

Many professional regiments must have originated under Augustus[15]. Although auxiliaries co-operated closely with the legions, their formal

/relationship .....

relationship at this stage is not clear. They appear to have been part of the forces assigned to a particular provincial command, rather than units of troops attached in a subordinate way to particular legions[16]. When not on campaign they appear to have been grouped in large concentrations at strategic points, although the custom of placing some units in their own camps near the legionary headquarters may have begun[17]. Their independent use under Augustus is shown particularly by the fact that several of the smaller provinces which he created were garrisoned entirely by auxiliaries[18]. There is very little evidence regarding the extent of citizenship grants to auxiliaries under him. Grants were probably confined largely to the viritane type, especially for tribal dignitaries who led their own forces or for those who proved themselves of more than average worth by reaching such positions as the decurionate[19].

Nowhere is there unambiguous evidence of a single measure on the part of Augustus to establish a unitary auxiliary system per se. We know that some sort of official record was kept of the numbers of auxiliaries on active service, and also that administrative action affecting them was taken at the centre as it were[20]. It could be argued that Suetonius' statement that Augustus determined scales of military pay, length of service and discharge benefits applies to auxiliaries as well as to legionaries : Suetonius actually says that the arrangements were made for all soldiers everywhere ("quidquid ubique militum esset")[21]. But even this cannot be extended to mean that he turned all the non-legionary forces in the provinces into professional units by a stroke of the pen. All indications

/point .....

point to the co-existence side by side of different types of service and levels of sophistication.

Under Tiberius we have the first appearance of the title "veterana" applied to a regiment[22]. The strategy of using the auxiliaries for the main fighting and holding the legions in reserve to assist only in case of need is first recorded for his principate[23]. The use of one or more auxiliary regiments under the command of a "praefectus ciuitatis" (or "ciuitatium") in remoter areas of provinces is also new[24]. But these may equally well have originated under Augustus without being recorded until his successor's principate. Flexibility continued to obtain under Tiberius, as under Augustus : Tacitus specifically records variations in the size of the auxiliary forces and the considerable changing of the positions where they were stationed[25].

"praefectus equitum alae" (foreshadowed by "praefectus alae" under Gaius) becomes a new way of describing a cavalry commander under Claudius[26]. Two other epigraphical developments were first noted under him : the addition of a tribal adjunct in the titulature of a "personal" regiment, and a reference to the province in which a regiment was stationed[27]. Yet considerable variation in titulatures still obtained[28]. Administrative action regarding the prefectural "cursus" is noted[29]. However this was nothing fundamental, as the system of auxiliary prefectures had been established by Tiberius' day. The system of placing regiments in forts spaced at fairly regular intervals as a method of defence emerges from the

/literary .....

literary record[30]. A decisive step was taken in connection with citizenship[31]. This was granted to all who had served a minimum period in the auxiliary forces. The minimum laid down was twenty five years. Although it is possible that some sort of certificate was granted to recipients of citizenship before Claudius[32], the classical diploma appears to have originated in his principate. Regulations regarding legitimizing marriages and the civic status of the wives and children of auxiliaries were also drafted. In many respects, therefore, the work of systematization was continued by Claudius.

The processes of institutionalization proceeded under Nero with the result that the auxiliaries became even more integrated with the legions as professional troops with specific tactical and fighting skills. In certain situations their skills might be more necessary and useful than those of the legionaries. The welcome detail of the "Histories" allows us to evaluate the situation as it was in 69 and the resultant confidence which the auxiliaries felt in themselves in relation to the legions. New features appear in the epigraphical record under Vespasian. Regiments start displaying the honorary title "civium Romanorum"[33]. "Torquata" and "felix" are also found[34]. "Singularis" and "Pacata" as terms denoting the origin of composite regiments drawn from more than one element are Vespasianic or 69[35]. The use of "milliaria" or an equivalent to describe regiments of a thousand men is late Flavian, but can be presumed earlier[36]. There was a great increase in the number of diplomas under Vespasian, but the titulatures they have are comparatively simple, and often record less

/information .....

information than prefectural inscriptions[37]. But in spite of the increased formalism that resulted from the measures which Vespasian introduced to restore discipline to the Roman army after the disasters of 69, there were still many indications that Romanization was by no means complete and that, when conditions were right, indigenous sentiment might assert itself. Even in the second century and later earlier forms of auxiliary organization re-assert themselves, such as the tribal chieftain leading his own men into battle in semi-independent fashion. The classic case is Lusius Quietus the Moor[38]. Further the survival of such types of organization as those under which the Batavians were operating at least as late as 69 and the forces of Eastern client kings until well into the Flavian period[39] show that even in the last quarter of the first century local differences and different command structures were tolerated. Even regimental titles do not seem to have been completely standardized.

Accordingly we are left with a picture of successive stages of development in the auxiliary forces of the Roman world from 49 B.C. to the early Flavian period. Some of the new developments just summarized may of course have been introduced some time before they left their mark in the literary or epigraphical record. And broadly speaking we are left with the impression that the civil wars of the late republic created the conditions for placing auxiliaries on a permanent and professional footing. But the Romans acted with typical regard to the different relationships which different areas of peoples had with them, and also took into account the military effectiveness of the various systems whereby troops were supplied

/and .....

and under which they might operate as constituent elements of the army. At no stage were all auxiliary contingents forced into the same organizational mould. In other words professionalization must be seen to cover a wider range of regiment than the ones familiar from the style used by the diplomas. (For this reason, it is often unsatisfactory to attempt to make the evidence for the early imperial period fit the categories suggested by the "classic" diplomas of the late Flavian, the Trajanic and the early Antonine period[40].) Throughout we are faced with an elastic and flexible approach to the whole question.

With this caveat in mind, it can be seen that Augustus regularized many aspects of the auxiliary system as he had inherited it from the late republican period. The particularly scanty evidence for his principate has prevented any degree of precision in presenting his specific contributions. Claudius next recognized various developments that were implicit in the whole Augustan approach to the role of the army in the imperial system of defence and related the discharge benefits of the auxiliaries to the whole context of the increase of citizenship among provincials in the middle of the first century. Vespasian restored order after the setback caused by the civil wars that brought him the principate, and many of the tendencies to regimental pride and formalism that are inherent in all permanently established units with fixed headquarters and regular sets of duties manifested themselves.

These are the main conclusions of this study. It is to be hoped, however, that the investigations have contributed not merely to Roman

/military .....

military history, but also to wider questions of Roman provincial administration, and have thrown light on stylistic aspects of Tacitus and other writers as well as on early imperial inscriptions.

NOTES.

1. Cf. above, p. 361.
2. P. 234.
3. 384 f.
4. 343.
5. 344.
6. Sander, "H.Z." 1955, 235 f.; 252.
7. Cf. above, p. 342 f.
8. P. 246.
9. 278.
10. 247, 271
11. 278.
12. 235.
13. 58.
14. 376; 373 ff.
15. X passim.
16. P. 391. It is not possible to take Suetonius' remark that the "auxilia prouinciatim distribuit" (p. 58) as unambiguous confirmation of this, since "auxilia" is preceded by "legiones et ..." and the phrase could mean that "legions with their auxiliaries" were assigned to "prouinciae" rather than that the 2 arms were assigned separately.
17. 394.
18. 393.
19. 407, 405
20. 58.

/21. .....

21. Suet. "Aug." 49, 2. (It was noted above (p. 414, n. 32) that even if the passage refers to "auxilia", citizenship was not one of the "praemia" or benefits on discharge.)

22. Cf. above, p. 371.

23. P. 392.

24. 395.

25. 78; cf. 79.

26. 278.

27. 366; 278.

28. 117; 367.

29. 115; 258.

30. 394.

31. 408; 409.

32. 409.

33. 278 (apart from the single doubtful pre-Flavian example on p. 372).

34. ibid.

35. 372

36. 371.

37. 378.

38. Cheesman, 89.

39. Cf. above, p. 335 ff.

40. P. 376.

XV. BIBLIOGRAPHY.

The following is a list of works referred to by abbreviated title or by author.

A. ABBREVIATED TITLES.

A. E. : L'Année Épigraphique, Paris, 1888 -.

B.R.G.K. : Bericht der römisch-germanischen Kommission, Berlin, 1904 -. (Bde. XVII, XVIII and XL contain supplements to C.I.L. XIII.)

C.I.L. : Corpus Inscriptionum Latinarum, Berlin, 1863 - .

C.P.L. : Corpus Papyrorum Latinarum, ed. R. Cavenaile, Wiesbaden, 1958.

D. E. : Dizionario Epigrafico di Antichità Romane, ed. E. de Ruggiero, Rome, 1895 - , 1961 - .

f. : Festschrift.

I.G.R.R. : Inscriptiones Graecae ad Res Romanas Pertinentes, ed. R. Cagnat et alii, Paris, 1911 - 27, Rome, 1964.

I.L.A. : Inscriptions Latines d'Afrique, ed. R. Cagnat et alii, Paris, 1923.

I.L.S. : Inscriptiones Latinae Selectae, ed. H. Dessau, Berlin, 1892 - 1916, ² 1954 - 5.

Limes : The publications of the International Congresses of Roman Frontier Studies (I, 1949 - VII, 1967).

L.S.J. : H. G. Liddell & R. Scott : A Greek-English Lexicon, rev. H. S. Jones, Oxford, 1843, ⁹ 1940, with Supplement, 1968.

O.L.D. : Oxford Latin Dictionary, ed. A. Souter et alii, Oxford, 1968 - .

P. Fouad : Les Papyrus Fouad I, ed. A. Bataille et alii, Cairo, 1939.

/P. Haun. I .....

P. Hamb. : Griechische Papyrusurkunden der [illegible] Stadtbibliothek, I, ed. P. M. Meyer, Leipzig, 1911 - [illegible].

P. Mich. : Papyri in the University of [illegible] ..., ed. C. C. Edgar et alii, Ann Arbor, 1931 - .

P. Milan. : Papiri Milanesi, ed. A. Calderini, Milan, 1928.

P.S.I. : Papiri Greci e Latini (Pubblicazioni della Società italiana per la ricerca dei papiri), ed. G. Vitelli et alii, Florence, 1912 - .

P. Yale : Yale Papyri, cited by inventory no.

P.I.R.^{2} : Prosopographia Imperii Romani^{2}, ed. E. Groag & A. Stein, Berlin, 1933 - .

R. E. : Pauly's Realencyclopädie der classischen Altertumswissenschaft, ed. G. Wissowa et alii, Stuttgart, 1894 - .

R.I.B. : The Roman Inscriptions of Britain, ed. R. G. Collingwood and R. P. Wright, Oxford, 1965 - .

T.L.L. : Thesaurus Linguae Latinae, Leipzig, 1900 - .

B. BOOKS.

Alföldy, G. : Die Legionslegaten der römischen [illegible], (Epigraphische Studien 3 - Beih. B. J. 22) Cologne/Graz, 1967.

Altheim, F. & Stiehl, J. : Die Araber in der alten Welt, Berlin, 1964 - .

Badian, E. : Foreign Clientelae, Oxford, 1958.

Baledon, J. P. V. D. : The Emperor Gaius, Oxford, 1934.

Bang, M. : Die Germanen im römischen Dienst ..., Berlin, 1906.

Brancati, A. : Augusto e la Guerra di Spania, Urbino, 1963.

Buchheim, H. : Die Orientpolitik des Triumvirn M. Antonius ... (Abh. Heidelb. Ak. Wissens., Ph.-h'st. Kl. 1960, 3), Heidelberg, 1960.

/Cagnat, R. .....

Cagnat, R. : L'Armée Romaine d'Afrique ... Paris, 1892, [2] 1913.

f. Carcopino : Mélanges d'Archéologie ... offerts à J. Carcopino, ed. Aymard et alii, Paris, 1966.

Cheesman, G. L. : The Auxilia of the Roman Imperial Army, Oxford, 1914.

Daris, S. : Documenti per la storia dell'esercito Romano in Egitto (Publ. Univ. Sacr. Cuore III, 9), Milan, 1964.

Domaszewski, A. von : Die Rangordnung des römischen Heeres (Beih. B. J. 14) Cologne/Graz, 1908, [2] 1967 (ed. B. Dobson).

f. Egger : Festschrift für R. Egger, ed. G. Moro, Klagenfurt, 1952 - 4; Veit-Egg zur älteren europäischen Kulturgeschichte.

Ehrenberg, V. & Jones, A. H. M. : Documents Illustrating the Reigns of Augustus and Tiberius, Oxford, 1949, [2] 1955.

Fabia, P. : Onomasticon Taciteum, Paris, 1903, Hildesheim, 1964.

Forni, G. : Il Reclutamento delle Legioni da Augusto ... (Pubb. Univ. Pavia, 5), Milan/Rome, 1953.

Frere, S. : Britannia (History of the Provinces of the Roman Empire), London, 1967.

Freis, H. : Die Cohortes Urbanae (Epigraphische Studien, 2 - Beih. B. J. 21), Cologne/Graz, 1967.

Gabba, E. : Iscrizioni greche e latine per lo studio della Bibbia (Sintesi dell'Oriente ... 3), Turin, 1958.

Gardthausen, V. : Augustus und seine Zeit, Leipzig, 1894, Aalen, 1964.

Gerber, A. & Greef, A. : Lexicon Taciteum, Leipzig, 1877; Hildesheim, 1962.

Hatt, J. J. : Histoire de la Gaule Romaine ... (Bibl. Historique) Paris, 1959.

Holder, A. : Alt-celtischer Sprachschatz, Leipzig, 1896, Graz, 1961.

/Holmes, T. Rice :

Holmes, T. Rice : The Roman Republic ..., Oxford, 1923.

: The Architect of the Roman Empire, Oxford, 1928.

Jagenteufel, A. : Die Statthalter der römischen Provinz Dalmatia ... (Österreichische Akad. Wiss., Schr. Balkankomm. XII) Vienna, 1958.

Jones, A. H. M. : The Herods of Judaea, Oxford, 1938.

Jullian, C. : Histoire de la Gaule, Paris, 1908 - 26.

Klose, J. : Rom Klientelrandstaaten am Rhein und an der Donau ... (Hist. Untersuchungen, 14), Breslau, 1934.

Kraft, K. : Zur Rekrutierung der Alen und Kohorten an Rhein und Donau (Diss. Bernenses I, 3) Bern, 1951.

Lesquier, M. : L'Armée Romaine d'Égypte ... (Mem. Inst. Fr. Caire, 41), Cairo, 1918.

Magie, D. : The Roman Rule in Asia Minor ..., Princeton, 1950.

Meloni, P. : L'Amministrazione della Sardegna ..., Rome, 1958, 1966.

Mócsy, A. : Die Bevölkerung von Pannonien ..., Budapest, 1959.

Momigliano, A. D. : Claudius : the Emperor and his Achievement, Oxford, 1934, Cambridge, 1961.

: Ricerche sull'Organizzazione della Giudea sotto il Dominio Romano ... (Annali di Pisa II, III, 1934 - III), Bologna, 1934, Amsterdam, 1967.

Mommsen, T. : Gesammelte Schriften, Berlin, 1905 - 13.

Moreau, J. : Scripta Minora (Ann. Univ. Saraviensis Phil. Fak., I), Heidelberg, 1964.

Parker, H. M. D. : The Roman Legions, Oxford, 1928, Cambridge, 1961.

Pflaum, H.-G. : Les Carrières Procuratoriennes Équestres ..., (Inst. Fr. Arch. Beyrouth, lvii) Paris, 1960.

/Reidinger, W. .....

Heidinger, M. : Die Statthalter des ungeteilten Pannonien ... (Antiquitas I, 2), Bonn, 1956.

Ritterling-Stein : Fasti des römischen Deutschland ... (Beiträge zur Verwaltungsgeschichte Germanien, II), Vienna, 1932.

f. "R.G.Z.M." : Festschrift des Römisch-Germanischen Zentralmuseums in Mainz ... 1952, Mainz, 1953.

Romanelli, P. : Storia delle Province Romane dell'Africa (Studi Ist. Ital. 14), Rome, 1959.

Saxer, R. : Untersuchungen zu den Vexillationen des römischen Kaiserheeres ... (Epigraphische Studien, 1 - Beih. Bonn. J. 181), Cologne/Graz, 1967.

Schober, A. : Die römischen Grabsteine von Noricum und Pannonien (Sonderschr. Österr. Arch. Inst., X), Vienna, 1923.

Schönfeld, M. : Wörterbuch der altgermanischen Personen- und Völkernamen, Heidelberg, 1911, 1965.

Schur, W. : Die Orientpolitik des Kaisers Nero (Klio Beih. 15 N.F. 2), Leipzig, 1923, Aalen, 1963.

Sherwin-White, A. N. : The Roman Citizenship, Oxford, 1939.
: Roman Society and Roman Law in the New Testament (Sarum Lectures 1960 - 1) Oxford, 1963.

Simpson, G. : Britons and the Roman Army, London, 1964.

Stähelin, F. : Die Schweiz in römischer Zeit, Basle, 1927, 1948.

Stein, A. : Die Legaten von Moesien (Diss. Pannonicae I, 11), Budapest, 1940.
: Die Präfekten von Ägypten ... (Diss. Bernenses I, 1), Bern, 1950.

Stein, E. : Die kaiserliche Beamten und Truppenkörper im römischen Deutschland ... (Beiträge zur Verwaltungsgeschichte Germanien, I), Vienna, 1932.

/over, R. .....

Syme, R. : Tacitus, Oxford, 1958.

Thomasson, B. E. : Die Statthalter der römischen Provinzen Nordafrikas ... (Acta Inst. Rom. Suecica, IX, 2), Lund, 1960.

Wagner, W. : Die Dislokation der Römischen Auxiliarformationen in den Provinzen Noricum, Pannonien, Moesien und Dakien ... (Neue deutsche Forschungen, 203), Berlin, 1938.

C. ARTICLES IN PERIODICALS.

(The abbreviations are based on those in "L'Année Philologique".)

Alföldi, A. : I Varciani della Pannonia Meridionale ..., "A.C." XVII, 1948, 13 ff.

Alfoldy, G. : Die Auxiliartruppen der Provinz Dalmatien, "A. Arch. Hung." XIV, 1962, 25[illegible] ff.

: Revidierte ... Inschriften aus Nordwestungarn, "Epigr." XXVI, 1964, 86 ff.

: Notes sur la Relation entre le Droit de Cité et la Nomenclature ..., "Lat." XXV, 1966, 37 ff.

Avi-Yonah, M. : The Epitaph of T. Macius Clemens, "I.E.J." XVI, 1966, 258 ff.

Betz, A. : Norikum im Verwaltungs- und Heeresdienst ..., f. Egger (cf. above) II, [illegible] f.

Bicknell, P. : The Emperor Gaius' Military Activities in A.D. 40, "Hist." XVII, 1968, 496 ff.

Birley, E. : A note on the Title 'Gemina', "J.R.S." XVIII, 1928, 56 ff.

Bogaers, J. E. : Romeins Nijmegen. De Bezettingstroepen ... in de 2de Eeuw ..., "Numaga" XII, 1965, 10 ff.

: Die Besatzungstruppen des Legionslager von Nijmegen im 2. Jahrhundert ..., "Limes" VI (cf. above), Cologne/Graz, 1967, 54 ff.

/Brunt, P. A. .....

Barbieri G. : Il 'Praefectus Orae Maritimae', "R.F.I.C." XIX, 1941, 268 ff.; XXIV, 1946, 166 ff.

Brunt, P. A. : The Revolt of Vindex and the Fall of Nero, "Lat." XVIII, 1959, 531 ff.

: The Army and the Land in the Roman Revolution, "J.R.S." LII, 1962, 69 ff.

Burn, A. R. : a review in "C.R." XVI, 1966, 377 f.

Callies, H. : Die fremden Truppen im römischen Heer des Prinzipats ..., "B.R.G.K." XLV, 1964, 130 ff.

Cavaignac, E. : Les effectifs de l'Armée d'Auguste, "M.E.L." XXX, 1952, 285 ff.

Davies, R. E. : The Abortive Invasion of Britain by Caius, "Hist." XV, 1966, 124 ff.

Domaszewski, A. von : Die Entwicklung der Provinz Moesia, "Neue heidelberger Sb." I, 1891, 190 ff.

Durry, M. : Sur l'Armée Imperial, "R. .L." XLVI, 1968, 62 ff.

Egger, R. : Die Inschrift des Marigasthelmes, "A.A.W.W." XCVI, 1959, 79 ff.

Fitz, J. : Contribution a la Carrière d'un Proconsul d'Afrique, Lat. XXVII, 1968, 45 ff.

Forni, G. : Contributo alla Storia della Decia Romana, Athen. XXXVI, 3 ff.

Gagé, J. : L'Empereur Romain et les Rois ... "R.H." CCXXI, 1959, 221 ff.

García y Bellido, A. : El Exercitus Hispanicus desde Augusto a Vespasiano, "A.E.A." XXXIV, 1961, 114 ff.

: Los Auxiliares Hispanos ..., "Emerita" XXXI, 1963, 213 ff.

Gerov, B. : Epigraphische Beiträge zur Geschichte des mösischen Limes in vorklaudischer Zeit, "A. Ant. Hung." XV, 1967, 65 ff.

Gillian, J. F. : 'Ala Scriptiana' and 'Arcoistrator', "C. Ph." LVI, 1961, 100 f.

Gordon, J. D. & A. E. : Publilius Memorialis and C.I.L. XI 7554 (= Dessau 9195), ibid. XLVII, 90 ff.

Grosso, F. : 'Equites Singulares Augusti', "Lat." XXV, 1966, 900 ff.

Hainsworth, J. D. : Verginius and Vindex, "Hist." XI, 1962, 86 ff.

Hefner, L. : Zwei neue Inschriften von den Mainkastellen, "Germ." XLIV, 1966, 396 ff.

Hull, M. R. : Ein römischer Reitergrabstein aus Colchester, ibid. XIII, 1929, 168 ff.

Jal, P. : Le rôle des Barbares dans les guerres civiles de Rome ..., "Lat." XXI, 1962, 8 ff.

Keune, J. B. : Spanische Reiter im römischen Trier, "T.Z." X, 1935, 76 ff.

Klinkenberg, J. : Die römische Grabdenkmäler Kölns, "B.J." CVIII/IX, 1902, 80 ff.

Klumbach, H. & Boortgat-Correns, U. : Orientalisches Rollsiegel vom Mainzer Legionslager, "Germ." XLVI, 1968, 36 ff.

Koestermann, E. : Die Feldzüge des Germanicus ..., "Hist." VII, 1957, 429 ff.

Kraft, K. : Ein neues Militärdiplomfragment aus Manching (Rhaetien), "Germ." XXXIV, 1956, 79 ff.

: Die Rolle der Colonia Julia Equestris und die römische Auxiliar-rekrutierung, "J.R.G.Z." IV, 1957, 81 ff.

Leglay, M. : Une 2nd cave offerte à 'Caelestes' (Chemtou) par ... Calbe, f. Carcopino (cf. above) 629 ff.

Levick, B. : Drusus Caesar and the Adoptions of A.D. 4, "Lat." XXV, 1966, 58 ff.

/Libby, A. .....

Mócsy, A. : Der vertuschte Bakerkrieg des M. Licinius Crassus, "Hist." XV, 1966, 511 ff.

Mommsen, T. : Die Conscriptionsordnung der römischen Kaiserzeit (cf. above) VI, 20 ff. (also in "Hermes" XIX, 1884, 1 ff.; 21- ff.).

Moreau, J. : Ein Treverer im römischen Dienst ... (cf. above) 244 ff.; (also in "Vierteljahrsblätter d. Trierer Gesells." VI, 19-0, 1 ff.).

Nesselhauf, H. : Zur Militärgeschichte der Provinz Mauretania Tingitana, "Epigr." XII, 195-, 33 ff.

: Die Besiedlung der Oberrheinlande ..., "Badische Fundb." XIX, 1951, 71 ff.

: Umriss einer Geschichte des obergermanischen Heeres, "J.R.G.Z." VII, 1960, 151 ff.

Nierhaus, R. : Zu den ethnographischen Angaben in Lukans Gallienexkurs, "B.J." CLVIII, 1953, 46 ff.

Nuber, H. U. : Zur Entstehung der Raeterkohorten, "Limes" VI (cf. above), 90 ff.

Oliver, J. H. : a review in "A.J.P." LXIX, 1948, 217 ff.

Oré, A. : Die germanische Ala I Tungrorum Frontoniana in Asciburgium, "B.J." CXXXV, 1930, 62 ff.

Petersen, H. : New Evidence for the Relations between Romans and Parthians, "Berytus" XVI, 1966, 61 ff.

Petrikovits, H. von : Arminius, "B.J." CLXII, 1966, 175 ff.

Pfeffer, W. v. : Neugefundener Grabstein eines arabisch-parthischen Reiters, "M.z." LII, 1 57, 120 ff.

Picard, G.-C. : Glanum ..., "Gallia" XXII, 1964, 1 ff.

/Radnoti, A. .....

Rednoti, . . : Zur Auszeichnung 'Torquata' und 'Bis Torquata' ..., "Germ." XXXIX, 1961, 458 ff.

Richmond, I. A. : The Roman Siege-works of Masada, Israel, "J.R.S." LIII, 1963, 43 ff.

Ritterling, E. : Die Cohortes Aquitanorum des obergermanischen Heeres, "Korrespondenzb. d. Westdeutschen Z." XVI, 1897, 236 ff.

: Zur Geschichte des römischen Heeres in Gallien unter Augustus, "B.J." CXIV/CXV, 1906, 159 ff.

: Die Alpes Maritimae als Rekrutierungsbezirk ..., "Klio" XXI, 1927, 82 ff.

Saddington, D. B. : Roman Attitudes to the 'Externae Gentes' of the North, "A. Class." IV, 1960, 90 ff.

Sander, E. : Zur Arminius-Biographie, "Gymn." LXII, 1955, 82 ff.

: Die Reform des römischen Heerwesens durch Julius Caesar, "H.Z." CLXXIX, 1955, 225 ff.

Schillinger-Häfele, U. : Eine neue Inschrift aus Stettfeld ..., "Badische Fundb." XXII, 1962, 85 ff.

Schmitthenner, W. : Oktavians militärische Unternehmungen in den Jahren 35 - 33 v. Chr., "Hist." VII, 1958, 189 ff.

Shallwood, E. M. : Some Comments on Tac. Ann. XII, 54, "Lat." XVIII, 1959, 360 ff.

Syme, R. : Some Notes on the Legions under Augustus, "J.R.S." XXIII, 1933, 14 ff.

: The Consuls of A.D. 17, ibid. LVI, 1966, 55 ff.

Szilágyi, J. : Les Variations des Centres de prépondérance militaire dans les Provinces Frontières de l'Empire Romain, "A. Ant. Hung." II, 1954, 117 ff.

Tarn, W. W. : Antony's Legions, "C.Q." XXVI, 1932, 75 ff.

/Townend, G. B. .....

Townend, G. B. : Some Rhetorical Battle-Pictures in Dio, "Hermes" XCII, 1964, 467 ff.

Turner, E. G. : Papyrus 43 'della raccolta Milanese', "J.R.S." XL. 1950, 56 ff.

Wagner, W. : Zur Ursprungsgeschichte der Ala I Pannoniorum Tampiana Victrix, f. B.G.L.F. (cf. above) III, 97 ff.

: Zur Ala Dunsiana ..., "Germ." XLI, 1963, 317 ff.

Webster, G. : The Claudian Frontiers in Britain, "Limes" VI (cf. above), 42 ff.

Weerd, L. van de : De Belgen in het romeinse Leger, "A.C." V, 1936, 341 ff.; VI, 1937, 71 ff.

Weynand, R. : Form und Dekoration der römischen Grabsteine der Rheinlande ..., "B.J." CVIII/CIX, 1902, 185 ff.

Yoshimura, T. : Die Auxiliartruppen und die Provinzialklientel in der römischen Republik, "Hist." X, 1961, 473 ff.

: Über die Legio Vernacula des Pompeius, "Ann. del Instituto giapponese di Cultura in Roma" I, 1963/4, 1.1 ff.

Author Saddington D
Name of thesis Problems in the development of the auxiliary system in the Roman Army of the late Repulbican and early Imperial period 1970

PUBLISHER:
University of the Witwatersrand, Johannesburg
©2013

LEGAL NOTICES:

Copyright Notice: All materials on the University of the Witwatersrand, Johannesburg Library website are protected by South African copyright law and may not be distributed, transmitted, displayed, or otherwise published in any format, without the prior written permission of the copyright owner.

Disclaimer and Terms of Use: Provided that you maintain all copyright and other notices contained therein, you may download material (one machine readable copy and one print copy per page) for your personal and/or educational non-commercial use only.

The University of the Witwatersrand, Johannesburg, is not responsible for any errors or omissions and excludes any and all liability for any errors in or omissions from the information on the Library website.

Author Saddington D
Name of thesis Problems in the development of the auxiliary system in the Roman Army of the late Repulbican and early Imperial period 1970

PUBLISHER:
University of the Witwatersrand, Johannesburg
©2013

LEGAL NOTICES:

Copyright Notice: All materials on the University of the Witwatersrand, Johannesburg Library website are protected by South African copyright law and may not be distributed, transmitted, displayed, or otherwise published in any format, without the prior written permission of the copyright owner.

Disclaimer and Terms of Use: Provided that you maintain all copyright and other notices contained therein, you may download material (one machine readable copy and one print copy per page) for your personal and/or educational non-commercial use only.

The University of the Witwatersrand, Johannesburg, is not responsible for any errors or omissions and excludes any and all liability for any errors in or omissions from the information on the Library website.