Another centurion is described as the bodyguard of the client king. 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. When his engagements were under heavy attack, he protected them at one stage by placing cavalry and archers on either side. 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 scaling party at one juncture consisted of 24 soldiers, the standard-bearer of the fifth legion, two cavalrymen and a trumpeter. It is not clear whether the "guards" were legionary or auxiliary. But the party as a whole exhibits the closest co-operation between the two arms of the service. After the temple in Jerusalem had been fired, Titus decided to try to save the building and ordered his men to clear a way through the rubble. ...
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 legions.

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 "... the vast army which was gathering from the various cities and villages throughout the whole country." It is clear that Αὑγοι must mean "garrison" here, and that Αὐγος replaces the normal οικοπόροι for cohorts. Prior to an attack on the enemy stronghold of Masada (Makwit), 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
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 Samaria (Sebaste). As the advance on Samaria was made, troops (\textit{civitates}) were stationed at suitable points around the fortress \cite{24}. These circumsallations cease have been recovered by the archaeologists \cite{24}, and it has been suggested that they were entrusted to auxiliaries. From the铭 of the installations it has been calculated that the Roman force consisted of a legion, a milliary cohort, 2 quin- genary cohorts and a quingenary part-mounted cohort. This would make the auxiliary forces about half the strength of the legions. 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 received the aid and the 3 cohorts of Caesareans and Sabaeans that had been stationed in the province elsewhere (unfortunately not specifying where). \cite{24},

African "auxilia" are mentioned in connection with the attempt of Claudius to become emperor. In addition to the forces already available, others were drafted: "\textit{legio cohortesque delectae a Claudio}" \cite{24}. The legion was known as \textit{Lupcrina Missatrix}, but the number and names of the cohorts are unrecorded. Valens disbanded these troops, but Vitellius later pressed these into service again and instituted further levies in Africa, but the recruiting proved unpopular: "\textit{cetera invictum debet impiger nominandum}\cite{24}". However these were extraordinary measures to be explained by the abnormality of the times. Similarly \textit{exercitum}, next reference to Africa, relating the death of the governor, P. Nonius, in 70.)
He gives a brief historical resume of the military situation there, stating that the "legio in Africa auxiliares tutandia imperii finibus" had been under the command of the proconsular governors in the time of Augustus and Tiberius, but that under Caligula they had been placed under the command of a separate imperial legate. At the accession of Vespasian, L. Niso was proconsul, Valerius Festus legate. Niso was under suspicion of disloyalty to Vespasian, and his death had been secretly ordered by Nectarine. However "Claudius Sagitta, praefectus alae Retianae" had succeeded in reaching Africa in time to warn Niso 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 Niso. To do this, he chose soldiers who would not know Niso: "magna pars cunicum ignari, quod poenon auxilioris Maurorum. It was decided 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, "gentes indomitas et inter secolas latrocinis secundas". Festus succeeded in driving the Garamantes off: "interuentu cohortium alarumque fusi Garamantiae". The action of Claudius Sagitta can be explained by the fact that the ala Retiana 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 Niso were "nonic 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 must have been members of the regular "auxilia", but the evocative names, Latin and Moor, were used to underscore the nature of their deed. The cohorts and auxilia that were deployed against the Carthaginians are uncased: here the context is emotional, 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 is an attempt to restore normality.

The auxiliaries in the Mauretaniae were also involved in the effects of the struggles of 69. Lucceius Albinus, the procurator of Mauretania Cæsariensis, and later of Tingitana as well, was acting on behalf of Otho. He had considerable military strength available: "decem novae cohortes, quinque alae, ingens Maororum numeros aderat, per lectocinia et raptum a ser bello manus". The 19 cohorts and 5 alae were regular auxiliaries. Albinus had been placed in charge of both the Mauretaniae, these numbers probably reflect the total of the auxiliary forces in the two provinces. The auxilia 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 the 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 revelation of feeling against Albinus, who was killed. At the same time 3 auxiliary commanders fell: "Alpinus Pollio alas praefectus, ceditocinia
Albinus, et Scipio et Scipio cohortium praefecti opprimuntur". Their
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 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 records this as an example of Vespasian's reformation of military discipline. It tells us more about Vespasian than the auxiliary system.
NOTES.


3. Iac. "H." 1, 51; IV, 17. For the Sequani, cf. below, m. 154. Galba later rewarded these tribes with gifts of citizenship, (1, 8).


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: "adita per provincias fana parare iter ad Germanicos exercitus, quando gentius Viennae multisque et validis propinquitatibus subnixus turbare gentilis nationes promptius haberet" (Iac. "Ann." A1, 1). This was a generation earlier.

4. With "legiones", which is rhetorical for recruits for legiones (Vienna was a colony) - Iac. "H." I, 68. For Vienna, cf. above, n. 3, and A. Brun, "I.R." VIII A, 1936, 2113 ff. (no. 2). For Lugdunum, Gramer, VIII, 1727, 1718 ff. (no. 1).


I, 21.

16. "Gal." IV, 2. Galba created a special guard for himself from local persons of equestrian status: "delegit et equestre ordinis iuuenes, qui ... suum uice militum agerant" (IV, 36).

11. "II." II, 8; III, 7; 21. In III, 10 it is called "galbianae legioni", elsewhere described by a periphrasis (II, 11; III, 22; 25). Mitterling ("R.R." VII-1925, 1630) and Heubner (ad loc.) regard the "legio Hispaina" of I, 6, as identical with the VII galbiana.


15. I, 31; cf. 36; II, 11; 17; 22 for variants; "prima classicorum legio" (II, 67); "prima" or "primari" (II, 11; 23; 86; III, 13; IV, 68); and, where confusion could result, "prima adiutrix" (II, 43; III, 64). Heuener ad 1. 6 traces the difficulty of the relation between the "classiarum" aitam by Galba and the members of this legion to Vitruvius's failure ("Gal." 19) to distinguish the two categories. Cf. Stat. "Gal." I, 2; Mitterling, 1361.

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


19. 26; 31. Suetonius ("Gal." 20) calls it "Germanicorum vexillationis". This vexillation had been sent to Alexandria in Egypt for Nero's Ethiopian expedition and had since been recalled. Cf. Schur, 1923, 1965, 41; 108.


/21. ......
21. Tac. "M." 1, 26, 31. For "lyricum" cf. above, p. 100. Plutarch ("Gal." 29; cf. Hardy ad loc.) calls the vexillation "Peplum"


23. Tac. "M." i, 57. For the agrippinenses of the colonia Claudia Augustea, cf. above, p. 67 and Hornemann "M." 11, 17, 18, p. 343 (no. 100); for the Treveri and the colonia Augustae Treverorum, cf. above, p. 129 and Hornemann, 344 (no. 105). For the Ligurians, who were granted citizenship by the, Tac. "M." 1, 78; Hornemann, 344 (no. 2) and Fraser, ill, 1926, 714 f. This passage is referred to below, p. 135 again.

24. Tac. "M." 1, 59; 64. The legion I Italica is especially mentioned in the fighting in Italy (ii, 40). For the alae praetoriae, cf. below, p. 104.


26. Syss, 1955, 162, considers the figure too large by at least a third.

27. Tac. "M." 1, 17.

28. ad i, 61.


30. 1, 70. For the alae praetoriae, cf. below, p. 104.

31. Davies and Irvine, and, most emphatically, Murrin, ad loc. For "turram", cf. above, p. 131. Hauser, 1967, does not discuss the passage. The second view is that of Neuhauer ad loc. For the ala Siliana, cf. below, p. 104.

33. Tac. "a." II, 22.

34. Thus, too, Heubner ad loc.

35. Tac. "a." II, 68. The auxiliary is rather strangely described as "altero et 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.


42. So Heubner ad loc.

43. 70.

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

45. II, 13: "concitam gente (nec desit iuventus) ... quibus te aurea collectis". Otho's soldiers brought to Southern France by the fleet consisted of "urbanas, cohortis et planisque e praetoriana" (I, 87). For the "montani", cf. H. Philipp, "R.E." XIV, 1953, 203 f. (no. 4).

46. II, 14. 28. As Heubner explains ad loc., the conscriptions "June:ac:rum" and "Jungrorum" are unnecessary.


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

149. .....
49. 16.
50. 17.
51. "Vorbemerkung" to 17 (p. 75).
52. 22. For Julius Brongnitsus, cf. "I. i. III." 1 211.
53. Heubner on Tac. "H." II, 22, referring to 16. The phrase "paucitati cohortium" (describing this force) in 25 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 "sedites" (55).
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. "I. i. III." 2 150.
58. II, 24 - 9. 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. Allone Varus ("I. i. III." 2 522) 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. 11. On the phrase "et alii", Bunsen (ad loc.) remarks that the Batavian cohorts must have been "seditanes".

64. Tac. "N." II, 11. (Neubner ad loc. makes the identification.)


67. I, 52.

68. 84.

69. II, 21.

70. 32.

71. 76.


73. Tac. "N." II, 76. The association of "robors" with auxiliaries rather than legions should be noted.

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

75. 82.

76. IV, 51; cf. II, 82. The combination in the phrase "associorum auxilium" should be noted. For Volckesen, cf. above, p. 135.


79. Thus Tacitus' aneering phrase ("N.", I, 81).


82. III, 6.

83. 6.
84. 5. For the Sarmatae, cf. H. Reitlinger, "R.B." 14, 1920, 2942 ff. (no. 1); for the Iazyrei, Vulci", 14, 1914, 1189 ff.
86. Tac. "M." III, 5. For the marurians, cf. below, p. 303. These troops were under the command of the governor of Noricum, Sextilius Felix, for whom cf. Stein "R.B." 11, 2, 1923, 2036 (no. 21).
87. A detachment of "sociorum equites" is mentioned once. Tac. "M." IV, 10.
88. III, 21.
89. 15.
90. 16.
93. Tac. "M." 11, 57.
94. 11, 69; cf. above, p. 132.
95. Ibid.
96. 87.
97. 89.
101. Perhaps the discrepancy can be explained by the "free Germans" of 11, who appear to have been ignored in the description of the formal entry into Rome.

/100. . . .
101. II, 93.
102. 94.
103. 97.
104. III, 2; cf. 15, where the fear is expressed that an "ingenia Germanorum" might invade through Raetia. Valens (III, 41) is made to entertain a plan of arousing "Germaniae gentis" for continuing the war.
105. II, 100.
106. III, 22.
107. III, 6. For the ala Sebouiana, cf. below, p. 104.
109. Tac. "H." III, 37. As 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. R." 2 A 250.
111. III, 50: for the Bataves, cf. Waceck, "R.E." IV, 1901, 2448 ff. The Bataves drafted into a legion formed the nucleus of the later legio II Adiutrix (cf. Ritterling 1436; Parker, 1928, 1961, 100 ff.).
112. Tac. "H." III, 12; cf. above, p. 150.
113. III, 50.
114. 55. On this "legio", cf. Ritterling and Parker, loc. cit. III.

/117. .....

118. III, 58; cf. 79; 82; sect. "Vit." 15, 1, who states that "voluntariis non modo missionem post victoriam, sed etiam veteranorum iustaeque militiae comoda polliceretur".


120. III, 75 - 9; for Vitellius Barbillis, cf. above, p. 119, n. 12.

121. Tac. "N." III, 84; cf. Dio LIV, 21, 1. In an earlier passage (LIV, 17, 2) Dio had referred to Vitellius' German bodyguard in the words "volo, Pacifico, tolle manumvitae comodum.


124. Tac. "H." IV, 12; cf. 7, 29; "G." 29, 2; above, p. 88.


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

127. IV, 14.

128. 13; cf. 11 - 2; V, 29. The "auxilia" here must be the reinforcements (presumably both legionary and auxiliary) that Vitellius summoned (14, 97) from the neighbouring provinces of the seat on hearing of the Flavian advance against him. Cf. above, p. 150.


130. On its first appearance (Tac. "H." II, 15), the phrase refers to praetorian cohorts and legionary detachments. But here the context is different. The contrast implied in with the not infrequent "aquila signa" of legionaries.
131. IV, 16.
133. 16.
135. 18. For Marcus Flaccus, cf. Ganea, "R.R." VIII, 1913, 2405 ff. (no. 5); Ritterling-Stein, 1932, 19; for Titus Lupercus, R. Fluss, XVI, 1933, 642 (no. 1); Alfredy, 1967, 10; for the Ubii, H. Schmitz, VIII 4, 1935, 552 ff. (esp. 558).
137. IV, 57.
138. 55 ff. For Classicus and the als Truerae cum, cf. above, p. 133.
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 place of recruitment.
143. Cf. Cheesman, 35.
146. Tac. "A." IV, 24: "missis per Gallias qui auxilia concrere".
147. Cf. 29: "par Gallias Britanniaeque et Hispaniae auxilia orbata" (naturally there was insufficient time for "auxilia" to come from the other provinces). Soon, however, the Gauls refused to supply further troops in "allectus tributique Gallinae aperantes" (26).
147. 25: "adfluentibus auxiliis Gallorum".

148. 33.

149. Stein, 1932, 157; cf. below, p. 304.


151. IV, 61.

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


156. Tac. "H." IV, 10; cf. 32, where Cicilia calls himself "praefectus unius cohortis".

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

158. 71: "dilectum per Galliam habitos in ciuitates remittit ac munia invidiae subet sufficere imperio legiones: ac galli ad munia pacis redistribent securi velut confecta bello quo Romanis manus expers erat. solvit eae Gallorum obscurus: non recepta iuventute facilius tributa tolerauerunt, promores ad officias quod sperabantur." The first sentence is highly rhetorical, as the use of the old term "aculi" shows. It is replaced by the more technical "iusuentus" in the second sentence. The men referred to must have been recruits to be trained for formal auxiliary service. For Catilina Serianus, cf. above, p. 1521; Kitterling-stein, 1932, 59.

159. 71; 73; V, 141 161 20.
160. 20. Grinnæa was Locaum; Vada is unknown.

161. IV, 15 = 6; 79. For the Frisii, cf. above, p. 56, and Ihm, "Röm." VII, 1918, 100 ff.

162. From after this period, i.e. 105 a.d., comes a cohors Frisavonum (Ihm, ibid.); cf. for Frisians in auxiliary service above, p. 39, and Krafft, 504 (later in the 2nd century A.D.).


164. Ibid.; cf. 77, and for the Bructeri swimming across the river Shine, V, 15.

165. IV, 20; cf. V, 16.

166. IV, 25; cf. 59, 64; 77.

167. IV, 35.


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

170. Cf. above, p. 129.

171. Tac. "Na." IV, 35. Julius Claudius ("R.R." 1 267) was in command of the Iunonians in the Maritime Alps (cf. above, p. 167). For Julius Tutor, cf. "R.R." 1 267; for his position as "praefectus ripae Meni", which presumably involved keeping guard at the strategic river crossings, cf. Stein, 1932, 47; Annalain, "R.R." XII, 1934, 1339. For Julius Sabinus, cf. "R.R." 1 539. The Histones are found fighting for Cilicia later (Tac. "Na." IV, 77), when they finally surrendered, their armed strength was said to have been 70,000 men (Front. "Stat." IV, 5, 14).

172. IV, 66.

173. Ibid.


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

178. V, 19.

179. Cf. above, p. 74; *Ann.* I, c. 1; 15; above, M 39, 1, c. p. 57.


181. IV, 22. Cf. 27; 36 ("Civiles . . . universa Germania"); 33 (Civileis: "Veteres cohortia at quod e Germanis maxime promptue"); V, 17 ("Germanes Estamones").

182. IV, 23, and "paddia".

183. 29 ("Germanes . . . patum altum"); 31 ("in partibus neutri . . . e Germania"); 37 ("Germanes cohortes . . . Tumones"); 60; 66; 76 (the Germanes in this list include not only the Batavii and the "free" group, but the Tumones as well. Later in the chapter, in a speech assigned to the Tutor, "Germanes means the free Germanes"); 79; V, 16 ("alii homines . . . Germanes"); 16 ("Germanes, quod roborat fuerit" in a speech of Suetonius); 23.

184. IV, 60; 72; 7, 14; 26.

185. e.g. IV, 16, where the auxiliaries and companions are called "Germans, lasta bello genere".

186. e.g. IV, 16, where the Germanes were left with the auxiliaries that surrendered at Vetera.

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

188. IV, 16; 24; V, 16. For the reason "casus", cf. "Germ., 6, 3, 7, 3 and Anderson 345. Loc.

189. Tac. *Ann.* IV, 83; cf. 90 for a named Roman deserter.
190. C.I.L. AVI, 20 - I.I.A. 1992. For Clemens, cf. "R.I.M.²" 1341; Ritterling-Schulz, 1932, 22; I.I.A. 2957, where his command is given as "leg. ... pro pr. exercitus Germanici superioris". The Scythians are otherwise unknown; for the Bituriges, cf. lms, "a..." 111, 1897, 545 ff.


194. Cf. above, p. 156.


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

199. Cf. above, p. 146.


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

202. I.I.A. 2729; Stein, "R.I.M." 112 a, 1929, 1929 (no. 5).


204. For Cn. Domitius Ahenobarbus Servius Lucanus and Cn. Domitius Ahenobarbus Servius Fulvus, cf. I.I.A. 690 - 1 and Dessen ad loc. 1 "R.I.M.²" 1341; 167 and Groag ad loc. 1; Ritterling-Schulz, 1932, 135; Meierkenski, 1908, 1586; Alfeldt, 1967, 11; Ebeling, I.I.A. 171; 1863 (and above, p. 164).

/Thomassen, ....}

205. Cf. above, p. 130.


207. Tac. "n." 111, 45 and 106, 93. Statius ("silv." v, 2, 149 ff.) ascribes the erection of "speculae castelliique" to the governor involved. If this can be taken literally, it would imply the stationing of auxiliary units in the area.

208. Tac. "agr." 15, and the useful notes of Ogilvie and Richmond, ad loc. For Cn. Julius Agricola, cf. "silv." 1, 126, and Ogilvie and Richmond, appendix 1, for the latest discussion of the date of the Thule campaign.


210. The Batavians are specifically named in 64 (ibid.). For their recovery of their old position, cf. Tac. "agr." 29, 2 and Anderson, ad loc.; Klone, 1934, 32 ff.

211. Tac. "n." 1, 79.

212. Cf. p. 146.


216. Cf. above, p. 49.


239. Cf. above, p. 746.


224. Jos. "B.J." V, 6, 41 ff. Josephus mentions the fact that one of the legions was the first legion, which had been defeated under Sextius Gallus, but adds that it had a reputation for courage.

225. Tac. "Hist." V, 1. Cestius names all the legions and adds "adductos Alexandria ducatulcensius tertiianique". The latter detachment must have been drawn from the III Cyrenaica (Bitterling, 1929). For the kings, cf. above, p. 95.

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


229. V, 13, 4, 295; cf. 7, 96.
230. VI, 1, 6, 94.
231. VII, 6, 4, 199.
232. VI, 11, 3, 400. 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. VI, 7, 3, 312.
234. VI, 2, 6, 161.
235. VI, 2, 10, 172 ff.
236. 1, 8, 81 ff. For Julianus, cf. "R.I.A." 2 166.
238. V, 6, 4, 201.
239. VI, 1, 7, 63.
240. VI, 4, 3, 243; cf. above, p. 150.
241. V, 6, 3, 207. Dio LXIV (LXV), 5, 4, refers to Roman deserters to
the Jews.
243. VII, 6, 1, 164: Ἀ δρία ... ἐπάνωπισα νο ... ἀπὸ ... ἀπο
and μαρτυρεῖς ... μαρτυρούσι ... cf. above, p. 196.
244. 8, 1, 2521 2, 275.
for the legio ? Macriana Liberatrix, Ritterling, 1417 f.
248. IV, 48 - 50. For L. Sulpicius Piso, cf. "R.I.A." 2 294, Thomasson,
1960, 11, 44 f. For O. Salpeter and Marcus Aemilius Sura,
1962, 11, 48 f. For C. Salpeter and Marcus Aemilius Valerius.
1960, 11, 44 f. For P. Festus, found, "R.I.A." 111, 1867; 1865 f. (no. 2); Thomasson, 11,
Festus, I. 519; "R.I.A." 111, 1867; 1865 f. (no. 2); Thomasson, 11,
/149 f. .....

for the [sacna] and known to have been procurator of Corsica under Vespasian, was responsible for enlisting troops as "dilictator" for this war. For Memoralis, cf. Stein, "R.R.M." VIII, 1959, 1919 (no. 2).


252. "B.U." II, 11, 1, 46. The governor's name was Catullus (cf. "R.R.M." C 5827).

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 Cassius have also been of use. On the Greek side Josephus was the most important figure.

The earliest operations in which auxiliae 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 auxiliae fell in Tacitus' account have already been described. 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 "postremus auxiliarum agmen") and in conjunction with "socius" ("immensae sociorum auxilia", "auxilia et socii"). A specific use occurs for the forces supplied by a friendly tribe in the area of the campaigns ("cassici cum auxilia pollicentur, in consilium adscitii").

Accordingly.....
Accordingly the term is not reserved for trained or professional auxiliaries attached to the Roman legions. The subjective form, "auxiliaris" or "auxiliarius", is comparatively common. It qualifies "equites", obviously to designate an aea, and is used in conjunction with "cohortes" to indicate what are patently professional units. "Auxiliaris" is also used substantively, normally in the plural, both with numbers (Cæcina’s "quinque auxiliarii milia") and with a tribal name (the "auxiliarii pulli Germanique").

"Aea" is found only with "equites" ("octo equitum aea"). The subdivision of the aea, the "turma", occurs once (Cætullianus cuæ ceteris turmis'). "Cohors", too, is expanded or defined, as in "auxiliaris cohortes". The phrase "sociae cohortes" (with the specific number 26) appears in a context where it is clear that "sociae" is merely a variant for "auxiliariae" 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 armur. Tribal names also appear ("Acestor Vindelicorumque et Gallicae cohortes"). However caution must be applied, since legionary, praetorian or urban cohorts may be meant, as in Cæcina’s "quadraginta cohortes Romanae" (where, however, "Romanae" helps to prevent confusion).

But once the standard terms "auxilia", "aea" and "cohorta" are avoided, uncertainty increases. The old term "Aecina", already noted in conjunction ......
conjunction with "auxilia" and "cohort", is found by itself (as in "arma classes secios" or "classis legiones ac socii"), or as a variant for what had previously been specified as "auxiliarium cohortes" ("ceteri auxiorum"). 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", "functores libriteraque" and "armatura lusia". 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 Idistava). Then there are alternates to the regimental terms cohort and ala, or their subdivisions, like "tcrease", the usual is "saxum" (noted above in "expedita cum manu" - here used without derogatory overtones). "Ceterus" (as in the phrase "taculterius ceterus Germanorue s eheanu 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 "Iustoros Vindelicorunque et galliaco cohortes". Regiments with the names...
of all these peoples are known from the epigraphic record. The standard usage is the genitive plural of the tribal name. Tacitus, however, also uses the adjectival form ("Delli germânica") and the derivative adjective ("Gallican" - though here probably in a special sense), then the tribal name is used substantively in the plural, as in the reference to the "Chauci". This is particularly clear in the case of the Batavium: in the phrase "postremus auxiliarum agmen Batavum in partite av..." "hastae" next represent a Batavian regiment (or regiments). See are, too, the description of the Batavian commander "Chariomedia dux Batavorum". Another auxiliary, or person of auxiliary origin, who is singled out, is Flavus. He is described as follows: "erat in exercitu cognomento Flavus, insignis fide et maius per uulnus oculus pauci ante annis duce Tiberio". In his interview with Silinius, Flavus is made to list the rewards he had received from the annex: "Flavus mortuus etiam, torquas et coronas militaria dorna semperat". Unfortunately he does not give us his rank, and the system of the "dona militaria" had not yet been standardized, so that his rank cannot be deduced from the decorations which he had received. Yet the wording used could apply equally well to a legionary, showing how integrated the two arms 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 "Annales". His usages in the whole work may now be considered.
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-legendary part of the army forces of the Roman Empire which Tacitus gives under 23 A.D. There "auxilia conorsina" is merely a periphrasis for "cohortes", as the neighbouring "ailes" shows. Another example is "auxilia provinciales" referring to appendix in 53 and interpreted as regular units of one kind or another. "Auxilia regum" means forces supplied by client kings, and therefore not part of the professional auxiliary forces. Various adjectives accompany "auxilia". In 35 a force of 4,000 legioaries and "selecta auxilia" 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 36. "Tribal" or provincial appellatives appear in the description of the division of forces between Corbulo and Cassius in 62. It was argued that the "centica et Valerius Capito-Augustus auxilia" were, respectively, auxiliaries supplied by the king of Armenia and auxiliaries stationed in Cilicia and Cappadocia. The adjectival use of "auxiliaria" or "auxiliarium" need not be discussed. The substantive use is both qualified and unqualified. The "auxiliaria Vangiones at desetae" that helped repulse a Shattan raid in 92 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. The "quad ... alarum cohortiumque" that accompanied Corculum into Arvenia in 63 are somewhat forced alternative for a precise figure. More specifically cohorts are designated as auxiliary by "spoliis". Terms referring to weapons are used, such as "levens", "exeditas" and the variant "citaes". A tribal name, in the adjectival form, is used in "lausabra cohortu". Before leaving the word cohort, it should be noted that it can refer to the legionary cohorts, even when unsatisfied by some such adjective as "cohors". An example of this occurred in the list of charges brought against Germanicus' enemy, Argo, in A.D. 19. "Ala", like "cohors", stands alone, or with numerals or their equivalent. It is also found with "equites", as in the phrase "alia equitum, quas conscripta e treuiria militia disciplinque nostrae nubebatur". This was regarded as a full description of a regular cavalry unit: it is the equivalent of the more "geographical" "una ala treuirum" under the command of Julius Indus. As noted, it had earlier been referred to in the very vague words "cum selecta manu". An adjectival form of a tribal name is used with ala in "alae cannesfates". "Alaris" and "alarum" are used as variants for "ala", once with a tribal adjective added of: "alaris quaque cannonicis, robur equitatum". A unit of cavalry was subdivided into "turas". This word is then used to indicate alae, and is sometimes accompanied by a numeral or a descriptive adjective.

An alternative to cohort magistri used "peditionis", or the singular "pedes", or the collective "peditionis", "pedes magistri" occurs.
especially noteworthy are the German auxiliaries referred to as "quod peditem Germanorum inter neustris venerat". 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 "capitarii" and the old-fashioned "levia armatura" and "liberiores funditores". The latter phrase, in the reverse order, occurred in the Germanicus section. This is its second and only other occurrence in the "annals", where Corunc's attack on an Armenian stronghold in 54 A.D. is being described. In the account of the final defeat of Baratacus in Wales there are references to auxiliary "m. Actae" and "hastae" as distinct from the legionary "gladii ac pilus". As far as the cavalry is concerned, "equites", "equus" and "equitativa" 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.

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 "libelus" which Augustus is said to have left behind at his death the army is designated in the words: "c 歪素 歪素 歪素 歪素 wires socorriusque in armis". On one occasion the word appears associated with a regular item of Roman military organization, the unit standard - "quod sub signis sociorius". Used adjectivally, or in its derivative form of "socius", it qualifies nouns such as "cohors", "turas", "copias".
and "regnum", 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' ale was referred to as a "selecta manus". The phrase "auxiliaris manus" occurs in the same context as indus' ale, the revolt of Florus and Ascrevir 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 auxilium received assistance from the Mauretaniens, who organized raiding parties: "praedatoria manus selecti Maurorum duxere". So, so-called hastily levied local troops:

"tumultuarissimae provinciarum manus erant". "Selectus" (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 "pedite at equitum auxiliarium selectum" or "selectos sagittatorum" 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. Several less specific expressions are found, such as "coptae" or "miles". The word "robur" is usually found in association with legions, but it can refer juridically to auxiliaries. "Exercitus" is found in the setting "dui militio consani ad excisiem castellorum". The Iberians were largely cavalry, and they were co-operating with the Romans as allies rather than auxiliaries. The sense is quite clear from the preceding "auxilia romana" characteristic.
(characteristically in the genitive after the singular of "uivem") 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. "Exercitum" 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" is seldom used of auxiliaries, though an example occurs in a reference to the Jewish-Judanit clash in Judea under Claudius. Less respectable words are "provinciales" (examples of which have already been seen) and "populares". For the latter, compare Tacitus' description of Germanic woods as still true to the Romans: "in castris Romanis ducor populosum merulisus".

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

1. The Breveren sia in the revolt of Florus and Macrovir in 21.
4. The Banninatean sia in the Mesian revolt of 32.
5. German "kohales" associated with it - probably in cohorts.
6. Bozgaram "in legionem" in their homeland in 45.
7. Vangiones and
8. Sarmatiae "auxiliarum", presumably cohorts, in the Chattian raid of 54.

(As already suggested, the "contio et Galatiorum Sappodencum auxilia", /also......)
also operative in Armenia in 62, probably representing 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 Mauretani and the Bosporans
approximate more to the local levy variety, while the others have claims
to professional organization. The individuals named are:

Arminius, the Cheressian, "dux popolarium" under Augustus,
Flavius, his brother.

Arsopeades, the Sardian, simply called an "auxiliator", active
in the pannonian revolt of 6–9 a.d.

Boioalce, the Aemelian, first recorded in 52, but claiming
service ("stipendia servitius") in the German campaigns of
Tiberius and Germanicus (1–19 a.d.).

Tacfarinus, the Mauretian, "auxiliaria stipendia servitus", who
rebelled in 17 a.d.

"Selecti Maurorum", the commanders of the Mauretan "bands"
that helped to crush Tacfarinas in 24.

Julius Indus, the Traveran, obviously commander of "una als
Trevirum", although not specified as such, in the revolt
of Florus and Sacrovir in 21.

Cruptorix, probably a Frisian, a veteran by the time of the
Frisian revolt in 23.

Garnascus, the Germanic, a deserter who led a Suebian raid
on Gaul in 47.

Of these only Arminius and the unnamed German leaders are said to have
been commanders of contingents. India must have been one. Scipio Aemilianus
was obviously a special case, since he was an exile from further at the
time of his service to Rome. It would be hazardous to argue from the
later prominence of Heliodorus, Secundus and Hannuscus to earlier
positions of authority in the Roman auxiliary system. Cypriotes' 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 "securio" are mentioned. Sometimes the specific "praefectus
equitum" is used. Further, "praefectus" and "tribunus (militum)" can
represent auxiliary and legions respectively, as can the phrase
"legati praefectique".

Various words are found associated with many forces. Those
referring to divisions among them are especially "ceterum", "manus" and
"globus". "luventus" is especially common for recruits drafted at the
outset of a campaign. "Extritans" designates some of fighting. Although
brigandage or terrorism may be meant, resistance of 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 other forces, but it should be noted that
typically Roman terms are used to denote enemy units. The "exercitus"
is found, and the forces of Christians in their revolt in 26 appear sur-
prisingly as "civium ancillorum armis". Hebrews have their own
"auxilia", and enemy forces are treated. Thus the army of Euphras and
Longinus in 21 had a nucleus of "auxiliae cohortes" supported by nearly
40,000 "ducentes" and "crupellarii". These three elements are then referred to as "cohortes", "soumels" and "herretius". Similarly, Tacticinus' forces evolved from an untrained mob ("incundita turba") of migrant brigands ("dagi ... et lato-cinico sueti") that were then divided into Roman units ("uxilla et turmas"), 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. Moreover, 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 Vespasian the legion was taken from the governor and assigned to an imperial legate.

"Legio in Africa auxiliis totam imperii fictita, sed Anglo Augusto Tiberio principibus provinciis profecta partem" - 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 "Viparitus auxilia tribunus cum auxilia auxiliaribus" and "Britannicae auxilia, Batavorum cohortis militae in Germania ... ac tum Regniustri agentium". The second example, which specifies that the "auxilia" were in fact Batavian cohorts, makes it perfectly clear that "Britannicae" .....
"Britannica" means "stationed in", or "coming from Britain". Cetaria'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 "Vitellianorumauxilia". The singular "auxilia" occurs. Some new arrivals are called "recenteauxilia", a corps of gladiators pressed into service under other "deformeauxilia" and a cohort that had once formed part of the army of Tito, the client-king of Parthia, "regimentauxiliaolius".

Consorts and slaves are naturally much in evidence. The most interesting example is Tacitus' description of Vitellius' formal entry into Rome. As far as the use of tribal names with the cohort is concerned, it should be observed that the same "variae" as occurred in the "Annales" obtains. For example, "cohorteis" are designated as both "Tungarum" and "Tungairae". Like "auxilia" "cohorteis" can be designated by the provincial adjective in "-icus". "Vestiaca" and "Britannica" can be quoted. Like "auxilia", cohorts are called "Vitellianae". In the "histories" cohorts are once described as "tumultuaria", an adjective reserved for "annual" and "cuterus" in the "Annales" (and on its second appearance in the "histories"), also designated by the province from which they came (as "Vestiaca", "VannonicumsoVestiaca", "Moesiana"). However the "era Britannica" in the singular must have been so named: it appears in the epigraphical record. Then there are the slave whose names derive from personal Roman "nominus" - the slave Acusiana, Petuliana, Juliana, Aureiana, Sebasiana and Licentius. The second is once referred to as "Auriana", ...
"Silian", the fifth appears in the guise "silian, cui Sebastianus nomen". Lastly there is the "ala singularium". As in the "annales" aie 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 ("Treverorum turmae"). Auxiliaries appear to be designated by their regimental standards in the "histories", of the phrase "signa vexillaria".

"Sociae" in the "histories" does not require comment. To the less precise or more metaphorical terms denoting army groups that were discussed in the "annales" "numerus" should be added in the specific sense of "unit". After "numerus" the singular of "aures" may be noted. It is used for indeterminate numbers of non-provincial allies offered for a specific occasion by the Germania Cæsaraea.

"Iuuentus" is the most important among the "less human" words. An example is afforded by the saetian "Iuuentus" mentioned during the Vitellian advance to Italy. We also hear of the "Horatiorum Iuuentus" in a levy which Vitellius held in Africa. The "Iuuentus" showed reluctance to enlist, presumably both for legionary and auxiliary service. Besides "populares", "plebs" and "pagani" are used.

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

Batavians, Belgians, Britons, Cossinifates, Gauls, Ligurians, Thaurisci, Lusitanians, Nervians, Cempiones, Hungrians and Visigoths.
(The German cohorts mentioned in the Catilian–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” also are named – of Batavians and Imerans.

The names associated with “auxilia” are

Getae, Cernas, “Boeni” and Ubiens.

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

Arabs, Baeticians, Germans, “Maori”, Nervians, Noricums, Pungrians.

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


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 such 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

\(^{75}\) Tacitus .....
Tacitus put in the mouths of the main protagonists in the struggles that are described. 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 Civilians' claim for and "free" German allies.

The rhetorical slant in certain parts of the "histories" dealing with "auxilia" is far less prominent in the "Annales", but an example from the latter work may be quoted. This occurs in the speech of C. Silnius, 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 super cohortes retulit Tironus, una ala Treverum, pauca huius ipseius exercitus turmam profiliques sequaneo". 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 "pauca turmas" had previously appeared as an "auxiliaria venia" 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 Britons ("ex diversis gentibus"; "Sallust et Germannos et (pudet dictu) Britannorum plebemque"). Agricola's enlistment of Britons from the pacified south is in fact recorded. Three other tribal names occur, all in special contexts. A "cohors boiorum per Germanias conscripta et in Britannias transiens" mutinied while being trained and then underwent a series of adventures described in a problematic chapter of the biography. 32 4 Batavian and 2 Hungrian cohorts are singled out for special mention in the climactic battle of "Sonsus Ursupius". Professional arms and cohorts are mentioned in the description of battle, but without their regimental names. Elsewhere, except for the unnamed ari 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 "numerum" and another is the description of the auxiliaries whose the 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 (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 auxiliares". 36

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 "Annales" nor the "Histories" is complete. Up to this 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 "Annales" is normally dated to 48 a.d., the "Histories" within the next decade, and the "Annales" at least another decade later. This means that the events related in the "Annales" occurred some 1 to 20 years before publication, those in the "Histories" up to 60 years before and the earliest events in the "Annales" at least a century before writing.

The "Annales" belong 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 expression 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 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 fringes of the empire: in Italy professional auxiliaries 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 "pediter", "eques" and "soldi", 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", "decurn" and "turre" are the commonest terms. This usage is most frequent in a cavalry context: in affect the auxiliary "centuria" and "centurio" do not occur. The words for standards ("auxillus" and "signa") are occasionally used like the last group.

General military terms may include or represent "auxilla". "Xeritus" and "Seilites" are very rare in this sense, although found. "Opta" is more usual. "Valens" and "Sexti", especially when followed by a partitive genitive, have almost taken on the sense of "unit" or "detachment". "Essenium" has begun to be used in the same sense. "Vexillum" is not confined to legionaries. The metaphorical terms "tires" and "robur" are borrowed from legionary contexts for complimentary use. "Menus" is
used of a small number, not infrequently in a derogatory sense. "Juventus" on a larger, and "caterum" on a smaller scale are words more commonly applied to enemy horses, 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 status it is not often clear whether a German or a Gallic cohort represents a "cohors Germarum" or "Belgorum" as such or is merely a means of avoiding an obscure name, such as Iuguritan or Sequanian.

The "Annales" cover a period fifty times longer than the "Historiae", 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 "pedition" and "equites" are more frequent than in the "Historiae". "Coccii" is much more common. "Rectae" and "tumae" can be used as variants as in the earlier works, however the use of words for "standards" in this way does not occur. The general group appears with omissions and one addition, that of "provinciales". "Veterum" is not used of a unit as in the "Historiae". "Vexillum" is avoided. "Juventus" is almost confined
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 archaism. This may be due to the accident of survival, 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 Cappadocian wars fought at the end of the principate of Augustus, special interest attaches to his references to auxiliaries in the Cappadocian revolt of 6 - 7 A.D. He remarks in general that all the Cappadocians had a knowledge of Roman discipline, which would imply extensive cooperation with the Romans as auxiliaries. He mentions an army of five legions operating with "auxiliari-busque et equitatu regio". Then in the next sentence, technical terms are used: "sumum regiorum aequstrarre aediles, fugates ille, conversae cohortes sunt, et signa quoque legionis trepidatam". In enumerating the complete forces used by Tiberius against the rebels, he names 10 legions, 14,000 veterans, a large number of special recruits called "voluntare" and then the auxiliary part comprising more than 7 infantry cohorts, at least 14
else and cavalry supplied by a client king. There is less detail on the
varian disaster in Germany in 6 A.D., we are informed that the Romans lost
three legions and "titanicaque alae et sex cohortiones."

From these passages it is clear that Velleius, like Tacitus,
distinguishes between mere professional cohorts and also and "ad hoc"
support by client kings. His use of numbers with the cohorts and also 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 inferred that but his father and he had served as
"praefectii equitum" in two years (this appointment dates from 4 A.D.: when
his father's began is not stated). So much they must have commanded
cavalry units and are evidence for professional also 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 3. A.D., since it was dedicated to the consul of
that year. This means that at most nine 28 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 reference to be noted are in the fourth book of the
"strategemata" that goes under the name of Frontinus. Sertorius is said to
have punished certain auxiliary units in Cernonia in 53 B.C. by making them
/napo....
camp outside the fortified lines. They appear as "duas alas et tres cohortes". Tacitus relates the same incident, but the troops involved are called "praefecto militibus"; 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: "seculio suo praefecto equitin, quis certum instructas armis alii habebat ...". 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, quae consortibus et alis provinciisque judaicae praeposit ...", when Vespasian took command of the Jewish war in 67 his forces consisted of legions, 3 alas and 10 cohorts. In 68 Balba had a legion, 2 alas and 3 cohorts in Spain before recruiting extra troops for his attempt to become emperor. During his preparations against Vitellius in 69, Vespasian received an offer of "quadraginta milia salutariorum" from the king of Parthia. In Tacitus they are described as "quadraginta milia garthorum equitum". Suetonius' language is precise (as is Tacitus' in this case); the exact number and the distinctive weapon are given. On other occasions the general term "auxilia" is preferred. In contrast to Velleius' statement that 3 legions, 3 alas and 6 cohorts were lost in the Varian disaster in 9 A.D., Suetonius merely says "tribus legionibus ... et auxiliis omnibus casuam ...".
He comments on the stationing of auxiliaries in two phrases, auxiliary commanders are mentioned comparatively frequently. One would not expect the auxiliaries to feature largely in biographies of emperors, but there are sufficient references to allow one to conclude that Velleius 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 the 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. From these accounts in Josephus it can be seen that he used "cohors" or "auxilia" for "cohors" and "ala" or "auxilia" for "ala". Sometimes weapons or armour are specified, as in the case of archers or "paludae". The general word for auxiliaries is "cohors" or some form of "auxilia". "Auxilia" should probably be regarded as a variant to be interpreted by its context. Special attention is given to the forces supplied by client kings: "cohors" and "auxilia" appear in various forms, especially in combination.

It is not necessary to illustrate these points further, except to note that the technical word "auxilia" is used for the principate of Augustus. In the troubles that broke out in Judaea after the death of...
Amar the Great in 4 B.C., the then governor of Syria came to Judaea with 2 legions and "the 6 aide of horse that were with them." 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. Both instances occur in the "Antiquities", not the "Bellum".

τάγμα is found, also in the "Antiquities". It is true that it is accompanied by the numeral, one, which presumably led to Feldman's note explaining it as "a contingent of 180 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 a negotio, operative in Jerusalem at the time. In view of the rather loose use of τάγμα in the "Antiquities" it would be surprising to find it used with the exactness that Feldman suggests, especially as the precise sense is only attested in technical manuals on military tactics. It seems referable therefore to regard here simply as a variant for unit.

τάγμα, 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 ... instead of ... The phrase apparently implies a "cohors equitata".

Unfortunatley tribal names are very rare in Josephus. The reference to Syria just above has been interpreted as meaning that the
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 44 B.C. 106. On occasion however actual Syrians occur 109. Arabs
are mentioned, and probably an Egyptian, but an individual rather than as
members of units carrying their ethnic name 110. The best attested units
are those of Galileans and Sebastians (the latter coming from
Samaria)111. It is interesting to note that the local name of "Camaritan"
is used for an "ad hoc" levy, clearly distinguishing it from the profes-
sional regiment with its formal Greek name "Sebastarian". 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 ransom
of unruly "Galileans" there. He also refers to two "Galilean" groups
there112. 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 centurions and decurions ("praefecti", 115
and, at a junior level, "centurions and decurions", 115.

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 "praefecti" and
"Galileans" can lead to confusion, but otherwise Josephus' vocabulary
is comparatively straightforward. On two occasions Josephus and Tacitus
refer ......
The evidence of the New Testament can be added to that of Josephus. The term οὖντα occurs for the troops guarding Jesus at his trial under Κόντια τιλατον 114. There are two passages in "Acts" where there are named cohorts - the Σπαυδων and the Ευςλαφα 115. The most senior of the officers mentioned in the New Testament was Claudius Lydus ὁ γιλλαρχος ΟΥΝΤΑ 116. Σπαυδων or centurions are mentioned in several passages: once the Latin word appears transliterated as σπαυδων 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, 2 οὖντα, 100 κοπ. and 3 Ευςλαφα for 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 Valerius Maximus, 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.

Sio 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 ἀναπληρωτής Κολύτως 119. As Κολύτως in Sio normally means "Germanus", Sionio 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 Καταβάτης who assauts the river in full armour: these can only have been Batavians 120. Just before Vitellius was killed, a soldier from his side appeared to aim a blow at him. While Tacitus refers to him as "obius a Germania militibus" Sio 121 calls him Κολύτως τοιούτος, definitely suggesting either an auxiliary or a member of the German bodyguard. Sio uses ἀναπληρωτής to correspond to "auxilia" 122: another term is Κολύτως οὗτος. 123. If the full text of Sio 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 general comments may be made. Tacitus remains our most important source. The fact that he uses a complex vocabulary and deliberately reports 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.
1. Cf. above, p. 70, and, for the phrases listed below, p. 67 ff.
3. I, 60.
4. II, 8.
5. 11.
6. 15 – 16. For Flavian, cf. "...", 45th.
7. He is called an "exemplar" in Tac. "Ann." XI, 10, but the term there intended to be deliberately disparaging. For the "Jona militaris", cf. Fiebiger, "...", V, 1443, 1528 ff.
8. Full lexical compilations will be found in Gerber et Wuef, 1877 – 90, 1962, s. vv.
9. Cf. above, p. 70.
10. P. 94 f.
12. Cf. above, p. 79.
13. P. 93.
14. 96 f.
15. 92.
18. E.g. IV, 73; 25; XII, 31; cf. however to legions.
19. e.g. IV, 72; 30; IV, 26, for "cites" applied to legions.
19. IV, 47.
22. 72.
23. 99.
24. 86.
25. Cf. "paucae turmes" (III, 46 - a rhetorical passage intended to
disparage the number of cavalry involved; III, 56); "turmes
socialia" (IV, 73).
26. The last term occurs when a legion is described as having been
transferred "cum equitibus milites at pedimete cohortium" (III,
36) 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. 216).
27. III, 45.
29. Cf. e.g. Tac. "Ann." IV, 47; IV, 54; III, 59.
30. Cf. above, p. 86.
32. Cf. above, p. 57.
34. III, 45.
35. Cf. above, p. 76.
36. P. 98.
37. Tac. "Ann." IV, 73; 47; respectively. D'Anverse, 1967, 4, notices the
usage, but does not discuss the point raised here as such.
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31. As the "tria milia selecti pediti" (cf. Tac. "Ann." IV, 16) from
the "legio duodecim" mentioned just above the phrase. Cf. the
"uxilla delectorum ex Illyrico et Aegypto", discussed above, p. 100.

32. Cf. "socialia copiae" (p. 82); and, for "uirea", p. 78 ("neque
muto secus in iis uirius").

33. VI, 37; Av, 19 (quoted above, p. 212).


35. Cf. above, p. 104.

36. Cf. 1. Cf. the wording used for Philip's forces (p. 73).

37. Such names are conveniently listed in tablo, 192, 194, s. vv.
They are discussed in their historical context in the preceding
chapters.

38. Tac. "Ann." IV, 75; III, 30; III, 4, 6 ("Securio equitum"). For
these terms, cf. Thackeray, s. 56 f.


40. For some examples, cf. above, p. 77. I, 121, n. 444; 124, 94.

41. Cf. above, p. 77.

42. P. 82, n. 47.


44. Cf. above, p. 64.

45. 1. 77.

46. 112.

47. 147; 154.

48. 173, n. 54.


50. Cf. above, p. 148; 156.
58. p. 138.
59. 136; 138.
60. 150.
62. Cf. above, p. 136; 149.
63. p. 151.
67. 159.
68. Cf. the discussion on p. 131; 195 f.
69. p. 146.
70. 136.
71. 146.
72. 155.
73. 146 (The "Carthage" and the "Dybbuks"); 138 (and cf. "pagis" in Tac. "miv, iv, 19, quoted on p. 159).
75. Tac. "Hist." ii, 22 ("cohortis Carthaginis, custu trucul et more patrio uulio corporibus super unius ventu malum""); cf. 23 - "paucitati conscriptis (referred to this force). Cf. above, p. 134; 139.
76. p. 144.
77. 145 f.; 163 and 198, n. 155.
78. 157 f.
73. Tac. "Ann." III, 46; cf. above, p. 64 f.; 212; and 236, n. 7, for a similar device.

80. Tac. "Ann." III, 1; 58, 4. That "Germani" is being used collectively is shown by the phrase "ceteri Germani quas super Usipi reliquerunt" (32, 4). Other German tribes that are named are the Batavians and the Frisians. For Usipaeus, cf. "Alcaeus," 262; 224.


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


94. 37. For another reference to, quae, cf. 43, 2; there apparently the term is used quite generally for military units.

85. 18. Cf. above, p. 88.

86. 13, 3 (cf. above, p. 91). For similar phrases, cf. 15, 3; 24, 3.


94. Cf. above, p. 91.

97. 41, 51.

98. 29, 39; 13, 18.

99. 50.

102. 123, n. 50.

103. 124.

104. 125, n. 117.

105. 120.

106. 149.

107. 151, 129.

108. 31.
121. 152 f.
122. 52 f.
123. 93; 1231 cf. 53.
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 Agrippinae (Cologne) in 1902, Minkenberg stated that the formula "hic situs est" was pre-Flavian, and noted that the phrase "Diis 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, Sevillian made the same remarks, adding the observation that the abbreviation "D.H." for "Diis 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 "hereus" or the plural being used) is sometimes combined with "testamento fieri iussit", or "ex testamento" or "pecunia sua" or "saevo suo", instead of "faciendum curruit", 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 "cognosce" on early tombstones: its use only became general in the period from Claudius onwards. In the 1st century a woman rarely omitted his tribe and place of origin ("tribus" and "dovus"). Schober 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. In the formula "hic situs est" he stated that, although it was not used on the Rhine after 96 A.D., it appeared occasionally in the second century in the Danube region. Krafit stated that "sola" 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 "siles ex cohortes", 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 "sala" appears in the ablative (instead of the genitive) case, it is likely that the inscription emerges of phrases of the type "uixit

another criterion - the alongside the use of the genitive case for age and annis" and "meruit annis" are first in Moesia around Deusus (Gigen), These 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

Messelhauf rests 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, Mi. 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 Galus. Von Retikovits has accused the "cognomen" 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. Alfsd says that although it was customary for new citizens to take the imperial "gentilicum" as their new "nomen", some freedom of choice obtained, and "nosina" and "praenomen" could vary from one generation to another. Nomenclature, then, must be
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. The "milites gallici" of the Civil war of 49 B.C. have already been discussed. An inscription found in Italy mentions Spanish auxiliaries:


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 "auxiliarium" is extremely rare in inscriptions. Cf. however the early imperial stone to

Ambidrabo I. equiti auxiliarium M. M. n.e.

This inscription comes from Morium, from the vicinity of Virunum (Hagenfurt), 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 governorships or other important posts. *Flavia* has argued that a ...plus ...ex/..., 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 Cyrus became senatorial after 22. After his somewhat unusual governorship he became praef. ch. (sic) / η 7 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


Aug. I praefect. cohort. II classices.

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 Semilius 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 classicas has it in front of its name.

Sulpicius Quirinius' name recurs in an inscription recording the career of a Caristanius Fronto who acted as "praefectus" for him when he was honorary "duovir" of Antioch in Syria (Yalovac) possibly in 2 A.D. The earlier military posts of Fronto were as follows:


All Pula. praef. coh. Boa 27 16

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

/Statio....
Vania’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 Trumia). It is noteworthy that Flavius 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”. 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 Vastia in 15 B.C. Prior to his procuratorship, Sagitta held a military tribunate (presumably, as Flavius suggests, in a legion that served 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 T. Cassarina”, 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 "praefecti equitum" can be dated to the Augustan period by epigraphical aspects of the inscriptions recording them. The case of the bronze helmet, which shows an early form of lettering, is less certain. It appears to have recorded on it the following letters

\[ \text{MARIGUSTIVALLIVII}\]

Egger's interpretation of them is as follows:

\[ \text{MARIGUSTI TEI (ac. filii) u(exillarius or -exillatio) a(larus) III lll (lyricarum).} \]

In other words, the helmet belonged to a Germanic auxiliary who served in a detachment drawn from, or consisting of, a unit stationed in Illyricum. Egger accepts the suggestion that Marigusti fought in the campaign of 6-9 A.D. This would be a very early use of the term "exillatio" 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

\[ \text{C. Iulio Amilcaris i f. Voltini, secundario alae agestoricianae stipendia eseritas XXXII aero incisae, suocato genataniae in castello Imperio, cluso coronis senulis donato a commilitonibus.} \]

C. Julius Aecor came from Mediolanum Sancto (Saintes) in Aquitania. If all his 32 years of service occurred under Augustus, he would have joined ....
the ala Aetectoriana in 16 B.C. at the latest. But his later service as an "eucatus" may well have occurred under Augustus as well, since the otherwise unknown sort of icarius was probably in Rastia, which was subdued in 16 B.C., so that he may well have enlisted earlier. The "gaevati" were North Alpine or Southern Gallic soldiers who often served as mercenaries. It would seem that Nacer, having been disciplined and promoted in a regular ala, was then entrusted with a group of these professional native fighters. Another C. Julius was C. JULIUS IIIAEVATIUS CHOR. MAG. MIVCIUS (sic).

He served in a cohors sagittariarum, and was, according to draft, probably an oriental.

C. IULIUS IIIAEVATIUS S. DEC. ALA SARDO. AN. XXVI DOM. DEO H.S.E. was an oriental, to judge by his father's name. Whether his citizenship was connected with his appointment as decurion in the ala sarbos cannot be determined. An Aquitanian inscription may record an early Julius, if that is the correct expansion of "IIUII.

Jul. Attone f. loco miles (? ex colleg. (? Alpina. (? ann. LV stipend. XXX dom. deo (sic) herdes (sic) pie fec. The first doubtful mark was probably a punctuation sign. The sign after "cohors" --- has been interpreted as ---, the abbreviation for "milliaris", 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)ru(is)datu(s)" 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 Julius)
loci entered a cohors alpinorum or a cohors Alpinorum I early in the
Augustan period.

Inscriptions sometimes refer to both Augustus and Tiberius, or to
"divus 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 equestrius" are known in this group, and a "praefectus legius
armatus." In other cases actual regiments are named. This occurs on
the dedication to

M. Vergilio M. F. Ter. Gallo Lucio patri prius, pil. leg. XI præf. cohort.
Ubiorus pedi tus et equestri donato hastia pura ductus et coronis surae ab
divo Augusto et T. Caesar Augustus.

Presumably under Augustus, Qallus Lunicus was appointed commander of a cohors
Ubiorus. The cohort must have been what was usually called "equestre" if
it contained "equestri" as well as "pedum," according to the inscription.
This in fact is how it appears in another inscription recording a C. Julius
whose son changed his praenomen to Tiberius, and therefore falling into the
category under discussion.

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


Nufus was an "suocatus" under Augustus, and presumably received his appointment as prefect of a cohors Corsorum under Liberius. It is not certain what was written before "cohortis": the manuscript records a T, which is generally amended 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 Liberian date, however, seems fairly certain.

A fairly detailed record of troops engaged in construction work near Soptus (Bact) in Egypt under Augustus or Liberius has survived. The section referring to auxiliaries is as follows:

\[ \text{\textsc{coh. i Theb. cui praecip.}} \\
\text{\textsc{sex. Pompeius Tertul}} \\
\text{\textsc{7 C. Ierentius Maximus}} \\
\text{\textsc{7 C. Iulius Contanus}} \\
\text{\textsc{7 L. Considius Apres}} \\
\text{\textsc{sup. 7 iii}} \\
\text{\textsc{f. a. a. coh. 7 7 a}} \\
\text{\textsc{eq. iul 7 iul. Docentilla}} \]
(N.B. i.e.s. = fit summa summorum, 7 = centurio.)

There were accordingly 3 axes involved and 7 cohorts. The number of the officers and men engaged in the operation is given. One of the cohorts was the cohors 1 Thebaeorum, obviously named after the Egyptian Thebes. Since it contained "equites", as the text shows, it must have been "equitatus".

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

sex. radio Sex f. an. Lusiano drruto prim. pil. leg. Assal praef. Rastia
Vindolicia uallis Poeninae et leuis armatur.\textsuperscript{12}

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 shrine in 16 A.D., it is probable that Mirratus was governor of Rastia 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' consularship in 18 A.D. Two phrases refer to auxiliary matters - "praefecto sagittar\textsuperscript{2} and "-ascalonitanae\textsuperscript{33}. Acalon (or Askalon, near Askalan) was in Judaea, and many archers came from there. Presumably therefore a corps of "sagittarii" from Acalon 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\textsuperscript{24} in the cavalry prefecture must antedate the death of Germanicus in 19 by several years. I. Cornelius

\textsuperscript{12} Dolabella ....
Polabella, 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 "centumviri" at Vellium in 26 A.D. had previously held the following military posts:

praef. cohort. acutatæ primæ pilo leg. XIL trib. sili., leg. III

how long before 26 his command of the cohors acutata 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.

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

praef. fabrum praef. cohortis II uætæ vnae--florus exercitus

must be Iberian; 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 florus is not known. The second inscription records a "praefectus equitum".

Extensively early regiments that contained II. Julii as soldiers or veterans, and therefore datable to the Tiberian period are the ala ala Scythiorum, Asturum II, the ala Augusta Floraorum, the ala Scutulorum, the cohors Monteniorum prima, a cohors I unditiorum, the cohors Siliacensium, or another...
for Seleucia), the cohors turfana. The writing out of the word "primus" in the case of the cohors contaminus, instead of the use of the numeral I, and its place after the tribal name is paralleled by an Aquitanian cohort in which A. Julius served:


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 German. Comparatively recently a

Fisc. Julius Bacchius sili. coh. Aquitanorum

was discovered at Novaesium (Neuns) in lower Germany. Alfoldy discusses an early inscription recording a "Fih. equus" who had 2 freedmen. Presumably Liberius, who must have been an auxiliary, took his name from the emperor.

Inscriptions evidence for the "corporis custodes" starts under Liberius. Several refer to themselves as Germanicani, implying that they had previously belonged to Germani. The inscriptions continue under the later Julio-Claudians.

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


A community in Spain established a relationship of commander... with the commander...
commander of an *ala augusta*. In 49:

C. *Jeronemius* capite *praefectus alae augustae*, I. *Serentius* a. *praefectus alae augustae liberae posteriores*.

A procurator of *Valius, C. Terrenius Capito*, who had held the military posts of

*trib. milit. III praef.* *alae praef.* *veteranorum*.

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 *Jeronemius Capito* belonged to the same *tribus*, and probably the same *nomen*-*tudinum*, 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:

\[\text{praefectus fabrum / } \scriptstyle \text{praef. coh. } \text{alae } \text{praef. veteranorum} \]

Unfortunately, due to the fragmentary nature of the inscription, no details can be recovered concerning the cohort. A certain

\[\text{C. } ^\text{IV} \text{. } \text{I. } \text{Volt. } \text{V} \text{. } \text{I. } \text{ctor} \]

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

\[/\text{thm } \text{....} \]
The same name appears twice on another inscription from the same town:

C. Iulii Cognominetubeni f. Volt. Victoris Acidomopatia nepoti praefecto
tribuno militum cohort. [---]arum secerd. Romae et Augusti ad
confluentes C. Iulius Volt. Victor filius.

Some have identified the dedicant of the first with the father in the second
inscription, but the editor of "C.L." allii, 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 the first, which would make him liberian 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 citizen-
ship 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 arum has been filled by C Elag arum, but, as van de ward
points out, the emendation is most uncertain. At best we have a Romanized
Gaul of the late Augustan or of the liberian period commanding an auxiliary
unit with an especially honourable or an unusual rank. A "cohors
bomoranorum" is dated by a dedication of 94 A.D.

Claudius' name appears on two inscriptions recording auxiliaries.

Claudius' name appears on two inscriptions recording auxiliaries.
"praefectus equitum"⁵¹. The other marks the establishment of a boundary between the cohors IV Gallorum and a community in Spain:

*terminus praetorium coh. IIII Gall. inter coh. IIII Gall. et ciuitatem beduniensium"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. E. ingenorum," i.e., the cohors I civium Romanorum ingenorum. The military posts of "praef. coh. Quin. tr. sil. leg." appear in another. A third preserves a "praefectus equitum"⁵⁵.

As noted above, Claudius introduced a new arrangement of the equestrian "trea militiae", that is illustrated by inscriptions⁵⁶:


In some cases military history allows a dating under Claudius with greater or lesser probability. The fragmentary inscriptions refer to:

*Cornelius Valerius who was in charge of detachments in Thrace, presumably in connection with its annexation in A.D. 48, on the first he appears as:

*praef. / praef. uexillatorum in Tracia aev. / praef. uexillatorum in leg. VIII Augusta // tribunus // donato --- / and .....
and on the second there is the following information:

praef. cohort. I — trrib. equitum cohors — donato coorni — /
clipeis imaginibus — / laudatione a numeris — / ite ab ea numeris

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 'numerius' in the sense of detachment or unit.

Valerinus' career is more difficult to reconstruct. He was commander of a cohort I — the name no longer survives. What positions he held before his command of a "uxillatio" cannot be recovered. Whether the "uxillarii" in Thracia 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 "P. I." it is proposed to fill the lacuna before "trib. equitum" in the second inscription and expand the phrase as follows:

praef. uxillationibus tribus equitum cohors/*trib. (ibus)*/

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

The ....
The first dated "testimonium" under Nero belongs to 96 A.D. It records a dedication by the

ala Gallor. petriana per V. julius aepurinum praefectus58.

and was set up in Woguntiacum (Mainz) in upper Germany. An ala Augusta is

named in 57 in Egypt59. In 54 a cavalryman of the ala Vocontiorum was

involved in a court case:

Lettin "baptin ex utroco uexconomiae ruris

alipic

a has a Roman sounding name and is cited by his "turrea". In 63 the prefect

of Egypt heard a military delegation on the rights of discharged soldiers:

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"
(alai and kohortai). On an Egyptian inscription of 65 a certain
"L. Quintius Victor decurio" 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. Aeroniae Claudii Cassariae eug. Germanici provinciae Cappadociae et
Ciliciae 63).

A papyrus which is dated by a fragmentary imperial titulation 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. equites missicius quius abstantia causa
defendit M. Trebius Vereaclides eques ala apriana turma Aemantia filius eius
Dionysii et inter M. Apronius et M. Manlium equites ala Vocontiorum turma
Domesticici aegeretur 64.

Dionysius appears to have been of peraeersi status, but his son’s "trib
nomina" imply citizenship in spite of the absence of tribus. The son is
designated by his "turns". Later in the document the "decurio" Domesticius
is called Octavius Domesticius, a name implying citizenship in spite of the
absence of a "tribus". It should be noted further that the ala Vocontiorum
was mentioned above (in a document of 50). The next figure is dated to the
Neronian period by the "epistles" of Pliny:

/L. Calpurnius ....
inscriptions bearing characteristics of the early empire and recording Ti. Claudii probably fall into the principates of Claudius or Nero. 

From Kraft the following regiments may be extracted: the ala I Hispanorum, ala II Hispanorum Aravum, 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. 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 "equestera".

Ti. Iulius Julianus praef. fabr. trib. con. VIII voluntarius quae est in Balsatia was the son of an imperial freedman who had presumably received citizenship from Africa. Hence the commander of the cohors VIII voluntarius in Balsatia probably saw service in the Claudian period.

The year of the four emperors saw a great number of army movements and other developments that enabled certain auxiliary regiments to be dated with considerable precision. The ala Julia, 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 "ex..."
sex. Veturius useteranus alae Silianae uixit annis LXX h. m. 69

C. Vibius f. f. Vel. Publlianus sor. q. praef. coh. Illi Thracum equitatae
tribunus militus bis leg. Illi Macedonicae at legion. Annis apud
Germania reversus inde fecit novi inducto d. d. 70

must be prior to 69 when the IV Macedonica left Germany. hence the coh. II
IV Thracum equitatae can be dated to the Claudian period.

Procules Sabili C. Col. Philadel. mil. optic coh. IV Italic. c. n. 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 Procules formed part of the detachment of the Syrian army
that Licinius Nucianus brought to Italy via the Danube in 69. Procules' father's name is Greek, his dominus philadelphia in Arabia (Rabath Ammon).

If the abbreviation col. represents "tribu collina" he was a Roman citizen.
The cohors II Italic. 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.

Via-unitus sacrificum. L. Ferentius secundus natione Noricus h. m. 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 cohore II Breucorum can be dated to c. 60 A.D.

G. Catiulni luovagii f. hiliti coh. III britannorum 7 fesati uix. ann. xav sti. Vi exercitus maestici aternum h. f. c. commilitoni carissimo 73

must belong to the same context. The stem was found in North Italy, the epigraphical indications are 1st century, and the "Maestian 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 maestulorum of the next inscription:

C. Valerio C. f. Stel. Clemen. — decuriones alae maestulorum quibus praefuit bello Judaico sub duu Vespasiano Aug. 74

a commander of a cohore 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. III Macedonic. praef. coh. III hispanor. hast. pura et coroa. aurea don. 75

The connection of the following cases with the fear of the four emperors is less certain. The troop movements in Gallia Narbonensis that resulted from the struggle between Nero and Vitellius have already been discussed. An inscription from Vindinis (Tena) in Gallia Narbonensis records...
Since troops were not normally stationed in the area, the suggestion that this is in fact a reference to a "cohors prima Dacororum" is most likely: Dacian units are known to have been in the region from the literary record. Tacitus mentions a Dacian cohort in North Italy in the same war. It seems likely that

Adjutor lauci f. cives Iunapius

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

in the war was overwhelmed by the ala Macedonica there in 70. A state of the first ala from Aciburgium can probability the ala Frontoniana which seems to have been now reassigned to the

ala Macedonica there in 70. A state of the first ala from Aciburgium can therefore be regarded as pre-Flavian.

Cintususus Bacoetia f. Bruncis cives Iunapius alae Frontonians

ano. I stipendi aXIV hic situs est. mer. 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

Carcelli leg. xi 31/42d --- prae. civitatis base/forux --- Iunapius

prae. coh. III Alp./inor. --- Iunapius 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 Battiaca and a cohors Gallorua:

coh(ortes) Battiaca et Gallorua quibus praesunt \{\ldots\} e\{\ldots\} inscriptions

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

--pre(ser), eq. a\{\ldots\}--

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

C. Valerius Longus eq. Ala Apriana, salut equum Cappadocum nigrum -- de C.

Julio Rufo leg. XXIII. Claudian period. The dating of the next 2

The "equus" C. Valerius

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 depend upon the regnal years of the Jewish King Agrippa II.

*Упомянуты следующие имена: Иосиф, Ханааней и другие...*

*Имена упомянуты (фамилии) на месте 'Иерусалим'...* 83

*Herodes, ....*
Herodius, the son of Hamea (?), 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 colonialum, 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...

telongs to 75 or 80 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 Rufius Clemens as follows:

έπάρχεις ο εξίτης — η/απελευθερώσεις τον αγρέα/.../ταπεινός

'Ελβετιορομανός έπάρχεις — η/επιρρήματα ἐπιτάγματος τοῦ/πάροικος

telongs...
Alexander, who served as Titus' chief of staff at the end of the war. Clemens was assigned the cohortia in the province of Egypt (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 Aretas (Mosaic or Aretas) inscription, which records a certain ...Tilius Secundus (now no longer thought to be the same as Flavius the Elder). Before assuming Alexander in the Jewish war,Secundus had been

\[\text{\textasciitilde Tilius Secund\textasciitildeus} \]

i.e. "proconsul" or the cohors through a (where the placing of the numeral is noteworthy) and of an alk. This must have been in the Claudian period.

Vespasian's name dates several inscriptions. One records a certain ...Tilius Lol\textasciitildeus (?) who was adopted into praetorian status by the emperor. His military posts were:

trib. mil. leg. III Scyth., beneficii diui Claudii praef. coh. III

It is not clear whether only his military tribunate was owed to Claudius, or his prefecture of the cohors III auxiliariorum as well. In any case the latter was presumably praetorian. Another senator similarly adopted had been ...
been "praefectus alae constantianus", 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.

Divus Vespasianus and Titus are named on other inscriptions.

G. Minicius Italus held the following posts:

coh. II varc. eq. trib. milit. leg. VI Victor. praef. eq. alae I sing.
c. A. 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 Sulpicius
praef. coh. VI Astur. trib. mil. leg. VI Vic. praef. equitum alae Sulpicius

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

The ala Baccaranaurum appears in the career of another Flavian senator recorded in Antioch in 88 AD.

G. Caristianio ....
leg. leg. dii a Vespasian. leg. leg. a Hispaniae in Britann. 93

It will be recalled that another Suetonius Fronito, also from Antioch in
Asia, commanded not an ala, but a cohors II Antoninorum under Augustus.
This Fronito commanded the 11th in Britain under Agricola (c. 77 A.D.);
his cavalry prefecture must be late Neronian or early Vespasianic: "flavus"94
has reconstructed two fragmentary inscriptions from Italy to produce a
career including the posts

praef. coh. 127 / mett. inc. 127 / trib. saec. ---

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

praef. fabr. bis praef. cohors. secund. in German. trib. leg. V Maced.
in boesia praef. alsar syriac. (sic) itus praef. alsar III Thrace 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 Braciorum"96. A priest of divus
Titus, who therefore may be post-Flavian, was "praef. coh. III Thrace 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[? Horus unknown]"
probably served in the Jewish war: the 21 Fulminata and the 71 Cypresses formed part of Titus' army. An

recorded at Nitha "under the great king H. 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 assumed the name of the Four Emperors, to judge by the irregularities in his career, had earlier been

that is, after holding two principiae centuriones, he had been commander of an unspecified legio with oversight over the coast of Mauretania. A dedication to

G. Acilius C. f. Stell. Acilicus — consul designate

by

G. Acilius N. f. M. cos. two times, cons. I cons. II cons. I may,

can unfortunately not be dated precisely. [Note: Acilius Gallicius' consulate]
consulate in 70 at the earliest, more probably in 71 or 72. At best, then, N. Sexilius Sulpicius can be taken as commander of the cohors I Hispanorum and the I Hispanorum at the outset in Vespasian's principate. A "praefectus alaeaurianus" became procurator of Africa 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

Max. Attio L. filio Vol. Suburano Sexiliano praef. fabr. praef. alae aurianae torquatae -1-.

Attius Suburjanus is later to be serving under Vibia Gracca, governor of Hispam citerior and under Julius Cæsar, prefect of Egypt. The latter's prefecture of Egypt has been dated in 50 and to 47. Whenever date is chosen, Suburjanus' command of the alae can be regarded as Vespasianic: the title "torquatae", absent from the previous "testimonia", 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 Flavia, Africana, Vespasiana, equitata, Hispania,

By way of generalization, the regiments discussed in this and earlier chapters may now be listed: in the Flavian period, i.e., under Augustus, Liburnio and Sabinus, there was one ala, the

ala Augustae (in Spain in Nov. 70).
Another six Augusta appeared in Egypt in 57 A.D. The named cohorts were the Augusta X, IT coh.,
coh. LXX equitata, Bostranorum, Corsorum, Iturasiarum, III Lusitanorum, segittariarum, acutata, Trumplinorum, Ubiorum equitata, II veterana LXXII thor, VI voluntarium.

The coh. Bostranorum appeared again in 24 A.D. Coh. Iturasiarum, also presumably in the East, was fairly securely dated by the Jewish war of 66-7 A.D. A coh. segittariarum (in upper Germany) was dated to the Julian period by names including the elements G. and II. Julius. The coh. Thor equitata was also dated to coh. Bostranorum et equitatus. Less certainty attaches to the

III Illyricum and the

coh. Thaebaeorum,

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

Als Asturum II, Atactorigium, Capitonia, Augusta Iturasiarum, Rancia, Perturor, Orsaeorum, Pascaliana.

The Scubulorum appeared on a diploma from upper Germany of 74 A.D., and was also dated to the Tiberian period by "market". The cohorts included the

/coh. Alsetarum, ...."
coh. Alpinorun, Aquitanorum quarta, Lusitanorum, Montanorum prima, I sagittariorum,
sagittariorum (as mentioned above),/Silaudiens., Surorum.

The coh. Alpinorun 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:

The Aprians was recorded in 77 A.D. again, the Vocontiorum twice in the
Claudian period.

coh. Alpinorum, I Alpinorun, II Alpinorum, I Asturum et Gallaecorum,
Bosporanorum (as noted above), Usitiorum, IIII Gallorum, I Hispanorum,
II Hispanorum, I c. R. ingenorum, V Lucensium et Gallaecorum, 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 noted above, the coh. II Hispanorum also appeared as coh. Hispanorum equitata. The

ala Aureana Hispanorum I, Hispanorum, Indiana, Thraces, prima Thracum schr. I (—), coh. Cambala, Germorum, (—) Thraces, VI Thraces

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

ala II Aravacorum, Hispanorum pr., Mennonius I, I Thraces, II Thraces

coh. III Alpina, I Asturum, I Getum, VIII voluntarii

Whether there was any connection between the ala Hispanorum (and even the ala Aureana Hispanorum I) and the ala Hispanorum prima cannot be established; the first 2 come from prefectoral stones and so cannot be located, the last from Mennonia Inferior. Similarly the ala Thraces. The first 2 come from Britain, the third from Mennonia Superior, and the II Thraces from Mauretania.

Further, a decurion of an ala I Thraces was recorded in Noricum.

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, Apriana (as noted), Bosphoranorum (twice), I
Camennematius, Claudia nova, Cohortata, Castulorum, I Flavia Gemina, II
Flavia Gemina, Longiniana, Moesica, Noricorum, Thraces, Picentiana,
Scabularum (as noted), Silius (twice), singulareum, Sulpicia, Tarstiana
Torquata, III Thraces.

/The ...
The Claudia nova appeared simply as the Claudia on a stone of an auxiliary with the nomen of Flavius. The Nesseica also appeared as Nesseica felix torquata. The Noriocrum was also attested by a Flavian nomen. The singularium also appeared as I singularium c. R. The culpina was also c. R. on a second appearance. The Taurina torquata was simply Tauriana on another inscription.


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. III 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 Aquitania by a centurion who had served in the cohort. The stones recording the cohorts I Hercorii are both prefectural. In view of the large number of cohorts I Hercorii 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. Mattiacorii and the proposed coh. Mattiacorii both come from Mosia, as does the I Mattiacorii, though here recorded on an Italian prefect's tombstone. The number of cohorts I Thracum is large: the Thracum I here, that is prefectural, the I Thracum here of upper Germany and the I Thracum of Britain of the Claudian period may not be connected.

Less definite were the

ala Frontoniana

and the

coh. III Cyrenaica sagittariorum, Iiturasorum, I Flanconiorum, prima

Nomenclature supplied the

ala Claudia (as such, as noted), Hercorii (as noted), Flanconiorum, Scrobulariorum (as noted), Sampiana.

Certain epigraphical comments may now be made. Regimental titles are at their briefest on the tombstones of actual auxiliaries. Too great significance need perhaps not be paid to the presence or absence of a unit 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 Thraecum and of the type Aquitanorum Biturigum, the provincial appellative,
also in Thracum Syriaca, and the adjectival "veterana" and "tironus" are all
found. The stelae of prefects tend to considerable precision. Cohorts
are often stated to be "equitatae". A regiment with the "personal" name
of Petria 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 "segastrili" (without "cohors" or "sia")
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 also"
first appears, continuing into the Flavian period. "Praefectus also" is
first recorded on documents from the principate of Caligula, one probably
referring to the late Tiberian period. The title "tribunus" was used of

/the .....
the commanders of the cohortes VI voluntariores and VIII voluntariores, as well as in the puzzling phrase "tribuno militiae cohort. / ara" from Mediolanae Sanctonum.
NOTES


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

Sabinus, Stein "R.E." I A, 1920, 1595 (no. 3).
H. Vetter, "R.E." IX A, 1961, 244 ff. (no. 1) (esp. 279 f.).
(esp. 853 f.).
16. I.I.S. 9565 and Dussau ad loc. for the date. For C. Caristianus
Fronto Cassianus Julianus, cf. "P.I.N." 2 C 425; for the Bopporani,
above, p. 121, n. 48.


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.


23. C.I.L. XIII, 7919; Kraft, 1771. For "sigillarum" in the Roman army, cf. Pilbiger, "R.E." I 4, 1928, 1744 ff. (esp. 1744). Incorrect or unusual spellings on inscriptions will not be noted after this unless they are of special difficulty.


31. See below, p. 248, and n. 17 for the position in Meatin at this juncture.


33. for the term "praefectus ciuitatis" here and elsewhere in the chapter, cf. below, p. 248.

34. "R.E." XI, 969.

35. "R.E." XI, 969.


38. See above, p. 248.

39. 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.

For the astures, cf. above, p. 128, n. 156; for the Iturael, Beer, "R.E." II, 1916, 2477 ff.; for the “montani”, above, p. 192, n. 43; for the Scabuli, above p. 202, n. 166; cf. Stein, 1932, 212, for the suggestion that the Sila Turantalia represent the Seleucides of Hiero, the sent of Antioch in Syria (for which, cf. Homigman, "R.E.” II A, 1921, 1134 ff. (no. 2)).


42. "B.C. C.H.” XI, 244.


44. I.L.S. 1717 ff. cf. above, p. 82 f.

45. I.L.S. 1839.


47. A.E. '41, 109; cf. Pflaum, 1969, 23 ff.; "R.E. 1969, 103, where the suggestion is made that the ass was the ala Capitolinea of A.E. '12, 187 (quoted above, n. 43).

48. C.I.L. V, 6669.

49. .....

50. A. S. '22, 207.


53. I. I. S. 1348.


57. C.I.L. II, 3272; I. I. S. 2713; cf. "P. I. R." C 1471; Ritterling, 1846 f., proposed a rather different reconstruction, which, however, does not alter the general conclusion in the main text. Hacker, 1957, 9, would fill the lacunae in the first inscription as follows: praef. auxiliarii sum in Taurisin, XV numerorum honore in leg. IV Scythica in leg. V. Nuce doctis --- a tribunia leg. I. I. C. ab alia a praef. alianum a cohortum, and in the second: praef. cohort. I C --- praef. auxiliarii tribunum equitum cohortium alarumque XV donato --- a numeri Is ex. Os. Ite ab eis numeris qutibus praesidii sum ---. This would give the auxiliary alia and cohorts greater prominence, and suggest that the "vexillationes" consisted of auxiliariae only.

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


61. P. Found, I, 21; Daris, 101. For C. Caecina Tuscanus, cf. "P.I.R." 2 C 109; A. Stein, 1950, 55 ff. The soldiers' report back on their interview with Tuscanus survives as P. Yale 1528, (Daris, 103), where the different branches of the army are described as follows: ἔνας ἰσθμός ἐν τω ἱσπανικῶν, ἕλιον ἐν τοῖς ηρμίνων, ἰἀλον ἐν τοῖς ἕλιον χείμων.

62. I.LS. 8799a.


66. Kraft 347 = C.I.L. III, 15163 (where the regiment is not named); 348 = "Arch. Anh." XLI, 1909, 290 (- a "Caesarian eques Ala Hispanorum"; 372 - 4 = C.I.L. III, 14059, 12359 (where the element "Hispanorum" does not appear in the title; for the Areaca, cf. Hübner, "R.E." II, 1899, 662); 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.LS. 2513 = 41; 91664; A.E. '64, 262.

68. A.E. '13, 174.
69. I.L.S. 9139.


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).


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


79. "C.I.L." II, 2564. The lexicon recording the "civitates" have been filled as follows: Naevefiorum (cf. Fluss, "R.E." XIV, 1928, 283 ff. (esp. 286)) Hagnigfium (cf. Fatsch. IV, 1901, 192 f.) --- (Colagi)urnorum (cf. Fatsch. IV, 1900, 361).


82. S.B I, VI, 729; C.I.L. 186.
83. I.G.R. III 11744. For Agrippa II, cf. above, p. 179. Ἐπατονταδαρχεῖν is not recorded in L.S.J., but Ἐπατονταδαρχῆς is quoted in the sense of "praefectus castrorum", but the general meaning of "military commander" is more appropriate here.

84. A.E. '25, 125.


92. C.I.L. X, 1238.


95. I.L.B. 2711. /96, ....
96. I.L.S. 1399.

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


104. Kraft 235 = C.I.L. III 10031; 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 Ispania, here said to be part of a "sex(ill(a)) Brit(annica)", cf. below, p. 340.).

105. Cf. above, p. 289, n. 49.


108. P.P., 46, n. 64.

109. 89 f.

110. 285, n. 66.

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

112. 206, n. 289.
THE ORIGIN 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 “auxiliares” 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 Lecina, who is described as “praefectus cohortis Ubiorum peditus et equitus”.

Two terms referring to armour and weapons occur as such on inscriptions: “levis armatura” and “magitterii”. Tacitus uses “numerus” in the sense of regiment or military unit: this is confirmed epigraphically in the Claudian period.

As far as the normative ala and cohort are concerned, Velleius and Strabo, as well as the later Josephus and Suetonius, all report the words under the principate of Augustus. Alia 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 G. Julii were veterans of alae. Cohort is found qualified by the adjective “equitata” or by such titles as II classicus or Bosporanorum.

The appearance of the same names in the epigraphical and the
literary record may now be listed. To begin with the cohorts of the
Julian period, a comparison may be made between the

Augusta I: and the of the New Testament

(if be taken as "Augusta"). Cohortes Augustae

appear twice in the Flavian period as well.

Bosporanorum: and the Bosporani of 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

"Historiae". 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. 6, presumably of 69 A.D., is
described as "ex vexil. sagitt.".

Ubiorum (equitatae): and the Ubians of the "Historiae".

VI voluntariorum: and the "voluntarii" 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:

Parthoros recalls the Parthian Orcoapades.

Seboshma: mentioned in the "Historiae".

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

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

Aurorum: Syrian auxiliaries are named by Josephus.

The imperial "corporis custodes" are mentioned under Augustus 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 ales whose tribal elements consisted of

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

The cohort to be considered is the

III. 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 ales Gallorum et Thrascum have just been named.

Claudian...
Claudian administrative history and nomenclature produced the alae

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

Thracum, I & II Thracum: A cohort Thracum is found in the "Histories".

Thracian cavalry is recorded under Augustus under a client king, and there was dissatisfaction among Thracian auxiliaries under Libernus 7. 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 Maritimes 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 - 7 A.D. An ala Pannoniorum can be assigned to the Flavian period on the grounds of nomenclature.

Among the cohorts the coh.

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

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

Various Flavian cohorts Thracum are known.

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

I Cappeneafianum: ....
Canninefati: An ala Canninefatius operated in the Frisian Revolt, a Canninefati deserter (Cannassus) is known for 47, and a cohort or cohorts of Canninefatius accompanied the Batavians in 69.

Messica: Cf. the alae Messicae that supported the Flavian attack on Italy.

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

Picentiana: cf. the Picentiana.

Silius: also in the "Histories".

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

Tauriana (torquata): in the "Histories".

The cohorts:

III Britannorum: Cf. the cohorts or cohorts Britannorum in the army of Vitellius.

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

Cilicium: The "reguli Cilicium" supported Piso with auxiliaries under Tiberius.

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

II Italica c. R.: (also noted as under "sagittarii" under Augustus.) Cf. the calypso of the New Testament.

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

I Sogambrorum tirorum: A "cohors Sogambra" fought against the Thracians in the troubles under Tiberius.

/III Vindelicorum: ....
III Vindelicorum: A cohort or cohortes Vindelicorum assisted Germanicus.

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

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

primus) Tungrorum: (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. Only Lusitanians are mentioned among the
Spaniards outside Spain. Musidians operated in Sicily in 36 B.C. Among
the client kingdoms Thrace was the most active. Archers are sometimes
named: the Cretans were particularly prominent, but Caesar also used
Syrians and Ituraeans in his African campaigns. Otherwise troops are
specified by their weapons or armour alone, notably archers, slingers (cf.
the "funditorum cohortes asenarnariae II" at Pharsalus) and "levius armatura".
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. The three main methods are summed up in a phrase describing
some auxiliaries collected by Pompey before the battle of Pharsalus: "partim
mercennarios, partim imperio aut gratia comparatae". The first category,
that of mercenaries, was a feature of all major wars involving equal
counterparts. Probably Vitellius' transalpine Germans 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 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 "clientes" of the Gallic area should be noted. This became the routine method of the empire. Two levies of Galatians, one under Augustus and one in 69 A.D. may be recalled as examples. The third way, "influence", is well illustrated by the reason which the Gaetulians, 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. 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. It was easy to gain support. Groups of troops gained through "grista" 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. 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 echoes to a certain extent, .....
extent, the "citizen" cohorts and the "personal" alae. The "Bürger-
kohorten", as Kraft calls them, were apparently of Italian origin and
consisted of the cohorts Campanae or Campanorum, Campestrees, classicae, 
ingenuorum and voluntariorum.

The first name is usually found abbreviated as "Camp." but

2 inscriptions have

P. Cloelius miles cho. Campanae, and

C. Iulius C. [I. ...] Cerialis [I. ... coh. ... Campan.][n].

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:

---Jo Arimin. mil. leg. XIII donkt. torq-. armil. phal. et 7 coh. I Camp.

[20x10] an. LX t.f.r. [Sid]

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 Alfeldy points out, the names of the recruits known from the
eyear 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. [Sid]

Since ......
Since the expansion of "Camp." to "Campstris" has been abandoned on the diploma, the coh. III Campstris 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 aequestria.

The "cohortes civium Romanorum" are mentioned in Tacitus, who states that they received the same donative as the legions in Augustus' will. As far as the inscriptive evidence is concerned, there is the dedication to P. Cornelio P. f. Sab. Cicerinwiae prim. pil. his praefect. equitum praef. class. praef. cohortium civium Romanor. quater in Hispan. trib. mil.

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.


from the Alpes Graiae appears early as well, but otherwise there appears to be no pre-Flavian evidence for these cohortes. 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. The tombstones of 2 Roman citizens who served in the coh. I classica were erected in Aquitania. The first had at least 20 years service to his credit. Taking 21 A.D. as the date of departure of auxiliaries...
from Aquitania means that his entry into the regiment can be placed at about the birth of Christ, if not before. Kraft has advanced a plausible theory on the origin of the cohortes classiones. He suggests that they were drawn from the personnel of the fleet that was stationed at Forum Julii (Préval) 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. Frunt reports an unpublished inscription referring to a "illeotus ingenuorum quem Rome habuit Augustus et T. Caesar", referring it to 6 or 7 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. The coh. VI ingenuorum is attested only for the Flavian period. Kraft however has suggested that an inscription from Gallia Narbonensis recording a commander of a coh. ingenuorum

L. Attie L. I. Vol. Lucano eiiitieno centuri, tribuno cohort. V ingenuorum should not be amended, pass the editor of G.I.L. VII, to cohort. "[i.e.] Rom. ingenuorum", but should remain an 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 omelia of "Acts" and
the coh. II Italica c. R. discussed under 69 A.D. as far as early evidence for cohortes Italicae goes.

A coh. VI voluntariorum has been noticed under Tiberius and a coh. VIII voluntariorum in the Claudian period. 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. Velleius calls the troops enlisted "voluntarii", but also refers to the recruitment of "libertini ... allites", while Suetonius definitely calls them freedmen. Further Macrobius says that "Caesar Augustus in Germania et Illyrico cohortes libertinarum comprising legit, quas voluntariorum appellavit". This would appear to identify the voluntarii and the "libertini". Kraft 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 legiones, not the cohorte voluntariorum.) Most of the first century soldiers in the cohorte 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 Q. Vettius Hospes ain. cohorte Campon am. doso Saeve annorum XLV stipendio (sic) XXII testamento iussit fieri. (where Hospes' dosus in Latin (now seeming) 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 cohore Camponas. Kraft's theory would involve the equation of the cohorte Camponas with cohorte voluntariorum, but this seems unlikely at this date. Neither of Kraft's main arguments seems compelling. He has himself referred to the euphemistic interpretation of especially reobitus' 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 cohorte 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 after wards besides an enlistment of cohorte ingenuorum (one of which bore the wards besides an enlistment of cohorte ingenuorum (one of which bore the
number VI) and of cohortes voluntariorum (which apparently reached the number XXXII at least) at a time when citizens 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

---7ste Apula ---
---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 Ricientina (as Tacitus has it) or Ricientina. At present it seems generally agreed to refer the same to a L. Rustius Rican---7 tr. mil. uovit praef. eq. fecit.

This would mean that the unit was one of the "perennis" regiments to be discussed below. However the spelling Ricientina, which is also found on inscriptions, and the fact that the form Ricientina is first attested on a diploma of 74 A.D., may give credence to the view that the title derives from Ricianum in Italy. Ricianum 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 over to Caesar. Some such occasion could well have been the origin of an ale 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. Trusplinorum. The Trusplini were conquered as a prelude to the attack on Maitis. The commander of the cohort, serving in all likelihood during the conquest of Maitis, was a "principes" of his tribe. Whether he had been pre-Roman before the incorporation of the Trusplini 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 ones:

Agrippiana.
Antiana.
Apriana.
Atactorigiana.
Auriana.
Capitomiana.
Claudiana.
Flaviana.
Proncotoniana.
Gemelliana.
merculania.
Indiana.
Longiniana.
Pansiana 61
Patrina.
Petriana.
Pisentiana 62.
Pomponiana.
Proculeiana.
Racconia.
Sabiana.
Sceneae.
Sebeiana.
Siliana.
Gulpicia.
Tampiana.
Teuriana.

(The Antiana was already been noticed in 54 A.D. with the composite title
of Gallorum et Thrascum Antiana; the Apriana occurred in the Claudian
period ......
period and in 76 A.D. the Alatorigiana in the Julian period; the Auriana in the form Aurea 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 Mansiana with a Tiberian nomen; the Petriana as the Alae Gallorum Petrianae in 56 and twice in 69 (without Gallorum in the title); the Seboniana 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")61.

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 out64, 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 Miniate listed in Britain on a diploma of 128 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., G. Antonius65, who had assisted in the census of Gaul in 14. The regiment is first recorded on a diploma of 34 in the form Ala Gallorum et Thracum Antiana, which records the discharge of a Thracian veteran.

equiti Romaeastae Resentent l. Spiuro.
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 Panziiana has been linked with C. Vibius Pansa, "legatus pro praetore in Sindolicia ---" between 15 B.C. and 9 A.D. The soldier whose epitaph is the sole evidence for the unit, Ti. Julius Acutus, received citizenship from Tiberius in all likelihood. 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. The Proculeiana has been assigned to C. Proculeius, friend of Augustus in the Primaviral period: it is not attested before 122 A.D. The Ala Bacea is known from

---

G. Ancarius, qu. i. Pol. Harbonens, eques equestrius annor. aut. Xalll ala Bacea.70

/Although......
Although originating from Merbe (Harnonne), 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 "eucatus" by Cestian. The ala Cesarva 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. The Sulpicia, since it bears his gentils-

sium, was probably a regiment raised by Galba in Spain in 69. The Tampline recalls L. Tampilus Flavianus, governor of Pannonia in 69 A.D. On a badly damaged monument to Tampilus Flavianus, reference is made to

it would be most interesting to know whether the ala was perhaps originally drawn from the Frontsanaulian hostages or enemies who were taken into Pannonia, von Domaszewski, 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' gentilsium is not known, but Domaszewski suggests that it was Tampline since it was Tampline 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 Tauriana may go back to T. Statilus Taurus, who triumphed from Spain under Augustus.
One or two regiments seem to go back to Gallic chieftains. The
Atactorigians presupposes an Atactorix, the name appears on coins of the
Pictomae in Aquitania, where the ala is first attested. The veteran
conferred on C. Julius Caesar, 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 Maseta soon after its conquest in 15 B.C. Thus it may be possible to
place the Atactorigians, like the Gaesati, before Augustus. Incius' brother,
Flavus, has been mentioned in connection with the Flaviana; the
regiment is not attested before 99. Although the Spanish chieftain Incus
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 Aecovir in 21 A.D.

Several of these regiments have ethnic titles on diploma or
prefectural inscriptions. They may be listed as follows:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Roman Name</th>
<th>Greek Name</th>
<th>Date</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Antiana</td>
<td>Gallorum et Thracum A.</td>
<td>14 A.D.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Atactorigiana</td>
<td>Gallorum A.</td>
<td>(under Antoninus Pius)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Capitoiana</td>
<td>I Gallorum C.</td>
<td>(under Antoninus Pius)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Classicana</td>
<td>Gallorum et Thracum C. R.</td>
<td>122 A.D.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Flaviana</td>
<td>Gallorum F.</td>
<td>99</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Indiana</td>
<td>I Gallorum</td>
<td>134</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Petriana</td>
<td>Gallorum F.</td>
<td>28</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

• Testiana ....
Picentiana Gallorum E. (122.)
Procusiana Augusta Gallorum F. (122, deduced from 143.)
Sassusiana Gallorum E. (103.)
Tauriana Gallorum T. torquata victrix c. 8. (114 - 7.)
Frontoniana I Tungriorum Front. (133.)
Auriana Nisiponorum Aureana I (Claudius.)
Sabiniiana I Pannoniorum S. (122.)
Tauriana I Pannoniorum T. (103.)
Saxauliana Thracum H. (106.)

By 139 a.D., as Wagner points out 82, the Gallorum Antiana had dropped the element "et Thraecum". On a diploma of 109 83 the Clusiana is still simply the Clusiana c. 8. 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 38, and appears as I Flavus Gallorum Tauriana on a diploma dated to 121 - 8 84. Tungriorum had been added to the Frontonians by 110. On a diploma of 107 the Auriana has a different position for the nominal.

Most of these regiments had "Gallorum" added to their titulature: the "Tungriorum" of the Frontonians 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 3 official Claudian appearances, some regiment where it might have been expected - the Classiana, Vicentiana, Tauriana and Prontoniana - are recorded on diplomas without it. If any reliance can be placed on our fragmentary evidence, the ethnic element seems not to have been used in the Flavian period, but to have reappeared 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. Yet a picture does emerge of a tradition in the Roman army of associating crack regiments of especially useful 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".

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 "pre-Inherited Caesar's relations with the Gauls, and, during the triumvirates inherited Caesar's relation on
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" or the relationship of "guest friendship" was established between the military and tribes or local communities. In 68, the Lingones and other tribes were asserting under a sense of injustice because the tribes who had supported Vindex had been rewarded by Caligula 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 cinitas Lingonum metere instituto dextra, hospitii insigni". Kitterling has drawn attention to the establishment of the same relationship between individual officers and particular communities, quoting the following case:


The people of Segitana (near Satt) in Africa were pleased to place to record their "clientela" relationship with a relatively junior officer of the Roman army in 27 A.D. The case of the Clunieses of Spain and a prefect of the Legiones Augusta in 40 has already been noted90. It is easy to see how special or "personal" regiments could owe their genesis to such relationships. On occasion a prominent chief might not as the greater
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. 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 Cocius and even the Asturigiana as well as some of the names dependent on prominent historical figures point to the triumviral period and even to Caesar's wars. The Sulpicia, even if the Templana be not accepted, belongs in all probability to 60 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 1 Clodia equitata and the 1 Lepidiana equitata. Their origins are obscure: possibly the Clodia was a local variant of a Claudia.

The majority of regiments with ethnic 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. A coh. Sardorum (and a coh. I Sardorum, if not the same regiment) is known, but of uncertain date. By 88 the diploma /have/
have a coh. I gemina Sardorum at Corosrum and a coh. II gemina Ligurum et Corosrum. 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 missiva Aede, and therefore not long before the probable formation of the joint regiment under Vespasian:


(the cohort must have been equitata to account for Blassianus' 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 Cistia 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. Besides cohors Alpinorum, the Alpe produced cohors Ligurum. A Herodian 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 Maritime Alps and in Germania superior (from 116 A.D. at least). Hefner has made the attractive suggestion that the amalgamation may have been due to Calba in 69 as he passed from Spain to Italy. (Hefner's statement that Calba recruited in the Maritime Alps is however wrong.) The Alpine Montani also gave their name to a cohort. 5 Tiberii Julius of the cohors Montanorum prima have been recorded: 2 of them had 42 "stipendia" each; hence their date of entry can be put at 13 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 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 Vallia (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 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. (Keller himself gave up his earlier view that no regiments were...
were drawn from senatorial provinces, which entailed dating the alae
Vontiorum to before 22 B.C.). Two alae are known: that of Egypt and
the last first appeared in the Claudian period. That of the West is
recorded on a stele set up in the interior of Belgium.

...Secci f. Arvernus eques ale Vontiorum (sic) an. LIV stipend. VII
h. ext.

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 "equae". The cohors Aquita-
norum quarta of the Tiberian period has already been noticed 102. There is
no other early evidence for Aquitanian regiments, and Ritterlin 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 104 years as I Biturigus except
on the diplomas of 74 quoted above. An early cohort of Gauls bears the
high number of XI:

...\text{\$} 4/257, \text{cho. XI Gall. domo Patavi ann. LIV stip. LV}. 105

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

\text{\$}ale \ldots
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 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 Vascones under special circumstances by Galba. These names appear in the epigraphical record, but few can be dated early. A Spaniard with 19 stipendia in a cohort was buried in Augusta Treverorum (Trier) in 158. Augustus Treverorum 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 a coh. Lusitanorum were dated to the Julian period on grounds of nomenclature. Even the cohorts of Vescenses cannot be brought down to 69 A.D.; a coh. II Vescenses c. B. is first known from a British diploma of 108, 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 Excipient f. eques ala Asturum natione Ubion stip. XII ann. XXXV h. s. est. Vefius frater et Albam.

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 Scobull have been regarded as Spanish, hence the ala Scobulatorum may be classified here. A Ti. Julius discharged from it was noticed above. His "stipendia" totalled 50, which means that he must have entered the regiment at the end of the second decade B.C. A decurion in an ala I Cigurorum has recently been recorded in Spain, but he cannot be dated. Spanish regiments with more than one ethnonym in their title are either of the type Hispanorum Vettanian, 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 Hispansorum, which has been discussed above. The ala or cohort Asturum et Vettanos, that has been recently...
recently discovered, has an intrusive "et" that is not normally found where a subdivision of a larger 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 500 cavalry in 49 B.C., and Raetian and Vindelicum cohorts participated in Germanicus' campaigns in 14 - 16 A.D. Both Norician and Raetian "iuentus" operated in 69. There are several tombstones of auxilia 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 cohorts Raetorum et Vindelicorum. Secure pre-Flavian inscriptions for cohorts Vindelicorum appear not to have been discovered. A single ala and a single cohort Noricorum are known, but evidence for them is not pre-Claudian. 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. Stein, followed by Weber, explains the duplication of Raetian cohorts with the same numerals by pointing the creation of a second series of cohorts Raetorum from the "iuentus" of 69. The small number of Norician, as compared with Raetian and Vindelicum regiments, is explained by theirReadier incorporation in the Roman empire: it was not necessary, as Bets points out, to reduce their military strength to the same extent.

Finally, the 500 Raetii Raeti under the "socius" C. Julius Nacer from the ala coetorigium should be recalled. The Raetian Gaesati occur in the 2nd century, and a coh. I Aelia Gaesatorum millioria is first attested.
on a diploma of 158 A.D. Presumably Hadrian, to judge by the date and the imperial name 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 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 auxiliaries 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 coh. 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, 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 Germanian or early Tiberian prefect of the cohors Ubiorum equitata, and has shown how many individuals from the German tribes Ubiorum equitata, and has shown how many individuals from the German tribes mentioned.....
sentiment by Tacitus served in non-German cohorts. The absence of inscriptions recording Nervians or Catuvellaunians in a coh. serviorum or Catuvellauni is rather to be explained by local burial custom. The erection of a tombstone recording the name, regiment, age and "utipendia" 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 diplomae of Britain of the early 2nd century. As Oke has pointed out, even the commanders of units stationed on the Rhine area to have preferred to have their bodies sent home to Italy for burial rather than to have been buried near where they served. He quotes the following explicit case:

L. Claudius Anti. Trudens Consolianus praefectus alae Frontenianae h. m. e. C. a 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 auxiliary standards are not mentioned as such until the "Historiae", but a lacuna may have been filled to produce a possible coh. 1 Belgicam in the Julian period. An inscription that has probably been defeately transmitted records a coh. 1 Belgicam of the pre-Fravian period.
"Helvitas" however does not normally mean "Bulgaria", but "stationed in Helvitas". German auxiliaries appeared not infrequently in the late republican period: Caesar had found them useful in the Gallic Wars. Germanicus used them in his campaigns and they are recorded during the Frisian Revolt of 26 A.D. Germanorum occurs on a Claudian prefectural stone. Nervians assisted Drusus during his invasion of Germany, but do not re-appear until the Batavian revolt and the British military diplomacy. The Batavians 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 "antique faction" they had with the Romans. They were exempt from taxation but as if were "set aside for war". In the "Historiae" the "setus institutus" of their being commanded by their own skiestains 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 aux and cohorts, since they are found serving far from their home area in the period under discussion. A Sugiabrian cohort operated away from home in Thrace in 26 A.D. The Sugiabrians had proved troublesome at the time of the Augustan invasion across the Rhine, and in 9 A.D. Tiberius had accepted the surrender of Suebians and Sugiabrians, 40,000 of whom were transferred......
transferred from the right to the left bank of the Rhine. It is most probable that Helvetic auxiliaries were created at this juncture to draw off some of the militarily active among the transferred settlers. An ala of Hantesse and Hantesse who reappear in the "Historiae", were closely associated with the Batavians and lived next to them. It is most probable that the origin of the Cassinian auxiliary units is the same as those supplied by the Batavians. Vangiones and Neshtana helped to repulse a Chatten raid in 50 A.D. The question of when the Vangiones and Neshtana were allowed to settle on the right bank of the Rhine together with the Tribocains, who are mentioned in the "Historiae", cannot be considered here. If the transfer does not go back to Caesar, it must have occurred in the early imperial period. One may suppose that the regiments of Vangiones and Neshtana 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 "Historiae". They were the

Baetarians, Batavians, Belgians, Caerucates, Cassinianates, Gernsens, Helvetians, Lingones, Nervians, Sequanians, Sunucans, Treverans, Tribocains (discussed above), Tungrians, Ubians, Vangiones.

(It is true that none 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 Caerucates are otherwise ......
otherwise unknown. No Tribocnian regiment is known, but individual Tribocnians served in auxiliary regiments. The coh. I Helvetiorum and the coh. I Sequanorum et Maurorum 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. The Batavians, Belgians, Cappadocians, 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 Bellus war. Agrippa is credited with having transferred them to the left bank of the Rhine, whether they were transferred earlier under Caesar, or whether 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 Bastasianae, the Batavians, the Lingones, the Nervians, the Sueconae, the Vangiones 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 Cappadocians and Ubians, regiments of these peoples are found in other provinces, but the large number of "CisRhena" 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 Serviorum 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 to a special measure taken by Vespasian to deal with the aftermath of the Batavian Revolt.

Two further items may be noticed. A coh. I Arcessacum\textsuperscript{139} is known from a single reference, a dedication to a prefect commanding it. The Arcessae were a small tribe in the vicinity of Nogues (Nanus) in upper Germany. Only one "double" regiment apart from the late coh. I Sequanorum et Naussacorum is known, the "alae hastae et turribus"\textsuperscript{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 excellence 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 Jugurthians form a special case here.) The transfer would appear to be the natural occasion for the creation of regular 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
transalpine tribes supplied "auxilia" as late as Germanicus in 14 - 16 A.D. had some taken permanent occupation of the region between the Rhine and the Ilse the Frisians, Chaucans, Cheruscans[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 coh. 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 69. 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 Raetician army by 69. The inscription

I. F. Draccus aequ. ... I. F. C. Brit. m. c. R. ciu. Sevanius an. XXXV
stipendiornus XXII[144]

may be included as the next datable evidence, although it refers to an era Britannica: in view of the uncertainty regarding the names of British regiments, units entitled Britannia will be included here. F. Flavius Draccus must have acquired his citizenship under Domitian. If this is correctly expanded to Domitians, 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

//(Vienne), .....

(Vienna), where the regiment is recorded on the tombstones of 2 other
T. Flavii, but with Augusta replacing Domitia, due to Domitian's
"demydic memory". The aux I Britannica, which recalls the aux Britannica in Italy in 63, can be brought down to 74. If Draccon died in the
last year of Domitian's principate. Should he have died in either of the
time mentioned above, it can be brought down as early as 72 or even 64.
Presumably it was dedicate from the outset, whether it owed its title
P(raet) to Domitian or to Vespasian is not clear.

...7 Virmauscoius 2/7 saEq, imag(inifer)coh. I brit. tur. Mona. ann XXX
st. XV h. s. e. Bociccius 1849, et altacera h. 145

has been assigned to the Flavian period on epigraphical grounds. The names
Bociccius and Virmuscoius are cuvile, 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 trans-
ferred to Pannonia in the Flavian period. A coh. I Brit. Britannum 146 occurs
in Belasit in the Flavian period. A'coh. I fr. Britannum 146 was commanded
by a prefect who was a "flamen divi Titi" and therefore presumably to be
dated not long after Domitian or Trajan, allowing the regiment to be
regarded as Flavian. In the Flavian period titles were fired in lower
Germay by a coh. II Brit. (at Vetera-Danien) and coh. II Brit. m e. (at
Pectio-Vechten) and a coh. VI fr. (at Vetera). These two regiments were
Britannum 146.
The titles found on the earlier diplomas may not be listed.

The

ala I Flavia Britanniciana milliaria c. R. occurs in 102
(alas I Flavia aug. Britannia. c. R. 114)

coh. I Britannica (in Pannonia) 84 and 84
(coh. I Britannica milliaria 85

coh. I Britannica c. R. (in Moesia superior) 105
coh. III Britannorum (in Raetia) 107
coh. I Britannorum milliaria 85
coh. II Brittonum 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 titles found and the use of the sign — for "miliaria" on the later examples should be noted. The ala I Flavia (Augusta) Britannica c. R. of 102 and 114 (77 and 89) confirms the titulature of the ala I Flavia (Caesariensis) Britannica m(milliaria) c. R. noted above. The coh. I Brit(annica) has been discounted above, as well as the coh. III Britannorum, which must have returned to Raetia after the civil war of 69.

The nomenclature of the British regiments causes difficulties,
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, however, has remarked that "it does not seem possible to make any distinction, chronological or otherwise, between the titles Britannica, Britannorum, and Brittonum". Fabricius, however, has defined the Britones as "die zu Beginn der Flavierzeit noch unabhängigen Briten und die in den folgenden Dezennien aus den Neunterworfen gebildeten Truppen, im Gegensatz zu den Britann, den früheren römischen Untertanen der Insel, und den alae und cohortes Britannicae, den aus den britannischen Provinzialen ausgehobenen Ritter Auxilien". But, as noted, the coh. I Brittonum milliaria goes back to 60, just before the revolt of Boudios 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 sense proposed by either Cheesman or Fabricius. If Fabricius' "Provinzialen" mean "Roman citizens in Britain", the names quoted above do not bear the contention out. It is true that Britons appear to have been recruited into the coh. I Britannicae 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 coh. I Britannica is significantly named
the Britanniaca 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. Accordingly the ala I Britannica
and the coh. I Britannica probably need not be regarded as the equivalent
of regiments Britannoruma.

The evidence for British auxiliaries cannot be dated earlier than
the principate of Nero. But already by then a regiment had been transferred
to Actium. 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 Scordisci are named
as allies of Tiberius in 12 B.C. A Dalmatian levy, also under Augustus,
led to the Pannonian Revolt of 6 A.D. Dalmatians supported the rebellion
of Purius Cecilius Scribonianus in 42 A.D. under Claudius. Licinius
Varinius levied 6000 Dalmatians, most probably for auxiliary service, in
69 A.D. Valerius 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. No Scordiscan regiment is known, but a Scordiscan
is recorded in the ala Frontoniana in the 1st century. A coh. IV and a
coh. VII 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
were ...
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 Sallionimus, 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 coh. VI and a coh. VII Dalmatarum have been found in Mauretania Caesariensis. 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 Sichorius drew up his lists, the coh. Liburnorum. 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 Spaniard. As noted, a man with a Claudian nome served in ala Pannoniorum I (with the "early" position of the nasal). The coh. I Pannoniorum was noted in 69, but is attested earlier by Julio-Claudian epitaphs in upper Germany. The South Pannonian tribe of the Breucani is represented by a coh. II Breucorum, noted under 69; Sichorius 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. As far as double regiments are concerned, the 2 alae Gallicae et Pannoniorum have already been mentioned. A coh. I Pannoniorum et Dalmatarum eq. c. H. is first recorded under Trajan. 2 neighbouring small Pannonian tribes were combined in the coh. I Lactaticorum et Varcianorum according to a diploma published after the war. The unit was stationed in Germany in 80 A.D., which confirms the expansion Lactaticorum rather than Latic(a)nim,m.
on a stone from Colonia Agrippinensia (Cologne):

Hesilius Lascius ciui (sic) Damn. mil. cho. I Latabi. an. Vl at. Xxii
h. f. c. 165

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

Moesia produced very few regiments; it will be convenient to consider the Thracian and Bosporean 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 Scythians may well have supplied auxiliaries. The Thracian king Phocas Pelaus 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". An "coh. I Thracum, a coh. Trascerus (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. Tutilus Khani f. Dama, sq. ex co. IIII Thrac. ann. xxiv at. x h. m. e. 165

Some of the other inscriptions can be definitely dated to before Claudius.
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 34 A.D. Further, as noted above, a Thracian was discharged from a double regiment containing a Thracian element, the aLA Callius at Thracia Antia, in 34 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 B.C., 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 Bosorum are known from Trajanic diplomas. These may have been the only Thracian units named after a particular Thracian tribe. The question of the "private" ale 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 Trygges to the Romans.

Bosporan auxiliaries were noted in 34. But although Bosporus remained a client kingdom until the late imperial period, a coh. Bospororum was attested under Augustus. As noted, an ale Bospororum 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 coin in 
Nessus. As noted, a double aau Gallorum at Beoromarius occurs on a 
diploma of 144 A.D. Whether the pre-Flavian Gallic auxiliary just 
mentioned can be presumed to mean that the regiment bore a double title by 
that date seems doubtful.

Strabo reports the transfer of 50,000 Getana from across the 
Danube into the Mesian area by Aelius Catus (who was consul in 4 a.d.) 
He says that these people were then called Mosians. Whether this transfer 
involved the drafting of men into auxiliary units cannot be decided, since 
there are regiments neither of Getana nor Mosians. The aau I Vesaniana 
Dardanorum 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 in Flavio-Trajanic or 
later, and therefore not of great value for investigating origins. Further 
many clients 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 in a coh. I Cretus was dated to the Claudian period by numismatist. 
Whether the establishment of the unit antedates the formation of the joint 
province of Crete and Cyrena in 27 B.C. can of course not be decided.

Cyprus
Cyprus was made an imperial province in 27 for a brief period before it became senatorial; however, the date of the coh. IV Cyproia and the unnumbered coh. Cyproia 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 "Thracid" suggestion for the coh. Phrygiae 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 23 a.D.

Further East there were auxiliaries from Pontus supplied by the client king, when the area became a province under Nero, at least I cohort of the old royal army was incorporated into the Roman army. It was garrisoning Trapezus (Trabzon or Trabzon), and Tacitus bitterly describes its condition in 69 A.D.: although honoured with Roman citizenship and armed in the Roman way, its discipline showed "Greek laxity." Pontus however does not appear in epigraphical titles. Siliciae appeared in the republican period and on supporting the rebel Cato under Tibullus in 56 and 52 one of their dissident tribes had to be disciplined. Parts of Silicia had come under Roman provincial control in the republican period, but Vespasian first established the imperial province of Silicia. The Neronian diploma of 78 noted above mentioning a coh. Siliciae records the discharge of a

Quintus Publius f. Aug.

As Neunzehnau points out, Aug. is probably an abbreviation of Aegae in

Silicia....
Cilicia (Aysach) rather than Aegeaeus in Moesia (Pultsch). 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 regularly supplied troops for Augustan wars in the East: he had been king from the time of Octavius 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 alma Commagenor is recorded on a badly damaged inscription from Palatia of Roman date. This has been referred to the Roman town of Commagene, but in view of the common variation between C and G on Latin inscriptions, Petersen’s suggestion that an alma (? ) Commageneror is most 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 alma Commageneror is next mentioned on an Egyptian diploma of 81, 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 Jewish wars of the principate by Josephus. A coh. Suror vinc.


c. Iulius Dapnus Hores Surorum Dapnus I. militavit annis EA missae aet victo

pro merito suae rei et Iulius Varinius uiro eum obserit h. e. a. 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 50 "stipendia" and the nomee C. Julius, with the element Julius 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 Stolesy 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, Deornus' entry into the regiment can be
dated to the end of Augustus' principate. The coh. silauiensia, 178, dated
by a Libanion woman, was assigned to Seleucia Piera (near Suweida), 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 Herodian period is known, which means that the
district was supplying regular "auxilia" from before the Flavian period.
Deornus of Seleucia (nome) 180 assisted in the same invasion. Heena became
Roman under Domitian, but the coh. Deornenorum is not known before the
middle of the 2nd century. A coh. II Cyrrhesternum 181 is attested in
Numisia in the 1st century. One stone records a non-citizen with 35
"stipendia" to his credit. This probably makes him pre-Clavian, 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

[Continued ...]
contained sizable non-Jewish elements in their populations, the Itureans
and even the Arabs supplied "auxilia". A corps of "magistarii",
apparently from Baseball (Salbelaon near Ankara), honoured an auxiliary
prefect in 15 A.D. 182 The evidence for the Itureans is entirely and
for the Decapitanians mainly Josephus 183. It was seen that the 3000
Decapitanians in the klient army of Herod the Great had become 1 ala and
5 cohorta, 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 were 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 Decapitana was stationed in Syria in 58,
according to a diploma. This leads one to assume entry of recruits in
the cohort by 53. Most of Iturea 184 remained a client kingdom until
the death of Agrippa II about 95 A.D. Itureans provided a bodyguard
for Mark Antony and served as auxiliaries in the late republican period.
Aemilianus Secundus' expedition against them during Balbus Cereolus' 
governorship of Syria under Augustus is known from an inscription (quoted
above). Nomenclature places the old Augusto Itureorum under Tiberius.
A prefect of a coh. Itureorum set up a dedication in 59. Obvious
Eunomors served in a coh. I Itureorum 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 Iturorum. The early Ituruan regiments may be continuations of
late republican units, or have been created after clashes such as that
recorded under Augustus. Some of the Ituruan 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 auxiliaries
are known from the republic and the Jewish wars of the principate. Single
units of Arabs, however, are attested before the "Actitia Bimittatura".
The combined ala Parthorum et Araborum 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. Orcospades,
however, the "haud ingloriosum auxiliaris" of Iberia in the Danubian
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 parti-
cular the C. Julius who was decurion in an ala Parthorum and presumably owed
his citizenship to Augustus, and who gave his decessus as Rome has been thought

/of ......
of an a hostage. But there is nothing to go on as regards the ala Parthorum of Mauretania or the problematical ala Parthorum veterana, the sole evidence for which is a soldier's ring discovered in Germany.

So too the coh. Parthorum of Mauretania which is not pre-Trajanic, since its prefect made a dedication to the "Genius Ulpici". The joint ala Parthorum et Araborum occurs on an inscription from upper Germany:

Mariae Casiti f. anno, L atip. XXX ala Parto. et Araborum turmae Varisaghia. Maniustas frater et Tigrumus feciernunt.

The comparatively lengthy "atipendia" 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 (Varisaghia and Tigrumus) 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 Sabinus. This occurred c. 38 A.D. If Maria belonged to the original enlistment of the unit, the inscription would be dated by his "atipendia" 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 Thesaeorum and the ala Xoitana of the Claudian period - have already been noted. The coh. I and II - Thesaeorum may go back to the early Augustan period, especially since a "defectio Thebae" 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 cohorts Cyrenaeorum that are known. Normally the form Cyrenaica would mean "stationed in Cyrenaica" as in the coh. I Lusitanorum Cyrenaica. Cheesean 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 Nerva.

Little survives concerning Africa and the Mauretaniæ. Numidians are found outside Africa in the late republican period. In the wars fought under Augustus in Africa triumphs were awarded from Africa: the Gaetulians and the Mauretaniæ are the Numidians supplying the triumphal "agnomen" Gaetulicae. In the revolt of Isaurinae under Tiberius the Mauretaniæ appear as normally allied. Claudius was responsible for the formation of the 2 Mauretanian provinces: Mauretanian auxiliaries and irregulars appear in 64 A.D. The Moors of the late republic and pre-Claudian period were supplied by client kings. A prefect of a "coh. Gaetulorum"
has been recorded for the Claudian period. A series of tombstones of soldiers with African names who had served in a coh. Gauitorium 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 Gauitorum was dated by a reference to Vespasian. The ala Afrorum 196 is known for the Flavian period in the Alps. One suggests that it may have come there with the ala Siliam. Regiments with the title Asasalaviorum or Nasidarum are not known in the pre-Flavian period. An unfortunately damaged stone from Sardinia records a prefect of a double unit including通讯, the coh. Naur. at Afrorum 197. The coh. Caesradanium, named after a tribe living near the Pyrenees, 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 Maesia 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 principiate, in the literary authorities. The term "sagittarii", for example, also occurs on inscriptions, as on a prefectural stone of 18 A.D. There is would seem that the archers were in fact "Ascalonitani" 199.

From Balkania we have

Beren sag. h. a. s. 200

As Altinay points out, Beren, whose name appears to derive from Beren in /Syria, ....
Syria, probably belonged to the coh. II Cyrheatarum (discussed above: the 3 soldiers known from it in Halsatia all give Heros as their degree). Cases such as these explain an apparent discrepancy between the literary and the epigraphical record, where the first gives "sagittarius", the second care to name an Eastern regiment. There was however a coh. I sagittariorum 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. scutata who was later recorded in his home town in 25 A.D. has been noted 202. In the 1st century coh. naut. 203 was stationed in the Maritimes alps. It has been expanded: a new inscription gives "uberrimae, unknown tribal name. A new the Younger 204 mentions a cohors sexta equestris in Bithynia and Pontus the Younger 205 mentions a cohors sexta equesrix in 297. Raetian Gaestari 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, ......
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 into the Roman army when the kingdom was incorporated into a province. This is best illustrated by the fortunes of the regiments of Cæsareans and Sebasteniens or the forces of Polemo of Pontus. But other client kingdoms also supplied troops that came increasingly to light on the same basis as those drawn from subject tribes. Such were Bosporus and Thrace. However, the Thracian troubles under Iberian show that "professionalisation" 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. This may be substantiated in the case of Cæsaria, 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 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 Dacian revolt was intended for the war against the Parthians. It was created in haste to help suppress the revolt of Florus and Sacrovir. Probably the "princeps" utilized organized his clientes for the ensuing invasion of Baetia. 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 Sarmatians), 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 P bottorum, the cohortes Vanconum - 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; 214 f. and 251; 215 and 253; 220 and 259 - this last correspondence is discussed by Callies, "B. R. G. K."


3. The epigraphical lists are found on p. 272 ff. For the Tacitean evidence, cf. 207; 215; 216; 219; and msg. 220 - 1. For the Greek evidence, cf. 231; 233.

4. Cf. p. 54 (and for the measures taken after the Varian disaster, p. 53).


6. P. 54; 73.

7. 54.

8. 50.

9. 75.

10. Cf. e.g. p. 138 and 262.


12. Kraft's evaluation of Tacitus' "German" cohorts will be considered below (p. 3/2).

13. For general comments on the republic, cf. Thraexen, 7 ff.; Callies, l.c.n.l. 190 ff.

14. Cf. above, p. 11; 124 16 (German); 19 (Allobroges) and passim; cf. too the Noricans, p. 11.

15. P. 121; 191 35 (Lusitanians).

16. 37 f.
17. 15; 35 and passim; cf. too the Thracian Bessi and part Thracian Dardani and even Thrygi, p. 16; 18.

18. 15; 23 (Syrroians and Iturans - cf. 34); other Eastern peoples, such as the Silicians are mentioned (17; 39). The Parthians obviously formed a separate category (25; 35; 46). The Arabs, too, were probably involved because of the unusual conditions prevailing in the civil war (16; 35).

19. e.g. 15; 15.


22. Cf. above, p. 134; 144. Dio XLI, 27, 4, reports of Alcaecamus the Arab (cf. above, p. 26) that he was prepared to sell his services to the highest bidder.


24. Cf. above, p. 35; 151.

25. "n. afr." 37, 3 - 4; cf. 55; 55; Dio XLIII, 4, 21 above, p. 24; and for "clientela" in the Republic I, 1950, 252 ff.

26. Cf. above, p. 189, n. 3.

27. P. 128.

28. Tiberius' complaint (Car. "Ann." IV, 4) about insufficient volunteers applies only to recruit for the legions to Italy.

29. Kraft, p. 82 ff. For convenient lists of the different groups of "miliaria" cf. Choesman, 170 ff. For methods of quoting regiments, cf. above, p. 143 ff.

30. ...
30. I.L.S. 9161; Kraft, 3002 (quoted below, p. 307); cf. the prefect of the coh. Com. of the Claudian period mentioned above, p. 258.
31. I.L.S. 2600; Kraft, 3001; C.I.L. III, 14623, 34; Kraft, 3003.
32. I.L.S. 2597.
34. Cass. "B.C." 1, 24, 4. The recruiting in this instance was Pompeian, but other laws later in the verse 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, 30).
37. I.L.S. 26931; "P.I.N." 5, 137.
40. C.I.L. XIII 921 = 51; Kraft, 3001 = 51. For the departure of troops from Aquitania, cf. above, p. 251.
41. Kraft, p. 96 ff., in preference to Csesarana, 66, n. 2. For N. Valerius Mammallus Corvinus, cf. H. Hanulik, "B.Z." VIII A, 1955, 131 ff. (no. 261; (aep. 146). 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; prob. 156); one of the soldiers buried in aquitania (C.I.L. XIII Kraft, 3023). One of the soldiers buried in aquitania (C.I.L. XIII Kraft, 3023) definitely given his name as Forum Iulii.
42. Brunt, L.S.R. 75, 74, n. 50.
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. Fitts, "Lit." 1968, 50). This would leave the inscription in the Claudian period because of the Claudian spelling which it exhibits (cf. Scheinh, 1927, 1948, 114, 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 Vall. II, 111, 1 for the phrase quoted. Dio (l.c. p. 60, n. 24) also uses the word "freedmen".


49. Kraft, p. 87 f. Cf. the subsequent discussion of A. Neuhaus, 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, 2001; 9156; Kraft, 3002; cf. above p. 177. The lack of filiation and "tribus" is strange for citizens.

51. It is true that "voluntariorum" appears in the titulature of a coh. Campana, but not before Trajan (Kraft, p. 93, n. 19). The cohorts classicas also have it after Trajan, but Kraft does not place them on the same level as the cohorts voluntariorum proper.


54. I.I.L. 2679. L. Rustius Picens is otherwise unknown.

55. Cf. a Greek inscription of a procurator of the Claudian period, L. Papius Prassans (for whom cf. A. Stein, "R.E." XXIII, 1939, 1994 (no. 15) who had been ἑλληνιστικὸς ἅγιος Ἡρακλίωτος Ἡρακλίωτος

56. Thus Julian, 1913, vol. IV, 137, n. 1; rejected by, e.g., Stein, 1932, 147, n. 192; 148.


59. C.I.L. XVI 31; 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 19; 171; 272; 132 and 272.

64. Stein, 1932, 121 f., referring to C.I.L. XVI 69; and followed by Gillian, "C. Rh." 1961, 100. Stein mentions the possibility that even Agrippa the Agrippianus (Maius) was named after a Jewish Agrippa, since Agrippa the Agrippianus (Maius) was named after a Jewish Agrippa, since Agrippa

65. .....

54. I.I.L. 2679. L. Rustius Picens is otherwise unknown.

55. Cf. a Greek inscription of a procurator of the Claudian period, L. Papius Præsens (for whom cf. A. Stein, "R.E." XXIII, 1959, 1094 (no. 15) who had been a Greek (I.I.L. 8848); an epitaph of Germania superior, most probably of the Flavian period (C.I.L. XIII 2964; Kraft, 523. On several inscriptions (I.I.L. 2497; Kraft, 521; C.I.L. XIII 11869; Kraft, 522; A.K. '62, 29) the name is abbreviated to Picent. or Pic. Cf. above, p. 169, for the diplomas spelling.

56. Thus Julian, 1913, vol. IV, 137, n. 1; rejected by, e.g., Stein, 1952, 147, n. 192; 148.


58. Cf. above, p. 248. Wagner, "German." 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; 234 and 190; 263 and 171 and 137 and 139; 171; 272; 132 and 272.

64. Stein, 1952, 121 f., referring to C.I.L. XVI 691 and followed by Gallina, "C.Rh." 1961, 100. Stein mentions the possibility that even the Agrippiana (Miniate) was named after a Jewish Agrippa, since Agrippa the Agrippiana (Miniate) was named after a Jewish Agrippa, since Agrippa the Agrippiana (Miniate) was named after a Jewish Agrippa, since Agrippa the Agrippiana (Miniate) was named after a Jewish Agrippa, since Agrippa the Agrippiana (Miniate) was named after a Jewish Agrippa, since Agrippa the Agrippiana (Miniate) was named after a Jewish Agrippa, since Agrippa the Agrippiana (Miniate) was named after a Jewish Agrippa, since Agrippa the Agrippiana (Miniate) was named after a Jewish Agrippa, since Agrippa the Agrippiana (Miniate) was named after a Jewish Agrippa, since Agrippa the Agrippiana (Miniate) was named after a Jewish Agrippa, since Agrippa the Agrippiana (Miniate) was named after a Jewish Agrippa, since Agrippa the Agrippiana (Miniate) was named after a Jewish Agrippa, since Agrippa the Agrippiana (Miniate) was named after a Jewish Agrippa, since Agrippa the Agrippiana (Miniate) was named after a Jewish Agrippa, since Agrippa the Agrippiana (Miniate) was named after a Jewish Agrippa, since Agrippa the Agrippiana (Miniate) was named after a Jewish Agrippa, since Agrippa the Agrippiana (Miniate) was named after a Jewish Agrippa, since Agrippa the Agrippiana (Miniate) was named after a Jewish Agrippa, since Agrippa the Agrippiana (Miniate) was named after a Jewish Agrippa, since Agrippa the Agrippiana (Miniate) was named after a Jewish Agrippa, since Agrippa the Agrippiana (Miniate) was named after a Jewish Agrippa, since Agrippa the Agrippiana (Miniate) was named after a Jewish Agrippa, since Agrippa the Agrippiana (Miniate) was named after a Jewish Agrippa. For the Jewish kings, cf. above, p. 101; 99.
65. "P.1.R. 62 X 760. Cf. above, p. 116; cf. the discussion in Wagner, l.c.n. 58, 326 f., n. 39; and, for the veteran, Kraft, 291.


67. Moreau, "Viertelj. Trierer Geselle." 1960, 2 (also in 1964, 244 ff.) dates the inscription to the Flavian period on epigraphical grounds, but the argument for the Iberian nomen outweighs this.


70. I.L.R. 2496 and Besane ad loc. For N. Cassius (or Cassius) Sensea, cf. Münzer, "R.E." III, 1899, 1744 (no. 87).

71. Cf. Cheeseman, 46, n. 1; for C. Silius, above, p. 65.

72. Cf. above, p. 129; Stein, 1932, 193.

73. For L. Tampius Flavianus, cf. B. E. Thomassen, "R.E." Suppl. II, 1962, 1931 f. (no. 14); Heidinger, 1956, 43 ff. (who gives the corrected form of I.L.R. 985 referring to the transfer of "transdamuianum" into Pannonia, but who does not accept the connection between Tampius Flavianus and the als Tampiana). For a similar transfer, probably under Nero, cf. I.L.R. 986: "plura quae centum mill. ex numero Transdamuianorum, ad praestanda tributa cum consortibus, in libere et principibus aut regibus suin transduxit".


76. Cf. above, p. 249 f., and Stein, 1932, 125.

77. For Flavus, cf. above, p. 210; 69; and Stein, 1932, 137, referring to C.I.L. XVI 44.

79. The Antiuma, Petriana and Auriana have been discussed above. The evidence for the other regiments, unless given, will be found under the year stated in L.L. XVI.

80. In a diploma referred to by Wagner, l.c.n. 58, 326 (cf. A.R. '61, 128). For the Capitoniana, cf. also A.R. '52, 264.


82. Wagner, l.c.n. 58, 326 f., n. 94.


84. A "praef. alae I Gallorumin Taurianae" is recorded on L.L. 2751 (from Africa).

85. Kraft, p. 33 f.

86. Hadian, 1958, 212 ff.


89. Kättinger, l.c.n. 76, 167, referring to L.L. 6099.

90. Cf. above, p. 295 f.

91. Biet, 1952, 96 ff. The special position of the Allobroges Rousillus and thus 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.

93. Cf. above, p. 252.

94. C.I.L. XVI 24; cf. 46.

95. Ibid. 255; cf. the discussion in Beloni, 1955, 1956, 77 ff.; for the Ligures, cf. above, p. 192, n. 47.


100. Ritterling, l.c.n. 78, 183, as corrected in stein, 1932, 158, n. 266.

101. Cf. e.g. Stein, 1932, 87 f.


105. C.I.L. 257; cf. Alfelday, l.c.n. 33, 206.

106. Kraft, p. 36 ff. Cf. above, p. 114; 294; 304. As Wagner has pointed out (l.c.n. 62), the veteran Gallia, but not the Gallorum et Thracum, out (l.c.n. 82), the veteran Gallia, but not the Gallorum et Thracum, out (l.c.n. 82).

107. .....

107. Cf. above, p. 18; 25; 49; 130.

108. C.I.L. XLI 1117; Kraft, 351; cf. Kehme, "Pr.R." 1935, 76 ff., who suggests that another soldier at Augusta Prevercorum whose father's name is common in Spain, but whose regiment is not known (3686) probably belonged to this ala. For the date of the foundation of the colony cf., e.g., Hornemann, L.c.p. 191, n. 23; Kauf, L.c.p. 80, n. 11.


110. C.I.C.L. XVI 51; the regiment appears as "coh. II Vascorum equit." on a prefect's stone from Spain, and as "cohors II Hispacia Vascorum clalistorum" on one from Narbonensia: 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 Vascorum s. a." in Mauretanica Tingitana in 156/7 (I.L.S. 2772; 5274; C.I.C.L. XVI 181-2).

111. I.L.S. 259-91; Kraft, 131; for the Ubii, cf. above, p. 196, n. 139; for the ala Asturum II, p. 254.

112. For the Scibulli, cf. above, p. 242, n. 190; 254; Kraft, 350; Wagner, 44 ff.; Borov, "Z. Ant. Hung." 1967, 93 ff., in discussing A.B. '67, 426, which records an early decurion in the ala in Nescia, disputes Wagner's suggestion that the regiment was stationed in Aquileia, claiming on the basis of the new evidence that it was on the Lusitanian front from the Iberian, if not the late Augustan period.


114. Ibid.

115. Thus Kraft, 460; Wagner, 173 f. on I.L.S. 2757; recording "L. Volusio

116. Thus Kraft, 460; Wagner, 173 f. on I.L.S. 2757; recording "L. Volusio

116. Cf. above, p. 501; Stein, 1932, 204.

117. Stein, 1932, 209; Nuber, "Italien" VI, 90 ff. Nuber, however, would assign, not 4, as Stein, but 5 regiments to this formation. He suggests that this number was realized not only from the "iusuentus", but also from the "Raetiaae militiae" mentioned by Tacitus ("A. R." I, 67). These however are defined as "Raetiae militiae cohortesque" (above, p. 116) and were properly constituted regiments, whether consisting of Raetians or not. (As Raetian auxilii are known.) They cannot therefore be regarded as a pre-professional force like the "iusuentus". Nuber posits a third occasion, in the Flavian period, on which Raetian cohorts were created.


120. Kraft, p. 57 ff.

121. Cf. above, p. 283; 66.

122. Kraft, p. 43 ff.


124. Cf. above, p. 1294; 2974; C.I.L. VIII 7005; Kraft 1161.


126. Cf. above, p. 501; 129. "B. S. K." XI, 171, records a possibly pre-

Flavian Nervian regiment if -- /*(*?)* or c(?). K. can be so interpreted.
127. Cf. above p. 68, and passim.


129. Quoted above, p. 154.

130. Cf. above, p. 73.


132. Cf. above, p. 72.


134. Cf. above, p. 165.

135. F. 220 ff.

136. Kraft, p. 36.


140. The coh. I Nerviorum et Sallacorum of A.D. 297 - 80 is a mistake for Nerviorum et Sallacorum; cf. Heselhaufl ad loc.

141. For these peoples, cf. above p. 70 ff. 63.

158. I.L.S. 2530; Kraft, 471; cf. Alfeld, i.e.n. 33, 262.

159. Cf. above, p. 262.

160. P. 265.

161. 263; C.I.L. III, 13622; A.E. '45, 78; Kraft, i211.


164. Cf. above, p. 73.

165. C.I.L. XIII 7650; Kraft, 1901, and his comment ad loc. - I have not been able to consult Berater's work on the date; for the Bessalelines or Bessalethae, cf. Oberhumer, "R.E." IV, 1901, 210 f.


168. Cheesman, 61, n. 7. For the ala Phrygum, cf. above, p. 276, and for the Phrygum, cf. Oberhumer, "R.E." III, 1897, 920 f. "Phrygian" auxiliaries were noted in the republican period (cf. above, n. 17).

169. Cf. above, p. 94.

170. I. L. S. 286; 270; I.L.S. 2519; Kraft, 281; "A.E." 125, 78; Kraft, 282. Gerov, i.e.n. 112, 101, dates the last inscription to the pre- or early Claudian period.


172. For the Dardani, cf. Putsch, "R.E." IV, 1901, 2155 ff. (esp. 2157); for the republican period, cf. above, n. 17. /173. ...
173. Cf. above, p. 246 f.


175. Cf. above, n. 18; p. 75; 95; 177, where C.I.L. XVI 22 is referred to; cf. Nesselhauf ad loc.


177. A.D.S. 2568. Nesselhauf's suggestion ad loc. that the cohort be identified with a "numerus syrurus" at Caesarea is not convincing; Nesselhauf, l.c.n. 156, 45, accepts it as a cohort. For Itely's execution, cf. p. 112. For other Syrian auxiliaries, cf. p. 163; 182; 255. (Cf. below, n. 184, for the coh. Syrurus on the Rhine.)

178. F. 254; 283, n. 40.

179. F. 95; 175; 172. For Chalcidene, cf. Benzing, "R.E." III, 1897, 2974 (no. 3); Jones, 1938, 260.


181. I.1.5. 9164; cf. Milinsky, l.c.n. 33, 268. The Syrian Syrheastica (for which, cf. Sonnemann, "R.E." XIII, 1924, 194 ff.) seems more likely than the Macedonian, which Chasen, 179, prefers.


183. F. 57; 102; 104 f.; 194; 195, "M.E." '61, 319, records the coh. of Sebastena again - in 91, still in Syria.

184. For the Ituraeans, cf. above, p. 283, n. 40. For Κυσσίλιος Secundus, cf. p. 267; for the regiments mentioned 294 f. (Klubach & Hoortkat-Correus' suggestion ("Correus," 1908, 38) that the coh. I Ituraeorum and the coh. Syrurus on the Rhine are "wohl identisch" is most unlikely - regiments named after both peoples are known elsewhere.)

185. Cf. above, p. 95; 138 f.; 267; 271. /186. ......
186. N. 18; 22; p. 111; 182.
187. N. 191; p. 145.
188. P. 55; 290: Cichorius, 1257, refers to Rommen for the theory outlined in the text. Cf. Janssenhau, l.c.n. 191.
189. C.I.L. XIII, 18024, 35, accepted by Cichorius, 1256; Stein (1932, 145) however is doubtful. Uncertainty attaches to the reading ("decu. aile arthor. (sic) vet. quod praest P. Vibiis Rufus"). Janssenhau, l.c.n. 191, is prepared to accept the ring, and dates it to the early 1st century.
190. A.B. 196, 62.
194. Cf. Rommelli, 1959, 179 ff. for these wars. Cf. above, p. 76; 186 f.; 25 f.; 41; 76.
195. Cf. above, p. 258; for the statues in the Alps, cf. C.I.L. V 7895; A.B. 164, 244 - 51; for the ala Castulorum, above, p. 264.
196. Oxe "Carm." 1929, 119 ff. For the ala Siliaca, cf. p. 113; 139.

/198. ....

199. Cf. above, p. 353.


201. Cf. above, p. 293; 294; 268 (for a coh. III sagittariorum).


203. For the form "nautic." cf. W., '64, 249. 2 apparently early inscriptions record Ti. Julii (C.I.L. V 7887 - 8) without giving "stipendia".

204. Iliny, "Op." §, 106 - 7; cf. Sharwin-Wite ad loc., who however regards the term as equivalent to cohors equitata.

205. Cf. the formulation of Rüfer, "Biblia" VI, 90: Wir wissen von der Anhebung römischer Auxiliar in der Kaiserzeit, dass eine besonders starke Rekrutierung bei einer Volkschaft zu einem bestimmten Zeitpunkt vor alles Strafmaßnahmen für die Erhebung gegen das römische Imperium war oder als Vorbeugung diente.
AL. 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. Some of these are of interest because of parallel developments in the "auxilia". But even auxiliary formations are given names, such as the cohortes Hispaniae. Legions are distinguished by the provinces in which they were operating, as the legiones Bryrones. One, the legio Pontica, preserves the name of the region where it was irregularly recruited. Some have the name of their commander, like the Africana. The social status of the recruits is referred to in the legiones veraculis: the "cohors duce, quae coloniales appellabantur" at Corduba (Cordeva) in Spain may be compared with those in the cohortes consisted of citizens from a Roman colony. The "Deiotari legionem" are of especial interest, since they bear the name of a client king which survives in the legio XXII Deiotarida. However it should be noted, as Lequier has pointed out, that the cognomen cannot be dated before Trajan. He ascribes its re-appearance to the antiquarianism of Claudius.
Pompey gave the title "gemella" to a legion formed from 2 older legions\(^9\). One of the "glandea" or bullets from the battle of Nerusia\(^10\) adds the honorary title of "victrix" to a legion.

During the Civil War 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\(^11\):

- Sabiniiani;
- "Germani Gallique Labieniani" holding discussions "cum Caesaris equitibus";
- turma Iuliana;
- equites Caesariani;
- equites Curonianii;
- turma Cassiana;
- etc. (numerus compromissus).

There are two classes of units named after small tribal units, one Italian, the other Spanish\(^12\):

- duas Marrucinorum cohortes
- cohors Illugavmenses.

Two Spanish units are named after their type of armor, the "scutatae ... at castratae ... cohortes"\(^13\). The "funditorum cohortis assembrias 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 show. Names referring to circumstances of origin, as in the case of "gemella", are found in auxiliary regiments. The alae geminae and the cornicen units entitled geminae have already been instanced. "Victrix" will be discussed below, and the names derived from tribes or weapons are too common to need comment.

Cichorius 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. Munnen 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. Chessman 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 Ayovacorum came from the wilder North east part of the province. With particular reference to the Danube front, van Rommerswaal 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 forced joined the revolt and disappeared during it. Alföldi, 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 Sava, 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 instances the whole series of cohortes Francorum and the regiments of Lutobisi and Verciani. 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 Wetering 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 Kossman 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 Tribonian regiments, and the Helvetic units were 2nd century formations.) 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 "Lunnonum /Tungra /Alpinorum /Alpina," as noted above, a coh. If Vassonius had the provincial adjective Hispanus added to his title on a stone set up outside Spain: the stonemasons or their commissioners allowed themselves considerable latitude in what they inscribed on the stones that were erected.

/Jichorius/.....
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.

The third category, comprising the "personal" regiments, has already been discussed. The main development was the addition of the tribal adjutant. This appeared under Claudius, was absent under the Flavians, but reappeared 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 dateable examples have already been noted. Augusta is the most frequent imperial name. That it appeared under Augustus himself is shown by the cohors Augusta 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. A cohors Augusta was noted under the Flavians in the East. Augusta was combined with other types of name. An ala Augusta Pannonica in Pannonia was dated by a Tiberian edict. 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 the ala Proculeiana. Augusta replaced Domitiana in the titulature of
the ala I Claudia (Domitia) 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. 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. 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 165 A.D., it has the additional element
"miscellanea", which Messelhuuf suggests may mean that it was a mixed unit
containing "pedites". As far as its origin is concerned, Uichorius 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 Cassius Severianus in 42. Other appearances of
Claudia are much later, as in the case of the cohors Claudiae, or the ala
I Claudia Gallorum. Claudia formed part of the titulature of the ala

/Capitanei
Capitans in the middle of the 2nd century: whether the coh. I Clodia
eq. represents a coh. I Clodia is doubtful.

The ala Sulpicius, known from a diploma of 73, was plausibly
connected with Bithna.

One regiment, the ala I Dardanorum, bears the name Vespasiana.
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 Lucianus was forced to deal with foreign incursions from across
the Danube on his way to Italy.

Various alae and cohortes Flaviae are known, but the evidence
for them is post-Flavian. Flavia appears under Vespasian in the case of
the ala I and the ala II Flavia Semina (74 A.D.) and the coh. I Flavia
Hispanorum (73 A.D.). 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 Brittonia 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"
implies 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 Britannica recorded in 69. In some cases regiments which have already been noted later have Flavia as an additional title. Of the personal regiments, the agrrippian, Comelliana and Tauriana were so entitled, but not before the 2nd century. The coh. I and II Flavia Boemorum are Trajanic; besides the coh. Cilicum (later coh. I Cilicum) of Cossia, there was a coh. I Flavia Cilicum according to an Egyptian diploma of 63 (implying the existence of the regiment, if not the title, by 58). The ala singularium is Flavia in the Antonine period.

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 Eichhorn provided an alternative explanation for the Claudia nova; and the ala Galpina 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

\( \text{seems} \ldots \)
see that it is easier 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.

"Sagittariorum" is the only term that needs consideration in the category of armour and weapons. The coh. I ascalonitana in so entitled in 156/7 A.D., but ascalonitani and sagittarii are associated on a monument of 12 A.D. Similarly the Al. Auguste itinergorum is "sagittaria" on a diploma of 154. "Sagittatorum" seems to have been the earlier form, as in the case of the coh. I sagittatiorum and the III Grenecia. Early auxiliae' toke station under neither form; occasionally however an auxiliary describes himself as a "sagittarius".

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 cohort equitata is known if he calls himself an "eques". A few tombstones simply record an "eques" as such. Nomenclature or context usually suggests that the "eques" was an auxiliary serving in a cohort equitata. Thus the Dalmatian recorded as follows:

"Annae Honors, Salut. Equus h. b. m."

and who comes from a town in the Maritime Alps where several auxiliary
units are recorded must have been an auxiliary. "Equitatus" itself was noted in the early Augustan period: an early variant was "peditus et equitatus".

The designation "milliaria" was first found applied to British regiments under Domitian. It was first exhibited on 2 diplomas of 67, suggesting that the regiments were in existence by 68, 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. A., dated between 74 and 64. (Later, as noted, the symbol "m." was used.) This means that the designation "milliaria" (in the form "m." on a Julian cohort Alpinorum) is quite unlikely, as already stated. At the British regiments were "milliaries" at the probable date of entry of recruits into them given above, the term in Germania. As noted above, certain regiments involved in the Jewish war were regarded as milliari because Josephus called their commanders or "tribuni". The deduction just made from the epigraphical evidence would provide at least chronological support for this.

"Veterana" is an early appellative; its first use occurred on the coh. II veterana Alpinorum under Tiberius. A diploma under Claudius has the ala veteranum Alpinorum at Thracum. The ala Parthorum veteranum was dated early in the 1st century. The ala Afrorum veteranum and the cohors I Aquitanorum veteranum fell under Vespasian. It may be noted that the latter regiment is known from a German diploma, on which a coh. I Aquitanorum Biturigica is also recorded. It seems clear that the term is being used to distinguish an otherwise similar regiment from another. Ritterling has argued ...
argued that the coh. *Ulpianorum veteranae* had come from Bocellia in Cerasia.

pointed out that "veterana" was comparatively common in Messian titula-
tures. He instances further the coh. *I Hispanorum veteranae* and the coh. *I
Sagambrorum veteranae*. Terms with the opposite meaning are far less common.
The coh. *I Sagambrorum tironum* was noted on a Messian diploma of 78, and
the use of "novum" in conjunction with the ala Claudia has already been
discussed. The Spanish cohors *nova tironum* combines both terms.\(^37\)

The titles "gecista" and "singularium" have already been discussed.\(^38\)
The alae *I* and *II Flaviae geecista* were dated by a diploma of 74, implying that
soldiers were serving in the original unit, from which the alae were formed,
if not the geecistas themselves, by 49 a.d. Similarly the cohors *I geecina
Sagambrorum* at Cerasia and *II geecina Ligurum* at Cerasium of 88 can be back-
dated in the above usage to 63. The use of the title for auxiliary units
may therefore be *Flavian* or *Vesalian*, - presumably *Vesaliania*.
"Singularium" goes back to Vitellus at least.

Finally, honorary titles. "Flavia Romanae" 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. *N.*
dated to 69.\(^39\) But it also appears after tribal or other elements as a sign
of distinction : this usage has been dated to the Flavian period.\(^60\)
Neusselhauf however has suggested that a fragmentary inscription probably
referring to a Serbian regiment entitled *c. *N.* may be pre-Flavian.\(^61\) But
otherwise the first evidence in Flavian, and prefectural - thecoh. *I
Breucorum* ....
Breucorua eq. c. R., the ala 1 singularum eq. R., and the ala Sulpicia eq. R. 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. The distinction "torqua" also belongs first to the Flavian period, as the ala Moesia felix torquata and the ala Mauriana torquata have shown. The evidence is again prefectural. It was pointed out above that the title "felix" which the Moesia has associated with "torquata" was also borne by the legions in which its commander had previously served. "Felix", "victrix" and other titles normally given to legions which occur in auxiliary titles 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. It would have been useful to know what the numbers of the 5 Batavian cohorts that were associated with the XIth legion in 66-79 A.D. were. It would be hazardous to assume that they were 1-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, even in the last quarter of
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 quoted in some cases, notably the Baetica and the Valentinian (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-Gallican coh. IV and coh. V Valentinian are known from Germany, while a coh. VI and a coh. VII Valentinian are recorded in Raetia. Tham Haenelhausen assigned to a different series with the implication, presumably, that the old numbering was continued.

The ala 1 and II Flavia Secunda and the cohortes I geminus Secundorum at Corsetorius and II ginnas Ligurum et Corsetorium see 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 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. 1 Hispanorum I Alpinorum II Alpinorum II Hispanorum" implies that the "tribal" element was secondary to the number on a diploma of 66 B.C. The diploma under Vespasian places regiments in the order of their number 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 Porre in a recent review: "que les anciens raisonneurs et organisateurs s'entendent que nous ferions, ce qu'il convient de ne jamais oublier lorsque suite de documents decide nos raisonnements sur l'histoire et raisonner sur ce sujet de leurs institutions."

The attempt to trace the development of auxiliary titularities to the time of Vespasian is limited by the fact that different conventions were adopted by the three main types of evidence, the auxiliares' tombstones, the prefectural monuments and the diplomas. The prefectural evidence is the most fruitful for this purpose. As Augier has remarked, the names of regiments are at their fullest on the diplomas from Trajan to Antoninus Plu, with some falling off under Hadrian. Yet the legiones,
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. 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.


4. "B. Alex." 39, 2; cf. above, p. 20.


9. Caesar "B.C." 111, 4, 1: the legion is also characterized as "veterana".


11. Cf. above, p. 15 f.; 39, 42, 121 (for Labienus, 26, n. 53); "B. Afr." 40, 2; 32, 2; 52, 3 (for Cricus, cf. above, p. 30, n. 86); "B. Hisp." 26, 1; App. "B.C." IV, 7, 5; (for Attius, cf. above, p. 32, n. 121).


14. 15.

15. 130, 219; 185e.  /16. ...
16. 170° 213.


25. 353, n. 110.

26. 261; 151; 276; 340.

27. 303 ff.


30. P. 256; 260.

31. 267; 271; 280.

32. 254 (cf. C.I.L. III 4367; Kraft, 4211; for another example in the pre-Flavian period); 261; 169; 307; 326.

33. 272. For the short name as Claudia, cf. C.I.L. XIII, 7023; Kraft, 236, an epitaph of a Balsamian in Aquatiniacum.

35. Cf. above, p. 308; 312.
37. 333; 177.
40. P. 151.
41. 305; 309 and 351, n. 84; 116.
42. 332; 334.
43. 161; 171; 269.
44. 282, n. 33; 293.
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. 343 ff.
52. 290.
53. 104.
54. 254, 116; 339; 359, n. 189; 171; 169.
55. Ritterling, "Korr. westd. Zeitschr.", 1897, 235. For the Hugambri, 
of. above, p. 84, n. 93.
57. It does not seem possible to date the inscriptions recording this unit — cf. Barbieri, "R.F.I.C." 1841, 273. Barbieri (268) conveniently lists the inscriptions referring to the regiment. One (S.I.L. II, 4424) records a "praef. chor. novum tironum orae maritumae", another (I.I.S. 2715) a "praef. fabr. praef. chor. IV Etrac. praef. chor. novum tironum praef. orae maritumae". Several (2716; 1.1.1, 24, 2364 234) name a "praefectus cohors I et orae maritumae", while (1.1.1. 2717) one speaks of a "praefectus orae maritumae cohors I et II". The variation in the name is puzzling: Barbieri (274) accepts the suggestion that the "cohor I" was the original unit, to which a "cohor nova tironum" was added, later called "cohor II". As he has shown (e.g. 276; 280) there is no need to regard (as e.g. Sichorium, 352) the cohort as a local militia. On the "praefectus orae maritumae" cf. below, p. 150.

58. Cf. above, p. 170, 315; 368; 365; 161; 171; 269; 359.
59. P. 298 ff.
61. Cf. above, p. 354; n. 126.
62. P. 269; cf. 275 f.
63. Cf. the examples, quoted above, p. 408 ff.; 557.
64. 171 f.; 276; 274; 2761; for the expression "bis torquate" cf. Radmori, "Germ." 1961, 458 ff.
65. Cf. what is said in the references above, p. 282, n. 283.
66. P. 247; 278.
67. 88; 132; 139; 141; 148.
68. 327 f.
69. 318; 369 f.
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. 7. 116.

73. 168 ff.; 177.


76. Cf. e.g. above, p. 117.
XII. THE PLACE OF THE "AUXILLIA" 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 vermaculae, and Brutus' 2 Macedonian legions. In addition to these specific cases, recruits "of all sorts - cuiusquoseodi generis", deserters and slaves are said to have been drafted into legions. The first two in the list appear to have survived as legions of the imperial army. Alauda was originally recruited from Gallia Narbonensis, the Deiotaritans 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 Nacer drafted the I Macrina Liberatrix. The fate of these
need not concern. Galba and M Accl 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. The cohorts Apulus, the cohortes colonicenses and the coh. Narr. were formed independent tactical units. The imperial cohortes civium Romanorum and cohortes voluntarise continued this development. Italians were used even as cavalry. Octavia is said to have sent Antony an equipage in 36. 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 300 slaves and shepherds in Italy as cavalry. Italians appear to have served as cavalry not only in the legions but also as separate "alae".

The Roman historians often drew 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 - naturally slaves - the "extremum auxilium" - were the most despised, but resort was often had to them, as
well as to freudsen. Gladiators - "deforme auxilium" - were found useful, presumably because they had undergone a training of sorts. 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. Another was that provided by fugitives, deserters and camp-followers.

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 Afrian 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; 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. 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 Vitellus, stigmatized as being "inter insanias bellis" or the "segna numerus" of Germans and Cimmerians he had used as stop-gaps on the Rhine. Such passages must not be taken as indicating that besides the professional auxiliaries there existed another category of troops...
or "Hilfskontingente" as Gallies proposed 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 - Tacitus can bring himself to call the Batavian and Cimiez cohort a "justus exercitus".

A type of auxiliary force that does not fit into the general auxiliary pattern is the so-called provincial militia. 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. The case of the Gaetian "immentum" that helped oppose the Helvetians is less clear. The fact that the Gaetian "immentum" was "auxilia aris et more militiae exercitu" definitely implies planned military training. But whether they were on quite the same footing as the Helvetian militia is not certain.

Even less is known about the "Venisianum immentum", also attested in the year of the Four Emperors: 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 "immentum" seems to have looser connotations. It is applied to local rebel forces fighting against Rome or sharing in Roman civil contests. Its basic meaning appears to have been that age-group in a community that was ready for military enlistment. This is shown especially clearly by the Jewish "immentum" sent to Herodium. Generally speaking, the "immentum" was potential military
material: the "iumentum" found in the revolt of Florus and Saccor in 21 or of the Molians in 69, although dangerously numerous, were "semeral" compared with the regular auxiliaries or the legions. It is only in the case of the Bastians and possibly the Noricians 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 "iumentum" 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 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 Judea. In 49 B.C., Caesar gave a Jewish prince 2 "legions" to cause trouble in Syria. 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. When he became king Agrippa I was allowed to take over 6 auxiliary regiments which had previously served in the Roman army. Although not king of Judea, ...
Judas as 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 Agrippae 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 Stoebye Galatia. Sittius had assisted Bossum of Mauretania, though presumably on a mercenary basis 36. The native king long remained an important figurehead for military purposes in Mauretania; in 67 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, who he was supposed to be assisting in Africa in 46 B.C., and the suggestion that Stoebye 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 Ptolemies, presumably so that each could remedy a tactical deficiency in their respective armies 38. It is probable that,
when Arrebillemus 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.\(^3\)

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 Thraceana and a cohors Cypriana are attested epigraphically in the kingdom.\(^6\) Under Nero figurines of Armenia was supported by Roman troops.\(^4\) 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 mail 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.\(^2\) Roman noblemen continued to have personal guards under the empire, but increasingly bodyguards came to mean the emperor's "corporis custodes".\(^5\) Augustus had

/replaced .....
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 described the guard as a "numerum Batavorum". Later
he placed a Thracian, who was presumably a gladiator, in command of them.
Before leaving again, Galba created a personal guard of members of the
equestrian order. He disbanded the German bodyguards (called a "cohora"
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 "cohora". 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. Kaebe is not prepared to assign any
importance to the use of the terms "numerus" and "cohora" 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 "corporia 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 that 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 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" (ūsque ad eum). Tacitus assigns "a legion and its 'auxilia'" ("legio ... auxiliaqua") to the defence of the frontiers of Africa at the beginning of the principate. Josephus speaks of 4 auxilia "connected with" 2 Syrian legions (βασιλείας των Ἐρωτικῶν) 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. The transfer of a legion with auxiliaries is recorded in 38, and at one stage the Fourteenth legion had 3 Batavian cohorts as its "auxilia" (legions are spoken of with "their" cavalry in 69). None of these expressions implies more than that auxiliary regiments normally operated with legions: even Cheesman 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. C. Asamius 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". Statius, the prefect of the cohors Prima Lusitana, served "under C. Vibius Panza, imperial legate in Vindelicia" (under Augustus). An "evocatus" of Augustus was prefect of a /cohors ......
cohort Coriolum 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. The diplomas (which first occur at the end of Claudius' principate and under Nero) list regiments in a particular province under a particular governor. In the same period the tribune of the cohors VIII voluntariae describes it as being in Dalmatia, and Tacitus appears to refer to the auxiliaries of the provinces of Dalmatia and Cappadocia. In the year of the Four Empires "auxilia" are labelled "Moesica" or "Britannica", and also and cohorts "Haeticae", "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). At the same time auxiliaries supply the information that their unit belonged to the "army of Syria" or the "army of Dalmatia". An ala is said to be "in Syria" in the Flavian period.

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. Strabo informs us that at one stage the army of Egypt consisted of 3 legions, 9 cohorts and 3 alae, but the position did not remain constant. In fact Tacitus specifically states that numbers were still fluctuating under Tiberius:
Author  Saddington D  
Name of thesis  Problems in the development of the auxiliary system in the Roman Army of the late Republican and early Imperial period  1970

PUBLISHER:
University of the Witwatersrand, Johannesburg  
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