

THE AUXILIA OF THE ROMAN ARMY  
RAISED IN THE IBERIAN PENINSULA

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VOLUME I

Corrigenda

pp. 401-2, 11.29-30 and 1-7.

58.13 has been completed through the discovery of the second portion of the stone recorded as CIL VI 3654.

It was published by A. Degrassi in Epigraphica III = Atti della Accademia Nazionale dei Lincei - Mem. Scienze morali (1967) Serie VIII, XIII.1 pp.18ff.

The inscription now reads:

P. Valerio P. f. Gal(eria) Prisco Urc[it]ano ex Hisp(ania) citer(iore), / praef(ecto) fabr(um), praef(ecto) coh(ortis) I Asturum et Callaec(or)um in Maur(et)ania, / praef(ecto) coh(ortis) I Apamen(or)um sa(gittariorum) in Cappad(ocia), / trib(un) coh(ortis) I Ital(icae) (miliariae) volunt(ari)orum c(ivium) R(omanorum) in Cappad(ocia), / praef(ecto) alae I Flaviae Numidic(ae) in Africa, / praef(ecto) alae I Hispan(or)um Aurianae in Raetia. / Vixit annis [L]XV.

P. Valerius Priscus originated from Urçi in Hispania citerior and was Spanish rather than Italian. His voting tribe, Galeria, and his nomen and cognomen were common in Spain.

His post in command of cohors I Asturum et Callaecorum should lie within the Flavian to early Hadrianic period. The lower limit is set by the command (in his militia tertia) of ala I Flavia Numidica in Africa, the upper by the fact that cohors I Apamenorum sagittariorum equitata, of which he was prefect in his second post, was in Egypt (where it remained) at latest by 145 (P.Lond.178). Some difficulty arises over the lack of information concerning his civilian career. If he entered military life in his twenties as a result of patronage (as might be inferred from the post of praefectus fabrum) unless his career was interrupted by spells of retirement to civilian life, the probabilities

are that he had spent some 10-20 years as a private citizen before his death in Rome at the age of 65. Taken in conjunction with the suggestion of Stefani (viz: Degrassi p.25) that the style of the stone indicated the first decade of the second century, this would push his command of our cohort back to the Flavian period.

However too much reliance must not be placed upon artistic criteria for dating inscriptions and it is possible that the stone omitted an account of a municipal career (at Urci) prior to his military service. This would allow his first post to have been held later and mean that his years of retirement were shorter. It is not impossible that he may have been in his fifties in his last commands cf. Rufinus tribune of cohors I Vardullorum (79.5).

This version of the inscription makes it less valuable as a counter to any claim that the career of L. Domitius Dentonianus indicates a doubling of cohors I Asturum et Callaecorum perhaps in the reign of Trajan, although it remains unlikely on other grounds.

p.108 II.6-8.

03.21 = 58.13 . P. Valerius Priscus, from Urci in Hispania citerior, commanded ala I Hispanorum Auriana in Raetia as part of his militia tertia although it was his fifth military post. This command belongs to the late first or early second century, at latest early Hadrianic times.

p.246 l. 12.

second century.

Abstract.

This thesis deals with a group of regiments of the auxilia of the Roman imperial army raised in the Iberian peninsula.

Initially the discussion covers general principles concerning the interpretation of evidence connected with the Roman auxiliary army. The following section deals with the stages by which the auxiliary army came to be an official part of the military strength of Rome. Reasons are given for considering separately the auxilia originating in north-west Tarraconensis, and suggestions are made about the dates of formation of the series of regiments raised there.

The histories of individual alae and cohorts from the Iberian peninsula are set out under three headings: those from Tarraconensis (excluding the north-west); those from the north-west; and those levied in Lusitania. Their movements are traced through epigraphic and archaeological evidence until the records cease.

Finally some general observations are made on the history of the Roman auxiliary army from the study of 20% of its total strength.

Two appendices treat matters relevant to the discussion of individual regiments to which reference has been made in the text.

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I Cantabrorum	457
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List of regiments with reference numbers.

The list of regiments shows a reference number for each ala and cohort. These have been determined in the following manner:

- a) Each set of inscriptions has been given a two-digit number. The sequence of numbers follows an alphabetic arrangement of the titles of alae and cohorts within specified geographical areas.
- b) These specified areas are Tarraconensis, excluding its north-west region, north-west Tarraconensis, and Lusitania.
- c) The two-digit numbers have been transferred to the units concerned and are used throughout the text for speedy reference to specific regiments.
- d) In some cases several numbers apply to the same unit because of the possibility that certain inscriptions may have more than one interpretation.
- e) Where the existence of a unit has been inferred, because of the presence of gaps in numbered series, it has been given an alphabetic sub-reference and is shown in brackets in the list.
- f) Individual inscriptions have been identified through the number given to the set and the number within that set, e.g. 13.3 = ILS 9125 : the third inscription assigned to cohort I Celtiberorum equitata civium Romanorum.

A. *Tarraconensis* — excluding North-West Spain.Alae

I Hispanorum Aravacorum	01
II Aravacorum	02
I Hispanorum Auriana	03
II Ulpia Auriana	04
I Hispanorum Campagonum	05
I Hispanorum	06
II Hispanorum	07
(I Flavia Hispanorum ?	08a)
II Flavia Hispanorum c.R.	08
VI Hispanorum see cohors VI Hispanorum	
Sulpicia c.R.	09

Cohortes

I Ausetanorum	10
Carietum et Veniaesum	11
I Celtiberorum	12
I Celtiberorum eq. c.R.	13
I Hispanorum )	14-17a
I Hispanorum eq.)	14-17b
I Hispanorum eq.	18
I Hispanorum veterana eq.	19
I Flavia Hispanorum eq. p.f.	20
I Flavia Ulpia Hispanorum & eq. c.R.	21
I Hispanorum eq.	22
I Hispanorum	23
I Flavia Hispanorum	24
I Hispanorum unassigned	25
II Hispanorum eq. c.R.	26
II Hispanorum & eq.	27
II Hispanorum eq.	28
II Hispanorum eq.	29
II Hispanorum scutata Cyrenaica eq.	30
II Hispanorum eq.	31
II Hispanorum eq. p.f.	32
II Hispanorum unassigned	33
III Hispanorum eq.	34
I Ligurum et Hispanorum	35
IV Hispanorum eq.	36

V Hispanorum eq.	37
VI Hispanorum eq.	38/39
VII Hispanorum and perhaps coh. VIII-XII Hispanorum	40a
XIII Hispanorum	40
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II Asturum	46
III Asturum p.f. c.R.	47
I Gigurrorum	48
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 <u>Cohortes</u>	
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II Asturum	52
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(II Bracaraugustanorum	64b)
III Bracaraugustanorum	65
III Bracaraugustanorum	66

(III Bracaraugustanorum	66a)
IIII Bracaraugustanorum	67
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II Cantabrorum	70
I Lemavorum c.R.	71
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II Lucensium eq.	74
III Lucensium	75
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## Introduction

There are three preliminary points to be made as an introduction to this thesis.

1. Most surveys of the Roman auxilia have been concerned with the history of regiments while they were stationed in a particular province or region. They are relevant in the determination of an Order of Battle for the provinces or regions concerned, but fail to deal with problems concerning the existence of parallel series of units with the same titles, and tend to gloss over the reasons for their initial recruitment.

In this inquiry regiments raised in a particular region are followed from their inception to the time they disappear from the records. It is hoped in this fashion to throw new light onto the principles on which fresh levies were made, and the most likely dates for the organisation of specific series of units.

2. The Iberian peninsula has much to commend it as the basis of a study of a group of regiments originating in a specific area. After Sicily and Sardinia, its eastern and southern extremities were taken in as the earliest Roman provinces. Spanish tribes fought with and against Roman troops from the latter part of the third century B.C.. The names of many of these tribes, recorded by Livy and Appian, appear in the titles of regiments which later formed part of the Roman Imperial auxiliary army.

The auxilia raised in the Iberian peninsula also form a large group. Regiments are found in no fewer than 28 provinces over three centuries or more, and their movements reflect general military trends, being interwoven with the

history of the Empire as a whole, rather than restricted to that of a specific province or region.

3. Because of its long history of piecemeal conquest spread over nearly 200 years, the Iberian peninsula provides a broad spectrum of stages of romanisation. Baetica was apportioned to the senate by Augustus, and therefore did not contribute regiments to the Imperial auxiliary army. Tarraconensis and Lusitania were Imperial provinces, but even here there were vast differences between the civilised 'Togati' of the Eastern seaboard and the relatively untamed tribes of the interior. Cheesman suggested that the more civilised areas provided recruits for the cohortes and alae Hispanorum, but that where a clan spirit still survived it was allowed to persist through the adoption of a title reflecting the tribal origin of its members. The tribes of the north-west however, who were only subdued after nearly ten years of continuous warfare in the early Augustan period, received different treatment initially, both in the civilian and military spheres. Because of these differences, although this study falls naturally into a division between regiments raised in Lusitania and those raised in Tarraconensis, the latter group has been subdivided into those of north-west Tarraconensis and those in the remainder of the province.

An identification of the areas from which specific regiments were first recruited has been attempted in the discussion of the units themselves, but a map of Spain (Fig.4, p508) shows the tribal zones according to the accounts of Pliny the Elder and Strabo.

Note: As a practical point, the convention of under-

lining Latin names has been followed, but the very frequent use of the words ala and cohors (and their plurals) has led to a decision to treat them as English words throughout.

#### Acknowledgements

I should like to express my gratitude to Professor Eric Birley for allowing me access to his files of inscriptions at an early stage of my work, and for supplying me with copies of notes from Durham epigraphy seminars. He has kindly given me both advice and encouragement.

Mr. Mark Hassall, of the Institute of Archaeology, of the University of London, has also helped by discussing military matters with me on a number of occasions.

## Chapter I

Working hypotheses - recruitment - strategy  
and epigraphy

Working Hypotheses.

## Epigraphic pointers.

In order to save unnecessary repetition in the main body of this work an outline of the methods used in the evaluation of epigraphic material is appended. In the case of official inscriptions little need be said. The forms of imperial titles, names of governors and important persons all provide reasonably precise dates which may be readily checked in the prosographic literature. Even in cases where partial obliteration of inscriptions has created doubts, a connection with historical events, or the results of archaeological excavation, has often resolved dating difficulties.

Other than this, use has been made of the dating apparatus largely built upon epigraphic sources; for example the approximate dates of the divisions of provinces and resultant boundary changes, the dates at which towns were created or raised to a new status, the probable periods when military units were granted additional titles of honour. The answer to such problems has been sought in the ever-growing literature dealing with the implications of old and new epigraphic discoveries.

Use of the writings of ancient authors to verify theories based upon epigraphic material has obvious snags. It involves judgements upon the reliability of the authors concerned; there is also the temptation to fit the sequence of inscriptions into a known historical context without consideration of the wider implications. Nevertheless the use of such important sources has not been avoided. If some of the conclusions reached appear very tentative it is due to an awareness of the difficulties involved and the need to keep the options open so that new epigraphic finds may be

discussed in an unbiased way.<sup>1)</sup>

The major part of the material connected with the Roman auxiliary army, however, appears in the form of dedications and tombstones erected by and for individual soldiers and officers. For these there is often no obvious date. The stones themselves must provide all the clues. There are several ways of attempting to provide a chronological framework. One approach lies through the style of the lettering but this is a rather neglected subject. The work of L.C. Evetts<sup>2)</sup> and A.E. and J.S. Gordon<sup>3)</sup> opens possibilities but there are difficulties inherent in the application of their conclusions.

In the first place not all private firms of stonemasons reached the high standard of workmanship seen in official dedications; secondly, even if all provinces may be assumed to have followed the same sequence in the development of lettering styles, there may be differing time-lags involved; thirdly, on the purely practical level, it has not been possible to undertake the wide journeying necessary to see the stones. Theoretically photographs are available (where stones have not been lost) but many of these are so poor and/or ancient as to make a satisfactory identification of style impossible.

Another avenue is that of the artistic style of associated reliefs. The value of this is again very limited. The same practical difficulties occur with regard to a personal evaluation of the stones and the lack of opportunity to detect tool markings and fine detail makes it dangerous to build too much upon 'workshop datings'. Schools of artists may have their later imitators even down to apparent 'trade marks'. An investigation into the work of E. Gerster, for example,<sup>4)</sup>

showed that some dates given by him to stones from individual workshops can be proven wrong, on military grounds, by as much as 20-30 years. In a closely connected artistic sequence, if one stone is incorrect grave doubts are raised about the remainder.<sup>5)</sup> Reliefs may give pointers to the period involved but the close dating of stones must rest upon the application of other principles.

The most fruitful approach lies in the field of cross-reference. From a careful study of the formulae used in dated inscriptions, it has been possible to construct a time-scale of linguistic changes which may then be employed to fix the sequence of undated stones. The criteria listed below and used in this thesis have been gathered from various sources, first and foremost from the published writings of Professor E. Birley.<sup>6)</sup> He has also been kind enough to provide me with dating criteria both in conversation and correspondence. My debt to him is greatest. Other scholars whose judgements have assisted in the formation of my opinions in epigraphic matters are E. Stein,<sup>7)</sup> W. Wagner,<sup>8)</sup> A. von Domaszewski,<sup>9)</sup> K. Kraft,<sup>10)</sup> and Géza Alföldy.<sup>11)</sup> For specific periods and cases the work of B. Dobson<sup>12)</sup> on the praefectus fabrum in the early principate, and that of M. Speidel<sup>13)</sup> on the equites singulares in the second and third centuries has been very useful. Others whose work has provided dates for individual stones or groups of stones are acknowledged in footnotes. Even in the use of these criteria a note of caution should be sounded, particularly those relevant to Julio Claudian times. There is a scarcity of military inscriptions of the early principate and the literature dealing with this period reveals that regularisation of the auxiliary arm was far from complete. It would be

dangerous to expect too much conformity in the matter of inscriptions.

The criteria.

It is possible to make the general observation that the greater the detail given concerning a deceased soldier's name, filiation, origo, years of service and age, the earlier the stone should be. Names spelt out in full tend to belong to the first part of the first century A.D.; as time goes by they are progressively abbreviated. By the end of the second century and the beginning of the third century the praenomen of a Roman citizen is rarely given. After the Constitutio Antoniniana it is not usual to find the Roman tribe given, although there are exceptions to this rule. Filiation is also omitted after this date and there is a contraction of common nomina, with omission of praenomina.

First century indications:

- 1) Names of the deceased in the nominative. The use of the dative on funerary stones is not unknown after the mid first century, and becomes more common in the Flavian period, but the nominative together with the formula h(ic) s(itus) e(st) is an almost positive indicator of a first century provenance. Kraft<sup>14)</sup> added his opinion that h.s.e. does not appear in the Rhineland after Domitian and in the Danube area after Trajan.
- 2) A serving soldier who remains peregrine after 25 or more years of service is almost certainly pre-A.D.50. One who is a Roman citizen but has still served many more than 25 years is almost surely first century, or at latest Trajanic.<sup>15)</sup>
- 3) The use of the ablative ala or de ala denotes an early first century stone. Later in the first century the

- genitive alae is used and remains the common form.
- 4) If a man in the auxilia has the same nationality as that implied by the title of the unit in which he serves, it must be for consideration that the stone should lie within 25 years, approximately, of the founding of the regiment, unless there are other indications to the contrary. (See the provisos under the section on recruitment.)
  - 5) If the number of a unit follows rather than precedes its name, or is absent, the inscription should usually be early. Similarly units with very high numbers in the series tend soon to disappear e.g. coh. XIII Hispanorum.
  - 6) The naming of alae after their commanders, in the genitive case, e.g. ala Pomponiani, dates to a period before the early years of Tiberius, before alae had been given permanent names. The adjectival form is thought to refer to a former commander and should also belong to the early Julio-Claudian period.<sup>16)</sup>
  - 7) The use of aera instead of stipendia is given an early context by Ritterling, Wagner and Kraft. The latter also points out that the use of the genitive for both age and years of service is a first century custom.<sup>17)</sup>
  - 8) The use of the formula miles ex cohorte is pre-Flavian and, according to Kraft,<sup>18)</sup> nearer to the middle of the first century than Augustan, at least on the Rhine. He also considers as pre-Flavian (in fact pre-A.D.43) the lack of cognomina in Roman citizens.
  - 9) Dis Manibus on tombstones appears, at first in full, in the Flavian period, but is generally common, in its abbreviated form D.M., in the second century.
  - 10) Curatores civitatis first appear in the reign of <sup>Trajan</sup> Domitian.

- 11) "In Latin inscriptions the omission of filius (or of the abbreviated form fil. or f.) normally indicates a pre-Hadrianic date."<sup>19)</sup>

Second century indications:

- 1) Milliaria when written in full is a probable indication of a late first century or early second century date. The use of the symbol ∞, with one exception, is second century.<sup>20)</sup>
- 2) Roman citizens serving in the auxilia in the ordinary ranks are more likely to belong to the late second century or third century if they have served less than 25 years, and the unit in which they serve has not acquired citizenship.
- 3) The use of the term praefectus castrorum may be either first or second century; by the third century it has been replaced (although not inevitably) by praefectus legionis.
- 4) In H.D.D. (in honorem domus divinae) was considered by Mommsen to occur for the first time under Antoninus Pius. Duncan Fishwick<sup>21)</sup> points out that the bulk of the dedications of this type on the north-west frontier of Rome (i.e. the Rhineland) occur in the first half of the third century. In Britain they are much rarer.
- 5) Titles of rank occurring for the first time in the second century are c.v. (clarissimus vir) for senators (with variants for their families) from the time of Hadrian; em.v. (eminentissimi viri) for praetorian prefects, from the time of Marcus Aurelius; e.v. (egregius vir) for junior equestrian administrators, again from Hadrianic times.<sup>22)</sup>
- 6) Ordinatus is used both in the second and third centuries as a substitute for centurio, in auxiliary cohorts.<sup>23)</sup>

- 7) The use of the term numerus comes in the early second century (Trajanic onwards) with the creation of this 'new' arm.
- 8) Kraft<sup>24)</sup> considered that the formula I.O.M. (et Iunoni reg.) appears most at the turn of the second and third centuries in the Rhine and Danube lands. There are exceptions noted by me, e.g. AE 1934,106 of Dacia in the joint reign of Marcus and Verus. He also thought that consecrations to the genius loci in general occur for the first time in the middle of the second century. There are exceptions to this too. cf. 58.11.
- 9) The use of plural Augg., or variants, restricts the period of an inscription to a time when there were two reigning emperors e.g. Marcus and Verus 161-169, Marcus and Commodus 176-180 and Severus and Caracalla from 198. The cult of Hercules was particularly favoured in the reign of Commodus.

Third century indications:

- 1) If any ordinary serving soldier claims to possess a legal wife the period should be Severan or later.
- 2) The reduction of personal details has already been noted, but, against this, precise details of age on a tombstone down to months, days and sometimes hours indicate a possible third century milieu, as does the formula qui vix(it).<sup>25)</sup>
- 3) Speidel<sup>26)</sup> notes that the use of Aug(usti) n(ostri) comes in with Severus in inscriptions of the equites singulares and that after 198 this becomes Augg. nn.; prior to this in the second century, and also occurring in the third century, he notes the formula Imp(eratoris) n(ostri). It is probable that this observation may be applied more widely on military inscriptions.<sup>27)</sup> In the same way the

use of d(ominus) n(oster) and the plural dd.nn. comes in with the Severan period. He also notes that stip(endiorum) is replaced by mil(itavit).

- 4) A man may indicate his origin through the use of the term natione from the early principate, but it is commonest in the third century, frequently then abbreviated to n.
- 5) The formula praef. leg. a(gens) v(ices) l(egati) occurs from the mid third century onwards.<sup>28)</sup>
- 6) c.p. as an abbreviation of cui praeest suggests a relatively late date, probably the third century onwards.<sup>29)</sup>
- 7) Senior equestrian administrators appear as p(erfectissimi) v(iri) from the time of Severus.<sup>30)</sup>

Since the structure of the Roman Army changed radically during the third and fourth centuries and the epigraphic evidence for the auxilia decreases rapidly after the latter part of the second century it is not necessary to discuss fourth century indications in this outline.

So far matters affecting the dating of stones have been considered. Some of the problems concerned with the interpretation of the geographical distribution of epigraphic evidence, relating to specific units, and its relevance to their stations, are discussed under the headings of recruitment and strategy. One point that does not readily fit under either heading should be mentioned here, namely the significance that should be attached to stamped tiles. A pitfall that must be avoided is the too ready equation of find spot of stamped tiles of a unit with its station. Allowance must be made for the requirements for tileries (suitable clay, and a good supply of water and fuel). Not all auxiliary regiments would be in a suitable position to make their own tiles even if they had the skilled labour available in their ranks.

Probably certain units, which were favourably sited, made and distributed tiles within a specific area. The spread of certain stamps often appears to follow the course of rivers, and obviously barges would provide the most convenient mode of transport for such a bulky commodity. The fort sites of tile making units should therefore be sought near rivers, and within reasonable reach of the forts where their tiles are found. The units themselves need never have been at those forts, nor need they have taken part in their construction. Only when their presence is attested independently (cf. ala I Asturum at Benwell (45.6/7/8/9/12)) may such conclusions be drawn. In some cases it may even be that only a section of the unit was employed in tile making, and that the main body lay elsewhere, such at least is the inference that may be drawn from the presence of tiles of cohors I Hispanorum veterana at Buridava<sup>31)</sup> where Hunt's Pridianum<sup>32)</sup> placed a section of the unit during the period of the second of Trajan's Dacian Wars.

## Footnotes.

1. A particularly useful technique has been to look at original sources before considering the opinions of well known authorities in the field. In this way it has sometimes proved possible to correct an assertion which has crept into the literature with a dogmatism never intended by the original scholar.
2. "The lettering of Romano-British Inscribed Stones", AA<sup>4</sup>, 26, p.153ff.
3. "Contributions to the Palaeography of Latin inscriptions", Californian Publications in Classical Archaeology 3 (1946-57)
4. Mittelrheinische Bilhauerwerkstätten im I. Jahrhundert n.Chr. (Bonn, 1938).
5. cf. G. Alföldy, Hilfstruppen pp.170/1, where he produces evidence for a workshop at Köln which cuts across Gerster's supposed workshops.
6. In articles too numerous to list here, but included in relevant footnotes and the general bibliography.
7. Beamten.
8. Dislokation.
9. A. von Domaszewski - B. Dobson, Rangordnung<sup>2</sup>.
10. Rekrutierung.
11. op. cit. and other articles. In particular Historia 17 (1968) p.215ff.
12. Praefectus Fabrum.
13. Equites Singulares.
14. op. cit. pp.18/19.
15. viz. G. Alföldy, Historia 17.
16. In a letter from Professor E. Birley 28/10/'71; cf. also RBRA p.128f. and unpublished Epigraphy Seminar, Durham (14/6/'66).

17. op. cit. p.18.
18. op. cit.
19. So J.C. Mann, "A Note on an Inscription from Kurnub",  
IEJ 19. No.4 (1969) p.211.
20. E. Birley, Alae and cohortes milliariae p.55.
21. "The Imperial Numen in Roman Britain", JRS 59 (1969) p.76ff.
22. Unpublished notes from Epigraphy Seminar, Durham (20/11/'69),  
E. Birley.
23. E. Birley, "The Roman fort at Moresby" CW<sup>2</sup> 48 (1948) p.42ff.
24. op. cit. The simple formula I.O.M. may be demonstrated at  
Maryport in Hadrianic times cf. RIB 823/26.
25. E. Birley, "The Roman fort at Netherby" CW<sup>2</sup> 53 (1953) p.23  
and "A note on Ala II Asturum", AA<sup>4</sup> 16 (1939) p.253.
26. op. cit. p.95.
27. e.g. RIB 1100 perhaps should now be Severan or later  
rather than Commodus or later.
28. cf. Second century indications 3).
29. E. Birley, "The Roman fort at Moresby" op. cit. p.55.
30. Epigraphy Seminar, Durham (20/11/'69).
31. D. Tudor, Studii și materiale de Muzeografie și Istorie  
militară 1 (1968) pp.17-29.
32. P. London 2851 (50.3).

### Recruitment.

Much of what Cheesman wrote concerning recruitment to the auxilia still stands unchallenged today. Though his suggestions have been proved by later scholars to be based upon an accurate interpretation of the facts, a few modifications have been made to some of his premises in the light of later epigraphic discoveries. Since the criteria concerning the source from which recruits to the auxilia were drawn are vital to an evaluation of evidence concerning troop movements and stations, they are summarised here together with observations on their application.

The names of most auxiliary regiments reflect the province and sometimes the tribal area in which they were originally raised. While the troops remained in or near their homelands, the Roman authorities continued to draw levies from the same area to replace retiring or deceased soldiers. But military necessity often dictated that regiments should be sent where their strength was most needed, even though on occasion this created grave difficulties.<sup>1)</sup>

Perhaps, partly as a result of discontent with overseas service among the soldiers, but more probably for reasons connected with ease of administration, Cheesman noted "troops" were "transferred into Pannonia from other provinces after the great rebellion" and "before the end of the reign of Tiberius natives of the province were already being accepted for service in these imported regiments".<sup>2)</sup>

Later<sup>3)</sup> he was able to make the general statement that "no attempt seems to have been made to preserve any connection between an auxiliary regiment and the tribe from which its title was derived".

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period, as soon as a unit left the province of its origin, it began to lose its national or tribal character. As vacancies were filled by local recruits, the composition of the unit would reflect more and more the tribal make-up of the province in which it was stationed. If it was moved more than once, successive records of discharge should reveal the order and possibly even the duration of these movements.<sup>4)</sup>

This represents an oversimplified view of the course taken by the imperial government, as Cheesman was quick to point out.<sup>5)</sup> There were periods when local recruitment had clearly contributed to a conflict between tribal loyalties and those owed to Rome. In response to such situations, a deliberate policy of importing men from distant territories was employed. Géza Alföldy, for example, has recently demonstrated this to have been the case in the Rhineland following the events of A.D.69-70 when Thracian recruits, in particular, were brought in to stiffen the regiments stationed in that area.<sup>6)</sup> In Rhineland regiments of the late first century, therefore, the discovery that a veteran claims to have come from Thrace will not justify the assumption that his unit had previously been stationed there.

There are other difficulties. Cheesman suggested that levies could be made for the auxilia in senatorial provinces and then "marched away to garrison imperial provinces".<sup>7)</sup> This appears reasonable in that such provinces required no large standing army, Africa being the notable exception as he admitted.<sup>8)</sup> He also put forward as a "reason for the smallness of the senatorial contingent" the fact that the more romanised provinces had a largely enfranchised population whose members, therefore, qualified for legionary rather than auxiliary service.

The publication in 1929 of PSI. IX 1063 confirmed the first of these suggestions since it recorded the arrival in A.D. 117 of 126 Asian recruits in cohors I Lusitanorum, then stationed in Egypt. These recruits are exceptional in number (circa one quarter of the total strength of the cohort) and J.F. Gilliam<sup>9)</sup> sees this as reflecting the losses incurred by the cohort during the Jewish Revolt of 115-117 "which extended over much of Egypt and Cyrenaica". Nevertheless, we have an example here of a senatorial province supplying the needs of an 'imperial' province<sup>10)</sup> when local recruitment might not suffice.

As a corollary of the confirmation of recruitment in senatorial provinces, it follows that the single tombstone of a man in a Spanish regiment claiming "domo Hispano" at a later date need not imply a return to national recruitment for the unit concerned but merely that he had enlisted from Baetica. Further, the evidence of the papyrus warns us to beware of imputing a stay in a senatorial province to a regiment, without adequate historical confirmation, even if large numbers of its veterans appear to have originated from there.

On the other hand, as Cheesman indicated, the contribution of senatorial provinces should not be over-estimated. Apart from the manpower donated to the legions, it is possible that some at least of the eligible male population would be absorbed as local militia with police-type or coastguard duties, as attested in the province of Baetica in a cohors maritima and the 'soldiers' of Urso.<sup>11)</sup>

Cheesman was able to produce evidence that, in certain cases, national as opposed to local recruitment continued to

be the rule. Such appeared to him to be the case with specialist troops. He cited oriental regiments<sup>12)</sup> who were famed as archers. It seems possible that the real reason for the retention of national grouping for these archers was as much related to culture as skill since, as Cheesman points out elsewhere,<sup>13)</sup> the Roman army was fully capable of training its own men in special skills where the need was indicated. Hence the reference, in Hadrian's speech in Africa to the cavalry of cohors VI Commagenorum, to their use of slings, and the non-appearance of Balearic slingers in the historical and epigraphic records of the imperial period. The oriental archers may have retained a stubbornness with regard to diet and religious custom which rendered their assimilation into 'western' regiments difficult. A modern parallel might be found in certain of the Indian regiments who served Britain in the days of her Empire. There is little evidence to support specialisation in the 'western' regiments. As Cheesman records, even the Gallic and Spanish cavalymen - famed for their prowess in Augustan times - appeared to have vanished from the records a century later.

Another instance of national recruitment given by Cheesman<sup>14)</sup> was that of the "Brittones". Of them he wrote: "The intractable nature of the tribes of North Britain .... made it appear undesirable to use the contingents which they supplied near at home". This may have been so for a time, although there is some evidence to suggest that during the second century Britons were beginning to enter British-based units.<sup>15)</sup>

The terms in which Cheesman wrote invite parallels. It was common practice in antiquity to take possible dissidents from their tribal area and lead them to fight where no ties

of loyalty would induce them to revolt. Their presence in the field made them hostages for the good behaviour of their compatriots left behind. Hannibal is noted by Polybius<sup>16)</sup> as doing just this for his invasion of Italy. Thus when examining the records of tribal units for which there is no early epigraphic evidence, the possibility must always be borne in mind that their raising may be related to some known war or revolt connected with their terrain.<sup>17)</sup> Occasionally, too, a special levy may have been made for an emergency recorded by an ancient historian - for example, the cohortes Vasconum "lectae a Galba" in A.D.68.<sup>18)</sup> The presence of Spaniards in these units up to the end of the reign of Domitian need imply no return to national recruitment.

The question of a possible time-gap occurring between the raising of series of regiments numbered in parallel was discussed by Cheesman.<sup>19)</sup> In particular cases this may still only be decided by a close examination of the evidence in relation to its effect upon the apparent continuance of national recruiting.

Another exception to local recruitment to the auxilia should be noted. The point was made by J.C. Mann<sup>20)</sup> when he wrote that in the third century local recruits in the frontier zones could no longer meet all the demands of the Roman government and "intensive recruitment" occurred in the "still largely rural areas of Thrace and Illyrium". The change in the formula of diplomata under Antoninus Pius, whereby children born before a soldier's discharge were denied automatic citizenship, may already reflect the beginning of difficulties encountered by governors in obtaining the right calibre of non-citizen volunteers for the auxilia and so be

symptomatic of a trend towards an intensification of recruitment in certain areas.

A further pitfall for the epigraphist lies in a rarely discussed possibility,<sup>21)</sup> that of the transfer of the individual soldier to another unit. This is attested in several papyri; for example, BGU 696 (lines 22-27) records the transfer of three soldiers from other cohorts<sup>22)</sup> to the cohors I Lusitanorum at Contrapollonospolis in Egypt. Robert O. Fink<sup>23)</sup> gives P.Dur. 121 and P.Mich. 454 under the heading of "records of transfer", both in auxiliary contexts. Such transfers, for whatever reason,<sup>24)</sup> are most probable inside a provincial framework and were probably never very widespread. But the record might be confused concerning dates and tribal connections if either of the units concerned was a recent addition to the provincial strength. Other questions occur. Were the Thracian recruits in the Rhineland units after A.D.70 tirones or transfers? This could have a vital bearing upon the dating of a related series of funerary reliefs.<sup>25)</sup>

Another form of transfer might be found in the formation of "new cohorts .... round a cadre of trained men, as is shown by the episode of the cohors Usiporum in A.D.83 (Agricola 28)".<sup>26)</sup> The cadre could be legionary, as perhaps Pliny (Panegyricus 13) implies, but in certain circumstances veteran auxiliaries might be more readily available for this task. This highlights the fact that the tribal origin of an officer, i.e. decurion or centurion, in an auxiliary regiment is not necessarily as significant as that of the ordinary soldier for the stations in which his unit had served.

Bearing all these provisos in mind, a careful study of

the origins of recruits, together with the archaeological and historical pointers, can indicate the probable stations of individual regiments. That is not to say that the principle of local recruitment alone can accurately site units within a province. This needs stressing since certain archaeologists have tended to place too much reliance on this factor. L. Barkóczy, for example,<sup>27)</sup> uses two diplomata presented to Azalian members of the ala I Hispanorum Aravaconum<sup>28)</sup> to station it "between Arrabona and Brigetio or in the immediate vicinity of Brigetio". Another diploma was granted to a member of the cohors II Alpinorum who was also Azalian and Barkóczy uses this to state that the unit must first have been in the region of Brigetio and "have come to the camp of Quadrata afterwards". In fact in the five diplomata of Pannonia Superior issued after A.D.146, where the tribe of the recipients is known, all are Azalians.<sup>29)</sup> The units involved are all known, or surmised, to have been stationed along the vulnerable Danubian limites of North-eastern Pannonia Superior; that is to say, in or near the Azalian tribal area. All that can be said about these diplomata with certainty in this context is that, since they date between A.D.146 and 154, there had been heavy recruitment among the Azalians, probably in the decade 120-130.

It must be borne in mind that, even though recruits might stay within a province, the studies of R.W. Davies<sup>30)</sup> show they would have had to undergo a rigorous examination both as to character and fitness before acceptance by the governor. Their posting might then depend upon which regiments had vacancies at that particular time. Further, although J.F. Gilliam<sup>31)</sup> pointed out "service in an ala was more attractive

and rewarding than in cavalry troops of a cohors equitata", if we are to believe Vegetius<sup>32)</sup> in order to enter an ala a height requirement had to be met. Skilful horsemen who satisfied the governor on all points might still have to travel the length of the province before reaching a suitable unit. There is evidence to suggest it was not unusual for men to undertake long journeys of this nature.<sup>33)</sup> Literacy is another factor which may have determined whether a man went to the nearest regiment or to one where his particular qualifications would help to fill a gap in the regimental records office.

Henry T. Rowell<sup>34)</sup> considered there may have been an element of personal choice in the regiments entered by recruits. Is there any substance to this contention? There are two main grounds on which personal choice could be inferred: desire to follow other members of the family into a specific unit, or the wish for "service overseas". As far as the Spanish auxilia are concerned, only eleven tombstones have the common factor of referring directly to a male relation of the deceased who could be serving in the army. (See Table II.) Of these, one was certainly in the same unit as his deceased brother (v), although another was probably decurion in the ala in which his brother had held the same rank (ii). Two pairs of brothers were in different (named) units (iv and viii), and one possibly in a different province and, by implication, another unit (ix). The remaining six make no mention at all of military status, although in some cases it may be regarded as probable.

An examination of the 75 recipients of diplomas whose origin and regiment are clearly preserved gives the following results:<sup>35)</sup>

Origin equates with name of unit	17
Origin equates with present station of unit	32
Origin equates with former station of unit (within previous 25 years)	5
Origin in a senatorial province	6
Origin not explicable as above, but they are officers	3
Explanation possible in terms of known policies	2
No obvious explanation for origin	7
Insufficient evidence available as yet	<u>3</u>
	<u>75</u>

It is clear that little choice may be inferred concerning the province (let alone the unit) into which the recruit was sent from this breakdown of figures. Even in the case of the seven recipients for whom no obvious explanation has been found it would be unwise to postulate that the individual had had any say in his posting. The evidence is inconclusive as a whole. Too many imponderables are involved for there to be any support for Rowell's statement.

True there was an element of patronage running through Roman public life. If a man could catch the eye and favour of a suitable official he might have more chance of having his personal desires taken into account in the matter of a regiment. Bribery, as always, would play some part. P. Oxy. 1666 (cf. n.24) implies that strings could be pulled if it was made worth while. The vast majority of auxiliary recruits, however, must always have gone where they were sent. Only the exceptional few would have any say in the matter at all.

## Footnotes

1. Tacitus, Annals 4,46 reveals that the Thracians actively showed their resentment of a rumour that their tribal levies were to be "dragged to distant countries" and from Dio's account (55,29,1) it is possible that the demand for contingents to fight against Maroboduus contributed not a little to the Pannonian revolt of A.D.6-9.
2. Auxilia p.77.
3. op. cit. pp.78/9.
4. cf. J.C. Mann, Quint. Cong. Internat. Limitis Romani (1963) p.147.
5. op. cit. p.78.
6. Ep. St. 6. p.103.
7. op. cit. p.63.
8. op. cit. p.64 n.1. And Asia too as Eitterling showed, JRS 17 (1927) p.28ff. "Military forces in the Senatorial Provinces".
9. "An Egyptian cohort in A.D.117", Historia Augusta Colloquium (Bonn, 1964/5) p.91ff.
10. Egypt, although not strictly speaking an Imperial province, may be regarded as similar in this respect since the prefect of Egypt appears to have recruited auxilia in the same way as the governors of such provinces.
11. e.g. ILS 6905 (94.1) and the Municipal Charter of Urso (CIL II 5439,ciii, on the local militia at Urso).
12. op. cit. p.83/4.
13. op. cit. p.132.
14. op. cit. p.85.
15. cf. E. Birley, RBRA pp. 76/7.
16. 3,33,5-18.

17. e.g. the Sarmatians sent to Britain, Dio, 71,16.
18. Tacitus, Hist. 4,33.
19. op. cit. p.59.
20. op. cit. p.148.
21. Cheesman refers to it only as a punishment (op. cit. p.33,n.1) or promotion (op. cit. p.38).
22. One transfer was effected from cohors I Flavia Cilicum, the others from unknown units.
23. Roman Military Records on Papyrus Nos. 29 and 30.
24. When considering reasons for transfer, one possibility concerns the man who, serving in a cohors peditata, was good enough to be considered for promotion to eques cohortalis. This would involve transfer to a cohors equitata. It seems that individuals may have sought transfer for personal reasons e.g. P. Oxy. 1666, a third century letter, in which Pausanias refers to his successful attempts to have his son transferred from a legion to an ala.
25. G. Alföldy, op. cit. p.171. cf. ala Sulpicia (09.3 and 09.4).
26. E. Birley, R RA p.22.
27. Acta Arch. Hung. 9 (1959) pp.418/9.
28. CIL XVI 178 and 99.
29. See accompanying Table I.
30. BJ 1969 pp.230/1.
31. Historia 14 (1965) p.80.
32. Epit. 1,5.
33. BGU 423 is a letter of Apion (admittedly joining the fleet at Misenum) revealing he had received three gold pieces for travelling expenses. P.Dur. 89 has been

interpreted by Gilliam as recording, among other things, the arrival of recruits at the station of a unit (cohors XX Palmyrenorum & equitata) to which they had been assigned by the governor.

34. Review of K. Kraft, Zur Rekrutierung der Alen und Kohorten an Rhein und Donau (Berne, 1951) in JRS 43 (1953) p.175ff.

35. This list of all known diplomas includes those in CIL XVI and Supplement, and those published since 1955.

Strategy and epigraphy.

In spite of the advice of Augustus - "consilium coercendi intra terminos imperii" - the strategy of the principate up to the time of Hadrian remained directed towards defence through expansion, as it had during the major part of the reign of Augustus. From the time of Hadrian the role of the army became more static, until the latter part of the second century when the changeover to a defensive system began to be effected. This is an oversimplification which glosses over changes of policy affecting strategy within individual provinces. It remains true that we should expect greater mobility both of the legions and the auxilia in the early principate, and more flexibility in their use than in the second century, until the pressure of the barbarians on the frontiers created the need for an even more mobile field army.

Nesselhauf<sup>1)</sup> emphasised the relative fluidity of the military situation in the Julio-Claudian era and Schönberger echoes this in his survey of the Roman frontier in Germany.<sup>2)</sup> With certain exceptions, it may well be that auxiliary regiments had no really permanent bases before the Flavian period. They were almost certainly attached in groups to the legions<sup>3)</sup> but this need not mean that they were all quartered in the immediate vicinity of the legionary camps. The cohortes peditatae would perhaps be nearest the legions, more mobility would imply greater distance with the alae at the end of the chain and recallable within a matter of a few days to take part in a campaign. This would be especially true in provinces like Pannonia, where the legions lay well back from the 'frontiers' guarding the routes to Italy.

The frequent use of the terms hiberna and aestiva by Tacitus may well be indicative of the temporary nature of the encampments of the army in the Julio-Claudian period. (cf. Annals 4,5 "they shifted from station to station".) This has relevance in a consideration of the early epigraphic evidence. All too often the existence of a single (or several) tombstones at a site is taken to mean that a regiment had permanent quarters there, and the place may be cited as the fort of that unit even when the archaeological evidence does not warrant that assumption. There are several alternative explanations:

1. The site was not a permanent station but an hiberna used at most for a few seasons. This is rendered doubtful by a consideration of the burial customs of the Roman world. If it was deemed essential for soldiers to contribute to a burial club in order to ensure that they would receive the correct observances at death, care would be taken to site the cemeteries in which they were buried so that they could be visited by the heirs and comrades of the deceased, at least for the appropriate ceremonies of the Parentalia. In the early period when each regiment did not possess a permanent station cemeteries may have been initiated at certain strong points, where there were units sited on a long term basis, and mobile troops within an area may have used one or more such cemeteries. This would account for some of the peculiarities of the epigraphic evidence. If a man died during the patrolling (or campaigning) season his remains would be taken to the nearest military cemetery. Failing this he might be cremated and his ashes disposed of but a cenotaphium erected in the military cemetery.<sup>4)</sup> Negative evidence is

always suspect but it may be noted that excavated forts of a relatively temporary nature in Britain (e.g. Hod Hill and Waddon Hill) have not produced evidence of Roman military burials.

2. Another possibility, concerning the concentration of early stones in certain spots, relates to the transport of the very sick or severely wounded to strong points or even legionary headquarters. It seems logical that such a step would be taken, for although each regiment may have carried its own medical attendants and valetudinarium, long term cases would best be cured in a permanent station where a staff of more highly skilled doctors might be available. Even with such care, the gravely ill might not survive and burial in the nearby cemetery would ensue.

This is an important concept since:

- a) It cancels the too easy assumption that site of tombstone equals site of permanent station of the unit named, at least in the early period. This is often implied if not explicitly stated by certain military historians.
- b) It offers a solution to the problem of why some sites have tombstones of several regiments of a similar date, apart from a rapid change of garrison (with one proviso to be noted below).
- c) It fits the idea of a fluid strategy cited above. Domaszewski<sup>5)</sup> had his own ideas on early strategy. He developed the thesis that in the early period legionary camps were situated at important points and military roads radiated out from these towards the limits of the spheres of Roman influence (boundaries or limites might be too strong a term at this period). Along these roads, at lesser strongpoints,

he postulated the existence of auxiliary encampments, some of them very large, where several regiments might be garrisoned together. For this he cited the evidence of IIS 2693 (= CIL XI 6344), a cursus of P. Cornelius Cicatricula, and Tacitus, Histories 4,15. Leaving Cicatricula on one side for the moment, the Tacitean quotation is clear enough. Speaking of Brinno of the Canninefates he says "duarum cohortium hiberna proxima Oceano inrumpit" - i.e. two cohorts are stationed together in a single hiberna.

If this was the practice, it seems possible that it would occasionally be expedient to brigade two alae together. This would be particularly useful in the terrain of horse riding tribes when patrols of a sufficient size to deter attack could be sent to sweep over a wide area, leaving their base securely guarded.

If such a system obtained in the Julio-Claudian period it may provide a link between early strategy and the later structure of the Roman auxilia.

E. Birley<sup>6)</sup> has shown convincingly that alae and cohortes milliariae do not appear in the records of the auxilia before the Flavian period. It is probable that many of the army reforms of the Flavians were connected with the prevention of the indiscipline and disorders within the auxilia which mark the year of the four Emperors. It may have been considered by Vespasian (and endorsed by his successors) that one doubled unit, under the command of a well tried officer, would provide a better guard at strong points than two regiments under two relatively inexperienced (or in some cases native) commanders with possibly opposing loyalties. Birley has directed attention to the importance of milliary alae and

cohorts and to the qualities of their commanders.<sup>7)</sup>

During the second century he calculates only some 13-16% of the auxiliary cohorts and merely 10% of the *alae* were milliary. If, as I suggest, this reflects something of the early strategy, then units were not brigaded together as frequently as Domaszewski would appear to have thought.<sup>8)</sup> This makes sense logistically. There would not be enough auxilia in any one province, from all the epigraphic indications, to man all strong points in the "Strassennetze" if they were stationed in twos (or even threes and fours).

The epigraphist should be on the watch for two cohorts and, more rarely, two *alae* stationed together at vulnerable sites in provinces in the first seventy years of the first century. These need not correspond to sites where alae and cohortes milliariae are later stationed (although they may do so<sup>9)</sup>). In most provinces, particularly those of the northern limites, a reappraisal of the strategic situation would be consequent upon the divisions of their territories in the late first and early second centuries. By the same token it is probable that detachments of legionaries and auxiliaries would also have been encamped together in the early principate, but, if I am correct, the evidence supporting this will tend to be found in excavation of temporary or semi-permanent camps<sup>10)</sup> rather than in the epigraphic record.

Domaszewski gave Cicatricula as an example of a single officer commanding four cohorts, and Cheesman<sup>11)</sup> added to this another inscription recording an officer commanding three cohorts in Egypt.<sup>12)</sup> I think that both instances are exceptional and therefore not necessarily illustrative of a general practice.

Cicatricula was successively: primus pilus bis, tribunus militum, praefectus cohortium civium Romanorum quat(t)uor in Hispania, praefectus classis, and praefectus equitum. Domaszewski assigned this inscription to the early principate before the Claudian modifications to the equestrian career structure.<sup>13)</sup> In his study, Junior Officers of the Roman Army, Suolahti places Cicatricula in the Augustan period.<sup>14)</sup> It may be possible to date his Spanish command even more closely. Cicatricula is described as prefect of the four cohorts of Roman citizens. This should mean that the cohorts in question were not Ingenuorum (such cohorts being commanded by tribunes). They may well be among the cohortes Voluntariorum raised by Augustus in response to the Pannonian revolt and the Varian disaster. Newly raised cohorts of freedmen would not be sufficiently well trained to lead straight into battle conditions<sup>15)</sup> and it would seem reasonable to suppose that they would be sent to Spain to replace seasoned cohorts sent on active service, Cheesman himself remarked upon the number of Spanish regiments in the Illyrian area after the rebellion. Exceptional times breed exceptional measures. Good officers might be short (the Varian disaster will have removed something approaching 200 actual and potential officers from the lists). Cicatricula, as primus pilus bis and then military tribune, may be presumed to have been an experienced disciplinarian, capable of knocking 2,000 tirones into shape. His command should fall between A.D. 6 or 9 and A.D. 15. He is not evidence for a general trend.

The inscription added by Cheesman is also evidence of an exceptional situation. L. Genucius Priscus, praefectus castrorum, was the equivalent in Egypt of a legatus legionis

in other provinces<sup>16)</sup>. P. Claudius Iustus, who was named as curator of two cohorts as well as prefect of cohors I Thebaeorum equitata, held the former position on a temporary basis in the absence of his colleagues. Of the three regiments only one, cohors I Thebaeorum equitata, need be assumed to have been stationed at, or near, Syene; the other two may have been in the general area (cf. 18.3).<sup>17)</sup>

Other officers who are recorded with multiple commands, or acting as curatores of one unit whilst commanding another, may usually be shown to have done so in exceptional circumstances, such as times of war or on a temporary basis as might be necessary if an officer died or a replacement was delayed.

To summarise:

When dealing with inscriptions of the auxilia in the early principate the following factors should be borne in mind:

1. A tombstone of a serving soldier locates his regiment in the general area but does not necessarily place a fort of the unit on the spot.
2. Where two or more regiments are attested on the same site and the inscriptions appear to be of a similar date it may be evidence of:
  - a) The brigading together of two cohorts or two alae, foreshadowing the later creation of military units.
  - b) One of the 'permanently' occupied sites to which a military cemetery for the district was attached when many of the regiments were still on a roving commission.
  - c) The rapidly changing military situation of the time when strategy dictated a move forward, and the replacement of a mobile ala with a holding cohort at an important point.

A great deal of patient archaeological research may be necessary before a decision can be made in specific cases. It might be as well if military historians were to withhold the use of the word fort from early military installations, replacing it with hiberna until it can be shown that permanent occupation was intended.

## Footnotes.

1. "Umriss einer Geschichte des Obergermanischen Heeres",  
Jb.RGZM 7, (1960) p.157.
2. JRS 59 (1969) p.144ff.
3. cf. Nesselhauf op. cit.
4. viz. J.M.C. Toynbee, Death and Burial in the Roman World (London, 1971) p.54.
5. "Die Beneficiarposten und die römischen Strassennetze",  
Westdeutsche Zeitschrift. Jhrg. 21 (Trier 1902) p.186.
6. Alae and cohortes milliariae p.54ff.
7. op. cit. and "The Equestrian Officers of the Roman Army",  
RBRA pp.148/9.
8. This is particularly true since, as E. Birley has shown,  
some of the milliary units were not created until  
Trajanic times or later.
9. For example Arrabona, in Pannonia (Superior), was perhaps  
garrisoned during the first century by the ala I Augusta  
Ituraeorum sagittariorum and the ala (I) Pannoniorum,  
(although the latter may have been replaced by ala I  
Aravacorum in the Flavian period). From Trajanic times  
this important site was guarded by the newly created  
ala I Ulpia contariorum milliaria c.R.
10. cf. Hod Hill Volume II (London 1968) where Sir Ian  
Richmond showed the presence of both legionaries and  
auxiliary cavalry within the same semi-permanent fort,  
by excavation, p.66ff.
11. Auxilia p.107 and fn.1 .
12. CIL III 14147<sup>2</sup>.
13. It is interesting to note that after Domaszewski had  
given his reasons for this date in Die Rangordnung des

- römischen Heeres (Bonner Jahrbücher 117, 1908) p.113 and p.119, McElderry could date the inscription c. A.D.100 (JRS 8, 1 18 p.82) and Garcia y Bellido could place it "en el siglo III(?)" (Arch. Esp. Arq. 1961 p.147).
14. p.133 and lists. (Helsinki, 1955)
  15. Despite the quotation from Macrobius Sat. 1,2,32, given by Cheesman p.66 fn.3, op. cit.
  16. cf. Domaszewski, Rangordnung<sup>2</sup> p.121.
  17. Shortly after this inscription was set up two of the three named units (cohors I Hispanorum equitata and cohors I Thebaeorum equitata) were transferred together to Iudaea. cf. diploma recorded by H-G. Pflaum in Syria 44, 1967, 339ff. See cohors I Hispanorum in Egypt (18.2).

## Chapter II

The formation of professional auxilia

The formation of professional auxilia.

In his introduction to The Auxilia of the Roman Imperial Army Cheesman pointed out that during the last two centuries of the Republic at least, Rome had made up for her "notorious deficiency" in cavalry and lightly armed specialist troops by using auxilia.<sup>1)</sup> In this period he thought the term covered three sources of supply:

1. mercenaries,
2. allies,
3. forced levies on subject tribes.

The literature connected with the conquest of Spain, which, if Sicily and Sardinia are discounted, was the first real venture into overseas expansion undertaken by Rome, provides examples of all three types.

Livy records the first use of mercenaries on Italian soil in 213 B.C. in the war against Hannibal. The Scipio brothers sent over 300 Celtiberians (or nobilissimos Hispanos) to Italy to lure over to the Roman side the Spanish auxilia fighting for Hannibal.<sup>2)</sup> Appian records the same event and adds that one reason for this move was that the Celtiberian cavalymen were seen to be such splendid fighters.<sup>3)</sup> Livy underlines their status; they received eadem mercede qua pacta cum Carthaginiensibus erat. Other Spaniards defected from the Carthaginians to the Romans at moments when they seemed to be on the losing side. Livy records that in the same year c. 1,000 Spaniards came over from the Punic garrison of Arpi and Hispanis duplicia cibaria dari iussa; operaque eorum forti ac fideli persaepe res publica usa est.<sup>4)</sup> These mercenaries were obviously unreliable as the Romans found bitterly on several occasions, most notably when Gnaeus

Scipio was betrayed by 20,000 Celtiberians shortly before the battle which resulted in his death in 212 B.C.<sup>5)</sup>

The allies too were mainly inspired by self-interest, particularly in the early days of conquest. Their hopes were centred upon exchanging a known cruel tyrant for one who might be more clement. Livy again provides an example with the story of Abelux and his ruse for releasing Spanish hostages from the Carthaginians in 217 B.C.<sup>6)</sup> Livy, the moralist, cannot resist warning Roman generals not to have in camp more foreign auxiliaries than forces that are their own.<sup>7)</sup>

Appian records the use of subject tribes, such as those recruited by the generals left in Spain, to defeat Indibilis after the departure of Scipio the younger in 205 B.C.<sup>8)</sup>

All three categories of foreign troops were, like the legions themselves, employed only for the duration of campaigns. After the destruction of Numantia, Scipio Africanus disbanded his auxiliary force (P. Scipio dimittere auxilia)<sup>9)</sup> which must have been the larger part of the besieging army.<sup>10)</sup>

One thing, particularly noticeable in the literature of the second century B.C., is that although the term *ala* was undoubtedly used of cavalry, the normal tactical unit was the turma. This must have grown out of the division of the 300 cavalrymen of the Roman legion into 10 turmae.<sup>11)</sup> Sallust, writing of the defection of soldiers from the camp of Aulus during the Jugurthine War,<sup>12)</sup> mentions cohors una Ligurum cum duabus turmis Thracum. He gives the impression that the turma was the tactical unit in Metellus' battle by the Muthul<sup>13)</sup> ante iam docti ab Iugurtha equites, ubi Romanorum turma insequi coeperat. This has relevance to the well known bronze tablet recording the bestowal of Roman citizenship upon equites

Hispani of the turma Salluitana. The award was made by Cn. Pompeius Strabo (father of Pompey the Great) for bravery during the siege of Asculum.<sup>14)</sup> The tablet was dated 17th November 89 (B.C.). The gift of citizenship to Spaniards at this stage of the Social War is significant. It followed the passage of the Lex Iulia, the concession offered to the Latins and Socii who had remained loyal to Rome. It is possible that Pompeius Strabo intended his gesture partly as propaganda. G.H. Stevenson<sup>15)</sup>, commenting on the inscription, remarked that he had a liberal attitude "on the franchise question". In view of this he may have been interpreting the Lex Iulia more freely than had been intended by L. Iulius Caesar. As Stevenson commented "it is extremely unlikely that in 89 B.C. there were many precedents for the enfranchisement of men who were not domiciled in Italy".

The men of the turma were grouped under tribal headings and all had non-Roman names save three. Stevenson suggested these three (Col. 2.1, 2, and 3), of the Ilerdenses, had taken the names of members of Strabo's consilium before publication of the official record. On the other hand it seems rather unlikely that exceptions of this kind would be allowed. The Ilerdenses were named as civium Romanorum by the Elder Pliny, but would hardly have had Latin citizenship as a tribe in 89 B.C. It may be that these three had already earned some form of recognition for bravery in the form of Latin citizenship and had taken these names at that time. Four of the tribal names are identifiable in the Natural History of the Elder Pliny in the area of Caesaraugusta on the Hiberus<sup>16)</sup> (the Ilerdenses, Segienses, Lib(i)enses, and Illu(e)rsenses). The others are unknown but should probably belong to the same region; it is

likely that a small group like a turma would not have been drawn from a wide geographical area. Dessau and Stevenson considered the name of the turma was derived from Salduba on the Hiberus, but Cichorius pointed out the usage of Imperial inscriptions gives the clue that it probably referred to the decurion commanding the troop, perhaps Salvitto.<sup>17)</sup>

There were 30 men in the turma as the inscription shows, but were they led by a decurion, as has been generally assumed, or by a praefectus ? Cheesman is worth quoting on this question: "In Caesar's account of his Gallic campaigns we find frequent mention of contingents of tribal cavalry serving as independent units under officers bearing the title of praefecti equitum, and these units must have been much larger than turmae".<sup>18)</sup> In fact, leaving aside the tribal contingents led by their chiefs (which common sense argues would be used as existing units whatever their precise numbers), the turma still appears as the tactical unit in Caesar's wars. There is even evidence of Caesar having a turma Hispanorum in the African War, and in the Gallic Wars, we are told, Caesar mittit complures equitum turmas.<sup>19)</sup> When Caesar landed on the coast of Africa, he had 3,000 legionary infantry and 150 cavalry.<sup>20)</sup> This suggests 5 turmae, and a little later we see them apparently being used in such groups for: "less than thirty Gallic cavalry dislodged 2,000 Moorish cavalry". His enemies used the same formations: in Spain, Cn. Pompeius surrounded Caesar's cavalry (equites) cum aliquot cohortibus et equitum turmis.<sup>21)</sup> More significantly during the Spanish Wars: Caesar ob virtutem turmae Cassianae donavit milia .X.III et praefecto torques aureos V.<sup>22)</sup> The sense of this passage would seem to indicate that the turma was named for

a former commander but was led, at this time, by a prefect.

The praefecti equitum noted by Cheesman do not necessarily have to equate in status with bearers of that title in the Imperial auxilia. As for the decurion "mentioned in Bell. Gall. i.23", and adduced by him as the commander of a turma, it must be remembered that Polybius mentions there were three commanders to the legionary turma in the Republic, hence the title of decurion that each one bore. If the auxiliary turmae were organised on similar lines, there may have been a troop commander, distinguished as prefect, and two decurions to each turma. If this interpretation is correct the organisation of the ala as a tactical unit must be narrowed down to the Augustan period. The Lexicon Caesarianum (of H. Meusel) reveals that the few references to alae in the works of Caesar are textually dubious, but there is no question that writers in the reign of Augustus gave the word ala its later meaning. Velleius Paterculus provides several instances of the existence of alae alongside cohorts<sup>23)</sup>, but now too there is epigraphic evidence for an Augustan origin for alae.<sup>24)</sup> It may be significant that when Suetonius describes the military innovations of Augustus he says that senators' sons were given experience not merely as military tribunes but also as praefecti alarum, and in the latter post usually two to each ala ac ne qui expers castrorum esset.<sup>25)</sup> Perhaps two prefects were appointed also because command of 500 cavalry by a single man had not yet become a regular usage. The persistence of the term praefectus equitum in the early principate, noted by Cheesman<sup>26)</sup>, as opposed to the later usage praefectus alae, may be explained by this.

With the question of how regularisation of the auxilia was effected (for it seems logical to infer that if alae, then

cohorts were reformed by Augustus) there are more problems. Did Augustus take existing cavalry and infantry units serving Rome in the latter part of the Civil Wars, and reshape them into standardised regiments ? Or were the majority, apart from the few who retained names bestowed by Caesar and therefore kept from filial piety, levied mainly with fresh recruits perhaps round cadres of experienced soldiers ?

The evidence for the Spanish auxilia is unsatisfactory. There are mentions of Spanish troops used by various factions in the Civil Wars but their several fates are unattested. Pompey had some Spanish cohorts brought over by Afranius at Pharsalus<sup>27)</sup> but if Appian is to be believed these will have been slaughtered or dispersed.<sup>28)</sup> There were Spanish cavalry on the side of Brutus and Cassius at Philippi: Brutus had 4,000 Gallic and Lusitanian horse, Cassius had 2,000 Spanish and Gallic horse.<sup>29)</sup> (Strangely there are no Lusitanian alae as such, recorded in the Imperial Auxilia, although there were Lusitanian cohortes equitatae.) Even if some of these were incorporated into the army of the friends of Brutus and Cassius who escaped, they are hardly likely to have survived through the 11 remaining years of Civil War or to be counted as worth preserving in the remodelled army of Augustus.

Antony had 10,000 Spaniards and Celts with him when he invaded Media in 36 B.C., according to Plutarch.<sup>30)</sup> Although Augustus is known to have been fairly tolerant towards Antony's legions there would be no need for him to placate auxilia.<sup>31)</sup> On the other hand there was a cohors Hispanorum stationed in Egypt from Augustan times if my interpretation is correct.<sup>32)</sup> This could have been formed from existing Spanish infantry, either from the army of Augustus or that of Antony when the

former was making his arrangements for the assimilation of Cleopatra's kingdom into the Empire. It may not initially have had the form that auxiliary cohorts were to take (cf. Strabo 17, 53). In a recent article D. Saddington has examined the evidence of early Imperial writers concerning the auxilia.<sup>33)</sup> He comes to the conclusion that in both Greek and Latin literature "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" ... and "the local contingent and the tribal chieftain are still very much in evidence in 69 A.D.". In other words, whatever the scope of the military reforms initiated by Augustus, the number of auxiliary regiments that were professionally organised by him was smaller than Tacitus' account might seem to indicate.<sup>34)</sup>

This point was made by Cheesman<sup>35)</sup> who turns out to have been right on so many questions of this kind. This has not prevented scholars, in the literature that has grown up since Cheesman wrote, from assuming early Augustan origins for those units which are not demonstrably Flavian or second century.

If a gradual build-up of the lists of professional cohorts and alae is borne in mind it becomes feasible to look for historical reasons for the raising of specific groups, which would then be kept on the army strength. The Pannonian Revolt and the Varian disaster offer two such contexts. In a much larger way it raises the question of levies raised in advance of or accompanying campaigns of conquest<sup>36)</sup>, such as those of Gaius and Claudius.

The evidence of Spanish auxilia will not be so useful in

this respect after Vespasian, since the Flavian reorganisation of Spain reduced its potential for the recruitment of auxilia while making it far more of a pool for legionary levies.<sup>37)</sup>

Footnotes.

1. cf. Livy 22,37, 7-8 for the use of the term auxilia as early as 216 B.C. - to cover the foreigners seen in castris Romanis.
2. 24,49, 7-8. There is some ambiguity. Livy records "The Romans had no mercenary soldiers in their camps previous to the Celtiberians". This has been interpreted to mean on Italian soil.
3. 7,5,30.
4. 24,47, 8-11.
5. Livy 25,33, 1-8.
6. 22,22, 19-21.
7. 25,33, 6-7.
8. 6,7,38.
9. Sallust 8,2.
10. Scipio took only 4,000 troops from Italy and gathered the rest of his force for besieging Numantia from Spain itself. Of his total army of 60,000, a high proportion must have been "native forces".  
cf. Appian 6,84 and 92.
11. cf. Polybius 6,25.
12. 38,6.
13. 50,5.
14. ILS 8888. See p.61.
15. JRS 9 (1919) p.95ff.
16. 3,24.
17. Römische Studien (Berlin 1922) pp. 132/3.
18. Auxilia p.23.
19. Caesar, African War 39 and B.G. 7,45.
20. African War 3. They were not legionary as is shown later - op. cit. 6.

21. Caesar, Spanish War 6.
22. op. cit. 26.
23. 113,1 and 117,1.
24. Using the evidence of Spanish alae alone we have CIL XIII 7026/7 and probably 6234 of ala (I) Hispanorum. Each of the equites named had served long enough to make it virtually certain the ala existed in Augustan times. Three alae Asturum were also probably raised by Augustus (or Agrippa) c. 19 B.C.
25. Augustus 38,2. See also Cheesman op. cit. p.36 n.3 on epigraphic evidence for this practice. The early hierarchy - praefectus, sub-praefectus and decurio alae - would echo in essence the triple decurionate of the turma of Polybius.
26. op. cit. p.25.
27. Caesar, Civil Wars 3,88.
28. Appian, 2,80.
29. Appian, 4,88.
30. M. Antony 36.
31. Dio 50,1,3. "The mass of Antony's soldiers was incorporated into Caesar's legions and he later sent back to Italy the citizens of both forces who were over the military age, without giving them anything, and scattered the rest."
32. See cohors I Hispanorum equitata No.18
33. "The Roman Auxilia in Tacitus, Josephus and other Early Imperial Writers". Acta Classica (South Africa) 13 (1970) p.89ff.
34. Annals 4,5.
35. op. cit. pp.53/4.

36. See Auxilia raised in North-West Spain, Chapter III.

37. cf. R. Knox-McElderry JRS 8 (1918) p.53ff. and  
9 (1919) p.86ff.

ILS 8888 Rome [C]n. Pompeius Sex. [f. imperator]  
 virtutis caussa / equites Hispanos ceives [Romanos  
 fecit in castr]eis apud Asculum a.d. XIV k. Dec. /  
 ex lege Iulia. In consilio [fuerunt]: / (1) L. Gellius  
 L. f. Tro., (2) Cn. Octavius Q.f....., (3).....,  
 (4).....ius C. f. Ani., (5) L. Iunius L. f. Gal., (6)  
 Q. Minuci./ M. f. Ter., (7) P. Attius P. f. Ouf., (8)  
 M. Maiolei M. [f.] ... (sequuntur vel sequebantur alia  
 nomina quinquaginta unum, in his) (11) Cn. Corneli.  
 Cn. f. Pal., (18) C. Rabeiri. C. f. Gal. (22) M. Fab[i]  
 M. F. .. r. (30) Cn. Pompei Cn. f. Clu. (31) Sex. Pompei.  
 Sex. f. Clu. (34) Q. Hirtulei L. f. Ser. (39) L. Opeimi  
 Q. f. Hor. (40) L. Instei L. f. Fal. (46) L. Sergi. L. f.  
 Tro. (55) M'. Otacili. M'.f.Pol. (59) L. Otacili. L. f.  
 Pup.

turma Salluitana:

col. 1      Sanibelser Adingibas f.  
             Illurtibas Bilustibas f.  
             Estopeles Ordennas f.  
             Tersinno (sic) Austinco f.  
                     Bagarensis:  
             Cacususin Chadar f.  
                     ..cilicenses:  
             ... Sosimilus f.  
             ...irsecel f.  
             ...elgaun f.  
             ...iespaiser. f.

col. 2                      Ilerdenses:  
             o Otacilius Suisetarten. f.  
             Cn. Cornelius Nesille f.  
             P. [F]abius Enasagin f.  
                     Begensis:  
             Turtumelis Atanscer. f.  
                     Segienses:  
             Sosinadem Sosinasae f.

Sosimilus Sosinasae f.  
 Urgidar Luspanar f.  
 Gurtarno Biurno f.  
 Elandus Enneges f.  
 col. 3      Agirnes Bennabels. f.  
             Nalbeaden Agerdo f.  
             Arranes Arbiscar f.  
             Umargibas Luspangib f.  
                     Ennegensis:  
                     Beles Umarbeles f.  
                     Turinnus Adimel s. f.  
                     Ordumeles Burdo f.  
                             Libenses:  
                             Bastugitas Adimeis f.  
                             Umarillun Tarbantu f.  
                                     Suconsenses:  
                                     Beennes Albennes f.  
                                     Atulle Tautindals f.  
   Illuersensis:  
   Balciadin Balcibil f.

(a dextra horum nominum): Cn. Pompeius Sex. f. imperator /  
 virtutis caussa turmam / Salluitanam donavit in / castreis  
 apud Asculum / cornuculo et patella, torque, / armilla,  
 palereis; et frumen[t]um / duplex.

### Chapter III

The auxilia raised in North-west Spain

The auxilia raised in North-West Spain.

North-west Spain was the last region in the peninsula to fall to Rome. Sir Ronald Syme, writing about the subjugation of this area, said "We have every right to speak of a ten years war in Spain (29-19 B.C. inclusive)".<sup>1)</sup> The presence of both Augustus and Agrippa in Spain is attested during the period of conquest.<sup>2)</sup> Florus<sup>3)</sup> tells us that the Cantabrians were more energetic and obstinate in their resistance, and after a hard won victory they were dealt with harshly by the Romans. Augustus is said to have personally supervised the removal of the Cantabrians from their mountain fastnesses and their resettlement in the plains. He also took hostages and sold others into slavery. The Asturians, on the other hand, appear to have been treated with more clemency. They were brought down from the mountains and urged to build a capital but there is no mention of slavery or hostages.<sup>4)</sup>

This difference in treatment may be reflected in recruitment to the auxilia. There are only two known Cantabrian regiments in the auxiliary army, but at least four alae and eleven cohortes bear titles indicating an origin in Asturia.<sup>5)</sup> It is possible that these figures reflect the size of the two peoples. Pliny the Elder refers to "civitatium novem regio Cantabrorum" but "Asturum XXII populi divisi".<sup>6)</sup> He is presumably writing of the state of affairs in the early Flavian period, and it may be that the difference in size of the two peoples is a further indication of the effects of ruthless suppression of the Cantabrians.

There is some difficulty in interpreting the manner in which the levy was conducted in this part of Spain.

The names of many of the regiments originating there reflect not the tribe from which they were levied but the conventus named by Pliny in his account of the organisation of the Spanish provinces. Thus we have the alae and cohortes Asturum levied presumably from the district surrounding Asturica, the cohortes Bracar-augustanorum from tribes centred upon Bracara Augusta, and the cohortes Lucensium similarly drawn from the area round Lucus Augusti. However, Albertini<sup>7)</sup> has provided reasons for placing the conventus of north-west Spain in the post-Augustan period, with particular reference to the difference between the accounts of Strabo<sup>8)</sup> and Pliny.<sup>9)</sup> If, as he argues, these conventus were established by Claudius, they represent the replacement of military by civil administration. Strabo<sup>10)</sup> said that three legions with three legati guarded the country of the Asturians, Callaicans and Cantabrians, but it is clear that he cannot have meant to indicate the three towns Asturica, Bracara and Lucus as headquarters of the three legati.<sup>11)</sup> On the other hand, if only some of the regiments named above were Augustan foundations, the towns must in some way have acted as military centres upon which the levy was based.

It is interesting to note the difference in treatment of tribes allocated to the fourth military centre (later conventus) of Clunia. There are no known cohortes Cluniensium, but individual tribes under the supervision of Clunia contributed to the auxilia. Thus we have cohortes Vardullorum, Carietum et Veniaesum, Cantabrorum and two alae Aravacorum. Clunia lay on the outskirts of

the really troublesome area and may have been supervised by the legatus who had no legion, according to Strabo. The retention of tribal names for regiments may reflect a different attitude towards these peoples (apart from the Cantabrians, whose special treatment has already been touched upon). Cheesman's comment that "Wherever the clan spirit existed, the name of the clan was accepted as the official title of the contingent which it furnished to the imperial forces"<sup>12)</sup> was clearly not true of the north-west, as he himself remarked. In these obdurate peoples it seems the policy was to stamp out the clan spirit, as reflected in the naming of auxilia.

Even so there are exceptions. It is just possible that the Bracari may have contributed one cohort named directly for the tribe.<sup>13)</sup> The Gigurri (of the military district of the Astures) may have produced an ala,<sup>14)</sup> the Lemavi (under the charge of Lucus) an ala and a cohort. Several cohorts cut right across the scheme of military districts in their naming. Either there were changes in the groupings of tribes when the conventus were set up, or perhaps the Callaeci had septs belonging to Asturica and Lucus, although Pliny specifies that they were attributed to Bracara. It is difficult otherwise to explain the cohortes Callaecorum Lucensium and Asturum et Callaecorum.<sup>15)</sup> Whatever the solution, the Romans are known to have permitted anomalies to exist in the administration of north-west Spain, witness the procurators "per Asturiam et Gallaeciam", who continued to deal with the finances of this important district as ducenarii long after it had been incorporated into Tarraconensis, which

had its own procurator of the same standing.

Altogether, north-west Spain produced circa 40 per cent of the total auxilia originally raised in the peninsula, a tribute perhaps to the mettlesome dispositions of the peoples who lived there and Roman methods of dealing with them.

Another matter for conjecture concerns the date of raising of some of the regiments of this region. The assumption is often made that they were mainly Augustan in origin. G. Alföldy, for example, postulates that the Asturian cohorts were all raised "am Anfang der Kaiserzeit".<sup>16)</sup> There are two series of numbered regiments of Asturians, both alae and cohortes. The question may be raised whether these represent parallel groups of similar date or if the two series should be connected with different periods.

A table<sup>17)</sup> made of the epigraphic evidence for all the alae and cohortes carrying Asturian titles shows that for some there is no proof of an existence earlier than the reign of Claudius, and in one case possibly Nero. Admittedly negative indications of this sort, when early epigraphic evidence for the auxilia is at a premium, are inconclusive, but they at least provide some grounds for caution. From the table it may be seen that origins in an Augustan levy seem fairly sure for:

cohors I Asturum equitata, later in Germania,  
perhaps cohors II Asturum (equitata?) although unattested before the Notitia dignitatum,  
ala I Asturum, perhaps the Rhineland then Moesia inferior,  
ala II Asturum, early in the Rhineland, then Pannonia and Britain,

ala III Asturum, as part of the numbered series, later in Mauretania Tingitana.

This suggests an initial levy of 2,500 men; much depends upon the size of the eligible male population as to whether this may be regarded as an acceptable figure for Roman military purposes in 19 B.C.<sup>18)</sup> For the cohortes Asturum et Callaecorum an Augustan levy is also probable<sup>19)</sup> and it may even be justifiable to surmise that their titles reflect a period of emergency, when men from different tribes might be banded together to meet special needs such as those that arose in the latter part of the reign of the first princeps.

If it is accepted that there is nothing axiomatic about the Augustan origin of all the Asturian regiments, what may be said about the cohortes Bracaraugustanorum and Lucensium (Callaecorum)? There are definitely two and possibly three series of cohortes Bracaraugustanorum, numbered I-III, and one of them continued to include a fourth and fifth cohort.<sup>20)</sup> Of all these regiments the sole evidence for a possible Augustan levy belongs to cohors I Bracaraugustanorum of Dalmatia and later Moesia inferior (No.63) (but see that cohort for some reservations).

An economic answer to the problem suggests that at least two other cohorts (numbered II and III) should also belong to the early principate, otherwise we should have to subscribe to the probability of a fourth, but unattested, cohors I Bracaraugustanorum. Which of the four certain cohortes (second and third of the series) may be placed in this category is unsure. There is also a degree of uncertainty about the fourth and fifth cohorts. If the date of the decoration received by M. Stlaccius Coranus (ILS

2730 = 68.14) is Claudian, as Pflaum<sup>21)</sup> and Ritterling<sup>22)</sup> believed, and he came to Britain in 43 with legio II Augusta, his preceding post as prefect of cohors V Bracaraugustanorum in Germany must have been held in 41-42 at latest. While he could have been first prefect of a newly raised cohort sent to Germany to replace one about to go on active service, it seems likely on balance that the cohort was pre-Claudian in origin, and this would carry cohors IV Bracaraugustanorum back with it. However Dobson<sup>23)</sup> places this inscription after 69 because of the order in which Coranus held his posts (particularly that of praefectus fabrum), which raises an element of doubt.

An Augustan levy of at least 1,500, possibly 2,500, men seems likely, that is all that may be said; the other cohorts could equally well belong to a later period. The percentage of men recruited in Bracara would appear to have been lower than that in Asturica if these figures are correct, since Pliny gives the conventus 285,000 people. Pliny's estimates are post-Claudian, however, and, as already indicated, some changes may have occurred both in the size of district attributed to Bracara and in the size of the population after years of Roman peace.

When we come to consider the cohortes Lucensium the situation is a little more complex. Cohors V Callaecorum Lucensium is undoubtedly pre-Claudian in origin,<sup>24)</sup> thus we have to assume a series I-V Callaecorum Lucensium of probable Augustan date. However, we have no evidence for the existence of cohortes I, II and III of that series, only for cohortes I, II and III Lucensium. Three solutions are possible:

1. The cohortes Lucensium (I-V) were all raised in Augustan times but the last two of the series had a slightly different composition, noted in their titles.
2. The series all started out with the full title Callaecorum Lucensium but the first three cohorts had dropped the first part of their name by the time they entered the epigraphic record.
3. Cohortes I, II and III Callaecorum Lucensium were raised at an early date and either the evidence has not been found, or they were lost, or disbanded fairly quickly.

Either of the first two solutions is preferable on grounds of economy and probability. Cohors I Lucensium equitata of Dalmatia and Pannonia seems likely to have been Augustan in foundation as does I Lucensium Hispanorum. This means that all the cohortes Lucensium may be pushed back into pre-Claudian and, therefore, probably Augustan times in origin. The levy here was 3,000 men in round figures. Pliny gives a figure of 166,000 persons to the "free population" of Lucus.<sup>25)</sup>

After all the evidence has been assessed ~~a case may~~ be made for the possibility of the following regiments of north-west Spain having been raised in post-Augustan times:  
cohors I Asturum (equitata) later found in Noricum,  
cohors II Asturum equitata later in Germania,  
cohors III Asturum equitata of Mauretania Tingitana,  
cohors IV Asturum equitata as part of the numbered series,  
cohors V Asturum (equitata) in Germany but later existence unsure,  
cohors VI Asturum (equitata) in Germany in the Flavian period,

ala I Hispanorum Asturum later in Britain,  
cohors I Augusta Bracarum appearing first in Dacia inferior  
 in 140, unless it is to be equated with:  
cohors I Bracarorum which first appears in Mauretania  
 Tingitana in 88,  
cohors II Bracaraugustanorum in Thrace in 114 (or another  
 unattested second cohort of the series),  
 two out of the following three cohorts:  
III Bracaraugustanorum in Raetia by 107,  
III Bracaraugustanorum in Moesia according to the Notitia  
dignitatum,  
III Bracaraugustanorum in Britain by 103,  
cohors IV Bracaraugustanorum in Syria by 88, but see  
cohors V Bracaraugustanorum (possibly post-Augustan but  
 depending upon the interpretation of ILS 2730) in Raetia  
 by 107.

The evidence for the cohortes Bracaraugustanorum is less  
 clear than for the Asturians, but even so it is conceivable  
 that ten or more regiments in north-west Spain had a post-  
 Augustan origin.

A question of interest in this context concerns the  
 extra strain placed upon the military establishment during  
 the reign of Claudius. In his early years as emperor, two  
 new provinces (three if the division of the Mauretaniae  
 was effected during his reign, as Carcopino<sup>26)</sup> believed)  
 were won and garrisoned. This involved legionary redeploy-  
 ments but the auxilia were also engaged. A conservative  
 estimate must allow some 30,000 auxiliaries to have been  
 sent to North Africa and Britain during his reign.<sup>27)</sup>  
 This entailed a number of troop movements in the other

Roman provinces, as we know, but redeployment of existing forces to cover gaps left by 60 regiments is a very large scale undertaking. It seems logical to infer that a number of new regiments might be raised to replace at least some of those employed in the fighting garrisons of Mauretania and Britain before these provinces produced the raw material for plugging those gaps themselves.

There are provinces other than Spain from which new regiments may have been raised, but it is known that some changes were taking place there in the relevant period. Legio IV Macedonica left Spain probably in A.D.39 for the Rhineland,<sup>28)</sup> and it seems possible that there is some connection between this event and the official extension of the conventus system to north-west Tarraconensis. Concomitant with this, it might be thought necessary to make safer the demilitarisation of a former trouble-spot by recruitment of potential dissidents. The district of Callaecia and Asturia is at least reasonably high on the list for consideration of areas from which new levies might be expected to have been drawn.

An inscription of cohors V Asturum is particularly revealing. CIL XIII 8098, from Bonn, is the tombstone of a Spaniard who had served seven years with this unit. The stone has been dated, on artistic grounds, to the period A.D.40-70<sup>29)</sup> which should mean that the regiment came to the Rhineland at earliest in late Tiberian times but, considering the historical inferences, most probably in the reign of Gaius or of Claudius. Since the stone identifies him as Asturian, the signifer Pintaius was recruited in the homeland of the regiment and the system of local recruitment

was sufficiently established by this time to make it unlikely that replacements would come from Spain. It must either be assumed that Augustus raised the cohort from fierce opponents in 19 B.C. and allowed it to remain in Spain (where it stayed for over 50 years),<sup>30)</sup> or that it had been raised recently and Pintaius was among its first recruits. If cohors V Asturum had an origin in the reign of Gaius or Claudius, it carries at least four other Asturian cohorts with it and, in the absence of another fifth cohort, the sixth of the series, on the assumption that each numbered series represents a fresh levy. A passage in Suetonius<sup>31)</sup> has Gaius ordering the holding of levies everywhere for his march to Germany. Dio credits him with gathering together 200,000 troops by the time of his return to Lugdunum,<sup>32)</sup> by any reckoning a greatly exaggerated figure but indicative of a large army. His preparations for an invasion of Britain may have had more serious content than the bias of ancient historians would allow to appear. In fact it is feasible that the Claudian invasion was operated on the lines of blueprints prepared by the military advisers of Gaius and abandoned due to his madness or ineptitude. It may never be possible to decide which of these two emperors initiated the raising of certain regiments.

Three of the legions for the British expedition came from the Rhineland; some of the accompanying auxilia should have come from the areas of command of these legions. Who filled the gaps on their departure? Cheesman pointed out<sup>33)</sup> "It seems probable that when newly raised regiments were drafted into different provinces they were numbered in a

different series in each province. This suggestion is supported by the fact that where a regiment bearing a high number is found, it generally appears that the rest of the series was originally stationed in the same province". If the fifth Asturian cohort went to the Rhineland in Gaian or Claudian times, does this mean that the rest of the series I-VI was also drafted there? Certainly cohortes II and VI were in Germania by the Flavian period and may well have been there earlier. There is no evidence concerning the fourth cohort; if it disappeared early, the years 68 to 70 in the Rhineland would provide a suitable historical framework for its loss. One of the first cohorts appeared in Noricum in 106, and was perhaps there from late in the reign of Claudius, but could have been moved from Germania. No early inscriptions place the third cohort in Germania but conversely there is no proof that it did not come from there to Tingitana some time before 109. A Spanish levy of 6,000 men could have been readily absorbed in 42/43, but it must be admitted this is, as yet, only an attractive hypothesis.

Events in the reign of Nero may also have some bearing on Asturian recruitment. ILS 2684 shows Marcus Vettius Valens receiving decorations for services in connection with operations contra Astures some time prior to A.D.66. C.H.V. Sutherland, by implication, connects the Asturian troubles with "attempts to refill the imperial exchequer after the fire of Rome in A.D.64",<sup>34)</sup> but a check of the career of Valens reveals that the outbreak must have occurred earlier than this. Between his last recorded post as procurator of Lusitania in A.D.66<sup>35)</sup> and his service as

primus pilus bis of legio VI Victrix, when he received the decoration in question, Valens had served as tribune of the Fifth cohort of Vigiles, tribune of the Twelfth Urban cohort, tribune of the Third praetorian cohort, and primus pilus bis of legio XIV Gemina Martia Victrix. Assuming Valens joined the guards at the age of twenty, by the time he reached primus pilus bis he should have been an experienced man in his mid-to-late fifties. Taking off sixteen years for his initial service in the guards, one is left with 20+ years for his progress through twelve posts. Though he may have been longer in some than in others, it becomes possible to place his posting with the VIth legion early in the reign of Nero, and the Asturian rising (if such it may be called) in the period 54-58. Its cause remains unknown, but if Caligula or Claudius had raised troops in Asturia there would have been time for a new generation of fighting men to have come to maturity. It is possible that such an uprising would be followed by further recruitment, and of the Asturian regiments ala I Hispanorum Asturum could have been raised as late as this if ILS 2509 is attributed to the Augustan ala I Asturum (44.10).

All of this is conjectural. It has at least the merit of opening the door to speculation about the origins of regiments of north-west Spain and does not rely upon categorical statements which the present evidence does not support. In discussing the alae and cohortes from this region, an Augustan foundation will not be presupposed unless there are definite indications to that effect.

## Footnotes

1. "The Spanish War of Augustus (26-25 B.C.)", American Journal of Philology 55 (1934) p.314.
2. Dio,3,25,5; 54,5,1-3; 54,11,2-7. Admittedly Augustus appears to have left the actual conduct of the early campaigns to his generals Antistius and Carisius, cf. Syme, op. cit. and now G. Alföldy, Fasti p.3 and p.131.
3. 2,33,46ff.
4. Florus may not have been entirely correct. There is evidence, from at least one hill-fort in the basin of the River Ave in northern Portugal, that evacuation of these "mountain fastnesses" was not complete. At Citañia de Briteiros, lying between Guimares and Bracara Augusta, a large hill-fort was occupied probably continuously from third century B.C. to fourth century A.D. (M. Cardozo, Citañia e Sabroso (Guimares, 1948)).
5. Including the cohortes Asturum et Callaecorum.
6. 4,20,111; 3.3.28.
7. Les divisions administratives de l'Espagne romaine (Paris 1923) pp.43-81. Étienne, Le Culte impériale dans la péninsule ibérique d'Auguste à Dioclétien (Paris 1958) pp.185-9 agrees that the change to the conventus system is post-Augustan but sees it as a Flavian rather than a Claudian revision. If my reasoning concerning recruitment is followed, it would tend to support Albertini's views rather than those of Étienne, but even if the conventus of the north-west were established under the Flavians, Claudius may still have initiated the heavy recruitment which made them possible.

8. Geography 3,4,20.
9. 3,3,18.
10. Strabo mentions three legati, one in charge of two legions, another in charge of the third legion, and the third legatus serving in a more peaceful district presumably without legionary assistance, although he may have had auxilia under his command.
11. Sutherland, The Romans in Spain (London 1939) p.143, gives a convincing interpretation of Strabo's meaning, but if this is accepted, all three towns would lie in the area of the legatus with the double command.
12. Auxilia p.58 n.2.
13. Cohors I Bracarorum of Mauretania Tingitana (No.60).
14. Although the evidence is less than certain.
15. See cohors I Asturum et Callaecorum (No.57) for a tentative suggestion concerning the naming of this series of cohorts.
16. Hilfstruppen pp.42-45.
17. Table III.
18. The Elder Pliny, NH 3,3,28, gave the total population of the 22 peoples of the Astures as 240,000 free persons, presumably in early Flavian times. As procurator in Tarraconensis he had access to the census so his figures are probably reliable. Roughly one-sixth of that number were perhaps men of fighting age, but Pliny was writing after circa 90 years of Roman peace when the population had increased and the total available in the Augustan period would be considerably lowered by the effects of ten years of war. Those who would fail the Roman standards for physical fitness and height (if these

- were rigorously applied at this time) must be deducted and a figure of much less than 20,000 eligible men remains. If all twelve regiments were raised in Augustan times, perhaps as much as 40 per cent of the eligible fit male population was conscripted. If only 2,500 were levied the figure is reduced to one in six.
19. See cohortes Asturum et Callaecorum (Nos. 57, 58 and 59).
  20. See Table IIII.
  21. Rec. des Not. et Mém. de la Soc. Arch. de Constantine 69 (1957) p.151.
  22. Fasti des Rom. Deutschland (Vienna 1932) p.149.
  23. Praefectus Fabrum p.75.
  24. CIL XVI 4 of A.D.60 indicates the probability of its existence at least 25 years earlier.
  25. NH 3,3,28.
  26. Le Maroc Antique (Paris 1944) p.238.
  27. In Britain a number of auxiliaries equal to the legions (20,000+). Tacitus, Histories, 2,58 says that in 69 there were 19 cohorts and 5 alae in the two Mauretanas.
  28. Stein, Beamten p.94.
  29. Alföldy, Hilfstruppen p.194, no.91 and p.44, n.2.
  30. Cheesman adduced from literary and epigraphic evidence that in the early imperial period the auxilia were locally raised and trained to oversee their fellow countrymen and the case he made out for the Rhineland and Danubian provinces, in particular, is very strong (op. cit. pp.67/70). However, Syme (CAH 10, p.345), apropos the subjection of Spain, observed that "Comprehensive enslavement and massacre were often the

only remedy, but the desired end could sometimes be attained if the natives were enlisted in large numbers and transported abroad to spend their dangerous valour in the service of Rome."

31. Gaius 43.

32. 59,22.

33. op. cit. pp.59/60.

34. op. cit. pp.179/80.

35. The date is given by the consuls L. Tuccius Telesinus and C. Suetonius Paulinus, cf. Degrassi, I Fasti, p.18.

Chapter IIII

The auxilia raised in *Tarraconensis*  
(excluding the North-west)

The alae Aravacorum.

There was some difficulty over the correct spelling of the title of these two cavalry units. In the sixteen diploma references, only one has the full title ala I Hispanor(um) Aravacor(um),<sup>1)</sup> eight contain various contractions of one or the other of the two as Hispanorum Arvacorum, and, in one instance, Hispanorum et Arvacorum.<sup>2)</sup> All inscriptions, other than diplomata, use the variant Aravacorum where it is possible to be certain, although of these three replace the V with a B (probably due to Greek influence) and one refers to an ala I Arevac......<sup>3)</sup>

There is no doubt that these titles cover the same two regiments, and that they are Spanish in origin. They were raised from a Celtiberian people<sup>4)</sup> situated in north-east central Tarraconensis around the upper reaches of the Durus, and there is equal confusion among ancient historians on the precise form of the tribal name.<sup>5)</sup> The same historians reveal that the Arevaci had given Rome much trouble during the piecemeal conquest of Spain. They are mentioned among the dissidents time and time again, and Appian places them among the chief protagonists in the Numantian War, which was only ended by Scipio Africanus the younger in 133 B.C. Even then they rose once more in 98 B.C.<sup>6)</sup> All the ancient sources mention their strength and warlike disposition. If they were raised in the Augustan period the retention of a tribal name may reflect something of that independent spirit still present a century or more after their defeat by Scipio.<sup>7)</sup>

The exact period when they were raised remains obscure. There is no very early evidence for the ala I Aravacorum

but the second ala of that name should have been in existence by Tiberian times at latest. Inscription 02.8 of the second regiment is a tombstone of Tiberius Claudius Valerius, decurion of the ala, dedicated also to his living wife and daughter. Both have the citizenship and each has Claudia as her nomen. The conjunction of the three names of Valerius, his wife and daughter suggests that he has benefited from the late Claudian regulations ensuring that the privilegia were bestowed on auxiliaries after 25 or more years' service.<sup>8)</sup> Since he had served 30 years at the time of his death he may have received his diploma after 25 years and served a further 5 years, or he may only have obtained the grant shortly before his death. If the Claudian arrangement is placed circa A.D.50 or soon after, Valerius would have been recruited during the period A.D.20-28/9. Valerius was a Spaniard, and at this early period it is tempting to use this fact to suggest that the ala was in Spain at least in the first half of the reign of Tiberius.<sup>9)</sup> We cannot be certain, although it may appear probable, that the regiment was raised or regularised during the reign of Augustus, perhaps in the course of one of his Spanish campaigns or settlements, and remained there until its transfer to Pannonia.

Since the number II designating an ala presupposes the prior, or at least simultaneous, existence of a first ala of that name, it may safely be assumed that the ala I Aravacorum was also in existence by Augustan, or at latest Tiberian, times.

01. Ala I Hispanorum Aravacorum.

This ala appears on Pannonian diplomata for 80, 84 and 85 (01.1-3).

From Arrabona in Pannonia comes the tombstone of Crispus Mac..., equus of ala I Aravacorum (01.14). The style of the inscription is undoubtedly first century. Kraft<sup>10)</sup> suggested that it was Flavian because of a lack of very early pointers. Crispus came from Siscia in Pannonia and, as he had served 15 years before his death, the ala may be presumed to have been taking in recruits in Pannonia one and a half decades before it is attested at Arrabona. This does not certainly demonstrate that it was in Pannonia in pre-Flavian times, but it is possible to hazard a guess that it may have come there from Spain, with the second ala of the series, in the reign of Tiberius.<sup>11)</sup> L. Barkóczy has no doubts. He considers the ala was stationed at Arrabona in the first half of the first century.<sup>12)</sup> This may be challenged. Arrabona was undoubtedly a key point in the Roman military network in Pannonia and may well have been one of the sites possessing a strong garrison as postulated by Demaszewski (cf. Strategy and epigraphy).

At least one ala (I Augusta Ituraeorum) seems to have been in regular occupation there in the first century.<sup>13)</sup> A second ala ((I) Pannoniorum) may have joined it in Claudian times, perhaps as a result of the disturbances between Vannius and the Suebi.<sup>14)</sup> Its strategic role as the base for a mobile striking force was emphasised by the provision of the newly raised milliary ala I Ulpia contariorum as its garrison in the Trajanic period. Never-

theless it is unnecessary to assume there were three alae at Arrabona in Julio-Claudian times; there were never so many cavalry units in a province at this period that their placing would not be made with economy and precision. Ala (I) Pannoniorum was transferred to Moesia inferior in the latter part of the first century,<sup>15)</sup> arguably on the occasion of its creation as a separate province in 86 or even earlier (cf. CIL III 14453 recording a veteran decurion of this ala who had been decorated by Vespasian, and retired to Tomi in eastern Moesia inferior<sup>16)</sup>).

Ala I Aravacorum, hitherto perhaps without a permanent fort but engaged in patrolling the north-western sector of the Pannonian frontier, may have been settled at Arrabona by one of the Flavian emperors on the departure of the Pannonian regiment. If this is correct, its stay was fairly brief for ala I Ulpia contariorum was at Arrabona from its formation, witness the late first to early second century tombstone of one of its equites, Ulpus Eptatralis (CIL III 4378).<sup>17)</sup> Ala I Augusta Ituraeorum, the other presumed first century occupant of Arrabona, is thought from later evidence to have taken part in Trajan's Dacian Wars.<sup>18)</sup> It is unclear whether ala I Aravacorum was likewise employed. None of the units listed in the diploma of November 19, 102 (01.4) bear titles of honour that could have been won in these wars so it is arguable that they formed part of a caretaker garrison left in Pannonia during the conduct of the campaigns, but this is not certain.<sup>19)</sup>

Alternatively ala I Aravacorum may never have been stationed at Arrabona at all. If the tombstone of Crispus

Mac.... was a little earlier than Kraft supposed, and fell in the reign of Nero for example, it could indicate that he had been buried at the nearest military cemetery to a unit without a permanent station at that time.

These, admittedly speculative, interpretations have been advanced to illustrate the questionable value of statements such as that of Barkóczy (*op. cit.*) and J. Fitz,<sup>20)</sup> who goes so far as to suggest that ala I Aravacorum garrisoned the site of Arrabona, together with ala I Ulpia contariorum milliaria, in the second century. This is to forget, or obscure, the fact that milliary alae were in themselves the strongest regiments of the auxilia. Their creation would have abolished the necessity for the practice (never all that widespread) of garrisoning two alae together.

After the division of Pannonia by Trajan circa 106 the ala appeared on the lists of Pannonia superior and remained there until its records ceased in the latter part of the second century (O1.5-13). No change of station need have been involved if it was indeed in the area suggested.

In the reign of Antoninus Pius it was one of a group of four alae from Pannonia superior which, together with three others from Pannonia inferior,<sup>21)</sup> took part in the suppression of the Mauretanian revolt. This is made clear by the diploma of 1st August 150 (O1.11) granted to Victor son of Liccaus of the Azali. Much has been made of the Azalian recruitment to the ala in an endeavour to fix upon a suitable fort for it in the second century, since another diploma, of 19th July 146 (O1.8), was also granted to a member of this tribe, and equus of the ala, Viator son of Romanus.<sup>22)</sup> It has already been shown that this type of

argument is inconclusive.<sup>23)</sup>

There can be as yet no certainty concerning the location of the ala in this period and the answer may only be found through excavation and patient elimination of possibilities. Perhaps the most promising suggestion is that of A. Radnóti,<sup>24)</sup> who makes a case for Celamantia. This lies on the left bank of the Danube, and may be described as a bridgehead fort for Brigetio. Its construction in stone is thought to have coincided with the rebuilding of Brigetio in stone in the early Trajanic period, and its size (3.08 ha. = circa 7½ acres) would be suitable for a quingenary ala.<sup>25)</sup>

Some slight support for this location may be found in the fact that the diploma of 150 (O1.11), already noted as being granted to a member of the ala, was discovered in Brigetio. Veterans often stayed in the general vicinity of their last posting. The diploma of Viator was found not too far away at Csapdi, which lies between Brigetio and Aquincum.

More significantly Celamantia would fit into the pattern of the activities of Valerius Maximianus during the Marcomannic Wars. Maximianus (O1.16), who originated from Poetovio in Pannonia inferior, has been the subject of several studies, that of H-G. Pflaum being the most detailed.<sup>26)</sup> Pflaum suggests that Maximianus commanded our ala in the period centering on 173, for this is the most likely date for his remarkable feat of valour. He was personally decorated by Marcus Aurelius for killing the chief of the Naristae with his own hand. As Pflaum remarks, the Naristae have usually been placed in the area north of

Raetia and Noricum rather than Pannonia. However, he also points out that the Marcomanni, Quadi and Naristae were closely associated<sup>27)</sup> and this alliance is reflected in lines 13 and 14 of the inscription. If the ala was stationed at Celamantia in advance of legio I Adulatrix (at Brigetio), it would have been excellently situated to go into the territory of the Quadi, where Maximianus could have encountered the Naristan chief, Valao. In recognition of this and other services recorded by the inscription, Maximianus was promoted to a fourth militia commanding ala I Ulpia contariorum at Arrabona, along the same sector of the Pannonian frontier. After his procuratorial posts, the extraordinary promotion of Maximianus to the senatorial order and to immediate command of legio I Adulatrix is placed in the last years of the reign of Marcus. Maximianus was returning to an area where he had much experience, that is actually in the territory of the Quadi and Marcomanni, for Dio<sup>28)</sup> tells us "20,000 soldiers .... were stationed in forts among each of these tribes". If legio I Adulatrix was involved it would undoubtedly be accompanied by auxiliary regiments in its command; our ala would be likely to be among them. An inscription from Laugaricio<sup>29)</sup> shows Maximianus as part of the occupying force in his next post commanding legio II Adulatrix.

The conjectural nature of this discussion must again be stressed. There is no later evidence for the ala. If it was in the Brigetio area after the Marcomannic Wars it would have fallen in the area transferred to Pannonia inferior in the Caracallan reorganisation of 214.

Apart from Maximianus we have the names of three other

commanders of the ala. C. Iulius Ianuarius, from Cremona, who Wagner suggested commanded the unit either in Domitianic or Trajanic times (01.19). The fact that this Italian prefect was in charge of three alae in succession without first serving as praefectus cohortis certainly indicates a pre-Hadrianic date. It is just possible that his unusual career should lie in the late Julio-Claudian period when the three alae mentioned (Pannoniorum, Hispanorum Auriana and Aravacorum) were all in Pannonia. L. Domitius Rogatus, from Rome itself, served as prefect of the ala when L. Aelius Caesar was governor of the two Pannonias in 136, as his subsequent promotion to ab epistulis underlines (01.15). L. Aburnius Severus of Heraclea (which town of that name is unclear, but his praenomen and nomen suggest a possible connection with the family of L. Aburnius Torquatus of Heraclea ad Salbacum, in Caria cf. ILS 9471 = 57.9) was prefect of the ala when the diploma of 146 was issued (01.8).

Two decurions are recorded. Ianuarius, who was the heir of Crispus Mac.... (01.14) in the first century, and M. Modestius Repentinus (01.17) who retired to his home at Wels in Noricum after service.

A photograph of the tombstone from Carnuntum (01.18) shows the second version to be correct,<sup>30)</sup> but there are problems attached to the interpretation. It has been expanded to record that Calvus, an equus of ala Frontoniana, was transferred, with promotion to sesquiplicarius, to our ala. Ala Frontoniana did not arrive in Pannonia until the Flavian period, and since such a transfer is more likely to have occurred within a provincial framework, the inscription

should lie in the last quarter of the first century. This could mean that instead of looking for a station for the ala at or near Arrabona in this period we should consider the western end of the Pannonian frontier in the environs of Carnuntum. Against this is the uncertainty of the interpolation of the name of the first ala. It seems rather odd to give the name of one ala in a relatively full form (Arevac.) and the other by an initial only. It may seem preferable to see .... alae f. as concealing the paternity of Calvus; the ending is a little unusual but the name of the father could well be peregrine and possess such an ending, witness the recipient of the diploma recorded as CIL XVI 45. If the stone could be earlier a permanent base need not be envisaged. The early history of the ala remains unclear.

## Footnotes

1. CIL XVI 99 of August 150 = 01.11.
2. CIL XVI 44 of August 99 = 02.4.
3. 01.18.
4. Häbner pointed out that the Arevaci were Celtiberian and to be distinguished from the Aravi of Lusitania (PWRE 2<sup>1</sup> 400) cf. Pliny the Elder NH,3,3,19 and 27.
5. Polybius 35,2,4,13 and 3,3,4,9 Aravacae.  
Strabo 3,4,13 Arvacans of Celtiberia.  
Silius Italicus 3,362 Arbacans.
6. Appian 6,99. Titus Didius was sent to Spain and he slew about 20,000 of the Arevaci.
7. cf. Cheesman, Auxilia p.58 on the retention of tribal as opposed to national names for regiments.
8. Alföldy, Historia 17. The decurion of an ala, although an N.C.O., would not necessarily be a citizen and would receive a diploma on discharge like other troopers.  
cf. Cheesman op. cit. p.38 on the necessity of a diploma or a special grant before the promotion of a decurio alae to the legionary centurionate. CIL XVI 48 shows a decurion receiving citizenship through a diploma. In this case the likelihood is increased by the fact that Brittus, the father of Tiberius Claudius Valerius, is peregrine.
9. viz. Cheesman op. cit. pp.38/9 on the fact that decurions seem often to have been promoted from the ranks. Valerius may be supposed to have been recruited to the ala, in the normal way as eques, in Spain.
10. Rekrutierung p.151 no.361. The suggestion of J. Fitz (Acta Arch. Hung. 14 (1962) p.43) that this inscription

belongs to the second century is unrealistic on grounds of style.

11. cf. Cheesman op. cit. p.59 suggesting numbered pairs of regiments were often sent to the same province initially.
12. Acta Arch. Hung. 9 (1958) p.418.
13. CIL III 4367, 4368, 4371 and 11083. All four inscriptions are first century in format, the first two probably pre-Flavian.
14. CIL III 4372, 4377, 4376. Ala Pannoniorum was earlier in Dalmatia but came to Pannonia under Tiberius, Alföldy, Acta Arch. Hung. 14 (1962) pp.262/3.
15. CIL XVI 44 of 99.
16. This is no more than a hint since the tombstone of a veteran is not normally territorially significant.
17. Kraft op. cit. p.146 n.251 for this reading.
18. CIL XVI 57 and 163 of 110, Dacia.
19. The diploma could be regarded as recording post-campaign discharges, but this appears less likely to me.
20. Acta Arch. Hung. 14 (1962) pp.42/44.
21. See CIL XVI 99 and AE 1961, 141 and IIS 2519.
22. Fitz op. cit.; Barkóczi op. cit.
23. See Recruitment, p. 33.
24. Auxiliartruppen in den Donauprovinzen, p.140.
25. For Celamantia see A. Mócsy PWRE 9 Supp. 641; L. Barkóczi "Brigetio" Diss. Pann. Ser. 2, No.22, p.17. According to Mócsy Celamantia was first built in the reign of Domitian, when Brigetio was erected.
26. Libyca 3 (1955) p.135ff. and Car. no.181(bis).

27. Tacitus Germania 42,1; SHA M. Aurelius 22,1.
28. 72,20,1/2.
29. CIL III 13439.
30. Corpus Signorum Imperii Romani. Österreich 1.4.  
(Vienna, 1972) No.565.

02. Ala II Aravacorum.

It has already been noted that ala II Aravacorum was in Pannonia by the latter part of the reign of Claudius (02.8). An estimate of the time of its arrival in the province depends upon the interpretation given to inscription 02.7 from Mursa. Wagner<sup>1)</sup> and Kraft<sup>2)</sup> followed Cichorius<sup>3)</sup> in attributing it to this ala. The date suggested is pre-Claudian since the trooper has no cognomen, the ablative is used for ala and stipendiorum is written in full. M. Pavan<sup>4)</sup> preferred to attribute this to the ala I Aravacorum. In the absence of a number the first of a series is usually inferred. He suggested also that the Sueltrius of the inscription is a cognomen derived from the tribal origin of Niger, which would allow the inscription to be a little later in date. Pavan therefore implied that the first ala of the series had an early station at Mursa whilst the second lay at Teutoburgium, 23 kms. east on the Danube. It seems probable that Pavan was incorrect in these assumptions. On military grounds it would be difficult to justify the siting of two alae only 23 kms. apart in the same province at this period. It is more reasonable to assume that there were early stations at both Mursa<sup>5)</sup> and Teutoburgium and that the second ala (patrolling in the area) had occasion to bury two of its members in cemeteries attached to these stations. Wagner should also be correct about the use of Sueltrius as a tribal name rather than a cognomen since both the heirs lack cognomina. In this case the date of the inscription should be (as Wagner suggested) pre-Claudian.

It follows that the ala was in Spain, perhaps as late as A.D.28/29, but in Pannonia before A.D.41, being moved some time during the reign of Tiberius - or at latest Gaius. The fact that Niger, who had served 17 years before his death, came from the Sueltri of Gallia Narbonensis<sup>6)</sup> does not necessarily indicate an intermediate posting in Gaul. As a senatorial province, Narbonensis might recruit suitable candidates for the auxilia for drafting to an imperial province. Niger, and perhaps his two cousins Marcellus and Publius, may have been sent "over the border" to serve in a Spanish regiment.<sup>7)</sup>

Two more tombstones of veteran decurions of the ala in Pannonia come from Teutoburgium and Sopianae (some 90 kms. north-west of Teutoburgium) (02.9 and 02.10 respectively) and argue for a mid-first century posting along this sector of the Danube. The stone from Sopianae refers to an unknown man, who died at the age of 60; the stone was erected by a comrade(?) who bore the praenomen and nomen of the emperor Claudius.

The ala is recorded in Pannonia at least until the autumn of A.D.85 (02.1-3) when a diploma (02.3) recorded it among the auxilia granted discharges by Funisulanus Vettonianus. By A.D.99, however, it was in Moesia inferior.

Inscription 02.11 of Gauren, east of Oescus, presents a problem. Wagner dated it to the late first century but the names of the veteran - Tiberius Claudius Victor - taken with his length of service (29 years) would best fit the Claudian or early Neronian period. As a veteran his

presence need not site his regiment. Possibly the simplest explanation is that he originated from Moesia and returned to his homeland on discharge from the army. As a veteran he would feel more comfortable not too far from an army base, the legionary camp at Oescus. Alternatively if he had ties with legio VIII Augusta, formed as a result of the association of his regiment with that legion, he may have followed it to Moesia within a decade or so of its transfer from Pannonia c. 46. It is unlikely that this stone is evidence of the stationing of the ala at Gauren, as Wagner and Domaszewski<sup>8)</sup> believed.

Gauren has produced a stone of another ex-trooper who had belonged to ala I Hispanorum (CIL III 12361). It is associated with castellum Uti(Uto), mentioned in Not. dig. or. 42,21 as holding cuneus equitum Constantinianorum. This being so, the most likely interpretation of the presence of a mixed collection of tombstones from this site (cf. CIL III ) is that they represent the re-use of worked stone in a late military installation. A convenient origin for the tombstones would be in a cemetery attached to Oescus, not far to the west. Originating probably as a vicus attached to a legionary base, Oescus had been given the status of colonia under Trajan, and the cemetery would have been large enough to make the transport of stones worthwhile.

Wagner was probably correct in assuming that the ala took part in Domitian's Dacian Wars. The Pannonian diploma of 85 may represent a weeding out process prior to a campaign, and the division of Moesia in A.D.86 be the occasion for the syphoning off of regiments into new areas.

If V. Párvan was correct in his restoration of

inscription 02.13, wherever the ala was stationed in the interim, and whether or not it took part in the first of Trajan's Dacian Wars (as we may well suppose it did), by 103 it was building a fort which was to be its home base for the next century at Carsium in the Dobrudja (in Moesia inferior). There are two other inscriptions of Carsium (02.14, 02.15). The first dates to A.D.200, and records the rebuilding of the road running parallel to the right bank of the Danube near Carsium; this was one of the pieces of evidence on which Pârvan made his restoration of the previous stone. Since then the second inscription has come to light confirming his deductions, and highlighting the important function of the ala at Carsium. The tombstone is that of C. Valerius Herculanus, veteran ex stator of the prefect of the ala, who claims to have originated from vicus Ramidava. Ramidava has been identified as Drajna de Sus, and is one of three camps which have been established by excavation as having been burnt and abandoned by the Romans at the beginning of the reign of Hadrian.<sup>9)</sup> All three lie in eastern Walachia, the terrain held by Trajan from the time of his first Dacian War, the secession of which may have given rise to the comments of Eutropius concerning Hadrian's intention of giving up all Dacia.<sup>10)</sup> If Herculanus was born in the vicus attached to the Roman fort of Ramidava, his birth date must lie in the period 101-118. If he 'joined up' at an estimated age of 20, and served 26 years before discharge, (retiring then to the vicus attached to his fort at Carsium) his main period of service would fall in the early Antonine period. If the fort was built under Trajan,

its importance would be doubled from the time of Hadrian onwards. Carsium has not been extensively excavated (as far as it is possible to trace) but, lying on the right bank of the Danube, at the junction of the road linking the legionary fortresses of Durostorum and Troesmis with another road running eastward from the fort to Histria, it must have been strategically important, especially when the additional task of watching over events in eastern Walachia had been added to its commitments.

The ala may be presumed to have remained at Carsium for at least part of the third century. There are three inscriptions which Pârvan assigned to its stay at Carsium. All came from Histria and, from his account,<sup>11)</sup> like other material of a similar nature, would have been built into the town wall. One (02.16) is a tombstone erected to an unknown person by two men, one of whom was a sesquiplicarius of the ala.<sup>12)</sup> The other two are of the veterans M. Vettius Felix and Aurelius Firmus (02.17 and 02.18). They are not territorially significant and, in view of the link between Carsium and Histria and the latter's importance as a Black Sea port, it would be reasonable to infer that the men retired to Histria from their old station at Carsium. Pârvan dated all three to the end of the second century or the beginning of the third century.<sup>13)</sup>

It seems unlikely that the ala was stationed at Arrubium, although this was the site of a castellum and is mentioned as being guarded by a cuneus equitum catafractariorum in NOT. DIG. OR. XXXIX, 16. The tombstone from Arrubium (02.19) was erected to the father of two men, one of whom, Caius Iulius Pr...., was the decurion of an ala II

AI... , probably our ala, but not necessarily stationed nearby. In the same way O2.12, O2.20 and O2.21 do not add to our knowledge of the whereabouts of the ala, since they all relate to veterans. (O2.20 from near Aquincum in Pannonia probably does not even belong to this unit in spite of an identification by Cichorius,<sup>14)</sup> since it is surely at earliest a second century stone, by which time the ala was in Moesia inferior.)

The end of the regiment is uncertain. How it fared in the troubled times following the attack on the Lower Danubian limites circa 236 is unknown. It may have suffered defeat as did other regiments of Moesia inferior, or have been forced to abandon a settled station to become increasingly part of the mobile operational force needed to combat the pressures of the barbarian tribes. It is improbable that the ala would continue to occupy Carsium after the death of Decius at the battle of Abrittus and the humiliating peace conceded by his successor Gallus. By the end of the following century the Huns had garrisons in Carsium.

## Footnotes

1. Dislokation p.47.
2. Rekrutierung p.151 n.371.
3. PWRE 1, 1230.
4. La Provincia romana della Pannonia Superior, 1954, p.383.
5. Mursa may have been a legionary camp. cf. R. Syme  
LA 1 p.271; TIR L.34 p.82.
6. Elder Pliny III,4,35.
7. This seems the most likely explanation in view of the time factor involved. If they had joined the ala while it was in transit, or after it had arrived in Pannonia, the stone would fall into the Claudian era which has been seen to be unlikely on epigraphic grounds.  
Alternatively it is possible that Niger had been transferred from another regiment already in the province.
8. Rangordnung<sup>2</sup> p.56 n.1.
9. The other two camps were at Malăiești and Rucăv-Scărișoava. cf. M. Macrea, Dacia 9 (1967) pp.127/134 "L'Organization de la province de Dacie".  
R. Vulpe (Dacia 5 (1961) pp.365ff) makes a case for Drajna existing as a Roman base from the reign of Domitian. This relies upon a) R.O. Fink's date for Hunt's Pridianum which Syme has shown to be incorrect; and b) a misreading of the excavation report on Drajna by G.H. Stefan (Dacia 11-12 (1945) p.141) where he says "La construction du camp de Drajna ne peut pas être anterieure a l'an 101".
10. 8,6,15-20, to the effect that only the appeals of his friends, concerning the many Roman citizens still living in Dacia, deterred Hadrian from giving up Dacia.

11. Analele 34-39, "Histria 4".
12. Pârvan pointed out that the oddities of style and spelling in this inscription may be due to Greek influence as well as provincial 'barbarism'.
13. O2.18 gives the appearance of an early third century stone from its style and the nomenclature of the persons concerned. O2.17 could be second century and not too late in that period.
14. PWRE 1, 1230.

### 03. Ala I Hispanorum Auriana.

This ala belongs to a category of cavalry regiments which bore "titles formed from personal names".<sup>1)</sup> The meaning of the title appears to have been 'the cavalry regiment of Spaniards, formerly commanded by Aurius'.<sup>2)</sup> There are no known historical or epigraphic pointers to the identity of the commander. The title might well indicate that a particular officer had been outstandingly courageous (cf. Mommsen's theory concerning the ala Scaevae) but in what context and at what time is unknown. A family of Auri were connected by Cicero with the town of Larinum,<sup>3)</sup> otherwise the name is not common.

The ala should have been raised early in the principate. The first inscription attesting its existence belongs to the Julio-Claudian period (03.1). Reginus, son of Trovcetissa, sesquiplicarius of the ala, died after five years' service and was buried at Aquincum. He and his brother and heir, Receptus (of the same rank), were Treveri, and Wagner argued that the alae in which they served (this one and II Asturum, respectively) had previously been in the Rhineland, where they had been recruited.

He dated the stone to the reign of Tiberius<sup>4)</sup> but it can no longer be shown with certainty that there was a fort at Aquincum as early as this. The building stone interpreted by Szilágyi, as demonstrating the existence of a fort at Aquincum in A.D.19,<sup>5)</sup> has recently been re-examined. E. Tóth and G. Vékony place it in the early Flavian period (A.D.73).<sup>6)</sup> If they are correct, the earliest evidence from the first auxiliary fort site near Víziváros, at Aquincum, is terra sigillata of the Tiberio-Claudian period.<sup>7)</sup> Tóth

and Vékony consider that this fort was garrisoned by ala I Hispanorum, and this ala probably did not come to Aquincum before the reign of Claudius. (cf. No. 06.) A military cemetery is not likely to have existed there before the fort was established (see Chapter I, Strategy and epigraphy), and there is a fair chance that all three alae came to Pannonia at approximately the same time, as a result of redispersions effected for the invasion of Britain. Ala I Hispanorum has produced most evidence from Aquincum, and is therefore the strongest contender for the garrison of the fort. The other two alae may still have been used on roving commissions (cf. ala II Asturum, No. 46).

To summarise: the ala was probably raised (or regularised) by Augustus and sent to the Rhineland. Either under Tiberius or (more plausibly) Claudius, it left the Rhine for the Danube, where it was operative somewhere in the region of Aquincum.

Whenever it arrived, ala I Auriana remained in the Danubian provinces until A.D.69, when it is mentioned by Tacitus.<sup>8)</sup> During this period we have a record of one of its commanders (03.2), Lucius Domitius Severus, whose career corresponds with the order of posts instituted by Claudius and abandoned after his reign.<sup>9)</sup> Severus would have commanded cohors Campana in Dalmatia and our ala in Pannonia before going to Britain as tribune of legio XX. The honorary inscription which L'Année Épigraphique describes as a "grande plaque" 92x69x25 cm. was erected to their former prefect by ala I Aureana Hispanorum. Verona was his home town, the voting tribe Poblilia appertained to towns in Italy.

The Tacitean reference makes it clear that during 69-70 the ala was despatched with eight cohorts, under Sextilius Felix, to occupy the banks of the river 'Aenus' (modern Inn) "quod Raetos Noricosque interfluit".<sup>10)</sup>

Whether it had already become part of the army of Noricum, or had been detached from Pannonia for this purpose, is not clear. A number of regiments had been withdrawn from Pannonia and Moesia to support the Flavian cause, since Tacitus also tells us of the use of the chiefs of the Sarmatian Iazyges and the Suebi, as hostages for the good behaviour of tribes bordering the "inermes provinciae".

Later, we are told,<sup>11)</sup> Sextilius Felix marched through Raetia with some auxiliary cohorts, but the ala did not accompany them; they were joined by cavalry in the form of the Vitellian ala Singularium.<sup>12)</sup> It is likely that the ala remained in Noricum after Vespasian's re-organisation. 03.3 is first century in format and commemorates a soldier, Candidianus, who had been in the ala, if only briefly. It was erected by his father in Noricum and may indicate his recruitment in that province. Further, the first diploma in which it is recorded (03.4) appertains to Raetia (June 107), but was issued to Mogetissa, a Boian cavalryman of the ala. The Boii<sup>13)</sup> came from an area south and west of Carnuntum, that is on the borders of Noricum and Pannonia. Mogestissa would have been recruited circa A.D.82 or a little earlier, and taken together with the reference from Tacitus, the indications are fairly strong that the ala lay in Noricum when he joined it. If the ala moved from Noricum to Raetia during his term of service, it would be in the latter province that he met his wife

Verecunda, who came from the Sequani.<sup>14)</sup>

However, Tóth and Vékony<sup>15)</sup> apparently consider that it was returned to Aquincum by Vespasian, since they have restored the name of this ala on the building stone already mentioned. Their restoration is wholly conjectural. They consider that, having ruled out ala II Asturum and ala I Hispanorum as the unit erecting the stone, the Aurian ala is the sole attested cavalry unit in the vicinity. There had been so many troop movements from Pannonia in the years 69/70 that this proposition would be difficult to prove, and it is even harder to justify moving an ala from Aquincum to Noricum in the late Flavian or Trajanic period, as this restoration must imply.

It is usually conceded that, before the end of the reign of Domitian, the frontier of Raetia had been extended north of the Danube to embrace an area in which the forts of Oberdorf, Munningen, Gnotzheim and Weissenburg were situated. It is from the last named that the diploma 03.4 originated, and it is from this site too that much of the later evidence for the ala springs.

Three of the inscriptions from Weissenburg are rather fragmentary (03.15, 03.16 and 03.23) but may be restored with the name of the ala with confidence in view of the diploma, a stamped tile (03.17) and inscriptions from sites in the vicinity. Of these, 03.19 was set up, to his wife and daughter, by Primus Saturninus, ex decurion of the ala, at Pflöbring circa 50 km. south east of Weissenburg. Kraft<sup>16)</sup> suggested a possible mid-second century date, but the abbreviations, and lack of praenomen, might support a slightly later setting. 03.20, an altar to Mercury, by

Claudius Romanus, duplicarius of the ala, was found at Nassenfels, an important trading post lying between Pflöding and Weissenburg. Perhaps Romanus was operating a business through a partner or freedman, and had placed it in the care of Mercury. Again a date after the middle of the second century would fit. The third (03.18) comes from Emetzheim near Weissenburg and is a dedication to Mercury for the welfare of Antoninus Pius by Flavius Raeticus optio. A date is given by the names of the consuls (partially restored) of 153. In spite of this, there are difficulties over the sequence of garrisons at Weissenburg.

In the excavation report of 1906<sup>17)</sup> the history offered for Weissenburg was:

1. An earth and wooden fort constructed in Domitianic times.
2. Under Trajan, a rampart and wall and the older internal structures were erected for cohors VIII Batavorum equitata milliaria exploratorum.
3. Under Hadrian or Pius, but in any case before 153 (cf. 03.18), the cohort left for Passau (on the Raetian side of the Inn) and the fort was occupied by our ala.
4. In 253, or shortly after, the fort was destroyed by barbarian invaders.

The fort was 3.09 ha. and would be large enough for a quingenary ala but perhaps rather small for a cohors milliaria equitata.

This sequence was revised by Stein.<sup>18)</sup> He considered, in view of the diploma issued to Mogetissa, that the fort had been built for, and occupied by ala I Hispanorum Auriana from circa 90 to at least 153, with a possible break in occupation when the Batavian cohort was in garrison.

The Batavian cohort appears on the Raetian diploma lists for the first time in 139-141,<sup>19)</sup> the evidence for its presence at Weissenburg comes on an altar: IIS 9152 I.O.M./sacrum/coh.IX Ba[t.] / eq. (milliaria) expl./ cui praeest / M.Victorius Provincia/lis praef./v.s.l.m. (From the photograph<sup>20)</sup> this altar has no ligatures.) Günter Ulbert<sup>21)</sup> placed the Batavians at Passau by the middle of the second century at latest. It is recorded in the Notitia dignitatum<sup>22)</sup> as *Batavis*, and the commander noted as tribunus cohortis novae] Batavorum;<sup>23)</sup> presumably it remained there throughout the intervening period.

More recently another theory has been advanced. A. Radnóti proposed that the ala had remained in garrison at Weissenburg throughout the second century, apart from a break circa 162 and later, because of its absence from diplomata of Raetia after that date. This point is endorsed by H-J. Kellner.<sup>25)</sup> (A note of caution should be sounded. There is no absolute certainty that our ala is absent from all the lists after 166 as they are fragmentary.) Radnóti thought the ala had returned to Weissenburg after the Marcomannic Wars, basing this upon an interpretation of O3.24. This stone, found at Wachstein, near Gunzenhausen, is thought to have belonged to a Mithraeum. F. Wagner interpreted the first three letters as S(ol) I(nvicto) M(ithrae) and the seventh line as s d(ec) a(lae) I Au(rianae). A dedication to Mithras, the abbreviated form of the inscription and the number of ligatures present would support a third century date, and so place the ala in the vicinity of Weissenburg at that time. However plausible this may seem, it must be admitted that with such a stone any number

of interpretations are possible. According to Kellner<sup>26)</sup> Weissenburg had been destroyed by fire and rebuilt before the final devastation (which he places in 254). Radnóti linked this first destruction with the Alemannic invasion of 233, and dated IILS 9152 just after this, suggesting that a vexillation of cohors IX Batavorum was brought in, during the reorganisation of the Raetian limes, as exploratores. This would be a neat explanation if it was not for the fact that the inscription has none of the marks of a third century stone, both ligatures and the normal abbreviations of the period are lacking. A better solution might be that the ala left Weissenburg circa 162, in connection with troop movements necessitated by the removal of legions from the Rhine-Danube frontier for Verus' army (IILS 2724 suggests that cavalry needed in the east was drawn from Eastern provinces). Later it may have been used in the Marcomannic Wars. Weissenburg was too vulnerable to be left without a holding garrison, and a section of the Batavian cohort was moved up on a temporary basis. This would account for the fact that M. Victorius Provincialis is styled praefectus instead of tribunus, and would better fit the epigraphic pointers concerning date. At the death of Marcus, both the Batavian section and the ala may have returned to their former stations. The coin record reveals Weissenburg to have been held until the middle of the third century at least, and H. Schönberger is inclined to think that part of the Raetian limes may have held out until 259/60.<sup>27)</sup> More evidence is required to settle these questions, particularly concerning the destruction of 233.

From the remaining inscriptions of the ala we learn the

names of several commanders. 03.22 gives us C. Iulius Ianuarius, an Italian, whose career has already been discussed under ala I Hispanorum Aravacorum (01.19). M. P....ius Reginus erected an altar to all the gods and goddesses, while the ala was at Weissenburg, some time in the second century. An unknown man from Rome commanded the ala in Raetia (03.21) as part of his militia tertia, although it was his fourth post. M. Insteius Coelenus was prefect at the time of issue of the diploma of 107. He belonged to the Palatin<sup>ian</sup> tribe. Dessau queried whether his cognomen might not indicate his origin, in the Greek East (Athens or Propontis ?). ..... Bassus from Rome was prefect at a date between 134 and 140/144 (03.7). Under his charge an unknown gregalis, a Frisian married to a Batavian wife, was issued with the diploma on which his command is recorded. There was no occasion, as far as is known, for Trajan to send temporary reinforcements from Raetia to the Lower Rhine in the period 109-119; recruitment of the man in Germania inferior and posting to Raetia is not impossible, but his accompaniment by a wife on enlistment is less credible. It seems simplest to regard this as a probable case of transfer, upgrading an eques cohortis to the higher grade in an ala.<sup>28)</sup>

## Footnotes

1. Cheesman, Auxilia p.24.
2. cf. E. Birley, RBRA pp.128ff.
3. Pro Aulo Cluentio Habito, 5ff.
4. Dislokation p.11 and p.15.
5. AE 1939 (263) cf. LA 1 (1938) pp.309-311 and Taf. 1,2.
6. Acta Arch. Hung. 22 (1970) pp.133ff.
7. D. Gabler, Arch. Ert. 91 (1964) o.95.
8. Hist. 3,5. Two of the early inscriptions and Tacitus use the title ala (I) Auriana, but the Claudian inscription 03.2 gives the fuller version ala I Hispanorum Auriana. Tóth and Vékony conclude in general (p.158 op. cit.) that the north-eastern line of the Danube, in Pannonia, was not fully garrisoned until late Claudian times.
9. Suetonius, Claudius, 25 cf. H. Devijver "Suetone, Claude, 25, et les milices équestres", Ancient Society 1 (1970) pp.71-2. The absence of V(aleriae) V(ictricis) from the title of the Twentieth legion confirms a date before A.D.60 for this career.
10. Pflaum, Carrières p.1060 gives Sextilius Felix as procuratorial governor of Noricum on the grounds of the reference in Tacitus.
11. Hist. 4,70.
12. There is no evidence that the ala took part in any other action in the civil wars.
13. Andreas Graf, Über<sup>s</sup>icht der Antiken Geographie von Pannonien (Leipzig, 1936).
14. Even so Verecunda was far from her home west of the Upper Rhine; this in itself is insufficient to support a suggestion that her husband came from the Boii of Gaul.

15. op. cit.
16. Rekrutierung p.152, no.386.
17. W. Kohl and J. Trötsch, ORL B 7Nr. 72 p.26.
18. Beamten p. 124 and p. 168.
19. BVbl. 31 (1966) 90 Nr.1 (Gnotzheim).
20. ORL B 7 Nr.72 Tafel 13.
21. BVbl. 36 (1971) p.106.
22. Oc. 35,24.
23. Scribal error for nonae ?
24. Germania 39 (1961) p.107 fn.72.
25. BVbl. 33 (1968) p.99 and Beilage 1.
26. BVbl. 30 (1965) p.155.
27. JRS 59 (1969) p.177.
28. Candidates for cohortes previously in (or passing through) the Rhineland en route to Raetia would be the vexillation of cohors II Tungrorum milliaria from Britain, or cohors IX Batavorum milliaria equitata about which little is known before its arrival in Raetia.

04. Ala II Ulpia Auriana.

Cichorius believed<sup>1)</sup> that its presence in Cappadocia, and its name, showed this ala was probably raised by Trajan. If he was correct it may not truly have been a Spanish regiment, although its title and number imply some connection with the first (Spanish) ala of the series. It may be that it was formed in the reign of Trajan around a cadre from the existing ala I Auriana Hispanorum.<sup>2)</sup> In this case the likeliest occasion for its formation would be for the Dacian rather than the Parthian Wars since the parent regiment (q.v.) is known to have been in the Danubian area (either in Noricum or Raetia) in early Trajanic times. A transfer east for the Parthian Wars (perhaps accompanying legio XV Apollinaris, if that legion did arrive in Cappadocia under Trajan) would then account for its presence on the Euphrates.

There is an alternative, suggested by H.F. Pelham,<sup>3)</sup> that the ala bore the title Ulpia for serving under Trajan 'with distinction'.<sup>4)</sup> There is no evidence for the existence of the ala prior to the second century but the possibility cannot entirely be ruled out on that account. There are no diplomata of Cappadocia, for example, which, as a consular province from Flavian (if not from Neronian) times, had a standing army containing auxiliaries. The main source for the Cappadocian army remains Arrian's 'Expedition against the Alans',<sup>5)</sup> dated to A.D.135.<sup>6)</sup> Many of the regiments of the province are known only from a brief mention in this or in the Notitia dignitatum.

In Cappadocia the ala was stationed at Dascusa; this is known both from the Notitia (04.4) and an inscription from Penga (04.2). Penga was identified with Dascusa by the

editors of CIL III.<sup>7)</sup>

Dascusa had certainly existed in Flavian times since it is mentioned by the Elder Pliny<sup>8)</sup> as an important site on the right bank of the Euphrates, on the eastern border of Cappadocia. Pliny gives rather odd distances between the main sites along the upper course of the river but clearly states the river is navigable from Dascusa until the cataracts some 40 miles above Samosata in Commagene. It also lay on a road between Satala and Melitene, which a milestone shows being made up or repaired in the reign of Vespasian.<sup>9)</sup> Satala in Armenia minor was the station of a legion (XV Apollinaris, certainly by Hadrianic times) and Melitene had long held legio XII fulminata.<sup>10)</sup>

Whether or not our ala garrisoned Dascusa from the first, a strong regiment, preferably cavalry, would be an obvious choice for the Roman High Command.

Unfortunately 04.2 is not very informative but, on the style and abbreviations employed, should not be earlier than the late second century. The regiment was still in the same site by the time of the Notitia lists, and it seems reasonably safe to assume a long stay, at least from Trajanic times.<sup>11)</sup>

It was probably in the command area of legio XII fulminata. Ptolemy (V,3,7) lists 'Dagusa' in Cappadocia under 'Melitenes ad Euphratem fluvium'.<sup>12)</sup> By the early fifth century Orosius sites a 'civitas Dagusa' here; he does not mention a garrison.<sup>13)</sup>

In their account of the dedication 04.3, J. Starcky and C.M. Bennett<sup>14)</sup> assume that the ala may have been at Petra at some time. The editors of L'Année Épigraphique

for 1968 rightly point out that the stone is not territorially significant. It was erected by decurions of the ala for their commander, Marcus Ulpus Andromachus. His nomen indicates that his command was Trajanic at earliest, but probably later. His cognomen and filiation support an origin in the Greek east, Petra was chosen for the dedication, as his home town.

Only one further fact may be adduced with certainty about this ala, namely that at least some of its members (a turma) were present in the army of Arrianus, confrontation with which, Dio says, 'brought dread' to the Alans, so that war 'came to a stop'.<sup>15)</sup>

Elucidation of the problems concerning the precise origin of the ala must wait upon further evidence, but the military indications suggest there is a good chance it was raised earlier than Cichorius believed. If this was so, a likely time for the 'twinning' to have been effected would be under Vespasian. It would be good policy for him to have banded together remnants of the defeated Vitellian army, round a cadre of loyal supporters (which we have seen the first Auranian ala to have been) and despatched them to Cappadocia away from the scene of their recent discomfiture.

## Footnotes

1. PWRE 1, 1233.
2. Suggested by E. Birley in notes for an Epigraphy Seminar, Durham, 14/6/'66.
3. Essays on Roman History (Oxford, 1911) p.229.
4. cf. cohors I Cugernorum in Britain, E. Birley, RBRA p.24.
5. Ritterling identified the ala in his study of Arrian's account, Wiener Studien, 24, Bormann Festheft, 1902, pp.127-140.
6. Dio, 69, 15.
7. Mommsen, Hirschfeld and Domaszewski.
8. NH.5, 20, 84; and 6, 10, 27.
9. IIS 8904, of the first part of A.D. 76.
10. H.M.D. Parker, Legions p.148.
11. Trajan may have visited Dascusa, and if our ala was already stationed there could have taken it with him on his march into Armenia. D. Magie (Roman Rule in Asia Minor, Princeton, 1950, p.607) bases his account on that of Dio, and traces Trajan from Samosata, through Melitene, to Satala, and, if this is correct, he must have passed Dascusa en route. Magie also suggests Trajan increased his army "probably by the addition of troops quartered in Cappadocia". Our ala would thus have had opportunity to win battle honours from Trajan, if it was raised before his reign.
12. C. Müller, (ed.) Claudii Ptolemaei Geographia (Paris, 1883).
13. ed. Zangemeister (Vindobona, 1882) 1, 2, 23.
14. Annual of the Dept. of Antiquities of Jordan, 6-7 (1962) pp.57-59, Pl.10, 4.
15. op. cit.

05. Ala I Hispanorum Campagonum.

The first dated record of ala I Hispanorum Campagonum appears in the diploma for 144 of Dacia superior (05.1). If some of its equites qualified for discharge in 144 it should have been in being some 25 years earlier.<sup>1)</sup> Either:

- a) it was raised in Iulio-Claudian times (like so many other Spanish regiments) but has left no record of its early movements; or
- b) it was raised by Trajan (or perhaps Domitian) specifically for service in the Dacian Wars.

Against this latter theory is the lack of a title distinguishing it as a Flavian/Trajanic foundation.

It might be supposed that the ex-decurion of 05.4 (who probably served in the ala) could be used as evidence of a pre-Trajanic foundation, for if he owed his citizenship to a grant on discharge from Trajan, as his name suggests, his recruitment would go back into late Flavian times. This argument must be rejected. The name Ulpus may relate to his father's, rather than his own, service in the auxilia.<sup>2)</sup>

Further than this the name Ulpus is not uncommon at the end of the second century.<sup>3)</sup> The verdict must be that although the ala was raised probably before A.D.119 further evidence is needed to confirm its existence before that date.

Even the situation of the Spanish tribe for which it was named remains uncertain. Hübner<sup>4)</sup> suggested that the Campagones may have been an Asturian people, but because of the uncertainty of this ascription the ala has been placed within the general group of Tarraconensis.

The regiment remained in Dacia superior after 144, and the only site to have produced definite evidence of its stay is Veczel (or Micia) cf. 05.4, 05.5, 05.9-12, 05.14 and 05.15.

It is difficult to say whether the ala occupied any other fort. With the possible exception of 05.4 and 05.5 all the stones belong to the early third century or later. However, Cohors II Flavia Commagenorum is known to have garrisoned Micia from Hadrianic<sup>5)</sup> times to the reign of Philip the Arab.<sup>6)</sup>

Veczel is an interesting site. It lies south of the River Muros (Marisus Fl.) itself a tributary of the Theiss (Pathisus Fl.) which flows from the Danube north of Singidunum. It thus lies on an important waterway linking the rich mining areas of west and central Dacia with the Danubian trade route. Daicoviciu<sup>7)</sup> suggested the fort had a double function:

- 1) the defence of that part of the frontier of the province which ran near it to the west;
- 2) defence of the valley of the Marisus and the safeguarding of the mines of the area.

An additional measure of its importance lies in its position 45 Roman miles from Apulum<sup>8)</sup> on the road that ran through Germisara then crossed the river to run south of the Marisus towards the possible western boundary of Dacia at or near the Pathisus.<sup>9)</sup> From here, leaving the posting station of Partiscum, the road is thought to have gone on through barbarian territory (the land of the Sarmatian Iazyges) to link up with the Danube and the province of Pannonia inferior near Lugio. (cf. cohors II Asturum et Callaecorum No.59.)

Much of the traffic between the two provinces would use this route in preference to the longer road by the Danube, and the barbarians would be likely to acquiesce (in times of peace) in a link which would bring them profit.

According to the excavation report there were two main building periods in the fort. The first was that of an earthen fort 180x360 m. (6.48 ha.). This was replaced by a stone fort 208x388 m. (8.07 ha.).

Daicoviciu thought that the earth fort was too small to accommodate cohors II Flavia Commagenorum equitata together with ala I Hispanorum Campagonum. Using the evidence of the diploma for 157 (05.2) (the first diploma in which the ala was named at the time when he wrote<sup>10</sup>), he considered the ala came to Micia in the reign of Pius, and on these slender grounds put the replacement in stone in the same period.

The epigraphic evidence does not support this suggestion. None of the presumed building stones of cohors II Flavia Commagenorum dates to the reign of Pius. After the initial stone of Hadrian (CIL III 1371) rebuilding may be connected with either Marcus Aurelius (CIL III 1372 and 1373) or Severus (CIL III 1374, and CIL III 1377 = 05.10 of our ala). The excavation report is singularly lacking in datable material, and the internal structures were not investigated. Nevertheless 6.48 ha. is large for a quingenary cohors equitata, and it is possible that the fort was designed from the beginning to take extra troops. A consideration of one of its functions makes this feasible. In a mining district sections of regiments were normally outposted to supervise the extraction and transport of minerals.<sup>11</sup>) In this instance

greater care would be taken since, apart from the iron mines immediately south of Micia, the very rich gold mines round Brad and Verespatak lay to the north and north-east. Micia may have acted as a base camp for these troops as well as a fort for a holding garrison.

Ala I Hispanorum Campagonum may have been among the regiments posted out to the mines. The evidence tends to suggest that it did not become part of the permanent garrison of Veczel until Severan times.

On military grounds the enlargement of the fort and the provision of stone walls would fit in with Severan policy in strengthening Dacia (cf. ala I Hispanorum at Slăveni), and it would now be possible to fit in a quingenary ala and cohors II Flavia Commagenorum equitata, with room to spare for other detachments. CIL III 1343 (05.9), in which cohors I Vindellicorum, cohors I Alpinorum and a numerus Ti.... as well as cohors II Flavia Commagenorum appear, together with the ala sub cura its prefect Iulius Teretianus, supports this, and is probably to be dated to 198-209,<sup>12)</sup> cf. also 05.15.

On the other hand, it cannot be ruled out altogether that the replacement in stone took place under Marcus Aurelius. He would have had an interest in strengthening that area after the summer of 167, when the gold mines were attacked. 05.4 and 05.5 could conceivably lie in the period between Marcus and Severus. 05.5, an altar to Isis, erected by the ala under its prefect M. Plaut<sup>i</sup> Rufus, seems more late second than third century in style.

There has been some argument concerning the size of the ala. In the commentary in L'Année Épigraphique on 05.6,

it is stated that Quintus Petronius Novatus (from Tubusuctu in Africa) served first as prefect of a cohort of Gauls, then as tribune of legio XIII Gemina, prefect of ala I Hispanorum in Dacia (q.v.) and, as fourth militia, prefect of our ala. On the strength of this and 05.8 it is proposed that there was a milliary ala Campagonum. Unless two alae of that name are to be postulated (for which there is no support whatever) the implication must be that Caius Iulius Corinthianus from Theveste, in Africa (05.8), presided over the changeover of the quingenary to the milliary ala. E. Birley has given a better interpretation of 05.8. Apart from his first post, as prefect of cohors VII Gallorum in Syria, and his command of Dacian vexillations in the Parthian Wars, all Corinthianus' career took place in Dacia. His penultimate post, in command of our ala in Dacia superior, was followed by command of a milliary ala whose name was omitted "surely implying that at the time there was only one such ala in the province",<sup>13)</sup> i.e. I Batavorum milliaria. The probable dates of the three careers of the equestrians in 05.6, 05.7 and 05.8 have a bearing on the problem.<sup>14)</sup>

05.8 should be the earliest. H-G. Pflaum prefers to place the date of the dona militaria in that inscription, in the Parthian Wars of Lucius Verus rather than those of Severus. This would make the command of our ala fall into the 170's in all probability. This date is supported epigraphically by the details given of name filiation and origo.

05.7 (cf. 05.16 and 16a) should post-date this inscription. Lucius Valerius Valerianus served a normal

tres militiae: prefect of an unknown cohort in Pannonia (Cohors V Callaecorum et Lucensium is suggested in 05.16), tribune of cohors Hemesenorum milliaria in Pannonia, and prefect of our ala in Dacia. He then left the military arm and became procurator of Cyprus, but returned to the colours to fight for Severus in the march on Rome of 193, against Didius Iulianus. His command of ala I Hispanorum Campagonum would fall most naturally in the 180's, and on this reckoning ala Campagonum is shown to be quingenary after its supposed raising to milliary status.

The date for 05.6 is placed by the editors of L'Année Épigraphique between A.D.117 (since Hadrian created the procuratorial post held by Novatus after commanding our ala) and 217 (on the grounds that the use of a voting tribe is rare on an inscription after Caracalla). However, Novatus was procurator under a single Augustus, which restricts the possible choice of dates to 117-161, 169-176, or 180-198. The editors lean towards the latter date on the style of the lettering. They may be correct but from the photograph<sup>15)</sup> the lettering appears well spaced and there are no ligatures, so an earlier date is not improbable and it may also pre-date 05.7, and the same conclusion be drawn as in the former instance.

One further pointer emerges from a study of these three careers. Corinthianus (05.8) was undoubtedly a good soldier, his decorations and selection for the quarta militia prove this;<sup>16)</sup> Valerianus (05.7) appears to have been very competent as his commands on returning to the colours show; Novatus (05.6) held the command of our ala as his fourth post and was thus, at very least, an experienced soldier.

If these careers are correctly dated they reinforce the suggestion that ala I Hispanorum Campagonum was in the double stone fort with cohors II Flavia Commagenorum from the time of Aurelius. The commander of an ala in that situation would be senior to the prefect of a cohort, and the proved ability of these three men may be an indication of the special responsibility carried by them. This is only a straw in the wind; it would be useful if better knowledge was available of the building sequence at Micia through further excavation.

It seems definite that the ala did share the fort with the Commagenian cohort from the early third century until the reign of Philip(05.12). 05.13 shows that the ala was still in existence, and in Dacia, in the second half of the third century. M. Speidel dates this tombstone<sup>17)</sup> of Aurelius Vitalis, a Dacian equus singularis, who had served in our ala at one time, to circa A.D.250.

The altar to Silvanus (05.14) names Quintianus, a decurion, presumably of this ala.

Footnotes

1. Unless it was formed round a cadre of experienced men in the interim. There is nothing in the record to indicate this.
2. As a Roman citizen brought up with the auxilia prospects of quick promotion might lead to enlistment in an ala rather than in a legion. As decurion he would have better pay than as gregarius in the senior service.
3. cf. IIS 2209 in which the two heirs possess the nomen Ulpus, dated by M. Speidel (Equites Singulares p.100) 'nach 193?'.  
 4. PWRE 3,1433.  
 5. CIL III 1371 and 1372.  
 6. CIL III 1379.  
 7. Annarul Comisiani Monumentelor Istorice (1930-31) pp.1-44.  
 8. viz. milestone CIL III 7868.  
 9. Map L.34, Tabula Imperii Romani (Amsterdam 1968).  
 10. CIL XVI 90 was discovered in 1932.  
 11. cf. Hunt's Pridianum (BMP 2851); ala II Flavia Hispanorum, No.08.  
 12. Although the gold mines of Verespatak were deserted after the Marcomannic Wars, as O. Davies suggests (Roman Mines in Europe, Oxford 1935 p.201) the mines round Brad continued to be exploited (op. cit.) and others may have carried on.  
 13. Alae and cohortes milliariae p.58, No.2.  
 14. The editors of AE 1967 go so far as to consider, on the strength of the supposed 4th militia of Novatus

in 05.6, that the post of procurator per Asiam, Phrygiam, Lyciam et Galatiam must be regarded as centenarial because it is a rule that the fourth militia leads to a post of this standing. This contradicts Pflaum's findings in Carrières p.1074 where he specifically marks this post LX, and in discussions on the careers of C. Valerius Fuscus (p.740) and Q. Cosconius Fronto (p.707) speaks of them as sexagenarii, at this stage.

- The editors of AE 1967 are wrong in supposing that a second term as prefect of an ala necessarily means command of a military ala. cf. RBRA pp.148ff. where E. Birley specifically discusses the meaning of militia quarta; and compare, for example, 03.21 of ala I Hispanorum Auriana in Raetia, the cursus of
- \* an unknown man who served as commander of five regiments, the last two being quingenary alae.
15. Bulletin d'Archéologie Algérienne 1962(1), Fig.5, p.168.
  16. cf. E. Birley, op. cit. on the "extreme importance .... of the command of a military ala".
  17. Equites Singulares p.31, n.147 citing Durry (Les cohortes prétoriennes (Paris 1938)) for the creation of the post protector praefecti praetorii before Gallienus.

06. Ala I Hispanorum.

Lacking any tribal name or qualifying title ala I Hispanorum belonged to the category of troops drawn, as Cheesman thought, from the more romanised parts of Spain. It may have been built on a body of cavalry existing in Republican times, but its formation into a regular ala probably belongs to the Augustan reorganisation of the army.<sup>1)</sup>

In Julio-Claudian times it was stationed in the Rhineland. Probably for this reason E. Stein<sup>2)</sup> and W. Wagner<sup>3)</sup> followed Ritterling<sup>4)</sup> in suggesting two tombstones of cavalymen from Trier, thought to be of very early date, belonged to men of this ala. In a recent survey of the military dispositions of the Rhineland in Roman times, H. Schönberger<sup>5)</sup> questioned whether the stones "are in fact so early, and whether even so they are necessarily evidence for military occupation". A reappraisal seems necessary.

The argument for a fort site at Trier is based upon the fact that the roads from southern and western Gaul converged upon the crossing of the Mosel at this point, and then branched out to lead to military sites on the Rhine frontier. This road system was probably pioneered by Agrippa circa 19 B.C., and it has been suggested that such an important crossing would merit the provision of a military guard. Very little of a conclusive nature has come to light in the town of Trier to support an early military installation. Any evidence would need to be datable to the first part of the principate, since the town itself is considered to be an Augustan foundation. So far exploration of the nearby hills of the Petrisberg and Heiligkreuz has failed to

locate a fort.

The tombstones themselves are both fragmentary, and one (06.1 Fig. 1) is now lost. The reading of this, given in CIL by Hirschfeld and Zangemeister, differs from that reproduced by Espérandieu (which in itself is based upon a drawing by Wiltheim). Neither version mentions the name of the ala in which ...rianus(?) or Urbanus(?) served. The stone looks early as no abbreviations appear to have been used but the transcript is rather odd in format. If the drawing is to be believed, little of the right hand portion of the stone has been lost. It is the bottom of the inscription which has disappeared. Following the pattern of other early military inscriptions, the name of the ala in which the equus served should precede the statement of his years of service but in this case it is missing. Either a line of the inscription has been omitted or it has been misread. The latter possibility becomes more feasible when it is remembered that scholars of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries were reading inscriptions in the light of a relatively meagre knowledge of military formulae. A possible reading is:

URBANUS (unless this conceals name and filiation) ALA BAT\*/  
ANNORUM XXX /  
STIPENDIORU. VII .....

\*The first stroke of the M read by Hirschfeld and Zangemeister might well be the upright of an L, the last two strokes an A, and the intervening mark a chance graze on the stone. The Batavians are known to have contributed cavalry regiments to the Roman Army at an early date,<sup>6)</sup> their location at or near Trier need occasion no surprise

in the Tiberian era, considering the events of A.D. 21.

The second stone (06.2) has no relief attached but it has been attributed to the ala at an early date in the principate since the equus named is a Spaniard, and in the Augustan period his origins might tie in with those of the regiment in which he served.<sup>7)</sup> A restoration suggested by J.E. Bogaers<sup>8)</sup> is:

T(itus) Lucretius A[.....] / exs Hispania [Citeriore Clu]/niensis eque[s alae Hispan] /orum stipe[ndiorum] / XV h(ic) s(itus) [e(st)].

The stone belongs to the first century on epigraphic grounds<sup>9)</sup> but a great deal hinges upon how early in the principate it may be placed.

Kraft<sup>10)</sup> supposed Lucretius to be a Roman citizen. If this was so it would be most unlikely that he would be serving as an equus in the auxilia in the Augustan period. Service in a legion would bring greater rewards for a citizen unless he had enrolled with prospect of promotion to principalis. Clearly this was not the case with Lucretius, for he had not attained rank after 15 years service.

Against this, it may be argued, Alföldy has made a case for citizens in the auxilia possessing Imperial nomina (in the first century at least) if they were of Roman status<sup>11)</sup>. Otherwise, he suggested, they were likely to be cives Latini<sup>12)</sup>. Alföldy's arguments may be truer for the Rhineland than for Spain, where there was a much longer tradition of romanisation, but, in this instance, the status (or lack thereof) of Lucretius supports Latin rather than Roman citizenship. On this score Lucretius could qualify as an Augustan recruit.

However, there is nothing in the wording of the stone itself that places it unequivocally prior to A.D.14, and if Lucretius could possibly belong to the post-Augustan age his entry into the *auxilia* would fall into the period when members of the *ala* were being recruited locally (cf. 06.3 and 06.6, neither of which are appreciably later in style). All that remains of the name of the *ala* is the gentive plural ending "orum"; many other *alae* carry this precise termination, and would fit the space inferred. If a later date is envisaged the eques would have been recruited in his Spanish homeland into an *ala* stationed there. Two historically attested occasions would provide a background for the transfer of an *ala* from Spain to the Rhineland in the first century:

- a) when legio IV Macedonica was brought to the Rhineland from Spain circa A.D.39<sup>13)</sup>. Some auxilia, particularly cavalry, might be expected to be attached to the legion and accompany it;
- b) when Cerialis was engaged in quelling the revolt of Civilis, Tacitus describes an engagement that took place at Trier<sup>14)</sup>. Part of his army had been drawn from Spain<sup>15)</sup>. Ala II Gallorum is a possible candidate. CIL IX 3610 = ILS 2707 shows that this *ala* was in Spain early in the principate.<sup>16)</sup> It may have moved to the Rhineland prior to its final posting to Cappadocia. This would give an adequate explanation of the death and burial of Lucretius at Trier.

The case for the presence of ala I Hispanorum at Trier, in the Augustan period, must be regarded as not proven.

The Spanish *ala* is attested at Mainz and Worms in four tombstones (06.3-06.6). Gerster put 06.3 in A.D.30-35 and 06.5

circa A.D.40-43 on artistic grounds.<sup>17)</sup> Analysis of Gerster's dates, using military criteria, has shown that they are unreliable. Epigraphic indications, however, support a Julio-Claudian date for all four stones; as early in that period as possible on stylistic grounds. Two of the recruits (Rufus son of Coutusvatus, and Licinus son of Clossus) were Helvetii, which argues that the ala had been in the Rhineland area for upward of 26 years (cf. 06.6) and should place it there in Augustan times. Nevertheless the ala remained in this area well into the reign of Tiberius and perhaps as late as the first year of the reign of Claudius. This assertion is made for two reasons:

1. 06.6 was erected by the heir of Licinus, whose name, Tiberius Iulius Capito, suggests that he received the citizenship after A.D.14.
2. Sulpicius Massa (06.12) was a Tungrian who should therefore have been recruited to the ala while it lay in the German command area. He clearly owed his nomen to a grant of citizenship under Galba in 68/69, but he served 35 years. He comes into that category of soldiers who received the privilegia on the attainment of 25 (or a few more) years in the auxilia, but who continued to serve until granted discharge. His recruitment should fall some time between A.D.33 and 43, with the strongest probability circa A.D.40.

In view of all the other evidence it seems simplest to regard the ala as having been retained in the Rhineland until early Claudian times, although there is the possibility that Sulpicius Massa represents an eques transferred from

another regiment to our ala during service.

There is no need to suppose the ala to have had a permanent station at either Mainz or Worms, but it would have been under the supervision of the legate of either legio XIV Gemina or legio XVI in the double encampment at Mainz. It may be that Quintus Carminius Ingenuus (of 06.5), who "looks like a citizen transferred to the ala from a legion as signifer, i.e. N.C.O.",<sup>18)</sup> came from one of these two legions.

At latest the ala was transferred to the Danubian area early in the reign of Claudius.

In a recent study J.E. Bogaers<sup>19)</sup> shows that a fragmentary inscription published in 1924<sup>20)</sup> was matched with two other fragments found in 1954. The inscription, when complete, revealed an eques of our ala in Dalmatia at Ivoševci, near Kistanje in the territory of the legionary fortress at Burnum (06.7). The stone is undoubtedly Julio-Claudian and records a Batavian who served in the auxilia for eight years before his death. The reasonable assumption is that he was recruited into the ala during its last years in Germania.

The evaluation of this evidence is complicated by the fact that four more inscriptions of a Julio-Claudian format are known from Aquincum in Pannonia (06.8-06.11). All four refer to an ala Hispanorum, three add the number (I) that makes identification with our ala certain. E. Tóth and G. Vékony<sup>21)</sup> make the point that not a single case is known of an auxiliary regiment being transferred from Pannonia (or Moesia) to Dalmatia, but the opposite may frequently be demonstrated. They suggest that the sequence of movements

must have been: Germania - Dalmatia - Pannonia, all before the end of the Julio-Claudian era.

Other factors support this contention. Three of the stones from Aquincum were found in the cemetery attached to a possible auxiliary fort near Víziváros. This was given an early context by the presence of Tiberio-Claudian terra sigillata.<sup>22)</sup> The stones (two of which were of veterans) argue for a stay of some years, but if Imerix, the Batavian of the Dalmatian inscription, was only enrolled eight years previously in Germania, there would hardly be time for an intermediate stay in Pannonia.

Why was the ala transferred from Germania to Dalmatia? Tóth and Vékony would like to link it with the removal of legio VII Claudia from Dalmatia to Moesia. They follow Nesselhauf in connecting the move of the legion with the annexation of Thrace<sup>23)</sup> and dating it A.D.45. G. Alföldy accepted Nesselhauf's date<sup>24)</sup> and showed that cohors I Montanorum (and perhaps also cohors II Cyrrhestarum) probably accompanied the legion to Moesia. He assumed that the arrival of ala Claudia nova in the vicinity of Magnum was timed to compensate for these losses to the Dalmatian military establishment. Tóth and Vékony suggest that our ala was another of the reinforcements brought in to the area of the ex-legionary cantonment. They may be right but it would be preferable to place the move in a slightly earlier context, since some of the evidence from Aquincum must clearly be dated a few years previous to A.D.50, at latest.

Although the rebellion of Furius Camillus Scribonianus governor of Dalmatia was played down by ancient historians,<sup>25)</sup>

Claudius may have made some precautionary moves involving the auxilia, since the legions had proved somewhat wavering in their allegiance.<sup>26)</sup> The revolt occurred in A.D.42. If the ala was moved from the Rhineland to Dalmatia as a precaution during that year, Claudius may have decided to transfer it to Aquincum rather than return it to Germania once the danger was seen to be ended.<sup>27)</sup> One possibility is that the ala (together perhaps with ala I Hispanorum Auriana and ala II Asturum (Nos. 03 and 46) q.v.) came to Pannonia when the IXth legion was withdrawn for service in the conquest of Britain.

One of the Aquincum stones (06.8) records a veteran, Nertus, who was still peregrine after having served 36 years, even though he had reached the rank of sesquiplicarius. Alföldy<sup>28)</sup> has demonstrated that the general ruling on the legal position of auxiliaries, giving peregrine soldiers the citizenship after 25 years or longer, was made towards the end of the reign of Claudius. Nertus would have had to obtain his discharge within seven years of the move, before the Claudian ruling became operative. He was 'Lingaster' (of the tribe of the Lingones, who lived in the area of the military district of Upper Germany), and would have been a local recruit to the ala late in the reign of Augustus.<sup>29)</sup> Another veteran, Claudius Severus (06.8), perhaps benefited from the late Claudian arrangements, since his nomen implies he owed the citizenship to that emperor, or perhaps to Nero. His tombstone bears the signs of an early inscription (ablative ala, and the number following the name of the ala). No length of service is given although he lived 60 years, and originated from the Vangiones, a tribe that dwelt in the

vicinity of Mainz. The third stone (06.10) is fragmentary and less informative, but the soldier, Malogerus(?), also came from the Rhineland; he was Batavian.<sup>30)</sup> From Varas Major (Budapest) (06.11) comes the tombstone of Lucius who died after 22 years in ala Hisp. pr(ima) (it may have been misplaced from Vizivaros).

Before the end of the reign of Vespasian the ala may have been transferred from Pannonia to Moesia. The tombstone of a single veteran is not usually regarded as being of territorial significance in the assessment of movements of the auxilia. That of Sulpicius Massa from Guljanci, near Oescus in Moesia, may therefore have no direct bearing upon the date of the departure of the ala for Moesia. The only pointers that indicate he was buried not far from where the ala lay are:

- a) He was a Tungrian, and it might be expected that on retirement he would either go back to his homeland in Lower Germany or stay near his former comrades.
- b) The facts of the final posting of the ala suggest that it spent some time in Moesia inferior after leaving Pannonia, and events in A.D.70 make it certain that some auxilia were moved to the Moesian limes.

The Dacians had taken advantage of the withdrawal of Roman troops to attack auxiliary posts along the Danube in A.D.69. Fonteius Agrippa was appointed governor of Moesia and given reinforcements from the defeated army of Vitellius,<sup>31)</sup> but was himself killed, and Moesia devastated, during an invasion of the Sarmatians in the following year.<sup>32)</sup> Vespasian sent Rubrius Gallus to restore the situation and he stationed "garrisons in greater number and strength about the area so

as to render the passage of the river totally impossible".<sup>33)</sup>

Guljanci lies not far from Oescus, which itself was the station of legio V Macedonica. It would make good sense militarily for ala I Hispanorum to be patrolling the region of the limes after 70, and for Massa, who would have obtained his discharge some time between 68 and (at latest) 78, to have died and been buried there.<sup>34)</sup> Some additional substance is given to the suggestion that the ala lay in Moesia inferior in the late first century by an admittedly fragmentary tombstone interpreted as that of an ex-statore from Kutlovia (OG.13).

If ala I Hispanorum was within the command area of legio V Macedonica, it may have taken part in Domitian's Dacian Wars together with the legion.<sup>35)</sup> Fairly certainly it will have been involved, again with the legion, in Trajan's Dacian Wars,<sup>36)</sup> since its next known fort is Slăveni. Slăveni lies some 45 km. north of the Danube on a road running to the west of, and parallel to, the River Aluta (modern Olt). This road linked a number of fortifications which together formed the Limes Alutanus, the eastern boundary of the Roman territory, north of the Danube, newly acquired by Trajan. All the evidence leads to the conclusion that when the province of Dacia was created by Trajan in 106,<sup>37)</sup> certain areas north of the Danube were detached from the conquered territory and added to the Moesian commands. Hunt's Pridianum (BMP 2851) informs us that in 106, Buridava, which lies over 100 km. north of Slăveni, lay in Moesia inferior. By implication, the fort of Slăveni (and our ala, if it was there already) would be under the control of the governor of Moesia inferior in its early period. Admittedly

it is not certain that the ala was the first garrison of this fort. There are tile stamps of other auxiliary regiments as well as those of our ala (06.19a and b) and of three legions.<sup>38)</sup> On the other hand, it was almost certainly at Slăveni in the reign of Marcus Aurelius, and the size of the fort (3.2 ha.) suggests that it was built for a quingenary cavalry regiment.<sup>39)</sup> The first phase of construction has been dated to the Trajano-Hadrianic period through a recent series of excavations.<sup>40)</sup>

The troubles occurring in Dacia soon after Hadrian's accession were soon settled by Turbo, and in 119 the division of Dacia into Superior and Inferior was effected.<sup>41)</sup> These two provinces now had appended to them the terrain north of the Danube formerly under the control of the two Moesias. If it lay at Slăveni, the ala I Hispanorum (along with a number of other regiments) would now lie in another province but no change of station need be inferred. The first known diploma of Dacia inferior lists our ala as its sole cavalry regiment in A.D.129 (06.14).<sup>42)</sup> A later diploma (06.15) also includes the ala, with two others, in A.D.140. In discussing this diploma Boris Gerov has shown that of a total of 13 regiments named, 10 had certainly (he includes our ala among these) and one had probably been sited previously in Moesia inferior.<sup>43)</sup> This affords some verification of the suggested sequence of movements for the ala since the beginning of the Flavian era, although confirmation through excavation and further inscriptions is obviously desirable.

Some indication of the importance of the ala in the defence of eastern Dacia is given by the cursus of Sextus Iulius Possessor (06.22). The posts held are not apparently

listed in chronological order. H-G. Pflaum records a suggestion of E. Birley that the adlectio in V decurias should precede the military career. H. Nesselhauf disagrees<sup>44)</sup> on this point. Nesselhauf does not give examples and the question may only be settled by a list of comparative instances, outside the scope of this discussion. Either way the military career lies before 167, when, Pflaum considers, Possessor was adjuvator Ulpii Saturnini praefecti annonae, aiding him in the collection of oil and grain from Africa and Spain after the Parthian War, "où l'on tenait à bien nourrir le peuple de Rome".<sup>45)</sup>

His first military post was held as prefect of cohors III Gallorum (thought to have been stationed at Pons Aluti in this period) and praepositus both of the numerus Syrorum and our ala. He was also curator of the town of Romula. Nesselhauf has cleared up a confusion in the text by reading lines 4/5 as curatori civitatis Romulensium Malvensium. The title Malvensis being used in the inscription to certify that the Dacian rather than Spanish town, Romula, was meant. The conjunction of these four posts might well fit into a period when equestrian officers with fighting potential were being creamed off to serve under Verus in the East. Possessor, although obviously an able man, had talents in the administrative field, as his later posts reveal, and was capable of performing the dual task of watching over the affairs of the town and guarding the limes with the regiments under his command. In his militia secunda, held in Cappadocia as tribune in legio XII fulminata, perhaps toward the end of the Parthian Wars, he again acted as curator of a town.

His origin from Mactaris, in Africa, is attested in an

unpublished inscription from that town.<sup>46)</sup>

The history of the Danubian provinces is again illustrated by the activities of ala I Hispanorum in the third century. The pressures exerted by the Goths in the north had begun to be transmitted to the frontiers of Dacia and the Danube by the reign of Septimius Severus. The Roman reaction was to create a second line of fortifications east of the limes Alutanus, the limes Transalutanus. This assured defence in depth and protection to the Olt valley. At this time the fort at Slăveni was rebuilt (A.D.205) on a slightly larger scale, at 3.4 ha., and with considerably stronger walls. The first fort had a single ditch and bank with walls of brick. The Severan construction had three fossae with corresponding aggeres. The walls were of stone with tile courses. There were towers at the corners and at the four gates. An inscription (06.16) to Severus and Caracalla, as joint emperors in A.D.205, shows that the ala was responsible for the rebuilding. This building stone was found in the area of a large praetorium (43.2x37.4 m.). Another inscription of the same year is too fragmentary to decipher the name of the dedicators (06.16a) but should belong to this ala. A temple of Mithras was found nearby in 1836, but is now destroyed. Possibly appertaining to it is a dedication to Ara Solis (06.18) made by the principales of the unit. In this D. Tudor has read two letters after the name of the ala as p.f., perhaps indicating decoration for bravery in this period (the Mithraeum could be earlier in foundation but is likely to have reached its apogee in the early third century). The restoration is far from certain as the stone is now lost, and there is no other mention of this title in later

inscriptions.

The persistence of the ala as garrison of this fort in the first part of the third century is recorded in an inscription in which it has the loyal title Antoniniana (from Caracalla or perhaps Elagabalus) (06.17). The last record at Slăveni is an unpublished altar dedicated in 248 to Philip the Arab (06.20a). Shortly after this the fort was destroyed by fire. In 245 the Limes Transalutanus had been destroyed by the Carpi. Philip was successful in restoring the peace, but the limes was not rebuilt and when the Goths invaded, in turn, in 248, the Olt and large areas of Moesia inferior to the rear were devastated. Whether the ala perished in this debacle or was transferred to fight elsewhere is unknown; it may well have been defeated. A policy of deliberate burning and abandonment of the fort is possible but, in view of its strategic importance, unlikely. Another inscription from Slăveni must belong to the ala (06.20), and has been made the subject of a special study by D. Tudor.<sup>47)</sup> The inscription was found in the armamentorium attached to the praetorium of the third century fort.<sup>48)</sup> Both structures were destroyed in the final fire and the stone became friable on this account. The drawing (Fig.2) represents the totality of what was visible when the inscription, with accompanying relief, was discovered. Tudor interprets the relief as a scene of sacrifice or offering made to a deity favoured by Thracian cavalrymen,<sup>49)</sup> the so-called "Heros cavalier". It was dedicated by a collegium duplariorum, and executed by a local craftsman in Tudor's opinion.

The exceptional interest of the inscription lies in the

existence of such a collegium (Tudor claims it as the sole example of its kind), which ties in with the developments of the military system attributable to Septimius Severus and his successors.<sup>50)</sup> Tudor points out that there must have been enough duplicarii in the ala to make the formation of a collegium feasible<sup>51)</sup> and suggests that the promotion of numerous cavalymen to this status<sup>52)</sup> reflects the successful battles undertaken by them in defence of the limes. It is also possible to see this as part of a general military pattern resulting from:

- a) the increasing importance of mobile troops, probably from the time of the Marcomannic Wars onwards;<sup>53)</sup>
- b) a combination of the results of the Constitutio Antoniniana and the Severan (and post Severan) army reforms, which led to a diminution of the differences between the auxilia and the legionary arm.

The existence of large numbers of duplicarii bears witness to this since (if G.R. Watson's work on pay scales is followed) they would have a superior financial status to legionary gregarii.

Ala I Hispanorum thus provides a complete account of the changes in status and function of auxiliary cavalry in its own history up to the middle of the third century.

The remaining epigraphic evidence of the ala adds to the list of known commanders. 06.21 and 06.25 refer to prefects who each commanded the ala as a single militia, and may be placed before the reign of Hadrian on that account.<sup>54)</sup> Lucius Dudistius Novanus (06.21) originated from Aquae Sextiae, Quintus Vibius .... from Luca in Northern Italy (06.25). Sextus Caecilius Senecio, from Mantua in Italy, commanded the

ala between 69 and 117;<sup>55)</sup> Quintus Petronius Novatus, of Tubusuctu in Mauretanian Caesariensis (06.23), has already been shown to have pursued his military career in the second half of the second century (cf. ala I Hispanorum Campagonum, No.05). Lucius Rubrius Maximus, an Italian, was prefect in the reign of Commodus (06.26).

## Footnotes.

1. cf. Chapter I, The formation of professional auxilia.
2. Beamten pp.140-141, fn.140 and fn. 141.
3. Dislokation p.43.
4. BJ 114, p.172.
5. JRS 59 (1969) p. 147.
6. M.Hassall, 'Batavians and the Roman Conquest of Britain ',  
Britannia 1 pp.131ff.
7. See Chapter I, Recruitment.
8. 'Ein Bataaf in Dalmatia', Numaga 13, pp.161ff.
9. Use of nominative, stipendiorum in full, and formula  
h.s.e.
10. Rekrutierung p.150 No.341.
11. Latomus 25 (1966) p.45.
12. cf. Hilfstruppen, tables pp. 106-107.
13. Stein, Beamten p.94.
14. Hist. 4,72.
15. Hist. 4,69. Legio VI Victrix and legio I Adulatrix were  
summoned from Spain to assist Cerialis. Although Hist.  
5,14 implies that legio VI Victrix did not arrive until  
after the battle at Trier, the specific mention of the  
last legionary reinforcement from Spain, legio X Gemina  
(5,19), leaves us with the impression that legio I Adulatrix  
had been with Cerialis at Trier.
16. cf. Dobson, Praefectus fabrum, Table III, p.73.
17. Mittelrheinische Bildhauerwerkstätten im 1 Jahrhundert  
n. Chr. (Bonn,1938)
18. Suggested by E. Birley in a letter 28/10/'72.
19. op. cit.

20. W. Kubitschek, Strena Buliciana, Zagreb-Split (1924) p.216, No.7.
21. 'Pannoniens Geschichte im Zeitalter des Vespasianus', Acta. Arch. Hung. 22 (1970) pp.140ff.
22. D. Gabler, 'Verkehr der importierten 'terra sigillata' in Pannonien', Arch. Ert. 91 (1964) p.95, Figs. 2, 3 and 4.
23. LA 2, p.42.
24. 'Die Auxiliärtruppen der Provinz Dalmatien', Acta. Arch. Hung. 14 (1962) pp.259ff.
25. Suetonius, Claudius, 13,2, says "intra quintum diem oppressus est", and Dio's account is scarcely more terrifying (60,15).
26. cf. Suetonius, Otho, 1.
27. A move at this date would also suit the recruitment of Sulpicius Massa.
28. Historia op. cit. p.226.
29. Like CIL III 14349, 8 (Aquincum) cf. ala II Asturum (No.46) fn.2, there is an accompanying relief showing an attendant standing between two horses holding their bridles, emphasising his rank as sesquiplicarius.
30. Another fragmentary stone from Aquincum, CIL 15163, has been attributed to this ala. It refers to Ti(berius) Claudius A.... who is thought to be Tungrian (in the inscription [Tun]ger). He was an eques as the accompanying relief confirms. Ala II Asturum (No.46) and ala I Hispanorum Auriana (No.03) q.v. may have been in the vicinity of Aquincum in the Julio-Claudian period however, and possibly they had both been previously stationed in the Rhineland.

31. Tacitus, Histories 3,46.
32. Josephus, Jewish War 7,89-95.
33. Josephus, op. cit.
34. See ala II Aravacorum (No.02) for doubts concerning the garrison of the site of Guljanci-Gauren.
35. ILS 2666b.
36. ILS 1035.
37. CIL XVI 160 of 11th August 106 implies that the war was over by this summer and the organisation of the province begun.
38. Legio XI Claudia, legio V Macedonica and legio XIII Gemina. Tiles do not necessarily indicate that all these military formations were at Slăveni. After the Dacian Wars existing stockpiles of building materials were probably distributed to facilitate speedy erection of the military stations.
39. D. Tudor, Studii și cercetări de Istorie Vech. 2t. 16 (1965) pp.360-2, No.9, suggested that the ala might be milliary on the basis of the fort size, originally 3.2, later 3.4 ha. This is not over-large for a quin-genary ala, particularly if there were occasional detachments from other units as the tiles may imply.
40. D. Tudor 1962-1969, not fully published. Summary in Oltenia Romană<sup>3</sup> (Bucarest, 1968).
41. CIL XVI 68 and Athenaeum 36 (1958) 9, diplomata of June 29, 120 attest the existence of Dacia superior at that date and, by implication, Dacia inferior.
42. Although this does not necessarily mean it was the only cavalry regiment in the province at that time.
43. Klio 37 (1959) pp.196-210.

44. "Sextus Iulius Possessor", Madriider Mitteilungen 5 (1964) p.184, n.5.
45. Carrières p.505.
46. G-Ch. Picard, Revue Archéologique 1963, Tome 2, p.90.
47. Latomus 22 (1963) pp.240ff.
48. The praetorium is dated by CIL III 13801, cf. 06.16a.
49. The ala would be likely to possess a number of Thracian cavalrymen by this period.
50. cf. E. Birley, 'Septimius Severus and the Roman Army', Ep. St. 8 (Dusseldorf 1969) pp.63ff.
51. His estimate of at least 50-100, while not improbable in this period, need not be essential for a collegium.
52. He thinks that the pay of a duplicarius would now approach that of a gregarius in a legion. However G.R. Watson (The Roman Soldier (London, 1969) p.101) considers that the duplicarius alae received 400 denarii per annum as opposed to the 300 denarii of the legionary soldiers for the period from Domitian to Severus. It was a promotion for a legionary soldier to become duplicarius alae (ILS 305). Though there was a change in pay in the Severan period the differentials need not have altered.
53. E. Birley, op. cit. p.67.
54. For detailed arguments regarding the date of the latter career see Pflaum, cited as footnote to inscription.
55. Brian Dobson, Praefectus fabrum p.75, n.52.



Fig.1.  
CIL XIII 3686  
after Espérandieu.

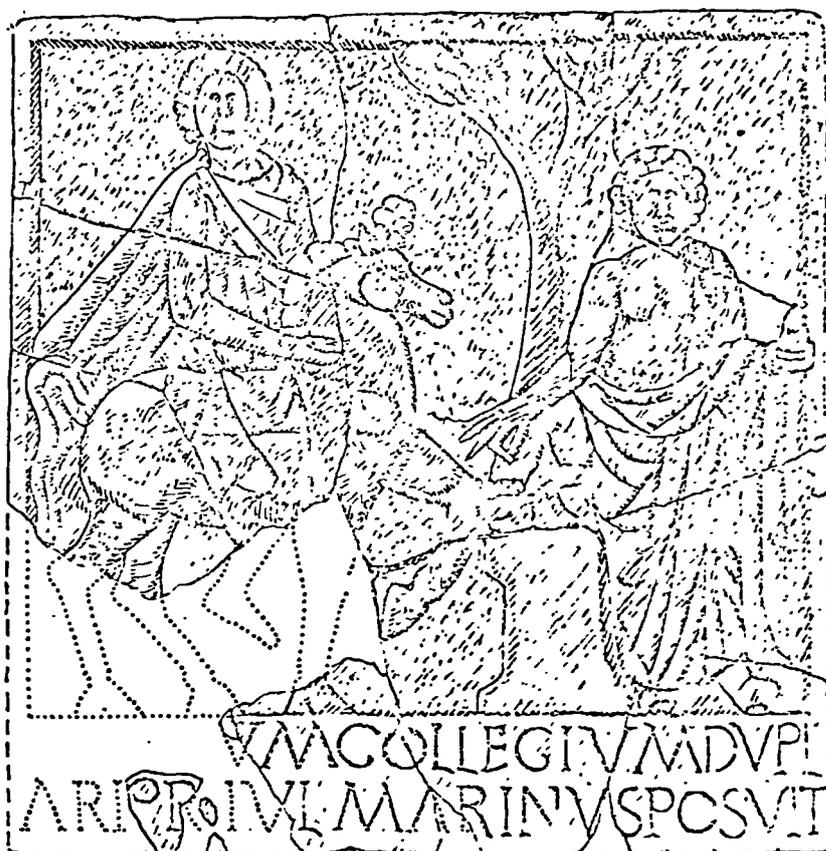


Fig.2.  
Latomus XXII (1963)(240ff. Fig.2)

07. Ala II Hispanorum.

The only second cavalry regiment of Spaniards for which evidence exists at an early date is ala II Flavia Hispanorum civium Romanorum of Spain. It is certain that this ala remained in Spain until the end of the second century, and while the barbarian incursions of the third century and Diocletian's subsequent military reforms may have radically affected the garrison in Spain, there is no cogent reason for connecting it with the ala attested in Egypt by the Notitia dignitatum.

Some rather inconclusive evidence may be adduced for a cohors II Hispanorum equitata in Egypt (No.29) q.v. Two of the inscriptions are very fragmentary, and one of them is thought by Lesquier<sup>1)</sup> to belong to the first cohort of the series, but a third<sup>2)</sup> refers to an Ulpus Asclepiades as prefect of σπείρης δευτέρας Ἰ[στ]α[ν]ῶν acting as delegate for the prefect of Egypt in A.D.134. It is just possible that this cohort garrisoned a site (as yet unlocated) in Egypt and persisted into the late third to fourth centuries, when the needs of the military situation resulted in the conversion of existing infantry and part mounted regiments into alae.

## Footnotes

1. L'Armee romaine d'Egypte d'Auguste a Diocletien  
(Cairo 1918).
2. Mitteis Wilcken 2,2, p.420. Col.3 (P. Cattaoui, 2).

08. Ala II Flavia Hispanorum civium Romanorum.

As far as the evidence goes there was no ala I Flavia Hispanorum (c.R.?)<sup>1)</sup> nor is there an ala II Hispanorum in early records.<sup>2)</sup> In a study made of the ala, Marcello Vigil considered that it was raised during the Flavian period.<sup>3)</sup> He tied in the status of the regiment, reflected by civium Romanorum in the title, with Vespasian's grant of ius Latii to the majority of the townsfolk of Spain in A.D.75. In support of Vigil's contention it must be admitted there is no pre-Flavian evidence for the ala either in Spain or elsewhere. It cannot entirely be ruled out, however, that the ala existed before Flavian times and acquired its additional titles fighting for example in Mauretania, perhaps under Domitian, for he certainly had troubles in that province, and Spain would be a likely source for reinforcements. Alternatively it may represent an existing regiment honoured with the titles Flavia and c.R. because it was stationed in Spain in A.D.75. Either of these conjectures has the merit of greater economy, for if Vigil is correct we must consider the probability of the existence of an unattested ala I Flavia Hispanorum.

Whatever the reality of its origin the ala became part of the permanent garrison in Spain, and lay near the legion at León (legio VII Gemina after the first few years of the reign of Vespasian). Both Vigil and García y Bellido<sup>4)</sup> give Rosinos de Vidriales as its base on the strength of 08.12. This site lies 30 km. west of Benavente, and 40 km. south of Astorga on the Roman road running from Asturica to Bracara, and was identified as a fort by Gomez-Moreno and Schulten<sup>5)</sup> (who produced a plan), and most

recently by Garcia y Bellido.<sup>6)</sup> The fort was approximately rectangular and measured 240x180 m. (just under 4.5 ha.). Schulten thought that legio VI lay here, Gomez-Moreno legio X. As Garcia y Bellido points out, however, it was hardly large enough to accommodate more than a vexillation of a legion, and it is possible that the Claudian inscriptions of legio X from the site indicate just that. This is certainly the view supported by Sir Ronald Syme.<sup>7)</sup> Presumably after the Flavian reorganisation when, following Nero's precedent, only one legion was thought to be necessary for Spain, the site (ancient Petavonium of It. Ant. 423,3) was held by the ala.

Another reason for the importance of the fort is underlined by Claude Domergue.<sup>8)</sup> It is only 30 km. south-east of the gold mining area round the River Duerna; doubtless the presence of troops along an important road leading south from the mines was something of a safety precaution.<sup>9)</sup>

Inscription 08.3, which Hübner considered belonged to the late first or early second century on grounds of style, is a dedication to Mars Pater by a prefect of the ala. Unfortunately, the precise find spot is unknown, but the details of name, filiation, tribe and domus given are paralleled in the inscription from Rosinos de Vidriales (08.12), so that the two should not be vastly separated in time, and perhaps in space. The tombstone from Asturica (08.4), although more fragmentary, should also be Trajanic at latest. The domus of both the dead man, Domitius .... and his fellow eques C. Cornelius Serenus is given, and the use of aera instead of stipendia for the term of service has an early look. If the stone has not been misplaced,

the reason for burial (unless it is a cenotaphium ?) near Asturica instead of outside the fort is unknown, but Asturica is not too far distant from the presumed station. Tabalaca remains unidentified. A Spanish ala, which remained in Spain for most of its known history, would be expected to draw most, if not all, of its recruits from one of the Spanish provinces. The two recruits from this municipium should be expected to have come from Tarraconensis. For this reason the suggestion of Gomez-Moreno that Tabalaca is a copyist's error for Gabalaica, which Ptolemy sited in the territory of the Vardulli, seems most reasonable, although there are several other Spanish 'towns' which may be candidates,<sup>10)</sup> and it is just possible that they came from Tabalati or Tabalti in North Africa.<sup>11)</sup> 08.5, of the eques, L. Campilius Paternus, adds little to the picture, save that it reinforces the placing of the ala under the aegis of the legion at León, its find spot.

From, or very near, the fort site at Rosinos de Vidriales comes 08.10, which belongs to 197 (just before Caracalla had received the title Imperator). This would support a claim that the ala probably remained in situ throughout the second century (with one possible excursus, which will be discussed). It is tempting to see the statue erected to Severus by the regiment as a mark of loyalty, hastily exhibited after the defeat of Albinus. Since the fort site has been identified, it is to be hoped that excavation may some day be undertaken to verify or disprove the facts of its long occupation.

There is reason to believe that the ala partook in the providing of technical aid, as well as surveillance, for the gold mines during the second century. 08.8 and 08.9 of 184

and 191 respectively were erected to celebrate military "feast days".<sup>12)</sup> Both come from Villalis, which lies south of the Duerna in the gold mining district, some 25 km. north of Rosinos de Vidriales. In one instance a praepositus<sup>13)</sup> of the ala is associated with a libertus procuratoris metallorum in charge of a vexillation of legio VII Gemina, and in the second a decurion, together with a similar official, supervises milites of cohors I Gallica. This need not mean, as Domergue appears to think, that the ala (or even a turma) was at Villalis (the stones are re-used material built into a church and their exact provenance is unknown), although it may have provided sections for other parts of the mining area. It was, however, involved through its officers in the application of exact and delicate techniques demanded by the construction of the hydraulic works employed in the arrugia, if Domergue's convincing argument is followed. This casts an interesting sidelight on the reasons for the retention of troops in an area which might have been considered well pacified by the second century.<sup>14)</sup>

There is also the probability that the ala took part in an expedition to Mauretania during the second century. Evidence for this is to be found in the tombstone of Valerius Lascivus from Cherchel (08.6).<sup>15)</sup> His names are in the nominative, the formula h.s.e. is employed, and the ala lacks the title civium Romanorum. This could be used to argue a first century provenance<sup>16)</sup> if there were not other contradictory signs. The use of D.M.S. to open a funerary inscription is a second century practice, at least on the northern frontiers of the empire. M(ilitavit) rather

than stip(endiorum), and v(ixit) a(nnos) for ann(orum), together with the abbreviation of the nomen of the deceased eques, also argue for a much later period. The omission of c(ivium) R(omanorum) from the title of the ala need not be of significance, as titles are not invariably given in full in this type of inscription.

The occasion for a temporary transfer to Mauretania may have been during the revolt that occurred there during the reign of Pius. A number of legionary vexillations were sent from different provinces to help in quelling the Moors, among them there is some reason to place one from legio VII Gemina.<sup>17)</sup> It would be feasible for the ala to be part of the expeditionary force, as there is evidence suggesting that the legionaries were accompanied by cavalry rather than auxiliary infantry.<sup>18)</sup> A later possibility (which might even tie in better with the epigraphic indications of the tombstone) is that it was involved with the emergency under Marcus Aurelius.

We have the names of four commanders of the ala. 08.1 and 08.2 record Lucius Vibius Lentulus as prefect, late in the reign of Domitian.<sup>19)</sup> H-G. Pflaum attributes this command to ala II Flavia of Germania superior, quoting Stein as his authority.<sup>20)</sup> In fact, Stein<sup>21)</sup> specifically mentions the inscriptions from Ephesus as appertaining to the Spanish ala, on the grounds that ala II Flavia of Germany did not carry the title c.R. in any known inscription. The geographical connection between the ala and legio VII Gemina makes an ascription to the Spanish regiment much more feasible, particularly as these are Lentulus's only two specified military posts.

Inscription 08.3 gives us Tiberius Iunius Quadratus from Rome; 08.11, the dedication to Jupiter Depulsor, reveals an African origin for its dedicator in several ways. Segermes must have been his home town, for he was flamen perpetuus there, and his wife and daughter are associated with him in the dedication. Marcus Fabius Mettianus must be placed in a post-Trajanic context, since he had been tribune in legio XXX Ulpia Victrix, but the style of the inscription suggests not later than the third quarter of the second century.

Marcus Sellius Honoratus (08.12) is another African (domo Choba) of Mauretania Caesariensis in command of the ala,<sup>22)</sup> seen constructing a temple to Hercules (poetically identified as Alcides) at the fort site at Rosinos de Vidriales.

The total picture emerging of this regiment is rather different from any encountered hitherto. This is an ala raised in Spain for service within that province. If Vigil is correct it was formed in Flavian times. Although its service in Africa indicates that it was trained in the normal way for fighting purposes, its main functions appear to be connected with the maintenance of security and possible provision of technical aid in the gold mining areas of North West Tarraconensis. We have no record of what happened to the regiment in the third century.<sup>23)</sup>

## Footnotes

1. Unless the inscription recording an ala I Gigurrorum (No.48) (q.v.) should be read ala I c.R. ?
2. The ala of that title, placed by Notitia dignitatum Or. 31,43 at Poisarietemidos in Egypt, may be a later addition to the army or a converted cohort (No.07).
3. Arch. Esp. Arg. 34 (1961) pp.104ff.
4. Ibid. pp.136/138.
5. Arch. Anzeiger, Jahrbuch des Kaiserlich Deutschen Archäologischen Instituts 42 (1927) col. 202.
6. Op. cit. p.137.
7. "The Conquest of North-West Spain", Legio VII Gemina (León) 1970 p.105.
8. "Introduction à l'étude des mines d'or du Nord-Ouest de la Péninsule Ibérique dans l'antiquité", Legio VII Gemina (León) 1970 pp.273ff.
9. Using the analogy of the Dacian gold mines, Domergue doubts that there were many damnati ad metalla, or slaves, employed as miners in this area, so that the army need not act so much as warders or overseers, rather as police protecting against brigandage.
10. Marcello Vigil op. cit. p.108 gives a list of all possible candidates. There seems to be no reason to support Tabala in Asia as one possibility.
11. It is unfortunate that the name cannot be identified with certainty. If, for example, it was the African Tabalti, it might support the idea of the presence of the ala in North Africa in Domitianic times.
12. The "birthdays" of the eagle of legio VII Gemina and that of the boar insignia of cohors I Gallica (eq. c.R.).

13. Dessau read line 9 of 08.8 as Semproniani p[raef(ecti)] although he remarked that this might be the same Sempronianus who nine years earlier had been beneficiarius procuratoris Augusti (ILS 9130). The reading praep(ositus) would better fit his position in the past and correspond with the rank of other officers mentioned in similar inscriptions from Villalis (ILS 9127-9131). As E. Birley pointed out in a letter (28/6/'72) a senior decurion, who was probably an ex-legionary, promoted to praepositus would certainly have the required rank to command a legionary vexillation.
14. cf. cohors I Celtiberorum (No.13).
15. The inscription from Segermes, also cited as evidence for a stay in Africa by Vigil, is not territorially significant. The inscription was set up in his home town by a man who had served his militia tertia as prefect of our ala.
16. See Chapter I, Working hypotheses.
17. CIL VIII 20365 (Setif).
18. See, for example, diploma CIL XVI 99, where five alae from the two Pannonian provinces are described as having taken part in the expedition to Mauretania Caesariensis.
19. Car. 66 pp.156/8 and Legio VII Gemina (León, 1970) pp.359ff.
20. Stein, Beamten p.135.
21. Op. cit. p.137.
22. Vigil suggests that the formation of a cognomen from a passive participle is a feature of North African nomenclature. Op. cit. p.106.

23. 08.7 which has not been discussed was found near Bracara. It adds little to our knowledge of the ala, and in fact Vigil places it in an appendix as not attributable with certainty to the unit.

09. Ala Sulpicia civium Romanorum.

There are three possibilities to be considered concerning the origins of this ala:

1. It was named after its commander at some time in the early Julio-Claudian period, like a number of other alae (many of which may be shown to be Gallic).

2. It was named in honour of Sulpicius Galba and raised perhaps in early Claudian times, after his defeat of the Chatti.<sup>1)</sup>

3. It was raised by Galba himself, in Spain in A.D.68.

1. In support of this hypothesis it must be said that but for the strong historical connections with the nomen Sulpicius it would be the obvious and simple solution, tying in with all the other alae whose titles denote the adjectival form of the name of a previous commander. Against it is the lack of epigraphic evidence for the existence of the ala in pre-Flavian times, but the degree to which alae are documented in the early principate varies greatly, so no firm conclusion may be reached on this basis.

2. This may be regarded as a somewhat 'odd' suggestion; naming an ala after a man of senatorial rank is (as far as I know) unparalleled. However, Galba was reputed to have been favoured by Claudius, cf. the gossip about the postponement of the British invasion on account of his indisposition<sup>2)</sup> and Claudius was original (not to say unorthodox) in many of his actions. In addition the raising and naming of the ala in the Rhineland would offer a reasonable explanation for its presence there in the Flavian period, and account in

the simplest fashion for the fact that some of its members had qualified for the privilegia by A.D.78.

3. Geza Alföldy<sup>3)</sup> follows Stein<sup>4)</sup> and Cichorius<sup>5)</sup> in attributing the raising of the ala to Galba when, as Suetonius tells us: "e plebe quidem provinciae legiones et auxilia conscripsit super exercitum veterem legionis unius duarumque alarum et cohortium trium".<sup>6)</sup> If raised in A.D.68 how did the ala come to be named in the diploma for A.D.78 (09.1) ? There are several possible explanations: The precise meaning of the diplomata lists might be queried. Were they lists of all the regiments in a province (or all those in one legionary command<sup>7)</sup>) which were issued in blanket form regardless of whether individual regiments had men who might benefit from the issue ? Or did they list only those regiments which had sent in formal requests for diplomas through their commanders ?

As far as may be judged from the epigraphic evidence the former was not the case. In other words, diplomata - even when ostensibly listing all the auxilia in the legionary commands of a province - do not inevitably contain all possible regiments. Usually they do so, because statistically the probabilities of even one or two men in a regiment of 500 soldiers qualifying for a diploma in any given year are high, but, conversely, inclusion of a regiment in a list should mean that it had men ready for the privilegia. In this case we may promote the possibility that the ala Sulpicia had been formed round a cadre of experienced men (a common practice with new regiments for purposes of training and discipline) and some of these were ready for the privilegia some ten

years later. Alternatively we may note that two of the inscriptions from Germania (09.3 and 09.4) refer to Thracians who died in service in the last twenty years of the first century. Vespasian appears to have been responsible for reinforcing regiments in the Rhineland with recruits from Thrace in particular, after the disastrous years 69/71.<sup>8)</sup> If some of these were transfers rather than tirones a few may have been ready for the privilegia within seven years. (The diploma was one of the series issued to soldiers still in service.) Either of these explanations would enable us to consider it possible for the ala to have been raised by Galba, and thus qualify as a Spanish regiment. The lack of pre-Flavian inscriptions lends credence to this hypothesis, but the absence of any positive evidence for Spanish recruits in its presumed early years makes certainty impossible. The retention of the name Sulpicia for the ala need present no difficulty, since, Tacitus tells us,<sup>9)</sup> Antonius Primus took the step of restoring the portraits of Galba to honourable positions in order to bring credit to the Flavian cause. Its presence in Germany may be explained if it accompanied legio VI Victrix from Spain, in A.D.70, to fight against Civilis. Although an outline of the history of the ala has been subsumed, this does not imply that the Alföldy/Stein/Cichorius hypothesis is the most probable. At present there is no incontrovertible reason for regarding it as of Spanish origin.

The ala was attached to the command area of Lower Germany, as the diploma (09.1) reveals, under Q. Rutilius Gallicus. Alföldy<sup>10)</sup> has built a case, based upon the career of Pompeius Faventinus (09.2), for supposing the ala

to have taken part in Vespasian's campaign against the Bructeri in 77/78 under that legate. His reading of the inscription corrects that made by Hübner (CIL II 2637), and reveals Faventinus to have been successively prefect of cohors VI Asturum (during the struggle against the Batavians in A.D.70), tribune of legio VI Victrix (at Novaesium circa 74) and prefect of our ala circa 77/78, being decorated by Vespasian for his services, and therefore presumably in action. Alföldy comments that the diploma of 78 is really a record of an expeditionary army, mainly composed of cavalry (only one cohort, but six alae are listed) drawn from the central sector of the limes of Lower Germany.

Two Thracian recruits to the ala<sup>11)</sup> (09.3 and 09.4) were buried at or near Köln, adding point to Alföldy's supposition. Both tombstones bear reliefs in which the deceased is depicted reclining at the funeral banquet holding a drinking vessel, attended by a young servant, and with two further vessels on the three legged table in front of the couch. In addition that of Durises (09.3) has a relief below the inscription showing a horse, with military trappings, followed by an attendant carrying his master's arms.<sup>12)</sup> These reliefs show similarities of style and treatment. Alföldy thinks that they come from the same workshop, which he places, after an analysis of 16 tombstones, as operating between 80 and 100. On the assumption that both men were new recruits when they joined the ala, he gives a span of 84-100 in which the tombstone of M. Aemilius Durises might lie, and 94-100 for that of Longinus Biarta (if 26 years' service is correctly restored in the latter inscription). It seems worth noting that, if either had been a transferred

eques rather than a tiro, the stones could have been erected a little earlier. He also discusses their names, which he considers to be evidence of the possession of Latin rather than Roman citizenship. If the title civium Romanorum was won by the ala in the Batavian war of 70 as Alföldy suggests,<sup>14)</sup> their recruitment (or transfer) to the regiment should post-date this, or they would show evidence of Roman rather than Latin citizenship. An alternative not considered by Alföldy is that the ala was decorated for its part in the war against the Bructeri (if the prefect was honoured why not the ala?). In this case their enlistment with the ala might follow the possible losses of that campaign, and Longinus must have either served less than 26 years or have been transferred from another regiment in order for his tombstone to fit into the date range proposed. Alföldy has also shown that the alae of the diploma are listed in geographical order from north to south. Our ala lies at the end of the list and therefore, presumably, at the southern end of this section of the limes. Through the identification of the locations of the other four alae he is able to suggest ala Sulpicia lay south of Burungum (Worringen), perhaps at Wesseling<sup>15)</sup> between Köln and Bonn, or even between Worringen and Köln.

An altar to the goddess Hariasa was also found at Köln (09.6). It was erected by a duplicarius of the ala, Ulpus Acutus, who originated from Xanten, and may be dated by the names of the consuls to 187. This should mean the ala remained in Germania inferior throughout the second century, still having its station in the vicinity of Köln. Unfortunately, as Alföldy points out, there are seven known cavalry forts between Rindern and Worringen and only two of

these (Altkalkar and Dormagen) may be eliminated, since their garrisons are known. Further research is necessary before the exact position of the ala may be fixed.

Although inscription 09.8 is listed under this ala by Alföldy<sup>16)</sup> it is very fragmentary and, since its find spot is uncertain, of little value in adding to our knowledge of the regiment.<sup>17)</sup>

Ala Sulpicia was commanded while in Germany by Pompeius Faventinus circa 77/78, Tiberius Claudius Proculus Cornelianus (09.5) in the reign of Pius,<sup>18)</sup> and Tiberius Antistius Marcianus (09.7) under Severus and Caracalla.

Cornelianus probably did not serve his militia prima in the East, as Pflaum suggested, but in Moesia inferior, where a cohors II Bracaraugustanorum was stationed at this time;<sup>19)</sup> as tribune he commanded cohors I Aelia Dacorum milliaria in Britain and as praefectus equitum our ala in Germany, before entering the procuratorial service.

Marcianus appears to have served in Mauretania Tingitana as prefect of cohors II Hispana (Vasconum); then in Cappadocia as tribune of legio XV Apollinaris, before commanding the ala in the early third century, and probably still in Germany. He came from Circina in Africa.

## Footnotes

1. Dio, 60,8,7. In A.D.41.
2. Suetonius, Galba 7.
3. Ep. St. 6 pp.34/36. (Hilfstruppen)
4. Beamten p.153.
5. PWRE 1262.
6. Galba 10,2.
7. cf. E. Birley, "Roman Garrisons in Wales" Arch. Camb. 102 (1952) pp.9ff.
8. G. Alföldy, op. cit. p.103.
9. Histories 3,7.
10. "Ein Hispanischer Offizier in Niedergermanien" Madrid. Mitt. 6 (1965) pp.105ff.
11. 09.3. Durises is a Thracian name viz. D. Detschew Die thrakischen Sprachreste (Vienna 1957) p.154.  
09.4. Bisa and Biarta are both Thracian names, op. cit. p. 70 and p. 59, and the Bessi a Thracian tribe.
12. Espérandieu No. 6463 = 09.3, No. 6483 = 09.4.
13. Op. cit. pp.170/172 and p.186.
14. Op. cit. p.34.
15. Wesseling lies circa 10.5 km. north of the legionary fortress at Bonn. H. von Petrikovits (Das römische Rheinland" (Köln 1960) p.49) notes that the fort was 200 m. long, and there was another earth and timber fort 200 m. north of the site. However there is no dating evidence from the site.
16. Op. cit. p.187 No.64.
17. The restoration as it stands with the ala designated as prima inclines me to believe it does not appertain to this regiment, which is not qualified by a number elsewhere.

18. Car. 164 bis pp.397ff, Pflaum.
19. Bull. Arch. Soc. Staline 9,1 (Ivan Venedikov).

#### 10. Cohors I Ausetanorum.

The Ausetani lay in the north-east of Tarraconensis, between the Ebro and the Pyrenees. They were thus vulnerable during the struggle between Rome and Carthage, and Livy<sup>1)</sup> tells us that, having been subdued first by Hannibal in 218 B.C., they were besieged and punished by Gnaeus Cornelius Scipio in that same year for their allegiance to the Carthaginian cause. Small wonder that they were involved in rebellions both in 205 and 195 B.C.<sup>2)</sup> It may well be that conscription into the auxiliary forces took place in the Republican era. Certainly by Caesarian times they were sufficiently tamed to go over voluntarily to the side of Caesar in his preliminary struggle against the adherents of Pompey in Spain.<sup>3)</sup> The sole evidence that they provided a cohort to the auxilia lies in the honorary inscription to a commander of that unit erected by the ordo of Hispalis in Baetica. The prefect, L. Vibius Tuscus Aurelius Rufinus, was assuredly being honoured in his home town so that no territorial significance may be attached to the stone, whose style indicates a probable first or early second century provenance. We cannot even guess to which provincial command the cohort was attached.

Since the Elder Pliny,<sup>4)</sup> who places the Ausetani within the jurisdiction of the conventus of Tarraco, specifically assigns Latin rights to the tribe, it seems certain that the cohort was raised before the early Flavian period (unless the hiatus on the stone conceals the description c.L.). The probabilities indicate the early principate for its initial levy.

## Footnotes

1. 21,23,2; 61,8.
2. 29,2ff.; 34,20,1.
3. Civil Wars 1,60,2.
4. NH 3,3,23.

11. Cohors Carietum et Veniaesum.

Pliny the Elder tells us "In the conventus of Cluniensis the Varduli bring fourteen peoples .... to the same jurisdiction go the Carietes and the Venienses with five states, of whom the Velienses form one".<sup>1)</sup> The impression is given that neither tribe is very populous, which perhaps accounts for a cohort levied jointly among them.

Our knowledge that they supplied a cohort comes solely from an inscription from Brixia. This should be the home town of C. Meffius Saxo, who was promoted from primus pilus (in an unspecified legion) to prefect of our cohort, and then praefectus fabrum. The order in which these posts were held has been shown by B. Dobson<sup>2)</sup> to belong to a pre-Neronian period ("It does not seem likely that the use of experienced soldiers as praefecti fabrum endured beyond Claudius").

Probably this cohort was an Augustan foundation, but in which province it served (if indeed it left Spain) we cannot say.

**Footnotes**

1. NH 3,3,26.
2. Praefectus fabrum p.71.

## 12. Cohors I Celtiberorum.

The term Celtiberian as used by the ancient writers implies a people of mixed origins, the fusion of two cultural strains. Within the race of Celtiberians there were many tribes, including, for example, the Arevaci, and they had been responsible for one of the gravest threats to Roman rule in Spain in the second century B.C. Some fifty or more years after the end of the Celtiberian War, Sertorius was able to raise an army from the Celtiberians<sup>1)</sup> and he chose his personal bodyguard from among their spearmen. This is tribute to their quality as fighting men, but by the time that Strabo wrote they had become peaceable.<sup>2)</sup> It was not found necessary to station a legion in their terrain, and Strabo refers to "their present gentleness of disposition". Their territory covered north central Spain but only two cohorts are named for the race, other units are named for Celtiberian tribes, e.g. the Arevaci and the Vardulli.<sup>3)</sup>

As for so many Spanish cohorts, there is an absence of first century records and cohors I Celtiberorum enters the scene only in the early second century, in Britain. Apart from a probable mention in a long document in Greek dealing with the genealogy of a man who once commanded it (12.4) nearly all the evidence comes from diplomata, which fact gives very little clue concerning the station of the cohort within Britain.

In his discussion of "Roman Garrisons in Wales", E. Birley has thrown some light upon the probable situation of the cohort in Trajanic times. Through comparing the diplomas for A.D.98, 103 and 105,<sup>4)</sup> he makes a case for

regarding the units listed in that for 103 as appertaining to the legionary command of Caerleon (legio II Augusta), and those in the diplomas for 98 and 105 belonging to the command of legio XX.V.V. at Chester. Since our cohort heads the list of infantry units in the diploma for 105, and should probably be restored second of six cohorts in that for 98 (12.5), it seems likely that it lay somewhere in the region of mid-to-north Wales or Lancashire and Derbyshire.

Bearing this in mind, the attribution of the stamped tile from Caersŵs to this cohort rather than the cohort of Cornovii, otherwise only attested in the Notitia dignitatum,<sup>5)</sup> seems reasonable. Birley considers that the expansion c(ohors) I C(eltiberorum) f(ecit) is more likely than that in which the final F is regarded as an incomplete E for e(quitata).<sup>6)</sup> Nevertheless he presumes that the cohort, like that of the same title attested in Mauretania Tingitana and Spain, was part-mounted, on the grounds that they should have been organized similarly. Against this it may be argued that the two Celtiberian cohorts were probably not raised at the same time, indeed the fact that they bear the same number indicates separate levies, so that their structure could be different.

The tile was found in Caersŵs II, the larger replacement of a presumed pre-Flavian fort nearby. The exact level, or association of the tile with datable deposits, was not ascertained. Caersŵs II is thought to have gone through from a Flavian (or possibly even pre-Flavian) date to the third or fourth century.<sup>7)</sup> The main building periods, after the initial foundation are perhaps in the late first century, and again in the mid to late second century.

In the two later phases the size of the fort at 3.1 ha. suggests an ala, rather than a quingenary cohort, in garrison. All that may be deduced is that the cohort may have occupied Caersw̄s at some time in its history, but a possibility which must not be overlooked is that the cohort merely lay at an unlocated site higher up on the Severn, from which its tiles were sent down to the actual builders of the fort.<sup>8)</sup>

The later history of the cohort is obscure. It is recorded in Britain in diplomas up to 145/6 (12.3) and may well have remained part of the British garrison into the third or fourth century. Only the lucky find of more inscriptions will throw light on its later situation.

Iulius Antoninus, from Oenoanda in Lycia, probably commanded the cohort in the third or fourth decade of the second century. A long Greek inscription includes a mention of him as the son of C. Iulius Demosthenes, who was procurator of Sicily under Trajan.<sup>9)</sup> Birley points out that his previous command of a cohors I Hispanorum makes the British based cohort more likely for his second post than that of Tingitana, and considers that he may have accompanied Sextus Iulius Severus to Iudaea, to take up his next position in legio IV Scythica as tribune.

## Footnotes

1. Appian, Civil Wars 1,13,108.
2. Strabo, Geography 3,4,20. His writings are assumed to be contemporary with the Augustan and early Tiberian period.
3. Generally speaking the Celtiberian tribes appear to have been grouped into the conventus of Clunia.
4. Arch. Camb. 102 (1952-3) pp.9ff.
5. Not. Dig. Oc. 40,34.
6. Op. cit. p.14. As will appear, my discussion of this cohort owes much to that of Birley on this page.
7. cf. The Roman Frontier in Wales, V.E. Nash-Williams, Second edition edited M.G. Jarrett (Cardiff 1969) pp.66ff.
8. With the large amount of surveying of recent years it is perhaps unlikely that many unlocated forts remain in Wales, but the too ready identification of a unit with a site based upon tile stamps is a matter for some caution.
9. Birley, op. cit. p.14. cf. also Pflaum, Car. 76 p.173, who places the father's post "entre 103 et 114".

13. Cohors I Celtiberorum equitata civium Romanorum.

Cohors I Celtiberorum equitata civium Romanorum is first attested in a diploma of 109 in Mauretanian Tingitana (13.1). Altogether four Spanish cohorts, and one other, make their debut in the Tingitanian lists of 109.<sup>1)</sup> All possess the title civium Romanorum and, with regard to the Spanish units, several interesting speculations may be made:

1. Does this reflect the consequences of Flavian interest in Spain, particularly the grant of Latin or Roman rights to the major communities?<sup>2)</sup> If this was correct it might indicate either that they had been raised, in Flavian times, among peoples that had acquired the citizenship, or that existing regiments still stationed in Spain received similar favours to those granted to the municipia. The former is improbable but in either case it might seem likely that the cohorts would include Flavia in their titles and none of these do so.<sup>3)</sup>
2. All five cohorts may have won their citizenship for valour in an emergency period between 88 (the date of the previous diploma in which none of these cohorts appear, and no regiment is recorded possessing corporate citizenship) and 109. Certainly Trajan had troubles in Tingitana; he appointed a good soldier, P. Besius Betuinanus, as procuratorial governor (pro-legato) between the end of 106 and 114, which may reflect those difficulties.<sup>4)</sup> Altogether ten regiments of Tingitana append civium Romanorum to their titles for the first time in diplomata of 109-117. Hadrian inherited 'insurrection in Mauretania', which Q. Marcius Turbo was sent to quell. In this case when did the cohorts

come to Tingitana ? Some may already have been in the province. The fact that the five cohorts are not recorded on the diploma of 88 (CIL XVI 159) is not very significant, since it does not list all the units known to be in the province at that date.<sup>5)</sup>

In spite of this the presence of the Celtiberian cohort in Tingitana is far more likely to have been due to a temporary secondment.

Although the other four cohorts remained in Tingitana during the second century, and perhaps later, cohors I Celtiberorum eq. c.R. stayed only for a relatively brief period. Its second, and last, record in the province is dated 114/117 (13.2) and by June 10, 163 it was certainly in north-east Spain (13.3). The other four cohorts are named in one or the other of the diplomas of 122,<sup>6)</sup> but our cohort appears on neither. The weight of the evidence suggests that it was returned to Spain in late Trajanic or (more likely) early Hadrianic times. This being so it looks as if it was part of Trajanic reinforcements brought in to quell unrest. There is no evidence concerning the date of its formation.

The inscriptions from Villalis (13.3, 13.4 and 13.5) come from re-used material built into a church, and indicate that the cohort was stationed in the area of command of León, where legio VII Gemina lay, in Spain. Garcia y Bellido suggests that its permanent quarters were situated not far from Asturica Augusta.<sup>7)</sup> The reasons for the posting out of vexillations of the legion together with sections of cohorts, or alae, in north-east Spain have already been discussed (cf. ala II Flavia Hispanorum c.R.).<sup>8)</sup> Doubtless this cohort

also had the task of providing technical assistance in the mining and extraction of the precious minerals of the district, as well as guarding it from brigandage. Indeed the inscription of October 15, 167 (13.5) underlines the association of the cohort itself, as well as its officers, with mining. Here a vexillation of the cohort is under the charge of (among others) Zoilus a freedman procurator and Aelius Flavius a beneficiarius of the procurator (surely metallorum). In the collection of officers named here it is interesting to note a centurion of cohors I Gallorum and an imaginifer of legio VII Gemina as well as a tesserarius (Iulius Sedulus) of the cohort itself. It may be that all these men had in common special technical knowledge or skills. (cf. the officers associated with Lucretius Paternus, decurion of the cohort, in 13.3 and 13.4. Incidentally his position shows conclusively that the cohort was part-mounted.)

The cohort remained in Spain at least into the fourth century, as it is recorded under a tribune at "Brigantiae nunc Iuliobriga" in the Notitia dignitatum (13.7). We may doubt the continuation of mining activities on a large scale into this period<sup>9)</sup> and Iuliobriga lies to the north-east of León away from the main known mining sites.<sup>10)</sup>

The name of one of the commanders of the cohort is revealed by the tombstone, set up at Tarraco by the heirs of C. Iulius Speratianus. The format of the stone suggests a second century date, early rather than late. His tribe (Arnensis or Aniensis ?) perhaps indicates that he was  
 \* Italian in origin rather than coming from Tarraco itself, so that his death (at Tarraco ?) while still commander

should indicate this cohort rather than the British based cohors I Celtiberorum, in spite of the lack of c.R. on the stone.

It is necessary to add a post-script to the account of this cohort to the effect that there is really no justification for considering it conceivable that there was only one cohors I Celtiberorum, as Garcia y Bellido implies.<sup>11)</sup> It is highly improbable that a single cohort should have moved from Britain to Tingitana between 105 and 109, and back to Britain between 117 and 122, remained there until 147, and have been permanently transferred to Spain before 163. In any case the British diploma of 122<sup>12)</sup> names those cohorts which are civium Romanorum in full, and cohors I Celtiberorum lacks this title, which it certainly has prior to that date in Tingitana. Neither is it feasible for the British based cohort to have been the one transferred to Spain (by Pius or, at latest, early in the reign of Marcus Aurelius). There seems to be no occasion which would warrant the removal of a cohort from a province where a strong garrison was still essential, to one which was peaceful, like Spain. The Moorish invasions of Spain post-date the inscriptions from Villalis.

## Footnotes

1. Cohortes II Hispana Vasconum, III Asturum, II Hispanorum, I Celtiberorum, together with I Ituraeorum.
2. cf. R. Knox McElderry, "Vespasian's Reconstruction of Spain" JRS 8 (1918) pp.53ff. and JRS 9 (1919) pp.86ff. and Marcello Vigil, Arch. Esp. Arq. 34 (1961) p.109 in his discussion of ala II Flavia Hispanorum c.R.
3. Roman citizens would be more likely to opt for the better conditions in legionary service, if given a choice, at this date.
4. IIS 1352. cf. Pflaum, Car. 73.
5. cf. cohors I Asturum et Callaecorum No.58 and Table III, App.1
6. CIL XVI 73/169 and 170, admittedly the latter is fragmentary but Nesselhauf's restoration does not include our cohort.
7. "El "exercitus Hispanicus" desde Augusta a Vespasiano", Arch. Esp. Arq. 34 (1961) pp.143/4.
8. No.08.
9. O. Davies, Roman Mines in Europe (Oxford 1935)
10. See map, Fig. 23 "Roman gold-mining in north-west Spain", P.R. Lewis and G.D.B. Jones, JRS 60 (1970) p.170.
11. Op. cit. p.144.
12. CIL XVI 69.

14-17. Cohortes I Hispanorum (1 and 2).

The earliest record of cohors I Hispanorum equitata comes from Olbasa in Pisidia (= Yakaköy) (14.2). This tombstone to an unknown man was erected by (among others) Talas<sup>1)</sup> an equus of the cohort, belonging to the turma of Baebus. The style of the inscription, and the fact that the number follows the name of the cohort, places it in the Julio-Claudian period. Olbasa had been a colonia probably since the beginning of our era.<sup>2)</sup> The stone, therefore, commemorates the place of burial of the deceased, without fixing the cohort within Pisidia, but it certifies that the cohort was in Asia Minor, in the first half of the first century A.D.

There is support for this conclusion in another inscription (14.3) erected to C. Rutilius Gallicus by M. Aemilius Pius, prefect of coh. I Bosporanorum and I Hispanorum. The monument was interpreted by Ritterling<sup>3)</sup> as belonging to a period when Gallicus was legatus pro praetore Asiae, which he placed in 69-71. He inferred that the two cohorts were serving in the senatorial province at the time. Werner Eck has cast doubts on this, pointing out that Wagner<sup>4)</sup> placed cohors I Bosporanorum in the army of Cappadocia under Nero, and giving his opinion that Gallicus served as legate of Galatia under Corbulo. Regardless of this Deggrassi places the consulship of Gallicus probably in 71 or 72.<sup>5)</sup>

If correct this fixes the date of the inscription set up by Aemilius Pius in the period 70-71, much as Ritterling thought, but for the different reason that it was erected on the occasion when Gallicus was designated

consul.<sup>6)</sup> If Pius owed his promotion as equestrian commander to the good offices of Gallicus, it would be natural for him to show his appreciation in this fashion. Cohors I Hispanorum must also have been stationed in Cappadocia (or more probably Galatia, which was then appended to Cappadocia), since propinquity of the two cohorts commanded by Pius may be assumed from the wording of the inscription.

We have then the probability of cohors I Hispanorum equitata (for Talas was a cavalryman) stationed in Asia Minor (Galatia)<sup>7)</sup> from an early date. At the beginning of the Flavian period it was still there but possibly moved shortly to the west. It is only a "straw in the wind" but RIB 2213 from Ardoch in Scotland (14.1) is the tombstone of a centurion of a cohors I Hispanorum whose name (and that of his father) are Eastern.<sup>8)</sup> How could this have occurred? We have seen that local recruitment to auxiliary units had long been the rule. It is difficult to visualise a recruit from the east being drafted to Britain, although we do know later of a group sent from Asia Minor to Egypt.<sup>9)</sup> The possibility of transfer from another cohort (on promotion to centurion) may not be ruled out, but eastern regiments tended to be specialist troops and transfer out of such a regiment (even if a suitable one can be shown to have existed in Britain in the relevant period) is not so likely on that account. The fact that he is not a citizen rules out transfer from a legion. The date of the stone may be readily fixed, as R.P. Wright<sup>10)</sup> points out, for the use of Dis Manibus in full, and a term of 27 years' service without citizenship, together indicate

the fourth quarter of the first century. Occupation of Ardoch at that time can only tie in with the campaigns of Agricola, or just after. Another slight pointer to the feasibility of a move from Asia Minor to Britain lies in the evidence attached to ala Gallorum et Thracum Classiana c.R. This ala perhaps lay in an Eastern province (which one is unclear) in A.D.54,<sup>11)</sup> but appears in the Rhineland at a later date (IIS 2534, Köln). Alföldy<sup>12)</sup> places the ala in Germania inferior in the late second or third century but Stein<sup>13)</sup> and Kraft<sup>14)</sup> both suggested an earlier provenance for the Köln inscription and another fragmentary stone from Kalkar.<sup>15)</sup> M. Marius Valens, the ex-decurion of ala Classiana (which does not bear the additional titles invicta bis torquata c.R. it certainly possessed in the second century)<sup>16)</sup> came from Galat(i)a. If his tombstone belonged to the Flavian period (which would not be inconsistent with the style of the inscription, in spite of Alföldy's remarks about the lettering), it might be possible to visualise a Galatian contingent, consisting of ala Gallorum et Thracum Classiana and cohors I Hispanorum equitata, being moved to the Rhineland circa 70. The exigencies created by the forward moves of the first three Flavian governors of Britain provide a reason for the swift removal of the two units to the British command, and an explanation of the Ardoch tombstone.<sup>17)</sup>

The identification of this cohort in its later stages is no less fraught with complexity. There is a strong probability that there were two coh. I Hispanorum in Britain at least from Trajanic times. This has been demonstrated by E. Birley<sup>18)</sup> in his discussion of the diplomas

for 98, 103 and 105. If, as he suggests, the diplomas for 98 and 105 apply to units under the Chester command, and that for 103 to those under legio II Augusta at Caerleon, it follows that the names of the coh. I Hispanorum appearing in all three diplomas must refer to two units. There is further support for this contention in the later evidence of the cohortes Hispanorum in Britain.

Undoubtedly a first cohort of Spaniards garrisoned Maryport at some time. It could be either of the two postulated.<sup>19)</sup> Originally, in an analysis of the probabilities,<sup>20)</sup> M. Jarrett came to the conclusion that the cohort arrived at Maryport "between 103 (or 105) and circa 120", when he thought it was transferred to the York command. A later view, expressed by him, stated that Maryport was not occupied before the reign of Hadrian.<sup>21)</sup>

It may be apposite that the unknown prefect of a cohors I Hispanorum equitata (surely in Britain), recorded in an inscription from Mersch (14.4), followed this command by one as tribune of legio VIII Hispana.

The stones from Maryport mainly take the form of parade ground altars to Iuppiter Optimus Maximus.<sup>22)</sup> At a date, suggested by Jarrett to be circa 130 or even several years earlier, these dedications are made by the cohort no longer in the care of a prefect but under a tribune. This, as Jarrett points out, should mean that the cohort had been upgraded from quingenary to milliary status. It is also clearly designated part-mounted in many of the dedications. (14.5, 14.8, 14.9 and 14.10)<sup>23)</sup> The date of the changeover is indicated approximately by the career of Marcus Maenius Agrippa, who is among those named as tribunus in command of

the cohort. Agrippa is the subject of a cursus honorum from Camerinum in which he was electus a divo Hadriano et missus in expeditionem Britannicam (14.14). Wenham thought that this referred to 122, but E. Birley considers that the expeditio Britannica mentioned here would fit better a date circa 130.<sup>24)</sup> Certainly the postulated change in status occurred, on any grounds, before A.D.145/6, but in that year a cohors I Hispanorum is recorded second of eleven cohorts in a diploma (15.3). There is no milliary sign following the name of the cohort and it seems reasonable to assume that this is therefore not the Maryport cohort but the other cohors I Hispanorum, presupposed by Birley.

To summarise: a cohort arrived in Britain, perhaps from the east, at latest by Flavian times. If attached to a particular legion at this period the Twentieth is more likely than the Second, since it is probable that legio II Augusta played little part in Agricola's campaigns.<sup>25)</sup> In Trajanic times it lay within the area of the Chester command. At the same time a cohort of the same name and number lay in the Caerleon command. How long the latter had been in Britain is not known. One of these two cohorts was removed to the York command and stationed at Maryport before A.D.120. By 130 this cohort was doubled, its homonym remained quingenary as far as we can tell.

In the reign of Pius, as Jarrett points out, cohors I Delmatarum is attested at Maryport.<sup>26)</sup> There is certainly not room for a milliary and a quingenary cohort in the fort, so our cohort must have left. This may be reasonably connected with the governorship of Urbicus, and indeed a

cohors milliaria equitata would have been useful in his campaigns in Lowland Scotland. The lack of knowledge about named garrisons in Lowland Scotland makes it feasible that it is here the next station of the cohort should be sought. Early in the third century, after the Antonine line had definitely been abandoned, cohors I Aelia Hispanorum milliaria equitata appeared at Netherby (14.23-28). Either this cohort was raised by Hadrian (or Pius) and came to Britain in one of their campaigns (in which case what became of the Maryport cohort ?), or identity may be assumed. The latter is preferable on grounds of economy and probability. There was certainly opportunity for a cohort to win battle honours in the campaigns of Urbicus. The Netherby inscriptions lie between 213 (14.23) and 222 (14.26-28) and show the cohort engaged in building an exercise hall for the cavalry contingent of the unit and some other unidentified building, and rebuilding a temple. It would appear that the cohort was preparing for long-term occupation. Nevertheless there is no further record there after 222.<sup>27)</sup> The cohort at Axelodunum (Castlesteads), noted by the Notitia dignitatum (17.3) as commanded by a tribune, is presumably milliary, but need not be this unit. Such changes had taken place by the time of compilation of the Notitia that both first cohorts of Spaniards may then have altered their composition. The lack of the title Aelia is no real clue either way; it may have been dropped. The other first cohort of Spaniards, which remained quingenary up to at least 145/146 (15.3), has produced no evidence, to date, of its location.

We have the names of a number of commanders of the two

cohorts. Marcus Aemilius Pius was prefect of the cohort in Galatia probably in a period spanning the late reign of Nero through to the first year of Vespasian; he was probably Italian (14.3). An unknown prefect had been priest of Mars Lenus before embarking upon his military career as prefect of one of the coh. I Hispanorum in Britain. Alföldy dates his stone to late first century-early second century, and infers that he is Treveran, from the location of the stone, and his priesthood.<sup>28)</sup> (cf. earlier for a suggestion that he may have been one of the first commanders of the cohort at Maryport) (14.4).

Iulius ~~Antoninus~~ (15.4) from Oenoanda, in Lycia, was prefect perhaps in the latter part of the third decade or early fourth decade of the second century (cf. cohors I Celtiberorum 12.4). Since the Maryport cohort was probably milliary by this time, his command may reasonably refer to the other, quingenary cohort.

Prefects (before circa 130) at Maryport were:

1. Lucius Antistius Lupus Verianus of the Quirina, from Sicca in Africa (14.5).
2. Helstrius Novellus (14.6 and 14.7).
3. Lucius Cammius Maximus, who was certainly prefect for more than two years since he supervised the erection of three parade ground dedications to I.O.M. (14.8-10) the last celebrating his transfer to cohors XVIII Voluntariorum of Pannonia superior.

Tribunes at Maryport from circa 130 were:

1. Marcus Maenius Agrippa Lucius Tusidius Campester, from Camerinum in Italy; he enjoyed the special favour of Hadrian as his honorary inscription (14.14) reveals.<sup>29)</sup>

His cursus proudly includes the fact that he was father of a senator (although he himself appears to have remained equestrian) and that son is thought to have been consul during the joint reign of Marcus Aurelius and Verus.<sup>30)</sup> This, and the course of his career, make it likely that he was tribune of the milliary cohort at Maryport circa 130 as E. Birley suggested. During his command four parade ground altars were erected, which should mean that he held that post for at least more than three years (14.15-18).

2. Gaius Caballius Priscus was also tribune at Maryport for more than three years (14.19-22). Between them these two men may have held the command of the milliary cohort at Maryport from its inception up to the end of the reign of Hadrian.

Tribunes at Netherby from circa 213-222 were:

1. .... Maximus, who served under Iulius Marcus, the first known praetorian governor of Britannia inferior 213-216 (14.24).<sup>31)</sup>
2. Aelius Nu...., if the restoration proposed by E. Birley is accepted, circa 219 (14.25).
3. M. Aurelius Salvius in A.D.222, 14.26 and 14.28 and presumably 14.27.

The eastern origin of Ammonius, centurion of the cohort in the period 82-96,<sup>32)</sup> has already been remarked upon (14.1). In the Iulio-Claudian period we have the name of an eques Talas. The same inscription gives us the name of his decurion, Baebus.<sup>33)</sup> (14.2) At Maryport in the early second century, before the end of the reign of Hadrian, a miles (?) Indutius of the cohort added his name as the maker

of the unit's tiles (14.13). The absence of the military sign after the name of the cohort may signify that the tile, and the soldier, should be placed before 130.

## Footnotes

1. The name Talas has Celtic overtones but it is not impossible for it to occur in Spain. cf. Firmat, Onomastica p.217.
2. CAH 10 p.272.
3. "Military forces in the Senatorial Provinces", JRS 17 (1927) p.29.
4. "Bemerkungen zum Militärkommando in den Senatsprovinzen der Kaiserzeit", Chiron 2 (1972) p.432; Wagner, Dislokation p.18 fn.67.
5. I Fasti consolari p.21.
6. cf. Statius, Silvae 1,4,82/83.
7. Pisidia was in fact part of the Roman province of Galatia.
8. Schulze, Lat. Eig. p.121.
9. See cohors I Augusta praetoria Lusitanorum equitata No.79.
10. RIB p.687.
11. CIL XVI 3. One ala is simply given as Gallorum et Thraecum. Nesselhauf conjectures that this diploma belongs to an Eastern province.
12. Hilfstruppen p.18.
13. Beamten p.127.
14. Rekrutierung p.148 Nos.300 and 301.
15. CIL XIII 8668.
16. CIL XI 6033 for full titles. civium Romanorum appears in the British diplomas for 105 and 122 (CIL XVI 51 and 69).
17. See cohors II Hispanorum equitata (No.31) and Patterns in the cohortes Hispanorum p.295 for a suggestion

that a pair of Spanish cohorts was raised for service in Asia Minor. It must be stressed that the arguments above are merely advanced as possibilities. The British cohort may be entirely separate from that attested in Asia Minor, in which case we have no knowledge of the fate of the latter cohort. One reason for attempting an equation is the existence of a large number of first cohortes Hispanorum, but the tendency to create overtly solutions must be resisted.

18. "Roman Garrisons in Wales", Arch. Camb. 102 (1952-3) pp.9ff. cf. coh. I Celtiberorum No.12.
19. It is tempting to place the cohort which had been at Ardoch as the garrison of Maryport, but it must be remembered that this cohort would have returned to the environs of Chester in the general withdrawal from Scotland (if indeed it was the cohort attached to legio XX V.V.).
20. "Maryport and the Roman Army in Britain", Britain and Rome ed. Jarrett and Dobson, p.34.
21. Ep. St. 9 p.159 No.19, referring to an article so far unpublished.
22. viz. L.P. Wenham, CW<sup>2</sup> 39 (1939) 19-30.
23. At 4.75 acres the accommodation at Maryport seems rather tight for a cohors milliaria equitata. However there does seem to be a possibility that the fort was larger at some time, cf. Research on Hadrian's Wall, by E. Birley (1961) p.222 suggesting circa 5 $\frac{1}{4}$  acres.
24. RBRA p.29.
25. M.G. Jarrett, "Legio II Augusta in Britain", Arch. Camb. 113 (1964) p.52.

26. e.g. RIB 850,832.
27. The attribution of RIB 966 (an altar to Cocidius by a tribune of cohors I Nervana) to Netherby is disputable (cf. footnotes to the inscription by R.P. Wright, RIB p.322). Even if the stone should belong to Netherby this need not indicate that this cohort was in garrison. It seems likely that cohors I Aelia Hispanorum milliaria equitata remained at Netherby throughout the third century at least.
28. Hilfstruppen p.42 and No.77.
29. cf. Pflaum, Car. No.120 pp.292-5.
30. cf. Pflaum, op. cit.
31. cf. A.R. Birley, "The Roman Governors of Britain", Ep. St. 4 (Köln 1967) p.87 for the dates 213-216 rather than 214-216 given in RIB.
32. The upper limit is given by the supposed date when the cohort left Galatia, and Ammonius' length of service, but Ardoch is likely to have been abandoned earlier than this.
33. Names with a similar stem Baeb. are given as Spanish by Holder. It may be possible to make a case for Talas and Baeb<sup>i</sup> being original Spanish recruits. In fact the reading of the stone may be incorrect. A photograph in Anatolian Studies 9 (1959), Plate XVI,C, is poor, but it seems possible that qui et Talas may really conceal a single name, Quietalas ? or Quintalas ?

18. Cohors I Hispanorum equitata.

A cohors I Hispanorum is attested in Egypt in A.D.83, in a diploma, 18.1. It was issued to the centurion of the cohort C. Iulius Saturninus, and the commander at the time was M. Sabinus Fuscus. The issue of a diploma to a citizen underlines the importance of these certificates as legal documents proving discharge and the rights of conubium. The diploma was found at Coptos but this has no significance for the station of the cohort as it was the property of a veteran.

How long had the cohort been in Egypt ? Since there are no diplomas, and certainly no other inscriptions of this cohort, from an earlier period we cannot be sure. However, there are pointers which suggest it may have formed part of the garrison of the kingdom since Augustan times.

Inscription 18.3 is a dedication to Trajan by three cohorts. Very probably it was set up to honour him on his accession. All three cohorts have named prefects, but at the time of the dedication two of them were in the care of the prefect of the third.<sup>1)</sup> The inscription came from Syene, and it may be assumed that the cohorts were stationed somewhere in the vicinity, although not necessarily in the same camp.<sup>2)</sup>

Two of these cohorts had certainly been in Egypt for well over half a century. Cohors II Ituraeorum equitata erected a dedication to Gaius at Syene in 39;<sup>3)</sup> a section of cohors I Thebaeorum equitata (native to Egypt) had been engaged in work connected with the provision of cisterns on the route between Coptos and Berenice on the Red Sea, probably in Augustan or Tiberian times.<sup>4)</sup> Strabo,<sup>5)</sup> writing in the

Augustan age, says that there were three legions and nine cohorts and three alae in Egypt in 24 B.C. Three of the cohorts he sites "on the borders of Ethiopia in Syene, as a guard for that region" (my Italics).

Consideration of the evidence permits the surmise that cohortes II Ituraeorum and I Thebaeorum were part of that original garrison, and at least allows us to suspect cohors I Hispanorum, also named in the inscription, was the third unit involved.

The cohort may then have been an Augustan, or, even in essence, a Republican foundation, although in the latter case its organisation into the auxilia in a regular fashion may be credited to Augustus.<sup>6)</sup>

Strabo's statement together with 18.3 suggests that Syene was the headquarters from which the military occupation of Lower Nubia was directed. The three cohorts are not likely to have been kept together at Syene but posted out along the Nile above the first cataract. Pselcis and Heira Sykaminos have produced inscriptions of one or another of the three cohorts named in the inscription, Talmis of all three. The cult of Mandoulis might be thought to account for the dedications by soldiers at Talmis, but 18.8, of June 29 85, which may be assigned to our cohort from the names of the dedicators, mentions a praesidium there. Lesquier<sup>7)</sup> thought there was a garrison at Talmis in spite of the fact that "on n'a signalé aucune ruine de caractère militaire", because of this inscription and also, presumably, since it lies at the southern end of a narrow gorge on the Nile and is an obvious place to site a strongpoint. Altogether eight inscriptions reveal a number of soldiers of the cohort

"making obeisance" to Mandoulis at Talmis. Only five of these (18.7 and 18.10-13) name the cohort, the other three are linked by the names of the centurions Antonius and Cornelius, and a miles M. Pinnius Corbulo (18.8 and 18.9), or the date circa 85 (18.6), to the other inscriptions and therefore to the cohort. Three give a date of 84-5 (18.6-8), and the implication must be that the cohort, or a large section (since four centurions and at least one decurion belong to that date), was at Talmis in the reign of Domitian.

If the cohort was still at Talmis in 98 when the dedication to Trajan was made, an explanation for the wording of that inscription is to hand. P. Claudius Iustus was probably commander of the cohort actually residing at Syene, and therefore perhaps the 'senior' prefect of the group. The other two cohorts were associated with the expression of loyalty in the absence of their own prefects. The missing commanders may be accounted for in several ways: they may have been appointed but not yet arrived in Lower Nubia; they may have been absent on special missions (there are red granite quarries south of Syene, and one or both may have been supervising work there); or, even more likely, in Alexandria at the headquarters of the Prefect of Egypt, assisting with routine affairs affecting the areas of their commands. This last would be particularly apt if the honorary stone was erected early in 98, Nerva having died in January of that year.<sup>8)</sup> The dedication states, what may be inferred from the presence of decurions, that the cohort was equitata.

In 105 the cohort left Egypt for Iudaea, according to a diploma recently found in Syria (18.2). In his commentary on

the diploma, H-G. Pflaum considers that an exchange was effected between cohortes I Augusta Lusitanorum equitata and II Thracum equitata of Iudaea, and cohortes I Hispanorum and I Thebaeorum of Egypt, for the former two cohorts were added to the list of Egypt in the same diploma.<sup>9)</sup> The reason for such a change is not immediately clear, but Pflaum suggests that it was connected with the decision of the High Command to annexe the kingdom of the Nabateans in spring 106.<sup>10)</sup> He considers that this view is supported by the fact that neither of the two cohorts which left Egypt for Iudaea figure in the lists of Syria Palaestina in 139,<sup>11)</sup> "elles doivent sans doute faire partie de la garnison de la province d'Arabie". Since there is no further record of either cohort, the question remains open. Pflaum's argument is very attractive but the cohorts may have perished in the Iudaeian War of Hadrian, if they remained there, rather than taking part in the invasion of Arabia Petraea.

Two other inscriptions may belong to the period of the cohort's stay in Egypt. A first century tombstone from Alexandria is that of C. A....sius miles of a Spanish cohort, of which the number is lost. He may have belonged to this cohort or to the second of the series, for which there is some evidence of a stay in Egypt.<sup>12)</sup> The name of the centurion, Bassus, under whom he served, is the same as the one recorded in the inscription of L. Rutilius Lupus (18.11), which perhaps indicates the first cohort, but Bassus is not an uncommon name<sup>13)</sup> so there is no certainty.

Lesquier<sup>14)</sup> also thought that CIL III 50 (18.5) from Thebes referred to a prefect of the first cohort of Spaniards, rather than the second as Mommsen inferred. The inscription

records the visit of Sabinus Fuscus to hear the Colossus of Memnon, at Thebes, and Lesquier equated him with the prefect named in the diploma for 83 (18.1). This creates the difficulty that Mommsen had dated the stone to 195 by considering the fourth and fifth lines to give the third regnal year of Severus. Lesquier overcame this by suggesting that what was meant was the third regnal year of Domitian, i.e. an S had been misread for D. In this way he was able to arrive at a date of March 83, three months earlier than the issue of the diploma. Neither rendering allows for the odd three extra strokes at the beginning of line 5. It seems possible that what these three strokes and the S conceal is the name of TIT[V]S, which would bring the date to A.D.81, the third regnal year of the second Flavian emperor. This would still allow for an equation to be made between M. Sabinus Fuscus of the diploma and the prefect at Thebes, since normally a prefect would hold his command for two or more years. However, even if this surmise is correct, there is still some uncertainty in the reading of the second line, where there appear to be at least two strokes before the name of the cohort.

Lesquier thought this could be read as coh. I Fl(avia) Hisp.,<sup>15)</sup> but there is no other record of the cohort possessing this epithet. As already remarked, a probability exists of the presence of a cohors II Hispanorum in Egypt during the reign of Hadrian,<sup>16)</sup> so the question remains unsettled.

Apart from the prefect M. Sabinus Fuscus of June 83, already commented upon, we have the name of another commander of the cohort in 98 or 99, Tiberius Claudius Africanus, whose name suggests, but does not absolutely demand, that he was an African, or had been born in Africa (18.3). P. Claudius

Iustus, although acting commander of the cohort in the same inscription, is also clearly the prefect of cohors I Thebaeorum equitata, so should not be included in this list.

C. Iulius Saturninus of Chios was centurion of the cohort in A.D.83 (18.1). If we may believe he began his military career as miles in the cohort, this has the interesting effect of supporting the presence of the unit in the East circa A.D.58; a Greek from Chios would readily be drafted to Egypt. However, with a centurion, the probability of transfer on promotion to that rank must always be borne in mind (as he is a citizen, transfer from a legion is a possibility), so we cannot adduce this as proof of an early station in Egypt.

Other centurions named in the Greek inscriptions from Talmis are:

Antonius in A.D.85 (18.7, 18.8 and probably 18.9),

Calpurnius in A.D.85 (18.8),

Domitius in A.D.85 (18.8),

Bassus (18.1), Cornelius (18.12 and 18.8).

Decurions named are:

Marius (probably this cohort) 84/85 (18.6),

Florus (18.10 and 18.13),

Lucius Petronius of the century of Cornelius in cohors Hispanorum equitata (18.12) may be claiming to be tubicen of the cohort if the Greek for 'trumpeter' is inferred from σαλπικτης.

Ordinary soldiers and cavalrymen whose romanised names must cover those of local recruits are:

Marcus Pinnius Corbulo miles in 85 (18.7 and 18.8);

Gaius Domitius Martialis, Lucius Valerius Celer, Gaius

Antonius Valens, Marcus Iulius Valens, Gaius Domitius Capito,

Marcus Domitius Maximus, Lucius Alexandrus, Gaius Varitius & Gaius Iulius Clemens, milites of A.D.85 (18.8); Gaius Iulius Antoninus miles (18.9); Lucius Valerius Lupus and Lucius Rutilius Lupus milites (18.11); Lucius Iulius Longus eques in 84/5 (18.6); Lucius Rutilius eques (18.10); Longinus and Aphrodas equites (18.13).

Lesquier thought that L. Rutilius Lupus had taken his name, on entering the auxilia, from the prefect of Egypt M. Rutilius Lupus, who held that post from 113 to 117. As Pflaum points out,<sup>17)</sup> this can no longer be maintained. He suggests as an alternative that if the miles had taken his partial homonym as a result of contact with Marcus it may have been when the future prefect was commanding one of the auxiliary units in Egypt; failing this the similarity of names may be sheer chance.<sup>18)</sup>

## Footnotes.

1. P. Claudius Iustus, prefect of cohort I Thebaeorum equitata.
2. See Chapter I, Strategy and epigraphy.
3. ILS 8899. Presumed to be this cohort, although the number is omitted, because of its later connections with Syene and Pselkis (CIL III 14147,7).
4. ILS 2483 (Coptos).
5. Geography 17,1,12.
6. See, however, Chapter I, Formation of professional auxilia, and Strabo, 17,53.
7. L'Armée romaine d'Égypte (Cairo 1918) p.471.
8. R.O. Fink, Records, p.223, apparatus to Col.1 line 24, wishes to infer that the bulk of the soldiers of cohortes I Hispanorum and II Ituraeorum together with their prefects "are absent from Egypt, leaving Iustus as locum tenens to handle the routine affairs of the token formations which remained at headquarters". This might be an interesting theory if the absent pair was cohortes I Thebaeorum and cohortes I Hispanorum, since these two are listed as transferred to Iudaea in the new Egyptian diploma, 18.2. Fink, however, was trying to demonstrate the possibility of an equation between the Egyptian cohortes I Hispanorum and cohortes I Hispanorum veterana of Moesia, which cannot be maintained in view of the latest evidence (cf. No. 19)
9. Cohortes I Augusta Lusitanorum and II Thracum appear in the Iudaeian diploma of A.D.86 (CIL XVI 33).

10. Dio, 68,14,5.
11. CIL XVI 87.
12. See cohors II Hispanorum No.29.
13. Lesquier lists three others in Egypt, op. cit. p.245.
14. op. cit. p.88.
15. op. cit. p.88 n.3.
16. cf. cohors II Hispanorum supra, Mitteis-Wilcken 2,2, p.420.
17. Syria, 44 (1967) p.355.
18. There was also a Lucius Valerius Lupus, and a Lucius Rutilius. Lesquier made an equation between the latter and L. Rutilius Lupus. If it was the same man he had been promoted from pedes to eques.

19. Cohors I Hispanorum veterana equitata.

A great deal has been written concerning the identity of cohors I Hispanorum veterana equitata of Moesia inferior and much of it has centred upon the date and interpretation of the pridianum of the cohort published by Hunt in 1925<sup>1)</sup> (19.3). When Hunt wrote the critical apparatus to the document he suggested that Col.i, line 20 mentioned "one or more soldiers whose service had begun in the eighth consulship of Vespasian and that it was likely that "this passage relates to the discharge of time-expired men". This would give a date of at least 102 for the pridianum. However, in Col.ii, line 28, Buridava is mentioned and on line 27 Piroboridava, both under the heading 'intra provinciam'. Hunt thought that the inclusion of the former in Moesia inferior implied the pridianum belonged to a date after the beginning of Trajan's second Dacian War (105) but that the document could not be post-Trajanic. To explain the presence of the papyrus in Egypt, Hunt proposed either that someone who had access to the regimental papers was domiciled in Egypt or, preferably, that the unit as a whole was there, possibly to take part in the suppression of the Jewish revolt of 115-117. He also thought it possible that cohors I Hispanorum equitata of Egypt could be equated with the Moesian unit, even though this meant a series of movements between the two regions.

R.O. Fink published an improved reading of the pridianum, changing Col.i, line 21 to refer to the ninth consulship of Vespasian (i.e. A.D.79) but accepting Hunt's identification of the Moesian and Egyptian cohorts.<sup>2)</sup> At this time he put forward a date of A.D.99 for the document. He considered it most likely that the pridianum was drawn up in the governor's

office in Lower Moesia and a copy sent to Egypt since the cohort had "still formed a part of the army of Egypt at the beginning of the year". He accounted for the compilation of the pridianum at a very odd time (September 16) in an ingenious manner, basing it upon the beginning of the Egyptian year on 29th August (Thoth 1) when new records would be filed, and supposing it to be late because the cohort was now in Moesia. Later, however, Fink changed his opinion concerning the date, and preferred 100.<sup>3)</sup> This annihilates his former reasoning, since the cohort would then have been in Moesia over a year before the pridianum was drawn up (cf. 19.2) and the Egyptian government would have no cause to require the document. Much of his commentary on the latest version of the pridianum is devoted to an attempt to show objections to the date of 105-108 which Sir Ronald Syme had suggested for the papyrus.<sup>4)</sup> Syme was convinced that two cohorts were involved in Moesia and Egypt. He also brought in expert witnesses<sup>5)</sup> to deny the credibility of a reading of 'co(n)s' at the end of Col.i, line 30 and presented a case for the line recording A.Caecilius Faustinus as governor of Moesia inferior, which post he held on May 13 105;<sup>6)</sup> Col.ii, line 7 provided Syme with Herennius Saturninus, governor of Moesia superior between 103 and 106,<sup>7)</sup> and Col.ii, line 25 with Fabius Iustus, who, he thinks, possibly succeeded Faustinus in 105.

Even though he accepted Syme's revisions, Fink does not believe that these men necessarily held their governorships when the pridianum was composed. He also argues that Col.i, line 15 gives the date of enlistment of a man whose discharge was being recorded. The only date which he thinks will fit the space of circa 30 letters is IMP. VESPASIANO VI ET TITO

CAESARE IIII, that is A.D.75. This would mean that the man concerned would have served 30 or more years on Syme's reckoning, and Fink points out that this is "unlikely in view of the wholesale discharges which took place in this region in 99 and 100 in preparation for Trajan's first Dacian war".

What none of the earlier commentators could know, and what Fink now ignores, is the new diploma of 105 (18.2), which places a cohors I Hispanorum in Egypt just prior to 105, and firmly in Iudaea by September 24 105. This makes complete nonsense of any attempt to equate the Moesian and Egyptian cohortes I Hispanorum. Ignoring the strong probability, already demonstrated, that the cohort based in Egypt had been there from early in the principate, let us examine what such an identification would entail.

The cohort would first lie in the Danubian/Balkan area, taking in local recruits (from Stobi and Nicopolis) who appear to have enlisted in the reign of Vespasian. By 83, however, the same cohort would be in Egypt (18,1) remaining there until at least 98 (18.3). In 99 it would have to move to Moesia inferior in time to be recorded in the diploma of August 14 (19.2), but, in spite of the needs created by the two Dacian wars, would be back in Egypt before 105. By 105 it would be in the garrison of Iudaea, but even then its travels would not be over for in March 129 the same cohort was recorded in Dacia inferior(19.5). Such a complicated scheme of movements is untenable.

Once Syme is seen to be correct over the existence of two cohorts, much of Fink's carefully constructed argument falls to the ground. His point concerning Col.i,line 15 ignores

the fact that, as line 21 shows, some other formula may have been employed which makes possible an ending referring to the V]IIII th consulship of Vespasian (A.D.79). If Saturninus, Faustinus and Iustus were not governors in the Moesian provinces around the time of the composition of the pridianum, why do their names appear on the document at all ? His reasoning against a later date than 100 is also partly based upon the lack of evidence of losses in combat. As we shall see, there are grounds for supposing the cohort to be (in his words) "in a rear-echelon assignment" and thus not liable to incur losses in battle.

All this being so, there is no reason why Syme's date should not be accepted and all the details recorded in the pridianum set into the pattern of preparation for Trajan's second Dacian War. Some men have been sent off to the army in Pannonia (Col.ii, line 8), some are temporarily absent in Gaul collecting clothing and other unidentified items (Col.ii, lines 18 and 19), and others are in Dardania at the mines (Col.ii, line 22), perhaps guarding these vulnerable and precious areas. Inside the province (of Moesia) men have been outposted to a fort at Piroboridava, north of the Danube and on the right flank of the territory of Decebalus, and others are at Boridava.<sup>8)</sup> Probably both stations were established after the first Dacian War and would be on key routes for a new offensive. More succinctly a section had been sent across the Danube in an expedition and some are mentioned as 'scouts' (Col.ii, line 29 and line 32). All this has the appearance of an army unit preparing for trouble. This is confirmed by a further comment of J.F. Gilliam<sup>9)</sup> that the pridianum contains accessions as well as losses (Col.i, lines

29-35) and his discovery that the total at the end of Col.1 reads 596 rather than 536, as had been supposed. This is 50 higher than the previous total of soldiers in the document<sup>10)</sup> and, if correct, would again fit in with preparations for the final struggle against Decebalus, raising the cohort well above the presumed peacetime strength of such a unit. As Gilliam pointed out,<sup>11)</sup> "the unit's name and station are given at the beginning: pr]id[i]anum coh i hisp veter d stobis".

He argued against the interpretation given to "d" by Huht, namely that this represented quingenaria, as it is extremely rare for cohorts to make a claim to be quingenary. Instead he proposed to expand the end of the line to read d(egentis) Stobis, that is the unit was temporarily stationed at Stobi since "degere suggests a more temporary station than hibernari".

Another possibility is that the "d" comes from the verb decedere. This verb certainly appears in other contexts within the document and here it may be used in another accepted military sense, i.e. to withdraw from a former position. This would account for the date of 16th or 17th September of the pridianum, to which Gilliam also devoted some attention.<sup>12)</sup>

He pointed to the difficulties of such a date if pridiana were "regularly submitted at fixed dates, whether once a year or more often". Let us suppose the pridianum to have been prepared on the eve of the departure of the main body of the unit from Stobi. Stobi was in Macedonia, a provincia inermis, it lay at the junction of many routes. The rump of the cohort may have been engaged in directing the dispersal of supplies, arriving by sea at Dyrrachium or Apollonia, to troops engaged in the first operations of 105. The campaigning season was now drawing to a close and the cohort is seen returning to

Moesia inferior, to whose command it belonged. The pridianum in this case falls into line as a roll-call before departure. In the next season it may well have been involved in action.

One further point may be made concerning the station of the cohort in Flavian times. Gilliam thought that the first part of the script is a draft of another pridianum of the same cohort.<sup>13)</sup> This seems logical, and if so it throws some light upon the earlier history of the Moesian unit since Fink thought lines 11-20, Col.i recorded five discharges. Stobi occurs four times in these lines and Nicopolis once. Stobi, as we have seen, lies in Macedonia, so here may be an example of a senatorial province contributing recruits to the army of a neighbouring imperial province, for we may be justified in suggesting the cohort was assigned to Moesia by the first of the Flavians. With regard to the recruit from Nicopolis, there is much less certainty. There are at least three towns of that name in the Graeco-Balkan area, one of them in Moesia itself. The recruit may justifiably be labelled 'local' in any event.<sup>14)</sup>

How did the pridianum come to Egypt to be purchased by Hunt ? Either of his two theories may be true, although there is no evidence of the cohort in Egypt at the time of the Jewish Revolt. This is not surprising as its stay would be brief. Certainly the onslaught was serious enough to warrant the transfer of troops on a temporary basis. In this case the cohort may have discarded its old records before returning to Moesia inferior. E. Birley prefers to think "it went to Egypt in the brief-case of the prefect who had been in command of it when the pridianum was drawn up - his file

copy, so to say, of a return for which he had been responsible".<sup>15)</sup> A further possibility that no-one seems to have considered is that the document was transported to Egypt in relatively modern times. Papyri have a market value in Egypt in particular and Hunt was not sure of its real provenance.

To summarise what we know of the history of the cohort:

If the cohort was in the general area of the Balkans in the Flavian period, probably even then in Moesia, it is possible that it should be equated with the cohort of the same number (but without the title veterana) in Illyricum in July 60 (18.1). This is by no means certain, since there are other cohorts which could fit the bill for the later history of the Illyrian cohort, e.g. one of the cohortes I Flavia Hispanorum, if the Flavia is regarded as a battle honour rather than evidence of a Flavian foundation.<sup>16)</sup>

The reason for the use of the title veterana is also unclear. If, as Cichorius held, a cohort bore this title when it was the older of two cohorts of the same name in a province, there is no evidence for the homonym in Moesia. If cohors I Flavia Hispanorum milliaria was stationed in an undivided Moesia<sup>17)</sup> with our cohort, the distinguishing label would hardly be necessary because of the additional title Flavia.<sup>18)</sup>

Moesia was divided in 86 and, wherever the cohort had been stationed previously, it now went to the Lower command. It may have taken part in the Suebo-Sarmatian war under the command of Attius Priscus (cf. 25.2) but this is far from certain. Trajan spent the winter of 98-99 on the Danube frontier, and there are those who consider that in this period

he had already decided upon war with Decebalus. In this case there may be some point in regarding the diploma of 99 (19.2) as one in which the weeding out of unfit veterans took place, in order to replace them with newly trained recruits for the war. If this interpretation is correct, our cohort may have seen active service during the period 101-102.<sup>19)</sup>

Its activities during the period 105-106 have been described. It seems probable that the cohort remained under the command of the governor of Lower Moesia at the end of the wars. As Gerov has shown,<sup>20)</sup> Trajan's initial dispositions included the annexation of areas north of the Danube to Moesia superior and inferior (cf. ala I Hispanorum No.06). To the latter province went the area known as Oltenia and it was not until 119 that this terrain became part of Dacia inferior. Tiles from Brețcu (cf. cohors I Bracaraugustanorum No.61/2) place a Spanish cohort (probably this one) near, if not actually at that fort (19.11). It was constructed in the Trajanic-Hadrianic period. Brețcu lies west of Piroboridava, so that it is likely at least part of the cohort could have been operating in that area. It certainly could have been in the Moesian command up to 119, and then changed its allegiance, but not necessarily its station, to Dacia inferior, since in 129 it is listed in a diploma of that province (19.5).

A little later it may have moved south, for a silver plaque (19.4) gives an indication that it was somewhere in the vicinity of Bivolari (Arutela) on the left bank of the Alutus fl. The fortlet at Arutela (0.36 ha.) is not large enough to contain the cohort. It was built in 137/8 and the silver plaque may indicate no more than that a section of the cohort

aided in the construction, which is generally attributed to the numerus Surorum sagittariorum.<sup>21)</sup> Its last record in Dacia inferior is in the diploma for 140 (19.6). After this to all intents cohors I Hispanorum veterana equitata disappeared. However, in 158 a diploma of Dacia Porolissensis (19.7) carried a cohors I Hispanorum. Dacia Porolissensis had been created circa 124.<sup>22)</sup> A suitable occasion for troop movements is to hand, shortly before the issue of the diploma, in the war in Dacia recorded in Scriptores Historiae Augustae.<sup>23)</sup> This came to a triumphant conclusion in 157, according to an inscription from Uj-Gredistje.<sup>24)</sup> For reasons of economy, it seems reasonable to equate our cohort with that of Dacia Porolissensis rather than to postulate the appearance of yet another Spanish cohort in Dacia.

If identity is accepted, why did the cohort drop its title of veterana ? One reason may have been that it was doubled in size on moving. The cohort in question appears eighth of twelve cohorts; in diplomata of 164 in the same place (19.8, 19.9 and 19.10) in lists which are in essentials identical, is cohors I Hispanorum milliaria.<sup>25)</sup> What happened after this we cannot tell. Presumably the cohort remained in Dacia but how it fared in the vicissitudes of the next century, or if indeed it survived to be evacuated during the abandonment of Dacia in the reign of Aurelian, is unknown.

The name of one prefect of the cohort is partially known. Col.i, line 25 of Hunt's pridianum was read by Fink to refer to an Arruntianus (of uncertain praenomen and nomen). Hunt's reading of the same name produced a possibility of this section reading Varro Nicanus.<sup>26)</sup> Valerius Valerianus of presumed late Hadrianic date was equus librarius, an interesting case of a

man who was a clerk and also a cavalryman. He may have been concerned with the records of his fellow equites (19.4). Hunt's pridianum also gives us the name of Optatus, a soldier of the cohort, being discharged after something over 28 years' service.<sup>27)</sup> R.W. Davies<sup>28)</sup> contributed an alternative version of Col.i, line 21. He thinks it should read:

[DEPOSITA AD]EMIT M IIS Q M C IMP VESPAS[I]ANO VIII COS.

"Iulius Optatus who began military service in A.D.79 withdrew his savings of 1,000 sesterces". That is to say he was taking out his savings from the sacellum, as he was now entitled to do. A..uinus (Col.ii, line 32) was a centurion in charge of a group of scouts at the time of writing of the roster, and Fink also supplied the name of Carus, a decurion, in his latest reading (Col.ii, line 25).

## Footnotes

1. The version given has the Column and line numbers adopted by Fink, cf. the inscription.
2. JRS 48 (1958) pp.102ff.
3. Records o.63 pp.217ff.
4. "The Lower Danube under Trajan", JRS 49 (1959) pp.26ff.
5. The papyrus was examined by Mr. T.C. Skeat and Professor E.G. Turner.
6. CIL XVI 50.
7. CIL XVI 54, cf. Syme, op. cit. for the upper limit.
8. D. Tudor has excavated Buridava, but the publication is not yet available. A summary (in AE 1969/70, 552) of an article by Tudor suggests that the cohort was engaged in building activities at Buridava, together with cohortes II Flavia Bessorum and VIIII Batavorum and legionary detachments, during Trajan's Dacian Wars. This evidence is based upon tile stamps, and would fit well with the recording of a section there by the pridianum.
9. "The Moesia pridianum", Hommages à Albert Grenier (Brussels 1962) 747ff.
10. Col.i, line 26.
11. op. cit. p.750.
12. op. cit. pp.752ff.
13. op. cit. p.755. Fink, Records p.218, disputes this. He thinks it could be the record of another unit. However, later (p.219) he speculates that the cohors I Hispanorum of Pannonia (19.1) in 60, the Moesian cohort and the Egyptian regiment might all be the same(!), in which case he appears to be ready to accept Col.i, lines 1-22 as belonging to cohors I Hispanorum veterana.

14. In an article entitled "Optatus and the Roman Army" (Bulletin of the American Society of Papyrologists 5 (1968) pp.121-128) R.W. Davies proposes an interesting variation of the reason for the mention of Stobi and Nicopolis, namely that these are cited as places where men about to receive diplomas were stationed. This, if it could be proved, would support the argument that the rump of the cohort was in Macedonia at Stobi, although on the strength of Moesia inferior. It would also mean that Fink's assertion (op. cit. p.222) that Nicopolis in Epirus must be the city mentioned in Col.i, line 14 need not follow. Nicopolis ad Haemum and Nicopolis ad Nestum, both Trajanic foundations, might qualify.
15. In a letter, 24th March 1969. He quoted parallels of men known to him who came from Alexandria and who had commanded cohorts elsewhere.
16. See the alternatives discussed concerning the career of Q. Attius Priscus (25.2), and also cohors I Flavia Hispanorum of Germania inferior (No.20).
17. Later in Moesia superior (A.D.94) but the province was undivided until 86.
18. Although the cohort is recorded as milliary on its first appearance in 94 it may not have been so on its inception cf. E. Birley, Alae and cohortes milliariae pp.60/61.
19. Unfortunately the fact that the two diplomata of Moesia inferior dated to August 14, 99 (CIL XVI 44 and 45) refer to the auxilia attached to two legions is of no help in fixing the station of the unit. Suffice it to say that Wagner was wrong in his suggestion that our cohort was

- garrisoned with cohors II Gallorum and cohors II Flavia Brittonum in the fort at Durostorum, as the former belonged to the list of CIL XVI 44, the latter to CIL XVI 45. (Dislokation p.148.)
20. "Zwei neugefundene Militärdiplome aus Nordbulgarien", Klio 37 (1959) pp.196-210.
21. CIL III 12601a.
22. C. Daicoviciu and D. Protase, "Un nouveau diplôme militaire de Dacia Porolissensis", JRS 51 (1961) pp.68/9.
23. Antoninus Pius 5,4.
24. CIL III 1416.
25. cf. the explanation given, with table in "Epigraphic Notes", Ep. St. 9 (Bonn 1972) p.249.
26. See reference heading 19.3, p.271, giving as parallel CIL III 6331.
27. Col.i, line 22. Fink suggests the date of his recruitment is given in the previous line i.e. the 9th consulship of Vespasian A.D.79.
28. op. cit.

20. Cohors I Flavia Hispanorum equitata (pia fidelis).

In his monograph on the auxilia of Germania inferior G. Alföldy discusses cohors I Flavia Hispanorum equitata pia fidelis,<sup>1)</sup> I am indebted to his analysis for many points of detail but in several respects would like to offer alternative solutions.

Alföldy considers that the unit was probably raised in Spain in 69 or 70 and came to the Lower Rhine with one of the Spanish legions.<sup>2)</sup> He accounts for the fact that there were soldiers ready for discharge from the cohort in April 78 by suggesting the strength of the cohort may have been made up after the Batavian revolt with members of units which had suffered such severe casualties as to be disbanded. This is one way of explaining the evidence but two queries arise:

1. Even in the period of great emergency represented by the events of 69-70 would newly raised troops, less than a season old, be used in the front line fighting and suffer losses requiring replacement?<sup>3)</sup>
2. Does the title Flavia necessarily denote that the cohort was raised by Vespasian? May it not be an honorary epithet applied to a unit which had served the Flavian cause in 69/70?

The possibility of the existence of a pre-Flavian cohors I Hispanorum, in Moesia or another of the Danubian provinces, to account for the title of cohors I Hispanorum veterana of Moesia has already been touched upon.<sup>4)</sup> The Danubian forces supported Vespasian and there would be opportunity for a cohort to win battle honours in his cause.<sup>5)</sup> If the cohort came to the Rhineland as part of the Moesian contingent, for

example, there is no oddity about men being ready for discharge in 78. The latest date for the raising of the cohort in this case would be A.D.43 and, although the argument is far too tenuous to insist upon this point, it is just conceivable that this cohort is that mentioned in the diploma of A.D.60 for Illyricum (19.1) transferred to Moesia between 60 and 68. In this case it would undoubtedly belong to the early part of the principate in origin.

We meet Rutilius Gallicus again<sup>6)</sup> in the diploma of 78 (20.1) perhaps fresh from his victory over the Bructeri and capture of Veleda.<sup>7)</sup> This cohort is the only one named in the diploma, together with six alae. It may be that the diploma is a discharge list following Gallicus' campaigns. In 80 another diploma (20.2) lists the unit merely as I Flavia first of eleven cohorts, but identity is certain in view of the known garrison of Lower Germany.

For a clue to its station in this period we have the tiles from Vetera and Vechten (20.4 and 20.5). They too lack the complete name of the unit, but no other cohort of Lower Germany fits this appellation. Alföldy suggests the cohort lay somewhere between Vetera and Vechten. It was not at Remagen at this time since cohors II Varcianorum is attested there in the Flavian period.<sup>8)</sup>

The next important event in the history of the cohort is its award of the honorary epithet pia fidelis presumably, like other contingents of Lower Germany, after the successful crushing of the revolt of Saturninus in 89. It bears its full title in the cursus of L. Paconius Proculus, an Italian who began his military career as its prefect (20.6). Proculus then served as tribune in legio XI Claudia pia fidelis, which

lay in Moesia inferior, and following this was prefect of cavalry vexillations, drawn from Moesia inferior and Dacia, for Trajan's Parthian expedition of 114-117. Alföldy considers Proculus to have commanded our cohort in Germany circa 105. I think it more likely he was prefect of the unit in Moesia. The reasons for this belief have been set out in an article<sup>9)</sup> but, in brief, it seems to me that the cohort may have accompanied legio I Minervia from the Rhine to take part in Trajan's Dacian Wars and remained in that theatre for circa a decade, before returning to Germany. This accounts, in the most economic way, for the gap in the evidence in Germania inferior and its station at Remagen later upon its return. It ties in also with the record of cohors I Hispanorum pia fidelis in two diplomata of Dacia in 110 (20.17 and 20.18).<sup>10)</sup> It is possible (but far from certain) that the cohort, fifth of eleven, in the list of Moesia superior for 103-105 (20.19) may be our unit.

A return to Germania inferior in Hadrianic times would fit the career of L. Domitius Rogatus who, Alföldy thinks, commanded the cohort circa 120 (20.7). The basis of the dating of the career depends partially upon his appointment as procurator ab epistulis to L. Aelius Caesar in 136-7, and partly upon Alföldy's belief that Rogatus, an officer with some experience in Britain in command of cohors I Delmatarum, may have been tribune of legio VI Victrix in 122 (following his command of our cohort) at the time of its removal to Britain. Certainly, as he points out, there is evidence of the frequent movement of officers between Lower Germany and Britain, and this would confirm the fact that the cohort returned to Germania in Hadrian's reign. Circa 14 years,

however, seems rather a long period to span only the two latter military posts in the career of Rogatus, and for this reason it might be better to envisage his command of our cohort nearer 130 than 120. Alföldy comments that, although his tombstone came from Rome, his tribe and cognomen suggest an African origin. M. Jarrett, on the other hand, does not list this man in his "Album of the Equestrians from North Africa in the Emperor's Service".<sup>11)</sup>

The next certain record of the cohort appears at Remagen in 195 (20.8) but it is also probably listed sixth of fifteen cohorts on a new diploma of Germania inferior of A.D.158 (20.3). In Remagen inscriptions date the sojourn of the cohort between 195 and 250 (20.8-20.13). What happened to the cohort in the second half of the third century, when the barbarian invasions occurred, is unclear. Lehner was only able to conduct limited investigations at the fort site of Remagen (Rigomagus). He uncovered the south-west corner of the fort and a tower on the eastern side, but the dimensions and internal layout of the fort remain unknown. The fort goes through from Tiberian times to the fourth century. The early fort of earth and timber was replaced in Flavian times by one of stone, and in the latter part of the third century <sup>12)</sup> it was reconstructed in late Roman defensive style by thickening the existing walls. Lehner considered that the late fort ended in the fourth century, and he associated its end with a burnt layer suggesting destruction by fire. It seems doubtful that the cohort would have gone on unchanged in function throughout that period and it may well have left Remagen at the time of its 'modernisation'.

The following prefects appear on stones from Remagen:

1. An unknown man who commanded the cohort while Tertullus and Clemens were consuls. This used to be placed in 158 but Degrassi's lists make it clear that these consuls really belong to 195 (20.8);
2. I ...lius Firmus, in 205, is thought to be a Gaul or German by Alföldy (20.9);
3. Petronius Athenodorus in 218, whose name surely indicates a Greek or Eastern origin (20.10);
4. Flavius Sollemnis in the period 222-235 (since Severus Alexander and Iulia Mamaea are the deleted names). Sollemnis should be Gallic or German in origin, and Alföldy reduces the date range to 231-233 by connecting the dedication to the Persian Wars of Severus Alexander (20.11);
5. Valerius Censorinus, also a local man according to Alföldy, commanded in the years 244-249, as the title Philippiana indicates (20.12);
6. P. Orbius Lucullus may be an Italian (cf. Alföldy). His command belongs to a late second or early third century date on the stylistic indications of the lettering<sup>13)</sup> (20.14). Two further prefects may have belonged to this cohort or its homonym in Mauretania Caesariensis. One is the unknown man recorded on a stone from Dobož in Dalmatia (20.20); the other an Italian, M. Aurelius Lyaeus, whose first two names suggest a date in the late second or early third century (20.21). The sacerdos of Dolichenus of A.D.250 at Remagen (20.13) may well be oriental but is fairly obviously not a member of the cohort. The dedication to domus divina mentions only the equites of the cohort. A separate dedic-

ation by the cavalry section of the cohort may indicate their growing importance in this period. The worship of Dolichenus by troops in the Rhineland at this date need occasion no surprise, nor need it mean that Orientals were among the troops as Alföldy supposes. C. Iulius Piso was tubicen of the cohort at the end of the second or beginning of the third century (20.14). M. Cassius Verecundus (surely a Gallic cognomen)<sup>14)</sup> retired from the cohort but remained at Remagen with his wife and son, in the third century (20.16).

## Footnotes

1. Hilfstruppen p.60 and Inss. Nos. 121-132.
2. VI Victrix, I Adulatrix and later X Gemina cf. Tacitus, Hist. 4,68 and 5,19.
3. Vitellius did not die until December 69. Messengers sent to carry news of the Flavian victory at Cremona (Tacitus, op. cit. 3,35) presumably succeeded in preparing the ground for the secession of the Spanish legions from Vitellius after the capture of Valens, but even so this was late in the season. There would be very little time to levy, equip and train and transport a new cohort from Spain to the Rhineland to fight with Cerialis.
4. See cohors I Hispanorum veterana No.19.
5. The Moesian army had certainly been involved. cf. Tacitus, op. cit. 3,5.
6. See cohors I Hispanorum (14.3).
7. Stadius, Silvae 1,4,89/90.
8. Hilfstruppen p.74.
9. Ep. St. 9 (Bonn 1972) p.248.
10. There is no other record of a first cohort of Spaniards bearing the epithet pia fidelis in Dacia.
11. Ep. St. 9 (Bonn 1972) pp.146ff.
12. cf. information by H. von Petrikovits "Fortifications in the North-western Roman Empire from the Third to the Fifth centuries A.D.", JRS 61 (1971) p.197 n.36.
13. Alföldy, op. cit. p.204.
14. cf. Alföldy, Ep. St. 4 (Köln 1967) pp.16ff.

21. Cohors I Flavia Ulpia Hispanorum milliaria equitata civium Romanorum.

On the strength of the very fragmentary inscription from Dobož<sup>1)</sup> Wagner<sup>2)</sup> considered it probable that this cohort was in Dalmatia in "the second third of the first century", and that it moved with legio IV Flavia to Moesia superior in the year 86. However, cohors I Flavia Hispanorum milliaria (as it appears in A.D.94 (21.1) should have been commanded by a tribune (cf. 21.12), and the unknown commander is recorded as being, at the time of erection of the stone, tribune of an unnamed but presumably milliary cohort, and former prefect of cohors I Flavia Hispanorum.<sup>3)</sup> Even if it is assumed that the cohort was at one time quingenary, and perhaps only raised to milliary status on moving to Moesia superior, Wagner's thesis will not stand, since the record of a former command of an officer has obviously no significance for the station of the cohort concerned. Both J. Wilkes<sup>4)</sup> and G. Alföldy<sup>5)</sup> listed cohors I Flavia Hispanorum as part of the first century garrison of Dalmatia; this acceptance of Wagner needs revising.

All that may be asserted with confidence is that the cohort was in Moesia superior in A.D.94 (21.1) and that it had been raised at latest by 69. Whether it was raised by Vespasian is a moot point. The title Ulpia was later acquired as a battle honour; Flavia too may have been won for bravery (or support of the Flavian cause) by an existing cohort.<sup>6)</sup> In the same way we cannot be sure that it was milliary from its inception, indeed if it was a pre-Flavian cohort there are grounds for believing that it would not have been.<sup>7)</sup>

In Moesia superior the cohort left traces in the form of tiles at Viminacium and Golubac (21.10 and 21.11). Both of these military stations lie on the south bank of the Danube<sup>8)</sup> separated by circa 60 kms of the river's course. Viminacium was a legionary fortress but there was an auxiliary fort at Golubac. The cohort may have been stationed there, or perhaps between the two sites in the years before the Dacian Wars of Trajan.

It was still in the lists of Moesia superior in 100 (21.2). Probably those soldiers who were discharged in that diploma<sup>9)</sup> were veterans no longer fit to undertake the rigours of war, as the cohort was certainly involved in the Dacian Wars. The evidence for this is clear from the two diplomas of 110 (21.3 and 21.4). Both diplomas were issued solely to discharged veterans; presumably they represent demobilisation of time expired men when stability had been achieved after a successful campaign. One diploma (21.3) gives our cohort the additional titles of Ulpia and civium Romanorum, which must undoubtedly mean that the cohort had distinguished itself in battle. The full title of the cohort, and the fact that it was part-mounted, are given on a milestone found on the road from Potaissa to Napoca, which is dated to 109/110 (21.13). After the wars the cohort is shown engaged in the normal operation of road building upon the acquisition of a new province. This stone surely confirms that the cohort remained in Dacia in the area later to be divided off as Porolissensis.

In 158 the cohort appeared third of twelve cohorts in the list of Dacia Porolissensis (21.6), clearly identified as I Flavia Ulpia Hispanorum milliaria, and then as

I Hispanorum milliaria in three diplomata of 164 (21.7-21.9) in the same position. This, together with the evidence of the milestone, has prompted me to suppose that the same cohort is meant (even though its full titles are omitted) on the diploma for Porolissensis of 133 (21.5).<sup>10)</sup> Again the cohort appears in third position and the order of units is identical, save for the addition of one ala, and six cohorts in the later lists. If Dacia Porolissensis was created by Hadrian in 124<sup>11)</sup> it seems reasonable that our cohort formed part of the original garrison, whether it was at first divided as the tiles of the quingenary first Spanish cohort at Magyar-egregy<sup>12)</sup> might imply (25.1), or merely listed without the milliary sign in error. If the tiles of Magyar-egregy do belong to this cohort they offer a slight clue to the possibility of a station along the western limes of Porolissensis, otherwise we have no evidence for its fort.

The bronze votive hand found at Myszkow on the Seret, supporting a bronze Victory, and inscribed to I.O.M. Dolichenus (21.14), does not strictly come from within Dacia, but outside and to the east of the Roman province. Wagner suggested,<sup>13)</sup> on the style of the letter formation, and the type of inscription, as well as the find spot, that the hand belonged to the period of the northern campaigns of Marcus Aurelius in the year 174. If true this confirms what we might suspect, the cohort would have been involved in the disturbances of the latter part of the second century. After this the record falls silent.

The career of C. Vibius Celer Papirius Rufus, the one known tribune of the cohort, has been fully discussed by E. Birley<sup>14)</sup> and H-G. Pflaum.<sup>15)</sup> Birley has underlined the

fact that the tribune of a military cohort is likely to have been a man of proven ability selected for this independent command, in contrast to the more usual service as one of five equestrian subordinate officers in a legion. Celer, an Italian from Circeii, had first been prefect of a cohors I Montanorum, either in Pannonia inferior, where one of the cohorts of this name and number is found, or in Syria Palaestina, where a homonym is listed in 139.<sup>16)</sup> This latter cohort is probably to be identified with the cohort of Moesia superior attested there before and after this date,<sup>17)</sup> and probably brought to Palestine to take part in the suppression of the Jewish revolt. Pflaum suggests a date of circa 150 for the last military post of Celer at Palmyra in Syria;<sup>18)</sup> this would make his command of our cohort fall somewhere in the middle of the decade 140-150. It may be that he proved his worth by safely overseeing the transfer from Syria Palaestina back to Moesia superior of cohors I Montanorum,<sup>19)</sup> and thence was placed in command of the military cohort in a key position on the limes of Porolissensis<sup>20)</sup> finally returning to Syria, and eventually becoming procurator of Arabia.<sup>21)</sup>

Unfortunately the dedicator of the votive hand gives us little information about himself, save that his praenomen is Gaius, and that he is an optio (21.14).

## Footnotes

1. CIL III 14619, see 20.20 (cohors I Flavia Hispanorum pia fidelis).
2. Dislokation p.151.
3. This title is borne by two other cohorts in Germania inferior and Mauretania Caesariensis respectively.
4. Dalmatia (London 1969) p.141.
5. "Die Auxiliartruppen der Provinz Dalmatien", Acta Arch. Hung. 14 (1962) pp.269/70.
6. cf. the arguments used under cohors I Flavia Hispanorum equitata pia fidelis of Germania inferior. In this case if it did prove possible to recruit a military cohort in Spain late in the season of 69, some of its members may be presumed to be receiving the privilegia after exactly 25 years of service.
7. See the doubts expressed by E. Birley in Alae and cohortes milliariae, on the pre-Flavian existence of military units.
8. Viminacium is actually 2 km from the Danube.
9. Both serving and discharged soldiers are mentioned in the diploma.
10. cf. Ep. St. 9 (Bonn 1972) pp.248/9 and accompanying table.
11. As suggested by C. Daicoviciu and D. Protase, "Une nouveau Diplôme Militaire de Dacia Porolissensis", JRS 51 (1961) pp.68/9.
12. Largiana (= Românași). It seems just possible to me that the Ð is a botched military sign and the other symbols, which are clearly either incorrectly etched in the first place, or wrongly restored, cover the signs for c.R. eq.
13. op. cit. p.152.
14. RBRA pp.146/147, and Alae and cohortes milliariae p.63, No.22.

15. Car. No.155, pp.363-367.
16. CIL XVI 87.
17. CIL XVI 46 (A.D.100), CIL XVI 54 (103/105), CIL XVI 111 (159/160).
18. As evidenced in an inscription AE 1933,207 (Palmyra).
19. This may be classed as a flight of imagination but it offers a possible explanation of the evidence.
20. See E. Birley, op. cit., on the importance of the positions to which military cohorts were normally directed.
21. CIL III 14156<sup>2</sup>.

22. Cohors I Hispanorum equitata.

The inscription of T. Pompeius Licyrigus from Cyrene (22.1) was taken by Wagner<sup>1)</sup> to refer to cohors II Hispanorum scutata Cyrenaica equitata. He considered that this tombstone belonged to the period of the Jewish revolt when the cohort was transferred from the Danubian area to Cyrenaica, and that the title Cyrenaica, and the right to carry the legionary shield, arose out of the part played by the cohort in the suppression of the revolt.<sup>2)</sup> Wagner's hypothesis may be challenged on several counts:

- a) In style the inscription is undoubtedly early. The use of aera instead of stipendia, the lack of abbreviation, names in the nominative and hic situs in full, together with the absence of a cohort number, all speak for an Augustan or Tiberian date.
- b) If anything, the lack of a numeral qualifying the unit name implies a first cohort of Spaniards.
- c) Licyrigus originated from the Autrigones of Hispania Tarraconensis,<sup>3)</sup> and this argues that he was one of the original recruits to the cohort, but Wagner's theory implied an intermediate stay in the Danubian area.

Confirmation that there was a cohors I Hispanorum in Cyrenaica comes through the discovery of another tombstone, so far unpublished (22.2), from Tolmeita. All that may be said at present is that there was such a cohort in Cyrenaica at an early period in the principate and that its station, if a definite camp existed, lay somewhere in the coastal region, possibly in the area near Tolmeita. The cohort was part-mounted, as Licyrigus describes himself as eques.

Whether this cohort remained in Cyrenaica as part of the

permanent garrison, or moved to another province and is to be equated with one of the other cohorts of this name and number, remains to be shown from further evidence. Cyrenaica undoubtedly needed protection from the nomadic tribes of the interior, like other North African provinces. It is to be hoped that new work being undertaken in Libya will provide the missing clues.

## Footnotes

1. Dislokation pp.153-4.
2. P. Romanelli, CAH 11 (1954) p.669, even suggested a date in "the second half of the second century" but gave no reasons. Presumably he thought the possession of tria nomina implied that Licyrghus was a Roman citizen, but the lack of an Imperial nomen makes it probable that he merely had Latin status (cf. Alföldy, Latomus, 25 (1966) p.37ff.)
3. Holder, I,303; Pliny, NH 3,3,27.

### 23. Cohors I Hispanorum.

Two inscriptions place a cohors I Hispanorum at Volubilis, or in the vicinity, some time in the first century (23.1 and 23.2). One is the tombstone of a centurion, Saturninus, whose name is in the nominative. The lack of the formula dis manibus and the use of h.s.e. argue reasonably enough that this stone should have been erected within 3-4 decades of the absorption of Tingitana into the Roman Empire. A recently discovered diploma of 151/160 (23.3) has been interpreted to mean that the cohort remained in Mauretania Tingitana at least until the second half of the second century. Unfortunately it has not been possible to locate a photograph of the diploma, but it may be argued that it should not differ too markedly from other diplomata of the same decade.<sup>1)</sup> In approximately the same place on their lists appears a SECOND cohort of Spaniards (cohors II Hispana Vasconum (No.43)). The absence of the first cohort from all the intervening diplomata of this province makes it seem likely that either the number was wrongly engraved, or has been misread. In this case what happened to the cohort recorded at Volubilis? There are several possibilities:

1. It was disbanded or annihilated during one of the disturbances that arose in Mauretania during the latter part of the first and early second centuries.
2. It was transferred to another province. There are several candidates which might fit such a move, for example cohors I Flavia (Ulpia) Hispanorum milliaria equitata, which first appears in Moesia superior in A.D.94, and could have been raised to milliary status and acquired the title

Flavia just before or after the move. A better case could be made for cohors I Flavia Hispanorum of Mauretania Caesariensis. This cohort is recorded in Caesariensis in 107,<sup>2)</sup> and none of the inscriptions of the unit in that province are first century in date. On at least two occasions during the Flavian period, there were troubles sufficient to warrant exceptional measures being taken by the emperors in North Africa. Circa 75/76 Sextus Sentius Caecilianus was appointed legatus Augusti pro praetore ordinandae utriusque Mauretaniae,<sup>3)</sup> and the joining of the commands of the two provinces indicates a serious uprising. In 84-86 another good soldier, C. Vellius Rufus, was commander of the armies of Mauretania and Africa, specifically given the task of putting down a revolt in Mauretania.<sup>4)</sup> Either of these two men would have had the authority necessary to draw striking forces from both Mauretaniae and, after successfully quelling the revolts, to have suggested new dispositions for individual units. If the cohort recorded at Volubilis had taken part in one of the campaigns it would have had opportunity to win the title Flavia.

Either of these two hypotheses will have to await the discovery of further epigraphic evidence for confirmation.

All that may be said with safety is that the first Spanish cohort of Mauretania Tingitana was certainly raised in Julio-Claudian times, possibly in the reign of Augustus, or specifically for use in Mauretania either by Gaius or Claudius.

## Footnotes

1. CIL XVI 181 and 182. See Table II, Appendix 1.
2. CIL XVI 56.
3. AE 1941,79 (Banasa).
4. ILS 9200 (Heliopolis, Syria) cf. Pflaum, Car. 50 p.114.

#### 24. Cohors I Flavia Hispanorum.

This cohort appears in a diploma of Mauretania Caesariensis for November 107, which argues (as does its title) for its existence at least by the reign of Domitian. One explanation of its title and earlier station has been tentatively advanced (cf. cohors I Hispanorum of Mauretania Tingitana No.23). If this should prove to be correct it has the merit of explaining economically the disappearance of the Tingitanian cohort, but it would be dangerous to be seduced by the apparent simplicity of this solution. Alternatively the cohort of Mauretania Caesariensis may have been raised specifically for the purpose of aiding in the suppression of one of the Mauretanian revolts which occurred circa 75/6 and 84-6.<sup>1)</sup> In this case the title Flavia would relate either to Vespasian or Domitian under whose aegis it was levied.

The cohort remained in Caesariensis at least until the beginning of the third century (24.4), but its station during that period remains obscure. An honorary inscription of a veteran centurion erected at Thuburbo Maius in Africa probably relates to this cohort, although it lacks the qualifying 'Flavia', since he was also centurion of cohors IIII Sygambrorum which was in Mauretania Caesariensis in the second century. M. Fannius Vitalis was honourably discharged by Hadrian so his service will have run through from Trajanic into Hadrianic times. At Thuburbo Maius he became one of the chief magistrates, then flamen perpetuus and the scale of his munera<sup>2)</sup> indicates the good use he had made of his status and wealth on retirement.

From Sitifis, established as a colonia by Nerva, comes

the tombstone or cenotaphium of a cornicularius of coh. Spanorum. In spite of the lack of either the number or the title Flavia, this cohort is probably in question. If the military second Spanish cohort was meant, some indication of its status might be expected.<sup>3)</sup> Aelius Aelianus should be Hadrianic at earliest, but the style of the inscription makes a date later in the second century more feasible. It is possible that the cohort lay not far from Setif at this period, but more than that cannot be hazarded.

In 201 Tiberius Claudius Licinius, former prefect of the cohort, erected an honorary inscription to the procuratorial governor of the province of Mauretania Caesariensis, P. Aelius Peregrinus Rogatus. Licinius would have served as commander of the cohort in that province, a short time previously. Again the inscription provides no clue to the situation of the cohort. Although we have no further evidence it seems likely it remained part of the garrison of Mauretania Caesariensis until the Diocletianic reorganisation.<sup>4)</sup>

## Footnotes

1. cf. No.23 fn.3 and fn.4.
2. 10,000 sesterces and a day of theatrical spectacles and a banquet.
3. cf. Cohors II Hispanorum milliaria equitata of Mauretania Caesariensis No.27.
4. But see cohors II Hispanorum milliaria equitata cf. fn.3 supra for another possibility concerning this cohort.

25. Cohors I Hispanorum unassigned.

There are several inscriptions which mention a first Spanish cohort which cannot be ascribed to a specific unit.

1. The tiles from Magyar-egregy have already been discussed under cohors I Flavia Ulpia Hispanorum milliaria equitata civium Romanorum, No.21, fn.12, but, due to the difficulties inherent in the symbols used on these, there is no certainty about their attribution to this cohort.
2. Q. Attius Priscus from Libarna in Liguria held a rather exceptional triple command.<sup>1)</sup> His decoration by Nerva in the Suebic war dates his post as tribunus militum of legio I Adiutrix to 96/7. A triple command as prefect of cohortes I Hispanorum, I Montanorum and I Lusitanorum implies troubled times and it might seem reasonable to place this in the previous Suebo-Sarmatian War under Domitian in 92. Priscus had been praefectus fabrum before entering a military career. As Dobson pointed out,<sup>2)</sup> to have served a distinguished senator in this post before military service "would count as a commendation". Priscus must indeed have impressed his superior to be entrusted with this responsibility. His military flair was later proved under Nerva, hence the decoration. The area of the Suebic wars suggests the most likely source from which the cohorts would have been drawn, namely the Danubian provinces. Pannonia has records of all three cohorts,<sup>3)</sup> and it may be that the striking force represented by their temporary amalgamation was drawn from here, but if this was so there is a difficulty concerning cohors I Hispanorum. This is one of two cohorts listed in the diploma of Illyricum of A.D.60<sup>4)</sup> which never appear in the later diplomata of that province (to the end of its

undivided existence).<sup>5)</sup> The alternatives suggested for cohors I Hispanorum of Illyricum are:

- a) that it is to be identified with the cohort later appearing with the epithet veterana in Moesia inferior;
- b) that it moved to Moesia some time between 60 and 68/9 (hence the use of veterana by the other first Spanish cohort), supported the Flavian cause, won the battle honour Flavia and went to the Rhineland in 70, remaining as cohors I Flavia Hispanorum in Germania inferior.<sup>6)</sup>

The latter solution is perhaps to be preferred on grounds of logic and economy but if this is so it removes the Illyrian cohort from the scene in the period relevant to Priscus' command. We are left with the possibility that the suggested striking force was drawn from not one but several provinces, for example Moesia inferior (I Hispanorum veterana),<sup>7)</sup> Moesia superior (I Lusitanorum),<sup>8)</sup> and Pannonia (I Montanorum).<sup>9)</sup> To add to the confusion further permutations are possible, since there are two cohortes I Lusitanorum<sup>10)</sup> and, as we have seen, just a faint chance that another cohors I Hispanorum (without its full title Flavia milliaria - could it have won the title Flavia in the Suebic war of 92 ?) could be involved. With all these factors it seems preferable to leave the options open for Priscus.

3. T. Flavius Macrianus erected an altar to Hercules at Teutoburgium whilst serving as tribune of cohors II Augusta Dacorum p.f. milliaria. Presumably that cohort was stationed in Pannonia inferior (although a cohort with a similar title appears later in Pannonia superior).<sup>11)</sup> This may make it seem likely that his previous command as prefect of a first Spanish cohort (part-mounted) was held in a Danubian province

but there is no certainty regarding this.<sup>12)</sup> The style of the inscription suggests a late second century date.

4. Lucius Coelius Verus from Trebula Mutuesca (in Sabine territory) had rather an odd career. Beginning as magister iuventutis in his home town he served in two more positions in the octovirate before entering upon an equestrian post as praefectus cohortis I Hispanorum, and then returned to civilian life to take up another octoviral magistracy.

Presumably he was not well fitted to military command although he played a prominent part in municipal life.<sup>13)</sup> His career belongs most probably to the late first or early second century but there are no clues to the identity of the cohort he commanded (save for the fact that it was not military).

5. The loyal dedication to Gordian from Troianhissar in Moesia inferior has been queried by Wagner.<sup>14)</sup> He pointed out that immediately prior to the erection of this stone cohors I Cisipadensium had shown their loyalty to Maximinus in the same way.<sup>15)</sup> The H of coh. I Hisp. has been restored; he suggested the stone should really be assigned to the unit already attested in the fort.

6. Part of an inscription from Pergamum gives the cursus of T. Vibius Pius who was successively prefect of cohors I 'Spanorum', tribune of one of the cohortes Voluntariorum c.R., tribune of legio XI Claudia and prefect of ala I Barbat....<sup>16)</sup> It is uncertain which Spanish cohort is meant. In view of the mention of legio XI Claudia a Danubian venue seems possible for the cohort (several of the cohortes Voluntariorum show connections with this area) and it is tempting to suggest Pius was prefect of cohors I Hispanorum veterana, but not all careers were spent in one area so his command is best left unassigned.<sup>17)</sup>

## Footnotes

1. cf. Wagner, Dislokation p.162 pointing out that this was a triple command. It was not three successive prefectures as Parker believed (Legions p.189).
2. Praefectus fabrum p.77.
3. See table Diplomata of Pannonia.(Table VI).
4. CIL XVI 4.
5. For the other cohort which does not appear again see cohors I Asturum et Callaecorum No.57.
6. A third possibility is that there was another (unattested) cohors I Hispanorum in Moesia but the situation is already so complex that this solution should be regarded as a last resort!
7. The omission of veterana would not be surprising in this instance.
8. Not the cohort of Pannonia divided into two cohorts, one section going to Pannonia inferior, the other to Moesia superior as Nesselhauf thought (CIL XVI 111 p.101 adn.4) but a separate cohort as revealed by the new diploma for Moesia of A.D.75 (Ep. St. 5 (Düsseldorf 1968) pp.177ff.).
9. One of the two listed in that province, see Table VI.
10. cf. Nos.80 and 81.
11. CIL III 15184<sup>16</sup> (Poetovio).
12. See discussion of movements of equestrian officers:  
E. Birley, "The Equestrian officers of the Roman Army", RBRA pp.146ff.
13. cf. the comment by E. Birley, op. cit. p.153 "an inefficient (officer) need never constitute a permanent liability to the service; he could always be superseded

and returned, without compensation, to civilian life".

14. Dislokation p.121.
15. CIL III 14429.
16. If either the "alpha" or "beta" was omitted between ala and the name of the unit it might be possible to read this as being one of the alae Arvac[orum], bearing in mind the interchangeability of the Greek B and V.
17. One point in favour of a command in Moesia or a province nearby is the idea that Greek speaking officers might well be assigned to Eastern provinces for obvious reasons. The date of the command lies somewhere in the second century. Weigand (Zweiter Bericht über die Ausgrabungen in Pergamon 1928/32 (1932) pp.43ff.) indicates that it should at least be post-Trajanic.

26. Cohors II Hispanorum equitata civium Romanorum.

This cohort is one of five (four of them Spanish in origin) appearing first on the lists of Mauretania Tingitana in 109.<sup>1)</sup> All five bear the title civium Romanorum and reasons have already been given for seeing this as a reflection of troubles in Mauretania during the reign of Trajan (cf. cohors I Celtiberorum equitata c.R. No.13).

If only the Spanish cohorts had borne the title it might be thought that they reflected something of the Flavian policies of granting citizenship to Spain, but battle honours seem a more likely interpretation in view of the naming of cohors I Ituraeorum and the fact that three alae and two cohorts, already on the lists, were also given the citizenship at (or about) the same time.<sup>2)</sup> There is, as yet, no evidence which will tell us whether cohors II Hispanorum equitata came to Mauretania Tingitana as part of the original garrison circa 41-43 A.D. (its omission from the diploma for 88<sup>3)</sup> is hardly significant, as that list contains only ten auxiliary regiments and cannot represent the full strength of the army of Tingitana), or arrived as part of reinforcements sent to deal with one of the uprisings. In any case it probably came to Tingitana straight from Spain, as there is no record of an intermediate stay in another province. If its number indicates that it was part of a levy of 1,000 men made for a specific purpose, it should have come to Tingitana soon after the conquest with cohors I Hispanorum (No.23) q.v.

The cohort continued to be recorded in diplomata of the second century up to 156/7 (26.2-26.6),<sup>4)</sup> and is probably

to be restored in AE 1960,103 of 151/160, but its station is unknown. Between 122 and 160 the lists of Tingitana appear to be in topographical rather than in numerical order, and in a study of these lists I have attempted to map out the probable areas in which alae and their attendant cohorts lay.<sup>5)</sup> If the, very tentative, conclusions reached in this article are acceptable, the cohort may have been stationed to the south or south east of Tingitana, but a great deal more field work needs to be done before the many problems concerning the garrison of this province are solved.

After the Diocletianic reorganisation, presumably, the cohort was stationed at Duga, which may be El Benian, not far from Tingi in the north of the province (26.8). El Benian, at 2.4+ ha., was large enough to house a military cohort<sup>6)</sup> and the Notitia dignitatum implies that the cohort at Duga was of this status, since it was commanded by a tribune. This need not mean that another cohort was involved. Changes in the structure of the auxiliary army had been taking place since the beginning of the third century, conversion of a quingenary cohort to military status would not be exceptional and, as we shall see, there is reason to place such a change in the second century for this cohort.

There is some evidence suggesting the existence of a military second Spanish cohort in Mauretania Caesariensis in the late second and third centuries;<sup>7)</sup> it may be that our cohort was raised to military status after 157 (cf. 26.6) and transferred from Tingitana to the neighbouring province.<sup>8)</sup> In this case it will have remained there during the third century<sup>9)</sup> and perhaps only returned to the Tingitanian garrison under Diocletian. However, in view of the paucity

of evidence for the auxilia of Caesariensis (only one diploma is known and that belongs to 107<sup>10</sup>), we cannot be sure that there was not a second military cohort of Spaniards there throughout.

We have the name of one of the commanders of the cohort. T. Statius Praetuttianus was an Italian from Interamna (26.7), who first commanded cohors II Breucorum in Caesariensis<sup>11</sup>) and then became tribune of cohors II Hispanorum equitata c.R. Since this stone should not be later than the second half of the second century on style, it either:

- a) confirms the rise in status of the cohort of Tingitana and suggests that it was doubled in the late second century; or
- b) indicates that the Tingitanian unit had left that province soon after its last record in the diplomata, acquired military status, and served for the next century at least in Caesariensis.

(Praetuttianus may have held both militiae in the same province.) We may be sure that his command was of the cohort first recorded in Tingitana, because the corporate citizenship of the unit is noted in the inscription. This is not present in the two inscriptions of the military homonym of Caesariensis (No.27) so that identity between the two is far from certain. Whatever solution proves to be correct, the stone from Interamna shows the cohort to have been equitata, like so many other cohortes Hispanorum.

L. Aburnius Torquatus (26.9) from Heraclea ad Salbacum commanded a second cohort of Spaniards, and although his other posts were held further east (Cappadocia and a Danubian

province) the Tingitanian cohort may be indicated by the status of civium Romanorum recorded in the inscription. The date of his command is given through the fact that another member of his family (probably his father) was decorated by Trajan during his Parthian war. His career should belong to the first part of the second century. In view of his other posts there is just a faint possibility that his command was over the second Spanish cohort of eastern provenance (cf. No.31). In this case we should have to assume that the latter was granted the award (perhaps by Trajan) and that its failure to be registered in other inscriptions is due to the fact that titles are not always given in full.

## Footnotes

1. CIL XVI 161 (26.1) and CIL XVI 162 (13.1).
2. cf. Table III analysing the diplomata of Mauretania Tingitana between A.D.88 and 160.(Appendix 1)
3. CIL XVI 159.
4. See footnote to 26.5 explaining the reversal of cohortes II Hispanorum and II Hispana Vasconum, from the order given by Nesselhauf in CIL XVI.
5. "The Auxilia of Mauretania Tingitana". See Appendix 1.
6. cf. Tarradell, "Marruecos Antiquo", Zephyrus 5 (1954) p.108.
7. See Cohors II Hispanorum milliaria equitata No.27.
8. Some realignment may have been thought necessary after the Moorish invasions of Spain during the reign of Marcus Aurelius.
9. cf. ILS 2767 of A.D.260 (27.2).
10. CIL XVI 56.
11. CIL XVI 56, CIL VIII 22599, 21561, ILS 2608, 2046 (A.D.107-282).

27. Cohors II Hispanorum milliaria equitata.

The inscription of Praetuttianus (already discussed), an honorary inscription of Q. Gargilius Martialis (27.2), and a new reading of CIL XIV 4467 by E. Birley (27.1) all add together to present a probable picture of a milliary second cohort of Spaniards in Caesariensis in the late second and early third centuries.

It may be the Tingitanian cohort transferred for a time to Caesariensis, or a separate cohort.

A third possibility is that the inscription from Ostia should be restored to refer to a tribune of coh. I Fl. Hispanorum (milliaria). Martialis is described as tribune of co. Hisp. in the province of Mauretania Caesariensis, so that it is just conceivable cohors I Flavia Hispanorum (No.24) was raised to milliary status between 201 and 260 and that the title Flavia was dropped, or omitted, from this particular stone. In this case it might be that cohors II Hispanorum equitata c.R. never left Mauretania Tingitana even after its rise in status, and there was no milliary homonym in Caesariensis. This, however, would have the effect of placing the cursus of the unknown equestrian from Ostia nearly a century after the date suggested by Pflaum,<sup>1)</sup> and rather later than perhaps even Birley's interpretation would allow. A satisfactory solution must wait upon further evidence. The career of Martialis is extensively discussed by M.G. Jarrett.<sup>2)</sup> He thinks that he is probably to be equated with the writer Gargilius Martialis, and that he originated from Auzia in Caesariensis, where he was a citizen of at least second generation standing. His command of the cohort may be dated circa A.D.250 or a little later, but

before 253 when he was called out of retirement to lead an expedition against the Bavares under Faraxen.

Footnotes

1. Car. 90 pp.189ff.
2. "An Album of the Equestrians from North Africa in the Emperor's Service", Ep. St. 9 (Bonn 1972) pp.181/3.

28. Cohors II Hispanorum equitata.

In spite of the paucity of the evidence, it seems fairly clear one of the cohortes II Hispanorum equitata was stationed in Numidia throughout the second, and possibly into the third, century. The fragment of Hadrian's speech at Lambaesis, in which this cohort is recorded (28.1), is the least informative of the sections, yet we may be justified in assuming that it was in the same congratulatory tone as the other addresses.<sup>1)</sup> On July 1, 128 the cohort was engaged in exercises at Lambaesis and earned the emperor's praise. Legio III Augusta had its headquarters at Lambaesis from some time in the first quarter of the <sup>second</sup> ~~first~~ century.<sup>2)</sup> The legate of that legion had control too of the auxilia of Numidia. Our cohort seems to have been engaged in duties particularly connected with those of the legion since the other epigraphic records concerning it come from Lambaesis itself and Ain Zui. The inscription from Lambaesis (28.2) is a tombstone of a decurion of the cohort (thus demonstrating that the cohort was equitata). Both the deceased and the dedicator of the stone bear the praenomen and nomen of Hadrian, but this need not indicate a Hadrianic or just post-Hadrianic date. The style of the inscription, the abbreviations used (particularly vix. an.) might well argue for a time later in the second century. In addition there is the origo of P. Aelius Securus, the deceased decurion, to consider. This is given somewhat enigmatically as Nap. which might mean either Napoca or Napolitano, according to the editor of CIL VIII.<sup>3)</sup> Napoca lies in Dacia; how could a man originating in this province appear in Africa? One possibility is that he was recruited into a legion (or

auxiliary unit) which sent vexillations over to Africa at the time, say, of the serious uprising in the reign of Antoninus Pius. Whilst on active service in Africa, promotion to decurion may have resulted in a transfer to the cohort. This seems a likelier occurrence than postulating that the cohort itself was in Dacia at some time, since there is no other evidence (and little historical justification) for the latter supposition. Alternatively, if Napolitano is the town involved it may perhaps tie in with the inference that the stone belongs late in the second century, when Italians might well opt to join the auxilia rather than legions, particularly if (as in this case) the prospect of promotion brought higher pay than a gregalis of a legion would receive. It may be, of course, that Nap. is an abbreviation for some African town, for example Neapolis not far from Carthage, in which case P. Aelius Securus falls into place as a local recruit.

The dedication to a mixed bag of gods made by L. Octavius Felix at Ain Zui looks like a thank offering for some favour. He is also a decurion and, rather than ex beneficiarius legati, appears to be recording his completion of service, ex[p]le(to) tempore,<sup>4)</sup> as the cause of his gratitude. There is an L. Octavius Felix listed among the duplicarii of legio III Augusta at Lambaesis in the reign of Elagabalus (fn. to 28.3). If this could be the same man it carries an interesting inference. It has long been held that it was a promotion for a legionary soldier to be made decurio cohortis; now it would seem that even the transfer of a duplicarius legionis to this post would qualify as an upgrading. However, in view of the date of the latter

inscription, and the uncertainty of the identification, too much weight may not be placed upon implications for the pre-Severan period. If correct, it witnesses the continuing presence of the cohort in Numidia in the third century.

Not a great deal is known of the site of Ain Zui. It was undoubtedly a military post, and Cagnat identified a construction built on the summit of Djebel-Taddimart<sup>5)</sup> (on higher ground than the late Roman fortification) as the site of the early fort. It had been occupied since the late first century, lying not far from Theveste, an earlier station of the legion. Cagnat suggested that Ain Zui contained legionaries as well as auxiliaries, indeed he thought that sites like this must have been meant by Hadrian when he said to the legion "Quod multae, quod diversae stationes vos distinent". It may be that we should not, in this instance, look for a fort for the cohort but expect to find sections parcelled out with men from the legions, at least for some part of its history.

**Footnotes**

1. In spite of his disapproval of the manoeuvres of the cavalry section of an unknown cohort, the main tenor of Hadrian's remarks was laudatory.
2. It seems more likely that Lambaesis was founded as a legionary base by Trajan, rather than Hadrian.
3. G. Wilmanns.
4. Domaszewski, Rangordnung<sup>2</sup> p.34, fn.4 and p. 247.
5. L'Armée romaine d'Afrique p.588.

29. Cohors II Hispanorum equitata.

It may be (depending upon the interpretation given to two very fragmentary inscriptions and a third reference in a papyrus) that there was a second Spanish cohort in Egypt. (18.5 and 18.4 = 29.1)

Lesquier<sup>1)</sup> thought that the Sabinus Fuscus who "heard Memnon" at Thebes was identical with M. Sabinus Fuscus who was prefect of cohors I Hispanorum equitata of Egypt in A.D.83. Possibilities of reading the stone so that Lesquier's attribution could be correct have been discussed.<sup>2)</sup> However, Fuscus could be a descendant (if Mommsen's dating was correct) or merely a homonym, of the man named in the diploma. It might even be that the same man commanded cohortes I and II Hispanorum successively; several commands of a quingenary cohort as part of the first militia are not unknown.<sup>3)</sup> Certainly the rendering given in CIL III 50<sup>4)</sup> is unambiguous in attributing at least two strokes to the numeral describing the cohort.

The second stone is even more difficult to decipher, indeed it is not sure that it refers to a Spanish cohort at all. All that may be said is that the find spot (Alexandria) lies well away from Lower Nubia where the first cohort is attested. As the headquarters of the prefect of Egypt, however, Alexandria would be likely to have a complement of soldiers seconded to his service.

The style of the Alexandrian tombstone is undoubtedly first century. A third reference is precisely dated to February 25, 134. In a long document (29.2), Ulpus Asclepiades, prefect of cohors II Hispanorum, is named acting delegate for the prefect of Egypt, M. Petronius

Mamertinus, in one of the series of legal decisions of that important papyrus. There is no indication of the province in which Asclepiades served his militia, it is the sole command mentioned. It seems slightly more likely than not, in view of the particular way in which Egypt was governed and his Greek cognomen, that Asclepiades had served under the prefect of Egypt.

Taken together these three indications do no more than point to a possibility of the existence of the cohort. There is some additional support in the mention of an ala secunda Hispanorum at Poisarietemidos,<sup>5)</sup> in the Notitia dignitatum (cf. ala II Hispanorum, No.07). This may be a cohort which was converted to an ala during the third century.

## Footnotes

1. L'Armée romaine d'Égypte d'Auguste à Diocletien  
(Cairo 1918) pp.88/9.
2. cf. Cohors I Hispanorum equitata, No.18.
3. See E. Birley, "The Equestrian officers of the Roman  
Army", RBRA pp.133ff.
4. See Cohors I Hispanorum equitata, 18.5.
5. Perhaps Speos Artemidos - south of Hieraconpolis Hebnu.

30. Cohors II Hispanorum scutata Cyrenaica equitata.

This cohort was raised early in the principate and soon sent to Illyricum. The first record occurs in a diploma of 54, the earliest extant diploma issued to an auxiliary soldier.<sup>1)</sup> It was the property of Dasens, eques of the cohort. Like other recipients of early diplomas, Dasens would still have been serving in the cohort<sup>2)</sup> and we may assume he was recruited some 25 or more years before its issue, i.e. circa 29. He was the son of Dasmenus of the Cornacates, a tribe living near the bend of the Danube south of Mursa.<sup>3)</sup> This confirms that the cohort had been in Illyricum<sup>4)</sup> from the reign of Tiberius at least. It seems likely that it came there in connection with the events of A.D.6-9 if not earlier. The existence of an eques shows the cohort to have been part-mounted.

Six years later another serving cavalryman, Iantumarus son of Andedunis, of the Varciani, received a diploma. The Varciani, also a Pannonian tribe,<sup>5)</sup> were sited by Andreas Graf near the Save,<sup>6)</sup> midway between Siscia and Sirmium. The cohort continued on the strength of Pannonia until A.D.85 (30.6). Between this date and A.D.100 it was transferred to Moesia superior. This transfer need not, at first, have entailed a change of station. For what it is worth, the areas from which the two diploma holders were drawn suggest a station in the south-east of Pannonia, and it was this sector which was apportioned off to Moesia superior when the province was created in A.D.86. It may be simply that the cohort was removed from the list of the governor of Pannonia and placed upon that of Moesia superior (30.7).

The cohort played an active part in Trajan's Dacian Wars. This may be deduced from three pieces of evidence:

1. One of its tiles was found in the piles which supported the great bridge, spanning the Danube at Drobeta (30.8), built by Trajan between the two Dacian Wars.<sup>7)</sup> Even if not engaged in its construction (which seems quite probable) the cohort should have been somewhere in the neighbourhood, manufacturing tiles.
2. Soon after the end of the second Dacian War we find it in the west of Dacia, at Ursec, erecting an altar to Mars the Avenger (or Victor, it is not sure which) for the welfare of Trajan (30.10). To the south of Ursec, along the same valley, lies Banatska where, together with a collection of legionary and other auxiliary tiles is one stamped with the symbols for this cohort (30.12).
3. By July 110, it was included in the lists of the new province of Dacia (30.9).

Towards the end of the reign of Trajan the cohort left Dacia for service in Cyrenaica. This seems to be the most reasonable assumption, since the next record in 158 (30.13) gives it the battle honour Cyrenaica and the right to carry the legionary shield. The obvious opportunity for gaining these privileges would be in the suppression of the Jewish Revolt of 115-117. We have no evidence for the length of its stay in Cyrenaica. It may have remained there to assist in the reconstruction schemes inaugurated by Hadrian, or returned straight to Dacia on completion of the military task. In the latter case it does not appear to have gone straight to the north-west limes of Dacia, where we later find it, since it does not figure in the first diploma of

Dacia Porolissensis of 133.<sup>8)</sup>

The diploma of Dacia Porolissensis for 158, in which the cohort does appear, is significant in that four other cohorts and one ala have been added to the garrison since 133.<sup>9)</sup> It may well be that there is a connection between these additions and the troubles suppressed by Pius in Dacia in 157.<sup>10)</sup> Perhaps, on returning from Cyrenaica, the cohort went to the area of its former activities in (what would be) Dacia superior after 119, and was removed to Porolissensis in the latter part of the decade 150-160. No other diplomas of Dacia Porolissensis use the acquired titles of the cohort, but identity may be assumed in view of the ordering of the lists: cohors II Hispanorum appears in the same place (tenth of twelve coh.) in each of those for 158 and 164 (30.13-30.16).<sup>11)</sup>

The cohort was stationed on the western lines of Porolissensis. A number of tiles (30.11) have been found at Resculum so that the cohort provided building materials for the fort even if it did not actually garrison it.<sup>12)</sup> In the same area a tombstone of a decurion, Aelius Tato, was set up by his wife and father-in-law, at Largiana (30.18). This stone should belong to the late second, or early third, century on style (lack of praenomina, abbreviated nomina of the dedicators and the deceased, and the use of vix. an.). From it we may deduce that the cohort remained in the area at least into the early third century. Tato originated in Illyrium according to Kraft.<sup>13)</sup> There is no evidence of its later fate.

Two of the early prefects of the cohort are known: C. Cavarius Priscus in 54 (30.1) and C. Caesius Aper in

60 (30.2 and 30.3). Aper is seen to have been raised from equestrian rank to the senatorial order immediately after his service as tribunus militum (30.3). Ritterling suggested that this was due to Vespasian; presumably he was one of the Pannonian commanders who supported the Flavian cause. The date of the diploma bears out this conclusion.

The miles recorded at Ampelum may have belonged to this cohort; on style this stone belongs to the early third century. Possibly his name should be restored as Aelius Victor, but the stone is badly preserved. An alternative interpretation ascribes the miles of the tombstone to n(umerus) m(ilitum) Hispanorum cf. 94.2

## Footnotes

1. CIL XVI 1 was issued to a member of the classis Misenensis.
2. cf. Alföldy, Historia 1968 pp.215ff.
3. Pliny, N.H. 3,25,148; A. Graf, Ubersicht der Antiken Geographie von Pannonien (Leipzig 1936) Map. Pannonia Romana.
4. Illyricum inferior, later Pannonia cf. Oxford Classical Dictionary 2nd ed. Oxford 1972, J.J. Wilkes, "Illyricum" p.541.
5. Pliny, op. cit.
6. op. cit.
7. Dio 68,13. He comments that Hadrian later destroyed the superstructure of this bridge for fear that the barbarians would use it to cross into Moesia.
8. JRS 51 (1961) pp.65ff. Absence from a diploma, in itself, is insufficient proof that the cohort was not in the province at that time, and it must be borne in mind that the discovery of a diploma complementary to that of 133 may upset the interpretation that follows.
9. A careful check of all the epigraphic evidence, known to me, concerning these additional units has failed to reveal anything which may be dated before 158 with certainty.
10. SHA Pius, 5,4,5 and CIL III 1416.
11. See Table, Diplomata of Dacia Porolissensis facing p.248. Ep. St. 9 (Bonn 1972).
12. C. Daicoviciu and D. Protase suggest cohors I Aelia Gaesatorum milliaria was at Bologa = Resculum. It seems unlikely that, at this period, a milliary and a quingenary

cohort would be stationed together. There is scant information concerning the fort site. Possibly one cohort succeeded the other, or one was stationed in Bologna; the other, in a neighbouring fort, helped with construction or repairs.

13. Rekrutierung p.178 No.1514.

31. Cohors II Hispanorum equitata.

There is no doubt that cohors II Hispanorum equitata served for some time in Asia Minor. M. Plautius Macedo, Sex. Lucilius Masculus, C. Sulpicius Longinus and L. Numisius, decurions of the cohort, erected a dedication at Ancyra in Galatia (31.1). With so small a fragment of the original it is difficult to be sure, but the relative lack of abbreviations suggests a late first, or early second, century date, at latest.<sup>1)</sup>

Another early inscription is that of a prefect, Tiberius Claudius Tricorasius, from Eleusis in Greece (31.5). This is the only military command mentioned but he had held a post as praefectus fabrum and this combination, together with his praenomen and nomen, suggests a date in the second half of the first century. His command need not appertain to this cohort, but an Eastern provenance might be thought more likely for an equestrian from Achæa.<sup>2)</sup>

In spite of H-G. Pflaum's acceptance of the reading given in both CIL II and EE Sp.VIII for an inscription from Corduba, there are grave doubts that the interpretation is correct (31.3). Pflaum suggests<sup>3)</sup> that P. Postumius Acilianus was prefect of the military second cohort of Spaniards in Mauretania Caesariensis, in the reign of Domitian.<sup>4)</sup>

If the cohort was military the commander should have been a tribune;<sup>5)</sup> the restoration of the end of the third line and beginning of the fourth is conjectural. If a comma is placed after Hi[sp], the next two (?) words may be descriptive of the, otherwise enigmatic, post pr(aefectus) Imp(eratoris). Acilianus next became tribunus militum

legionis XII Fulminatae, then at Melitene, which makes an Eastern based cohort a likely candidate for his first command, once the difficulty over its military status is removed. Pflaum infers that he was from Corduba, where the stone was found. It may be noted that all his known posts (if the identification of the cohort is accepted) were in the Greek speaking world.<sup>6)</sup>

The two prefects discussed are uncertainly attributed to the eastern cohort but we can be sure about P. Septimius Paterculus (31.2). An Italian from Aesernia, he began his career as prefect of the Spanish cohort in Cappadocia and then was given a similar charge over cohors I Pannoniorum in Britain. In the reign of Trajan the command of a large part of Asia Minor was given to the governor of Cappadocia, so that units formerly in Galatia would naturally come into the garrison of that province. Paterculus had been flamen divi Traiani, which points to a Hadrianic date, at earliest, for his militiae.

It is possible that the cohort was transferred to Syria some time in the second century, for there is a tombstone erected by one of its milites just south of Palmyra (31.4). The stone was set up to his dead son, Heli, by C. Laberius Fronto of the century of Nymphidius. (Alternatively the centurion's name may be Nymphidius Helius, but this seems far less feasible.) The fact that the son (and presumably wife) of a soldier of the cohort were in the vicinity of Palmyra argues for more than a temporary secondment to the area. Heli may well be a Semitic name, which would argue for a local 'marriage'. Palmyra developed into a very wealthy town in the second century. The cohort may have

been stationed nearby to give protection to the caravans approaching and leaving its rich markets. The style of the inscription does not suggest a date later than the first half of the second century.

It is just possible that the cohort is that referred to in the career of L. Aburnius Torquatus (26.9), since his commands (apart from that postulated of cohors II Hispanorum equitata c.R. in Mauretania Tingitana) appear to be centred in the Greek speaking provinces. In this case we should have to suppose the cohort had won corporate citizenship in some campaign. The most likely occasion would be during Trajan's Parthian War, which would provide a suitable reason for the transfer of the cohort from Cappadocia to Syria, and the supposed battle honour might be held to account for the tria nomina of Laberius Fronto (although we might normally expect his praenomen and nomen to be Marcus Ulpus if that was so). This is mere conjecture.

We have no knowledge of the later fate of the cohort.

## Footnotes

1. This inscription has a subsidiary interest. It was used by Domaszewski (Rangordnung<sup>2</sup> p.36 n.2) to demonstrate that there were 120 equites divided into four turmae in a cohors quingenaria equitata, but the argument over these figures continues.
2. cf. B. Dobson, Praefectus fabrum for the significance of this post.
3. Car. No.62 pp.145-7.
4. This date is arrived at by the knowledge that he was procurator of Syria in 102 (cf. AE 1939,178).
5. See 26.7, 27.1 and 27.2.
6. Following his military career he was procurator of Achaea and after (Pflaum thinks) at least three more posts, procurator of Syria.

32. Cohors II Hispanorum equitata pia fidelis.

The evidence for this cohort is extremely difficult to interpret. Stein<sup>1)</sup> followed Ritterling in assuming it was in Lower Germany before 89, and that it earned the title pia fidelis, like other units in the military district, during the suppression of the revolt of Saturninus. Alföldy<sup>2)</sup> points out that there is no evidence for the cohort in Germania 'inferior', and lists a number of other regiments, which bear the same honorary appellation but were clearly not in the army of that area.<sup>3)</sup> However, Heddesdorf has produced tiles of legio XXII Primigenia p.f. as well as one of our cohort (32.7). The legion was transferred from Vetera to Moguntiaëum circa 92, so it could be argued that the cohort may have accompanied it. Much depends upon the date of the evidence from Heddesdorf. The fort there would take a quingenary cohors equitata but cohors XXVI Voluntari-  
orum c.R. is usually regarded as the garrison. The legion and cohors II Hispanorum p.f. may merely have supplied the tiles for its construction.

More tiles originate from Wimpfen and Ödheim (32.6). These are different in form and lack the p.f. found in the Heddesdorf type. This may mean (but we cannot be sure) that the Wimpfen material predates that from Heddesdorf. Wimpfen (it is now thought) may have begun before 90,<sup>4)</sup> so that perhaps the cohort was in that general area in late Domitianic times. It need not have been stationed at Wimpfen, indeed what clues there are suggest that it cannot have been the garrison there for any length of time, if at all. When the limes went from the Oldenwald-Neckar to the Miltenberg-Welzheim line, a cohort stationed at Wimpfen would normally

be expected to go to Jagsthausen. This pattern of a direct move eastwards is repeated in many instances (cf. cohors I Asturum equitata and Walheim-Mainhardt, No. 51). In fact the Antonine garrison of Jagsthausen was cohors I Germanorum.

Whatever conclusions are drawn, the date of the origin of the cohort and of its arrival in the Rhineland are not yet ascertainable.

It is definitely attested in Germania superior in Trajanic times. L. Flavius Telluris Gaetulicus was given the equus publicus by Trajan and commanded cohors II Hispanorum equitata in that province (32.3). The omission of pia fidelis from the title of the cohort need have no significance on an honorary dedication of this nature. This is unfortunate. If we could attach some importance to its lack, it might be possible to narrow down the date at which the epithet was acquired. It is possible that the extra cognomen borne by this man refers to patronage by a member of the family of the consul of A.D. 26, and accounts for his being brought to the attention of the Emperor and placed in command of a cohort in Trajan's own former province. His single militia may belong to the early part of Trajan's reign.

In 117 the cohort was among those listed in a diploma of Germania superior, if Nesselhauf's restoration is accepted. By then it was in possession of the honorific pia fidelis.<sup>5)</sup> The remaining evidence, apart from a Hadrianic cursus from Bithynia (32.8), comes from Stockstadt.

The first excavator of Stockstadt, F. Drexel,<sup>6)</sup> considered that the stone replacement of an earlier fort, at

this site on the Main, dated to the reorganisation during the winter of 121/2, when Hadrian was visiting the limes. Certainly at 3.2 ha. the fort would accommodate a cohort equitata, and generally the cohort is believed to have been in occupation there until circa 168, when it was destroyed by fire.

One of the stones from Stockstadt provides us with an interesting problem (32.1). This is the tombstone of a soldier of the cohort with 6 years' service, erected by two vexillarii, presumably of the cohort.<sup>7)</sup> He bears the Greek name Diomedes, and states he originated from Isauri, an Asiatic tribe lying between Pamphylia, Lycaonia and Cilicia.<sup>8)</sup> Drexel suggested that the name of one of the vexillarii, Fronton, is also Eastern (the other, Marcus, is uninformative in this respect). How did an Asiatic recruit enter a cohort in the Rhineland? There are a number of possible answers:

1. It had previously been stationed in the east, in which case we should have to assume the cohort had been at Stockstadt prior to the Hadrianic period, perhaps from its foundation in late Domitianic times. This, however, would make it difficult to fit in the tiles from Wimpfen and Ödheim, especially as the cohort would need to have been at Stockstadt within 6 years of entering the province.
2. Diomedes was transferred from an Eastern cohort already in the province.<sup>9)</sup> An inspection of the units in Germania superior fails to reveal one of Eastern character from which such a transfer could be effected.<sup>10)</sup>
3. Diomedes (and Fronton?) were brought into Germania with a batch of Asiatic recruits levied during an Eastern

campaign. A parallel for this, in Trajanic times, is the record of 126 Asiatic tirones sent to cohors I Augusta Praetoria Lusitanorum equitata of Egypt (cf. 79.15).

4. The cohort took part in an Eastern campaign during the course of which recruits were drafted in to replace losses. If this last was the case, Trajan's Parthian Wars are unlikely because of the time factor involved in returning the cohort to Germania for it to be recorded in the diploma of 117. The Parthian expedition of Verus is similarly ruled out since Diomedes had served 6 years before his death, and Stockstadt is thought to have received a new garrison shortly after 168.

A further possibility is that it took part in the suppression of the Jewish Revolt. Most of the units which were involved in this are thought to have been already stationed in the East, but there are growing suspicions that western provinces may have sent contingents, due to the severity of the fighting. One slight pointer in favour of this (admittedly tenuous) theory is the career of Patrocles from Nicaea in Bithynia (32.8). He commanded a cohors II Hispanorum pia fidelis (the Greek is quite specific) before holding a similar post over cohors II Ulpia Afrorum equitata at Alexandria. It may seem likely that both commands were held in an Eastern venue, the inscription is undoubtedly Hadrianic, and the Jewish War would provide a suitable background. Eastern recruits could have been drafted in to replace losses in battle. Either of the latter two theories seems to be likelier than the first two, but it must be stressed they are all very tentative.

In spite of Duncan Fishwick's observations concerning

the formula in h.d.d.,<sup>11)</sup> the remaining two inscriptions of the cohort at Stockstadt (32.4 and 32.5) should belong to the Antonine period since the fort (as remarked above) is thought to have suffered some destruction circa 168. This is linked through the coin record and S.H.A. to the war against the Chauci, when Didius Iulianus won his recommendation for the consulship.<sup>12)</sup> After this Stockstadt was held by cohors I Aquitanorum veterana equitata.<sup>13)</sup>

Stein suggested our cohort may then have taken the place of the latter cohort at, or near, Arnsberg or, alternatively, that the evidence of the tiles from Heddesdorf belongs to this and not to an earlier period, in which case it might be replacing cohors XXVI Voluntariorum there.

Its fate in the third century is unknown.

Apart from the names of the two commanders already discussed, we have the name of a centurion of the cohort, Attius Tertius, 32.5, who erected an altar to Jupiter and the domus divina, in the Antonine period, at Stockstadt. His wife had the Celtic name Cisso.

Adnamatius Superstis (a Celt),<sup>14)</sup> decurion of the cohort, erected an altar jointly to Hercules, Lenus and the domus divinae at a similar time (32.4).

## Footnotes

1. Beanten p.195.
2. Hilfstruppen p.8.
3. Alföldy's argument leaves us with the problem of when the cohort received its honorary epithet. There is just a chance that it took part in the Dacian Wars of Trajan and was honoured, like other cohorts, at this time, but an award in the Rhineland offers a simpler solution and is preferable on that account.
4. cf. H. Schönberger, "The Roman Frontier in Germany: An Archaeological Survey", JRS 59 (1969) p.161 n.132.
5. It is listed among the second cohorts, and is the only known recipient of pia fidelis that would fit the space and ending ...]nor(um).
6. ORL B 33 p.36.
7. Cheesman, Auxilia p.40, suggested that in a cohors equitata each turma possessed a vexillarius.
8. Pliny, NH 5,23.
9. cf. Cheesman, op. cit. p.82, on the continuity of recruitment from the East for such units. However, if this care was taken to maintain the ethnic character of certain regiments, transfer from them becomes less likely.
10. Nor is there any proof that other cohorts had taken part in Eastern campaigns and so might be able to furnish material for such a transfer.
11. See Chapter I, Working Hypotheses.
12. SHA Didius Iulianus, Vita 1,8; Alföldy, Ep. St.3 (Köln-Graz 1967) p.38.
13. CIL XIII 11780, 11782, 11783, 11785, 6658.
14. Holder 1,43.

### 33. Cohors II Hispanorum (unassigned).

The career of Marcus Rossius Vitulus has been discussed by a number of scholars.<sup>1)</sup> Two of the posts held by Vitulus establish the date of his career with certainty: he was praepositus annonae expeditionis felicissimae urbae, which can only mean that he served under Severus in his march on Rome; he was decorated for his services during an expedition against the Quadi and Marcomanni, which H-G. Pflaum suggests took place under Commodus in 180. His military career began three posts earlier with the command of a second Spanish cohort, so this must have been held in the latter part of the reign of Marcus Aurelius, at earliest circa 170.

Pflaum points out that there is no certainty which of the coh. II Hispanorum is indicated by the inscription, and this is correct.

Stein attributed Vitulus to the cohort of Germania superior but, since the fate of that cohort is called into question at the time of the probable destruction of Stockstadt under Marcus, the validity of his argument may be questioned.<sup>2)</sup>

M. Jarrett states positively that Vitulus was not African in origin in spite of his close connections with Bullia Regia, and E. Birley thinks he originated "almost certainly from Tergeste" because of the close connection of that town with the tribe Pupinia, to which he belonged. In a letter to me Professor Birley advanced as a possibility that such an origo would account for the apparent length of his career.<sup>3)</sup> In other words, Vitulus need not have been serving in his militia tertia when appointed praepositus

annonae in Severus' march on Rome but, having retired to his home at Trieste, offered his services to Severus on hearing of his bid for power.

Having regard to the tenor of Vitulus' three appointments immediately following his command of the Spanish cohort, it must be admitted that a cohort stationed somewhere along the Rhine-Danube frontier seems most feasible.<sup>4)</sup> If not the cohort of Germania superior, that of Dacia Porolissensis is likeliest. This remains in the category of an informed guess.

## Footnotes

1. Pflaum, Car. No.224 pp.593-598 (see also his references to R. Cagnat and A. Merlin); Stein, Beamten p.196; Birley, "Septimius Severus and the Roman Army", Ep. St. 8 (Düsseldorf 1969) p.77; Jarrett, "An Album of the Equestrians from North Africa in the Emperor's Service", Ep. St. 9 (Bonn 1972) No.156 p.224. These references cover the comments made in the discussion.
2. He thought that as Vitulus' next militia was as tribunus militum of legio XXX Ulpia of Germania inferior, a cohort in neighbouring Germania superior was most likely.
3. 13th June 1969, apropos ala I Praetoria (singularium) c.R.
4. Following his service as tribune in Germania inferior, Vitulus moved to Pannonia as tribune of legio II Adiatrix, and followed this with his command of the Osi against the Quadi and Marcomanni.

34/35. Cohors III Hispanorum (equitata ?).

In the first half of the first century cohors III Hispanorum lay somewhere in the vicinity of Vindonissa. Tiles unmistakably stamped with its symbols were found on both banks of the Rhine in that area (34.1).<sup>1)</sup>

A tombstone found very recently at Vindonissa (34.3) confirms its presence, and also points to an early date. The Spanish cohort, of which the deceased Caeno... was centurion, bears no number but no other cohort of that title is attested at Vindonissa and the lack of a numeral is in itself an early indication. The centurion gives his domus, Tancia Norbana. This seems likely to refer to a vicus or district of Norba in Spain and, if so (providing that he had not been transferred from another cohort), implies that the cohort had left Spain within nineteen years of his enlistment. Further if Norba, or its district, has been correctly identified as the origo of the centurion it points to the very early raising of the cohort. Until the first of the Augustan reconstructions of Spain, Norba lay in Hispania Ulterior (soon to be Baetica, a senatorial province). It would be possible therefore for recruits drawn from that area to be drafted into a cohors Hispanorum. After 27 B.C. (if Dio's account is accepted<sup>2)</sup>) Norba lay in Lusitania and recruits would presumably go into Lusitanian cohorts. This argument is rather tenuous but, if allowed, indicated the antiquity of at least one series of Spanish cohorts (as this is a third cohort in a series at least two others must be assumed to have coexisted). Even if it is supposed that Dio is condensing the results of a later alteration of the interprovincial boundaries of Spain, the

raising of the cohort should lie at latest in the period 27-2 B.C.<sup>3)</sup> It would fit in well with what we know of Augustan policy concerning the northern bounds of empire that a cohort raised (or available) in this period should be sent to the Rhineland. The stone should be Tiberian at latest. On the tombstone of Caeno... is the relief of a torques suggesting perhaps that he had earned a decoration in an engagement in the Rhineland.<sup>4)</sup>

The only other reference to cohors III Hispanorum may definitely be assigned to the late Julio-Claudian period. Commenting on the career of Sextus Caesius Propertianus, from Mevania in Umbria (34.2), H-G. Pflaum<sup>5)</sup> produces reasons for placing his first militia just prior to 69. His second post as tribune of legio IIII Macedonica at Moguntiacum must have been held before 71 since that legion then disappears from the army list. An even closer dating may be obtained from his following post since, as Pflaum points out, the fact that Propertianus was appointed as a personal procurator of Vitellius is shown by the omission of the name of the emperor who raised him to procuratorial status. When legio IIII Macedonica declared for Vitellius<sup>6)</sup> the tribunes would play a decisive part and Tacitus tells us<sup>7)</sup> the emperor, gratefully acknowledging the prompt response of his men, saw to it that court functions normally carried out by freedmen were distributed among equestrians. The command of cohors III Hispanorum would thus fall into the latter part of the reign of Nero, perhaps beginning 66-67. We cannot be sure that the cohort was still in the vicinity of Vindonissa at this time but, if so, as Stein suggests,<sup>8)</sup> it would fall into the area of command of legio XXI Rapax, which was

stationed there after 46. It was certainly in Upper Germany.

The fate of the cohort is unknown. It may have been among the Vitellian troops which were lost or disbanded after 69-70. Alternatively it could have been amalgamated with an existing cohort. There existed a cohors I Ligurum et Hispanorum civium Romanorum which Cheesman<sup>9)</sup> said "seems to be identical with the cohors Ligurum equitata which appears in Sardinia and afterwards formed part of the amalgamated cohors I Ligurum et Hispanorum in Germania superior". Later,<sup>10)</sup> apropos cohors I Gemina Sardorum et Corsorum and cohors II Gemina Ligurum et Corsorum, he remarked "These last two regiments seem to have been formed by amalgamating cohorts I Corsorum, I Sardorum and I Ligurum, which appear in Sardinia in the pre-Flavian period but not later". Both statements can hardly be correct. Cichorius, on the other hand,<sup>11)</sup> had assumed there were two cohortes primae Ligurum, one in Sardinia, the other remaining in the Alpes Maritimae where it was raised. Tacitus<sup>12)</sup> certainly gives the impression that the cohort of Alpes Maritimae had been there a long time. Referring to preparations for the defence of Narbonensis, made by Valens against the fleet of Otho, he says "Twelve alae and details from the cohorts made for the enemy supported by a cohort of Ligurians which had long formed the local garrison". This too would fit the indications of inscriptions of cohors I Ligurum from the area, which all possess signs of belonging to the Julio-Claudian period.<sup>13)</sup> The cohort may have suffered losses. The Vitellians were at one time on the verge of defeat in the encounter with Otho's classici.

Cohors III Hispanorum, if moved from the Rhineland in early 69, would have been assigned to the army of Caecina,<sup>14)</sup> which proceeded over the Alps into Italy.<sup>15)</sup> The armies of Valens and Caecina met up after the latter's initial defeat at Cremona. It may be that following this Vitellius banded the two cohorts together. Tacitus tells us<sup>16)</sup> "Vitellius ordered that the legionary and auxiliary troops should be reduced and forbade further recruiting offering discharges freely". This could apply whether or no the Ligurian cohort left Cemenelum with Valens. If Vitellius wished to avoid further recruitment the amalgamation of depleted cohorts is a likely move. The title civium Romanorum may also be a relic of this period. From Tacitus' account the Ligurian cohort at least had earned it, and Vitellius was obviously inclined to mollify the troops with favours. He may have sent the combined cohort back to Cemenelum or, failing this, the remnants of the Spanish cohort to join those of the Ligurian unit.

This explanation of the title of cohors I Ligurum et Hispanorum c.R. and the disappearance of cohors III Hispanorum is conjectural. Its main virtue is that it fits the epigraphic evidence into a known historical framework, but it is no more than an attractive theory.

Kraft offered another solution.<sup>17)</sup> He saw cohors I Ligurum et Hispanorum as an amalgamation of the Ligurian cohort with troops raised by Galba in Spain<sup>18)</sup> basing this supposition on the vexillarius of the combined cohorts Sextus Sulpicius Sabinus (35.2) whose praenomen and nomen are surely derived from those of Galba. The fact that the vexillarius owed his citizenship to Galba, however, need

not indicate an entire cohort raised by that emperor. During the turbulence of the civil wars a great deal of reallocation of individuals would have occurred, including promotions of loyal soldiers (loyalty being defined by the emperor in power at the time) to posts in suspect units. If Cheesman was correct<sup>19)</sup> the naming of a vexillarius justifies including the cohort among those which were equitatae, i.e. he was the standard bearer of a turma. The inscriptions of the combined cohort at Cemenelum (35.2 and 35.3) and Nice (35.1) could well be Flavian. Neither of those from Cemenelum are prefaced with Dis Manibus, yet both are in the dative. The soldier of 35.3, Sextus Vibius Severus, who served 11 years, appears to be of local origin; his tribal origin of the Sueltri is surely indicated by what appears to be a second cognomen, Sue(1)trius.<sup>20)</sup> He belonged to the century of Mucus.

Cohors I Ligurum et Hispanorum civium Romanorum next appears, with its full titles, in the diploma for 117 of Germania superior, and (without corporate citizenship) in that for 134 (35.4 and 35.5). Until fairly recently nothing was known of its situation in the province but the discovery at Niedernberg of a tombstone of Marcellus son of Bolgedo, of the Sequani, miles of cohors I Ligurum, has been taken to refer to it. The inscription has been fully discussed by L. Hefner.<sup>21)</sup> He considers that all the artistic and epigraphic details add up to a late first, or early second century date. (The use of D.M., citing of a tribal origin, and the setting out of the inscription inside a laurel wreath; the latter indication being particularly pertinent to the Danubian area is not perhaps quite so relevant.) Since Marcellus belonged to the Sequani, Hefner argues he

should have enlisted while the cohort was in Germania superior. Marcellus served 23 years. The cohort should have come to the Upper Rhine from Cemenelum in the 80's. Hefner suggests a suitable occasion would have been provided by Domitian's Chattan Wars.

If Hefner is correct we cannot place the cohort with any certainty at Niedernberg before A.D.90. As H. Schönberger observes concerning the Main-Neckar line of fortifications, "For the forts on the Main at least we have no evidence of an earlier foundation date than that"<sup>22)</sup> (A.D.90). If the combined cohort should prove to have contained the remnants of cohors III Hispanorum it may well have had recruits from the Sequani before it left with the Vitellian troops for Italy. In this case the tombstone could fall into the period 90-92, which would still fit in with all the epigraphic indications, although its participation in the Chattan War would be less certain. Above the laurel wreath enclosing the epitaph are depicted two Capricorns, emblems of legio XXII Primigenia. This legion came to Moguntiacum late in the reign of Domitian probably after the affair of Saturninus. The cohort presumably fell under its area of command.

Niedernberg<sup>23)</sup> was approximately 2.1 ha. There was space for a cohors equitata. The history of the cohort after the Hadrianic period is unknown, but it seems fairly safe to assume it would have remained in Germania superior.

## Footnotes

1. Stein, Beamten p.196.
2. 53,12,4-5.
3. cf. E. Albertini, Les divisions administratives de l'Espagne romaine (Paris 1923) p.34.
4. Neither Cundigus nor Boelus (the name and filiation of his heir) appear in the collections of Spanish or Celtic names, but the radical CUN: appears likely to have a Celtic origin. Ernst Meyer has commented on this stone - Madrid. Mitt. 13 (1972) pp.190ff. He appears to think that the torques should be a corona aurea as more befitting the rank of centurio cohortis.
5. Car. No.37 pp.88ff.
6. Tacitus, Histories 2,55,3.
7. op. cit. 1,58,1.
8. op. cit.
9. Auxilia p.175.
10. op. cit. p.186.
11. PWRE 4,307,308.
12. Hist. 2,14.
13. CIL V 7889/90/91/97/98/99 (Cemenelum); 7246 (Libarno); 7822 (Monoecus).
14. Tacitus, Hist.1,61.
15. legio XXI Rapax was definitely in Caecina's army viz. Histories 2,43.
16. Histories 2,69.
17. Rekrutierung pp.26-27.
18. Suetonius 7,10.
19. op. cit. p.40.
20. Wackernagel, PWRE 4 A 1,584, places the Sueltri between Forum Iulii and the Durance.

21. Germania 44 (1966) pp.398ff.
22. JRS 59 (1969) p.161.
23. Conrady, ORL B 3,34.

### 36. Cohors IV Hispanorum equitata.

It is safe to say cohors IV Hispanorum equitata was raised early in the principate, in spite of the lack of evidence for its existence prior to 144 in Dacia superior (36.1). The third cohort, as we have seen, belongs to the Augustan period; the fifth of the series was discharging men in A.D.74 and thus goes back at least to A.D.49; the fourth too should be Iulio-Claudian in origin. There is no positive proof, but a strong likelihood the cohort had been in Dacia since Trajan's wars of conquest. Tile stamps of the cohort have been found at Breţcu,<sup>1)</sup> which lies in Dacia inferior (36.12). Since the unit is otherwise solely attested in Dacia superior, and is at no time found in diplomata of Dacia inferior, it is arguable that it lay somewhere in the neighbourhood of Breţcu, in an undivided Dacia, prior to 119.<sup>2)</sup>

Apart from its certain record in diplomata for 144 and 158 (36.1 and 36.2) there is a fair chance that some of its members were discharged on 13th December, 157 (CIL XVI 107), and it should be restored as one of the missing cohorts in that diploma.

The sequence of cohorts listed in the diplomata of Dacia superior is not strictly numerical, but no topographical significance may be attached to this since the order changes in each of the three in question.

The cohort was stationed at Enlaka (= Inlăceni) on the eastern frontier of Dacia superior probably from the Antonine period to the first quarter of the third century at least.

Altars there were erected to Mars (36.6) and Diana Augusta (36.11) by Titus Aelius Crescentianus, prefect of

the cohort, which carried the honorific Antoniniana, later erased. They thus fall in the period 212-222, under Caracalla or Elagabalus. Crescentianus is thought to have originated from Africa.<sup>3)</sup>

There are seven other altars from Enlaka, six erected by prefects, and one by a decurion of the cohort (the existence of a decurion underlines the description of the cohort as part-mounted in three of these (36.4, 36.5 and 36.8)).

Of these, two (36.3 and 36.4) should be Antonine at latest. The altar to I.O.M. (36.4) is free of the commoner contractions of the third century. The nomen of P. Divius Italicus, the prefect, from M. Caesariensis, is not abbreviated, neither is cui praeest reduced to c.p. ....ius Annianus, from Tipasa (also in Caesariensis) (36.3), dedicated his altar to Diana Augusta. From its ending alone his nomen may be judged to be uncurtailed.

The other four prefects all belong to a late second or early third century provenance. C. Iulius Iulianus from Rome erected an altar to I.O.M. (36.5); P. Aelius Honoratus who made a similar dedication (36.7) also originated in the capital city, but L.(?) Iulius Iucundus (36.8) omitted his origo and his altar to I.O.M. should more definitely belong to the third century on grounds of the degree of brevity of his inscription. Publius Didius (?) Nepos, from Rome, should also fall later; his nomen is curtailed to one letter. His altar (36.10) was dedicated to Diana Regina for health and safety; perhaps a reflection of the troubled times in which he lived.

The decurion, P. Aelius Fuscus (36.9), favoured Liber Pater, and seems likely to have been of the same period as

the last four prefects. Inlāceni has also produced a tile stamp, which was originally ascribed to leg(io) VI Hisp. in CIL.<sup>4)</sup> Wagner<sup>5)</sup> thought this had been misread for coh. IV Hisp. Inlāceni had an earthen fort of 2.07 ha. (circa 5+ acres), large enough to house a quingenary cohors equitata. The Hadrianic garrison, thought to coincide with the earthen fort,<sup>6)</sup> was cohors VIII Raetorum c.R. equitata torquata. Later the fort was rebuilt in stone and this reinforces the idea that cohors IIII Hispanorum came to replace the Raetian unit perhaps in the Antonine period. There is no record of the fate of Inlāceni in the troubles of 245 and 248.<sup>7)</sup> If the cohort survived these onslaughts it may have taken part in the general withdrawal of 271, but of its later existence we have no evidence.

## Footnotes

1. cf. cohors I Hispanorum veterana No.19 and cohors I Bracaraugustanorum No.61.
2. Absence from diplomata may not be taken as a sure sign that a unit is not part of the garrison of a province but in this instance it has some significance.
3. M.G.Jarrett, "An Album of the Equestrians from North Africa in the Emperor's Service", Ep. St. 9 (Bonn 1972) p.149, No.3.
4. cf. Ritterling, "Legio", PWRE 12, 1598 and 1601.
5. Dislokation p.155. This possibility is acknowledged in a footnote to CIL III 1632.
6. viz. M. Macrea, In Omagui lui Constantin Daicovicui pp.339-351. cf. AE 1960, 375.
7. cf. ala I Hispanorum No. 06.

### 37. Cohors V Hispanorum equitata.

Cohors V Hispanorum existed by A.D.49 at latest, but as part of a series in which at least one other member was raised by Augustus we may reasonably ascribe it also to that princeps.

By May 74 (37.1) it was part of the Upper Rhineland garrison, although there is nothing to say that it took part in the campaigns of Cn. Pinarius Clemens in the Black Forest area. When did it come to the Rhineland? It may have been there from the early principate, but in view of the events of 69-71 it would be unwise to press this point. It may have come up from Pannonia or another of the Danubian provinces circa 70 (see Patterns in the cohortes Hispanorum for a discussion of the possibilities).

In September 82 it was one of three units from Germania seconded for service in the Moesian command (37.2). None of these three returned to the Rhineland. Ala Claudia nova and cohors III Gallorum both appear later in the Lower Moesian garrison, our cohort in that of Moesia superior.

It might seem reasonable to suppose the units were moved from Germany to Moesia circa 79/80 at earliest, but some arguments have been advanced against this. A recently published diploma of Moesia, dated April 75,<sup>1)</sup> included cohors III Gallorum in its list. This diploma contains only ten cohorts and is unlikely to represent the complete auxilia of Moesia. All three units could have been in Moesia at this time, if it is considered that this is the same cohort as that listed sixth in the German diploma of 74 and named as being in Moesia in 82. M. Mirković, who published the new diploma, is inclined to accept this identity. However, there

is also a record of a cohors III Gallorum in a Moesian diploma of 78, which Nesselhauf at one time<sup>2)</sup> equated with one found later in Mauretania Tingitana. Since then the second part of the Tingitanian diploma has been found,<sup>3)</sup> which makes it clear cohors IIII Gallorum was in question. His original identification was incorrect but Nesselhauf's theory concerning the existence of two third cohorts of Gauls is still worth consideration as there is another difficulty to be overcome.

A diploma of Moesia inferior for A.D.105<sup>4)</sup> was issued to a pedes of cohors III Gallorum, who gave his origo as of the Raurici, a Gallic tribe of Upper Germany. A serving soldier of this period is unlikely to have had to wait more than thirty years before receiving the grant of privilegia.<sup>5)</sup> We must either assume (as Mirković does) that the cohort was still drawing recruits from its original levying area, after its removal to Moesia, or place the arrival of the cohort in Moesia circa 78/80. The former proposal seems the less likely of the two, particularly if it is remembered that this would have entailed regarding the three units (or even just the Gallic cohort) as part of the army of Upper Germany some 7/8 years after leaving for Moesia, according to the wording of the diploma of 82, heedless of the fact that there was no intention of returning them to their former command. In tabular form the scheme for cohortes III Gallorum which appears best to fit the facts is:

A	B
<u>cohors III Gallorum</u>	<u>cohors III Gallorum</u>
Moesia 75 ( <u>Ep.St.</u> 5 p.171ff.)	Germania (superior) 74 ( <u>CIL</u> XVI 20)
" 78 ( <u>CIL</u> XVI 22)	Moesia circa 78/80 ( <u>CIL</u> XVI 28)
unknown destination	" inferior 99 ( <u>CIL</u> XVI 45)
	" " 105 ( <u>CIL</u> XVI 50)

If two separate Gallic cohorts are accepted the necessity for envisaging the possible removal of cohors V Hispanorum from the Rhineland to Moesia before April 75 disappears. We may be safe in placing the transfer circa 78/80 at earliest. On the division of Moesia our cohort was assigned to the upper province (37.3, 37.4, 37.5 and 37.6 of A.D.94, 100, 159/60 and 161 respectively). The last diploma was issued to a decurion of the cohort, Volsingus, son of Gaius, of the Dardani.<sup>6)</sup> Volsingus is an example of a local recruit rising to become officer in the cohort (the Dardani came from the south of Moesia superior). His status also confirms that the cohort, like others in the series, was equitata. The prefect in February 161 was Pacideius Carpianus, whom B. Overbeck connects with a family from Caiatia in Campania.

The station of the cohort in Moesia is unidentified. It is true there is a tile stamp of a fifth cohort at Golubac but cohors V Gallorum was stationed circa 10 kms up the Danube at Pojejana and transport of tiles would be a simple matter under these circumstances.<sup>7)</sup> The possible topographical order of the later diplomata of Moesia superior is of no real help as there are so many gaps in our knowledge of the whereabouts of other units in the period concerned.

The tombstone of a decurion, Aurelius Marcus (37.8), from Lambiridi in Numidia, is open to two interpretations. The stone was erected by his brother, also a soldier, as he describes himself as duplicarius. The stone should be late second, or even more probably third century, since both brothers bear the nomen Aurelius. Marcus is said to have been killed in battle. The cohort is specified as belonging to Moesia superior. Either the brother was in the

auxilia, in a different unit, serving in Numidia, and the stone was in fact a cenotaphium, or the cohort was temporarily on active service in Numidia, in which case both brothers may have been in the same cohort. The brother, and dedicator of the stone, has a cognomen (Suruclius) whose stem at least suggests an origin in the Balkans.<sup>8)</sup> There were disturbances in North Africa in the third century which culminated in the death of Q. Gargilius Martialis circa 260. The transfer of a cohort from Moesia superior (if this is the answer) should be placed well before 245 since at that time the menace of the Carpi would make the movement of troops away from the area unlikely. If the stone was a cenotaphium to Aurelius Marcus and he had been stationed in Moesia, there were occasions enough for his demise in battle in that area in the third century.

From Florentia (37.9) came a second century prefect of the cohort, L. Fadius Cornutus Tit<sup>i</sup> Messianus, who was later tribune in legio V Macedonica, probably in Lower Moesia, rather than in Dacia, as the style suggests an early rather than a late Antonine date.

A third century commander of the cohort is known from a Greek inscription (37.10). P. Aelius Ammonius<sup>9)</sup> began his career as prefect of cohors V "Spanorum", later he became prefect of the Classis Flaviae Moesicae Gordianae, which enables us to date the commencement of his militiae in, or just before, the decade prior to A.D.240. His name indicates that Ammonius originated in one of the Greek speaking provinces (perhaps from Tomi in Moesia inferior?) and all his commands lie in that area.

## Footnotes

1. M. Mirković, Ep. St. 5 (Düsseldorf 1968) pp. 177ff.
2. CIL XVI p.181 col.2.
3. CIL XVI 73/169
4. CIL XVI 50.
5. cf. G. Alföldy, Historia, 17 pp.215ff.
6. Its find spot, Iconium, in Asia Minor is attributed by Bernhard Overbeck to its value as a metal object of trade in the late Empire.
7. But see A. Radnóti, Auxiliartruppen in den Donauprovinzen p.142.
8. D. Detschew, Die thrakischen Sprachreste (Vienna 1957) p.470.
9. Pflaum, Car. No.329 p.854.

38. Cohors VI Hispanorum (equitata ?).

The evidence for this cohort is tantalisingly short. Although other interpretations are possible,<sup>1)</sup> there is a strong likelihood that it was raised in the Augustan period as part of a series. Where it spent the first two centuries of its existence is undiscovered but in the third century it was in the East.

The inscription from Eumenia in Phrygia (38.2) was a dedication by the municipality of Eumenia to P. Aelius Faustianus, their benefactor. Faustianus was tribune of the Spanish cohort and also tribune of cohors I Raetorum.

As Ritterling remarked,<sup>2)</sup> Eumenia was an important town lying at the junction of north-south and east-west routes through Phrygia. It appears to have had a Hadrianic garrison<sup>3)</sup> and there are a number of inscriptions (mainly in Greek)<sup>4)</sup> testifying to the presence of serving soldiers and veterans in or near the town. Severus restored the castra [praesidio]rum after an earthquake in 196.<sup>5)</sup> Ritterling suggested<sup>6)</sup> that the Raetian and possibly the Spanish cohort were in garrison at Eumenia in the third century. Since Faustianus is specified as tribune it is reasonable to assume they had both been raised to milliary status in the third century, which would be in keeping with the military trends of that period. The Raetian cohort was part-mounted, and it seems likely that the Spanish cohort like other members of its series was also equitata. Earlier we know the Spanish cohort to have been quingenary from the fragmentary cursus of a (probable) Italian prefect from Ameria of Trajanic or Hadrianic date (38.1).

Ritterling also equated the cohort with the ala sexta

Hispanorum at Gomaha under the dux Arabiae of the Notitia dignitatum (39.1). He added "the name of ala was given from the fourth century onward to many cohorts of the earlier empire". If the identification of Eumenia with the town, described by Eusebius as depopulated in persecution of the Christians circa 300<sup>7)</sup> is accepted, transfer of the cohort to another Eastern province (Arabia) may have followed (although Ritterling thought there may have "still existed at Eumenia a military station of some importance" in the fourth century).

## Footnotes

1. It could be argued that series of cohorts were not necessarily all raised at the same time, and that a high number implies a later date, but this defies all the known evidence.
2. "Military Forces in the Senatorial Provinces", JRS 17 (1927) 28ff.
3. cohors I Sugambrorum which had been transferred to Syria by A.D.157.
4. IGR 730, 732, 734, 737, 738 and 733 and 735.
5. MAMA 4,328.
6. op. cit. p.31 n.3.
7. CAH 12 p.674 n.1.

39. Ala VI Hispanorum.

This ala is only attested in the Notitia dignitatum and taken on its face value this would mean that not only is the early evidence missing for this regiment but also that for the third, fourth and fifth alae of the series. It would seem simpler to accept this (like ala II Hispanorum of Egypt) as a probable converted cohort. See cohors VI Hispanorum (No.38).

40. Cohors XIII Hispanorum.

The sole inscription testifying to the existence of this cohort was originally attributed to the XIIIth Urban cohort (cf. CIL III 7318). In 1931 a new reading of the tombstone, together with its Greek counterpart, made it clear that a thirteenth Spanish cohort was named.<sup>1)</sup> This has the interesting (but embarrassing) effect of indicating the existence, entirely unattested to date, of a seventh, eighth, ninth, tenth, eleventh and twelfth cohort of that name, unless some other explanation can be found for an exceptional numbering policy by the Roman High Command.

The names of the deceased, Flavius Capiton, and his freedman, T. Flavius Hermas, suggest the Flavian period but the number following the name of the unit normally denotes a fairly early date, so we may place this stone with strong probability in the reign of Vespasian.<sup>2)</sup>

Macedonia, although a senatorial province, under the care of a praetorian proconsul, possessed a garrison in Hadrianic times cf. CIL XVI 67 (120) in which only one cohort is named. This inscription confirms that a small force was placed at the governor's command in the Flavian period, perhaps just our unit. Heraclea lay on the western section of the Via Egnatia, which ran from the Adriatic to Propontis. If stationed here the duties of the cohort may have been concerned with overseeing transport and the protection of incoming and outgoing trade.

## Footnotes

1. Since the Greek text lacks a number, I would be happier to accept the numeral as VIII rather than XIII. This would leave one cohort, rather than six, unattested. It has proved impossible to see a  
\* photograph of this text.
2. Other early Flavian indications are: the use of dis manibus in full, the names of the deceased in the nominative. Capiton had served only two years, which makes a Vespasianic date possible. His name suggests that he was a local recruit.

Patterns in the cohortes Hispanorum.

Having regard to the complexity of the evidence concerning the cohortes Hispanorum it would be rash to make any positive assertions concerning their raising or later dispositions. A table setting out their possible movements (Table V. ) yields at best some very tentative pointers.

Cheesman's theory concerning the dispositions of numbered series of regiments has already been cited.<sup>1)</sup> It offers the possibility of creating some sort of pattern out of the apparent disorder of the duplicated numbering of these series. On examination, the coh. I to VI Hispanorum equitatae (14-17b, 32, 34/5, 36, 37, 38/9 in the table) should belong to the early principate. The third cohort in the series seems fairly surely of that period; the fifth Julio-Claudian at latest. It is reasonable to suppose from numbering alone that the whole series was Augustan in origin. By the principle of similarity of origin we may also surmise that all members of the series would be part-mounted (cohorts for which this is merely supposition are indicated as equitata in brackets). In the series I to VI an early Rhineland situation can be demonstrated for the third cohort and possibly the fifth. Cohors II Hispanorum equitata p.f. (32) was in Germania superior from early in the second century but almost certainly also in the Flavian period; it could have been there even before this. Nothing is known of the early stations for cohortes IV and VI (Nos. 36 and 38/9). With regard to the first cohort it may be considered that the Rhineland would be the most likely source from which a regiment appearing in Britain in the

late first century would have come. Thus, following Cheesman's argument we may believe in a levy of at least 3,000 Spaniards (in *Tarraconensis*) in the early principate sent in six cohorts to the Rhineland. If the rather unsatisfactory evidence for the thirteenth cohort is added the levy may have totalled considerably more (although if the suggested emendation to VIII was to prove correct this need only add another 1,000 men). It may also be possible to see some other groupings. 14-17a and 31 suggest two cohorts raised in the Augustan period for service in the East. Nos. 23 and 26 may represent a levy of Gaius or Claudius for use in *Tingitana*; Nos. 20 or 19 and 30 an Augustan or Tiberian draft for *Illyricum*. There is less certainty over the two cohorts of Egypt (Nos. 18 and 29), but the possibility of a similar grouping should not be ignored.

Although there are nine first cohorts listed it may be possible to reduce the number to eight or even seven if:

- a) cohorts No. 23 and 24 are conflated and/or
- b) the cohort found in the early principate in *Cyrene* (22) is thought likely to be the same as one of the same number later appearing in Egypt, or possibly one of the Danubian provinces.

If the conflation of 23 and 24 is not acceptable it may be that Nos. 24 and 27 represent another "pair" of cohorts sent to *Caesariensis*.

## Footnotes

1. See Auxilia raised in North-west Spain.

41. Cohors I fida Vardullorum milliaria equitata civium Romanorum.

The Varduli appear to have been a fairly large <sup>clan</sup> ~~sept.~~ Pliny<sup>1)</sup> states that the tribal name covers 14 peoples who belonged to the conventus of Clunia. They lived not far from the Cantabri in the foothills of the Pyrenees in northern Tarraconensis. Their contribution to the auxilia consisted of one cohort.

The cohort was in being by the early Flavian period, that much may be inferred from its naming in the diploma for 98 in Britain (41.1), but other than that there is no indication of when it was raised or where it lay prior to the Trajanic era.

There is a tombstone from Thibilis in Numidia (41.9) which records a prefect of cohors prima fida Cardulorum! This was his sole militia although he was fifty when he died. M. Jarrett<sup>2)</sup> considered his command may lie in the period 184-207,<sup>3)</sup> when the cohort was reduced in size (early in the second century it had become milliary and was commanded by a tribune). The presence of the praenomen and unabbreviated nomen of his brother, who was dedicator of the tombstone, and the full titling of the cohort may, however, support an earlier date. It could mean that Sittius(?) (an African from Jarrett's lists) was prefect of the cohort in the late first or early second century while it was still quingenary. This still does not help to locate its early station. Cichorius<sup>4)</sup> interpreted a tile stamp from Vetera (CIL XIII 12449) as appertaining to this cohort at an earlier stage. He read the stamp as: COH I FID. Later interpretations<sup>5)</sup> allocated this to cohors I

Fl(avia Hispanorum) (No.20). Cichorius may have been incorrect in this instance but his general point that the cohort is likely to have come from the Rhineland to Britain makes sense. On its first appearance in Britain the cohort is given the honorifics fida and civium Romanorum. The Rhineland frontier provided opportunity for winning such titles. Fida in particular suggests an award made in circumstances where loyalty was at a premium. The years 69/70 spring to mind. This is conjectural, and it may be that the cohort had won its titles in a British campaign.

As E. Birley commented<sup>6)</sup> the cohort was quingenary in A.D.98 and 105 (41.1 and 41.2) but milliary by 122 (41.3). It appears in British diplomata thereafter until 159/60 (41.4-41.7) and in numerous inscriptions in northern Britain until circa the middle of the third century. Its station in the Trajanic and Hadrianic periods is unknown. The probability that the diplomas for 98 and 105 relate to the auxilia of the Chester command has already been discussed. M. Jarrett suggests that, on grounds of size (5.6 acres = 2.27 ha.),<sup>7)</sup> Caernarvon would provide a suitable base. However, it must be remembered that the cohort is not thought to have been milliary at the time when the two diplomas list it under leg. XX V.V. so that the size factor is not entirely relevant. Later in the second century it appears in the north and the first real clue comes from the Antonine Wall, at Castlecary (41.8). Castlecary at 3½ acres would not accommodate a milliary cohort, so it is not surprising that the commander is again a prefect. (If Sittius did not belong to an earlier date his command, as Jarrett suggested, could fit now.)

The unit may have been divided between two forts. A very interesting possibility is evoked by a comparison of this altar and the diploma for 139/190 (41.7). E. Birley suggested<sup>8)</sup> the diploma must lie after 149, basing this observation on the lack of an origo for the cohort commander in the diploma. A consideration of the types of abbreviation in the formulae used led him to narrow this down to 159/60. The commander's name is Verus. The altar erected to Neptune at Castlecary was dedicated by Trebius Verus. If the two refer to one and the same man the equation would offer some confirmation for Birley's date. The second occupation of the Antonine Wall, on the latest analysis of the samian stamps,<sup>9)</sup> lay between 159 and 163; there is a great temptation to write Q.E.D. The diploma was granted to a member of the cohort (status unknown), [Satu]rninus from Gloucester, who provides an example of a Briton recruited into a British based cohort in the second century. As the diploma was found at Colchester he probably retired there.

If part of the cohort was at Castlecary, where was the remaining section? Could it have been part of the caretaker garrison on Hadrian's Wall at this time? The altar from Milecastle 19 (41.13) refers to a vexillation of the cohort, which was erecting both the altar and a temple to the mother goddesses, under an officer whose status is unspecified. His name is indicated merely by the initials P.D.V. The find spot of the altar would fit a second century date.<sup>10)</sup>

The cohort was reintegrated by the latter part of the reign of M. Aurelius for it was commanded by a tribune, Flavius Titianus, at Lanchester, which goes some way towards

confirmation for Hartley's suggested date of abandonment of the Antonine Wall (41.10). Under Titianus the cohort erected an altar to the Numen of Augustus and the genius of the cohort. Titianus also set up an altar to Aesculapius presumably for a safe recovery from an illness (of himself or a member of his family). The centurions of the cohort were responsible for an altar to Jupiter Optimus Maximus during the stay at Lanchester. Yet another altar, this time to the discipline of the Emperors was set up, perhaps at Corbridge (although found at Hexham). It may well belong to the period when the cohort was stationed at Lanchester, which lies on Dere Street, and have been set up by a group of milites sent off to the stores base at Corbridge for a time. An alternative explanation is that the commander (whose rank of tribune is a conjectural restoration) is to be equated with the P.D.V. of the altar from Milecastle 19, and not the tribune Calpurnius of the altar to Apollo Maponus (41.14b). In this case the vexillation may have been performing odd tasks in connection with the maintenance of Hadrian's Wall and therefore having occasion to visit Corbridge.

In the third century the cohort was at High Rochester (41.15-41.30). The first dated stones are a loyal dedication of 213 (41.16) and, for good measure, an altar for the welfare of Caracalla set up in the same year to the god Matunus (41.17). A further access of devotion produced the rebuilding of a Mithraeum for the welfare of Caracalla (41.18). The tribune in charge of the latter two (and probably all three) of these expressions of fidelity, L. Caecilius Optatus, erected a further altar of a more military character, to

Minerva and the genius of the collegium (41.19). After this the unit, like others connected with the frontier policy of the third century, began to build on a long term basis. Publius Aelius Erasinus, tribune, supervised the building of a ballistarium in 220<sup>11)</sup> (41.21) and perhaps a second (41.22). Another was restored under Aurelius Quintus in the period 223/235<sup>12)</sup> (41.23). The fort is small for a cohors milliaria equitata,<sup>13)</sup> and the unit presumably sent out patrols into Lowland Scotland, in the supervisory capacity implied by the treaties imposed upon tribes bordering frontiers by Caracalla. This is emphasised by the addition of numerus Exploratorum Bremaniensium to the garrison, as testified in the reign of Gordian (41.24) by an altar to the genius of the emperor and the standards. 41.31 has been cited as an example of this patrolling. Jedburgh near Cappuck has produced two altars built into the fabric of the Abbey. One (RIB 2117) should be third century but some doubt may be expressed about RIB 2118=41.31. The tribune Gaius Quintus Severus, who set this up, does not abbreviate his nomen and indicates his praenomen. This is not without parallel in this area in the third century (cf. 41.18, 41.21 and 41.25) but he also gives his tribe and domus, and this is unusual in a third century context. It may be worth bearing in mind that this particular stone could well belong to an earlier period when the cohort was moving between the Antonine and Hadrianic limes. Apart from those already named, tribunes of the cohort at High Rochester include:

Aurelius Quintus who held his command during the reign of Alexander Severus, when Claudius Apellinus was praetorian

governor of Britannia inferior (41.23);

Cassius Sabinianus who was there during the reign of Gordian III (238/244) (41.24);

Titus Licinius Valerianus under whom the cohort erected an altar to its genius and the standards (41.25);

Rufinus (cf. cohors I Augusta Lusitanorum No.79) (41.26 and 41.27);

Honoratus whose foster child bore the Greek name of Hermagoras and may thus give a clue to his own origin in the East (41.28);

Flavius Severinus whose unit is unidentified, but is almost certainly this one, who dedicated an altar to Minerva (41.29);

and Caepio Charitinus under whose care the duplicarii of numerus Exploratorum Bremeniensium set up an altar to the goddess Roma (41.30). (cf. ala I Hispanorum for the implications of the increase of duplicarii in auxiliary regiments in the third century.) The presence of a number of men with double pay in a numerus indicates that even the "irregular" auxilia benefited from the growing need to make service in the army attractive in this period. Richmond concluded that the occupation of High Rochester ended with, or shortly after, the Constantinian period. It is not sure that this cohort was in garrison at that time. The Carausian interlude dislocated military dispositions in the north and the Constantinian reorganisation may have placed another regiment at High Rochester for a brief period. We cannot tell if the cohort of Varduli survived into the fourth century.

## Footnotes

1. NH 3,3,26 and 27.
2. Ep. St. 9 (Bonn 1972) pp.208/9.
3. Which date is chosen as the period of the second occupation of the Antonine Wall, cf. fn.9 infra.
4. PWRE 4,348.
5. Alföldy, Hilfstruppen p.206 no.132a.
6. Alae and cohortes milliariae p.61.
7. The Roman Frontier in Wales, V.E. Nash-Williams, 2nd ed. M.G. Jarrett (Cardiff 1969) p.16.
8. JRS 28 (1938) p.228.
9. B.R. Hartley "Roman Occupation of Scotland", Britannia 3 (1972) p.41. Cohors I Tungrorum milliaria was the garrison of Castlecary in the first Antonine occupation (RIB 2155).
10. E. Birley "A new Roman Inscription and a note on the garrisoning of the Wall", AA<sup>4</sup> 9 (1932) p.208.
11. I.A. Richmond "Roman Britain and Roman Military Antiquities", Proceedings of the British Academy 41 (1955) p.308 and fig.4, and NCH 15 pp.98/9.
12. cf. A.R. Birley "The Roman Governors of Britain", Ep. St. 4 (Köln 1967) p.89 No.52.
13. 4.9 acres = 2.0 ha. on Richmond's figures of 485 x 445 ft. AA<sup>4</sup> 13 (1936) pp.170ff.

42. Cohors II Vasconum civium Romanorum equitata.

The Vascones lived in northern Tarraconensis, in the foothills of the Pyrenees, according to Pliny.<sup>1)</sup> Galba raised several cohorts from the tribe; they appear in the Rhineland late in 69.<sup>2)</sup> It used to be thought that all the inscriptions relating to cohors II Hispana Vasconum belonged to the cohort which appeared in British diplomata as cohors II Vasconum c.R.<sup>3)</sup> but the discovery of several diplomata of Mauretania Tingitana made it clear that there were two separate series: cohortes I et II Vasconum and cohortes I et II Hispana Vasconum. The only warrant for the existence of the first cohort of either set lies in the evidence for the second.

Were all four cohorts raised by Galba? The difference of titles argues against this. If they had been levied at the same time it would be reasonable for them to be numbered 1-4. The association between cohors II Vasconum equitata, legio II Augusta and ala I Asturum in the cursor of an unknown equestrian from Ilipa in Baetica (42.3) lends itself to the conclusion that the British based cohort was previously in the Rhineland, and therefore one of those "Vasconum lectae a Galba cohortes".<sup>4)</sup> It may even be that this commander was first in charge of the newly raised cohort and remained prefect through the Rhineland episode when the Vascones rescued Vocula, finally supervising its removal to Britain (hence the plural armies by which he was honoured). cf. ala I Hispanorum Asturum No.45 for an expansion of this idea.

The award of civium Romanorum to the unit, which first appears in 105 (42.1), is not mentioned in the cursor.

Omissions of this kind in honorary inscriptions do not always signify that the title has not already been won, but its absence in this case may support a surmise that the cohort took part in engagements in Britain which gave it the opportunity to exhibit bravery. If it came over with legio II Augusta and Cerialis in 71, there would be ample scope for this in the next 13-14 years.

In 105 it was part of the Chester command<sup>5)</sup> but its station has yet to be identified.

Thereafter it was listed in the British diploma for 122 (42.2) then vanished from the epigraphic record. In view of the fragmentary condition of some of the later diplomas of Britain (CIL XVI 82, 88 and 130) this need not mean that the cohort was lost or removed from the province.

Footnotes

1. NH 3,3,22.
2. Tacitus, Hist.4,33.
3. Cichorius. PWRE, 4,349; Stein, Beamtēn 222f;  
Cheesman, Auxilia p.185
4. Tacitus op. cit.
5. E. Birley, "Roman Garrisons in Wales", Arch.Camb.  
102 (1952/3) p.18.

43. Cohors II Hispana Vasconum civium Romanorum.

If it was not part of the levy of Galba the origin of the unit is obscure. Only a careful study of the diploma lists of Mauretania Tingitana permits the inference to be made that this is the cohort appearing in the diploma for 109. Between 109 and 122 (43.1/4) the abbreviated title (cohors) II Hispana c.R. was used and occurs wholly or in fragmentary condition.

In 156/7 (43.5 and 43.6) in a corresponding position is the expansion (cohors) II Hisp. Vascon. and a misspelt version [II Hisp.] Varc. Nesselhauf restored the name of the cohort in the latter two diplomata to read cohors II Hispanorum Vasconum c.R., but a comparison of the lists, and the evidence of 43.7, permits the correction cohors II Hispana Vasconum.

The cohort is one of the five which have civium Romanorum at the outset in Tingitana. The reasons for this have been examined (cf. cohors II Hispanorum c.R. (No.26) and cohors I Celtiberorum c.R. (No.13)). It seems likely to have been an award made in the reign of Trajan. Like other cohorts appearing first in the two diplomas of 109 it could have been in Tingitana earlier, and should certainly have been in existence during the reign of Domitian. Further than this it is not possible to go on present data.

Although the record in Tingitana stops in 156/7, the cohort remained in being and probably in that province into the third century.<sup>1)</sup>

43.8, the cursus of Tiberius Antistius Marcianus of the Quirina, belongs to the early part of that century as

is shown by the use of Impp. dominor. nn. Augg. The adjectival form of the name of the cohort leads to the conclusion that the Tingitanian unit was meant. The fact that Marcianus was an African need not have any special significance for the siting of the cohort, but there is no evidence of it from any other province. The honorary inscription to the prefect L. Sammius Aemilianus from Nimes (43.7) is the sole instance of the use of the full title of the cohort. On style it should not be later than the first half of the second century.

A study of the Tingitanian diplomas based upon their presumed topographical listing of units<sup>2)</sup> suggests that cohors II Hispana Vasconum c.R. was probably stationed in the north of the province.

## Footnotes

1. Reasons have already been given for the restoration of the name of this cohort in the diploma of 151/160 of Mauretania Tingitana (AE 1960, 103) cf. cohors I Hispanorum No.23.
2. Appendix 1.

## Chapter V

The auxilia of North-west Tarraconensis

44. Ala I Asturum.

Inscription 44.3 reveals that this ala may be pushed back in origin into Tiberian times. Tiberius Claudius Saturninus almost certainly owed his citizenship to the late Claudian arrangements.<sup>1)</sup> He served 32 years and his enlistment therefore goes back into the first half of the reign of Tiberius. This ala should thus belong to the Augustan series. It may have been drafted from Spain to the Rhineland if 44.10, the tombstone of Albanus, from Chalon, belongs to this regiment rather than ala I Hispanorum Asturum (or even ala II Asturum q.v.). It has all the marks of a pre-Claudian stone and should reflect local recruitment in the Julio-Claudian period. Albanus is given as natione Ubius, which suggests that the ala may have been attached to the military district of (Lower) Germany. It is difficult to account for the presence of the tombstone at Chalon-sur-Saone although possibilities exist c f. the outpostting of sections of a cohort recorded in Hunt's Pridianum; or troop movements such as might be involved in crushing the revolt of Florus and Sacrovir. Probably the regiment was transferred to Moesia before the end of the reign of Claudius. The tombstone of Saturninus which was found at Tomi, on the Black Sea coast, need not indicate the presence of the ala, as he was a veteran, but the significance of the diploma of A.D.99 (44.1) must be taken into account. The diploma was issued to a gregalis of the ala, Meticus son of Sola of the Bessi. The Bessi are mentioned by the Elder Pliny<sup>2)</sup> as a tribe with 'multa nomina' living on the left bank of the Struma (strictly speaking in Macedonia) but Nesselhauf pointed out that the

tribal name of the Bessi took in peoples from Thrace and Dardania as well.<sup>3)</sup> The diploma was issued to both serving soldiers and those about to be discharged. Meticus was still serving,<sup>4)</sup> so we may place his enlistment circa A.D.74 or perhaps a few years earlier. The ala may thus be sited in eastern Moesia with some credibility in early Flavian times,<sup>5)</sup> and Saturninus' choice of Tomi for his retirement falls into line more readily as representing a decision to stay near the station of his former regiment. That decision would be taken on discharge at latest early in the reign of Nero.

The diploma was one of two issued on the same date, for Moesia inferior. These two diplomata are of great interest in that they list completely different groups of auxilia. They have been interpreted as representing two legionary commands in the province.<sup>6)</sup> It would be an interesting exercise to trace the area of these legionary commands, but unfortunately the evidence for the late first century in Moesia, as far as the auxilia is concerned, is rather sparse, and the changes brought about by Trajan's Wars make later dispositions of little value as pointers. As far as a judgement is possible on our present limited knowledge it seems that the command of the diploma under discussion lay to the east rather than the west of Moesia inferior.<sup>7)</sup> The diploma itself was found at (or nearby) Philippopolis in Thrace, which may be accounted for by the origin of Meticus. At the time of issue of the diploma the ala was commanded by Tiberius Iulius Agricola, of the Pupinian voting tribe (this latter fact suggesting that he came from Trieste).

There is nothing to say whether or not the ala took part in Domitian's Dacian Wars, but it was certainly involved in those of Trajan, since its commander, an Italian, Prifernius Paetus Memmius Apollinaris was decorated in his first War (44.4 and cf. Pflaum Car. No.71). After the Dacian Wars the ala remained to form part of the garrison of the newly won territory. Gaius Nonius Caepianus, from Ariminum (44.5), was praepositus of numerus electorum ex Illyrico (which was later certainly in Dacia)<sup>8)</sup> whilst commanding the Asturian ala. His career was centred in the Danubian area, and a Trajanic or Hadrianic date is indicated.

Pflaum places the procuratorial career of Lucius Baebius Iuncinus, from Messana in Sicily, between 117 and 138 (44.6 and Pflaum Car. No.121). His military career, of which the last post was in command of our ala, must lie before 135 when legio XXII Deiotariana is thought to have been lost. A late Trajanic or early Hadrianic date is suggested. There is no indication that he commanded the "Dacian" rather than the British based regiment save that his military career appears to have been centred in the east rather than the west.<sup>9)</sup> Either of these two prefects could have served under the governor of Moesia inferior if their commands fell before 119; after that the ala may be assumed to have been assigned to Dacia inferior, but no change of station need be inferred.

In his commentary on the diploma of 140 (44.2) Gerov underlines the close connection between the former army of Moesia and that of Dacia. The majority of regiments in the diploma, which had been issued by Aquila Fidus,

governor of Dacia inferior, had appeared on the army list of Moesia inferior before the Hadrianic rearrangements of provincial territory had been effected. Hunt's Pridianum<sup>10)</sup> shows that Piroboridava and Buridava were included in the sphere of operations of the Moesian command in 105-108. It seems probable Trajan intended that the whole of Walachia and Lower Moldavia should be included within the bounds of the empire. If these two forts were within Moesia inferior, it is feasible that the area south of a line drawn from the mouth of the Danube through Piroboridava to Hoghiz (at least) was annexed to Moesia inferior from 101-102, and Lower Moldavia was only abandoned at the time of Hadrian's withdrawal to the lines of the Danube and the Olt. Those regiments of Moesia inferior stationed in forts now within the newly delineated province of Dacia inferior would remain in situ but obey the governor of Dacia inferior. Our ala would come within this category if Wagner's suggestion<sup>11)</sup> that the ala was stationed at Hoghiz in Dacia inferior is accepted. Gerov follows Wagner in this ascription and they are probably correct in assigning the ala to this general area. The allocation to Hoghiz itself is perhaps a little less certain. Hoghiz is the site of a fort of 3.6 ha (= circa 9 acres), which has been systematically robbed by local inhabitants since the nineteenth century. Tiles interpreted as belonging to the ala have been found on the site (44.7) but these are not a sure indication of the presence of the unit at the fort,<sup>12)</sup> the ala could have been nearby and supplied tiles to the garrison there. However, at circa 9 acres the fort would accommodate a quingenary ala, although until adequate excavation has taken

place this size may not be tied in with any specific phase of occupation. Gerov suggests the ala was at Hoghiz in the first half of the second century but implies its place was taken later by cohors III Gallorum. The latter regiment was attested there in the reign of Marcus Aurelius.<sup>13)</sup>

Cohors III Gallorum was peditata, as far as may be ascertained. One possible explanation for the change of garrison would be that the more mobile unit was required for service in the wars of Marcus, and replaced with a holding force of infantry.

The ala remained in Dacia. It is mentioned in a dedication to Fortuna for the welfare of the three Augusti, found in the healing waters of the baths at Germisara (44.8). The dedication raises an interesting point. It mentions three Augusti, although the last G and N of the triple letters denoting Augustorum Nostrorum have been obliterated, presumably on the death of Geta. The inscription would thus normally date to the period 209-211, but the stone was erected by the consular governor of the three Dacias, L. Octavius Iulianus, through the care of Aelius Geminus Antonius, prefect of our ala. Octavius Iulianus is named on several other inscriptions as governor of Dacia<sup>14)</sup> in the period 200-201. A. Stein<sup>15)</sup> points out that the incorrect plural Auggg. appears on some stones at a date when Geta was demonstrably still Caesar. Since the stone was found at a spa, it has no immediate bearing on the whereabouts of the ala, save that it remained in the general area of Dacia.

Verification comes through the cursus of an unknown procurator (44.9), who showed an unfortunate lack of fore-

sight in advertising his friendship with Fulvius Plautianus, praetorian prefect and one-time father-in-law of Caracalla. Plautianus, whose end is so graphically described by Dio,<sup>16)</sup> was executed in 205, and was at the peak of his power and influence between 202, when his daughter Plautilla married Caracalla, and his sudden death. This stone should thus belong to that period and the prefect, whose previous military post was as tribune of legio XI Claudia of Moesia inferior, may be thought to have commanded ala I Asturum in Dacia, at the beginning of the reign of Septimius Severus (Pflaum Car. 241). (Pflaum suggests that possibly he belonged to Lepcis Magna like Severus and Plautianus.) Like other regiments of Dacia the ala must have been affected by the disasters of the mid-third century and its final fate is unknown.

There is no record of the ala receiving any decorations for valour, although its position would no doubt place it in line to participate in many engagements. One of its inscriptions confirms how heavily the provinces of eastern Europe relied upon Thrace in the second century and later as a pool for recruits to the auxilia. A veteran of the ala, Marcus Aurelius Teres, whose name must either mean that he was discharged under Marcus Aurelius, or just possibly Caracalla (44.11), describes himself as natione Bessus.

He served for 28 years, rather longer than is usual after Trajan, perhaps a sign of the troubled times in that part of the empire.

## Footnotes

1. G. Alföldy, Historia 17, pp.215ff. Neither Holder nor Detschew list the name Arrentus so that the filiation of Saturninus gives no clue to his origin at present.
2. NH, 4,11,40.
3. CIL XVI Diploma 1, p.1 fn.1.
4. He is described as gregalis rather than ex equite.
5. Moesia was not partitioned until A.D.86, but the later appearance of the ala on the list of Moesia inferior supports a station in the more easterly part of the province from the start.
6. cf. the discussion of these diplomas by E. Birley, "Roman Garrisons in Wales", Arch. Camb. 102 (1952-3) pp.17-18.
7. The few inscriptions of auxilia named in this diploma, of approximately the right period, seem to point to stations in an area east of Durostorum, but since some of the stones are those of veterans the evidence is very fragile indeed. cf. Wagner, Dislokation, under the various regiments named.
8. CIL XVI 75 of 129.
9. Cohors IV Raetorum in Moesia superior, it left that province for Cappadocia between 100 and 134; legio XXII Deiotariana was stationed in Egypt but left there some time between 119 and 128.
10. BMP.(P.Lond.) 2851. cf. Sir Ronald Syme, "The Lower Danube under Trajan", JRS, 49 (1959) p.32.
11. op. cit. p.10.
12. See Working hypotheses.

13. Wagner, op. cit. p.139.
14. CIL III 14485a = ILS 9179 and CIL III 1308.
15. Die Reichsbeamten von Dazien (Diss. Pann. 1,12, Budapest, 1944) p.61 n.2.
16. 77,2ff.

45. Ala I Hispanorum Asturum.

Unless inscription 45.10 (= 44.10) belongs to this ala,<sup>1)</sup> there is no evidence for its existence earlier than the Flavian period, some 25 years before it first appeared in a diploma for Britain in A.D.98 (45.1). It is distinguishable from the other Asturian alae in the form of its title. Four of the diplomata and one other inscription describe it as Hispanorum Asturum. This difference, together with the number I, demonstrates that it was raised separately from the other Asturian regiments.

If 45.10 does refer to the ala, it must be taken back into Augustan times (cf. ala I Asturum for the significance of the stone). It may have been raised at a later date than the other alae, perhaps after the Varian disaster, and sent to the Rhineland. In this case there is no reason why it should not have entered Britain with the invasion forces but the possibility that it came later cannot be ruled out. However, the lack of the complete title in the tombstone of Albanus makes the identification somewhat tenuous and there are other pointers to be taken into consideration.

The difference in title may relate to the fact that the ala was raised at a time when the Astures had been more fully integrated into the province of Hispania Citerior, that is to say when the conventus system had been extended into north-west Spain. Either a Claudian or a Neronian levy would then be more feasible (cf. Auxilia raised in north-west Spain). A likely date for the entry of fresh auxilia to Britain before 98 would then be after the Boudiccan revolt when, Tacitus tells us,<sup>2)</sup> both

auxiliaries and legionaries were sent as reinforcements (this would entail an intermediate, but brief, posting to the Rhineland between Spain and Britain, for which there is admittedly no evidence). Alternatively the ala could have come over with Cerialis and legio II Aduflatrix in 71, for he assuredly had Spanish auxilia at his disposal.

Further evidence is needed before one or another of these solutions may be verified.

After its arrival in Britain the precise station of the ala is unknown for some considerable time. It seems likely that a cavalry regiment would not stay long in any one spot in the first fifty years after the conquest. The unknown equestrian, honoured by the stone from Ilipa in Baetica (45.13), may have commanded the ala when it was actively campaigning in Britain before it possessed 'permanent' quarters. The inscription is probably Flavian at earliest since the prefect had previously commanded cohors II Vasconum, and at least some of the Vascones had been levied by Galba, according to Tacitus.<sup>3)</sup> Ilipa was almost certainly the home town of the prefect and, as a Spanish resident, it is possible that he was the first commander of cohors II Vasconum. Galba would have had to rely upon his Spanish adherents for his first appointments. If this cohort was among those that rescued Vocula when he was being besieged at Gelduba, a peculiarity of the inscription noted by Dessau may be explicable.<sup>4)</sup> The prefect apparently served his tres militiae in Britain and yet is mentioned as having been honoured by plural 'armies'. If, during the turbulent years 68/71, the prefect continued to command the newly raised cohort, he may have accompanied it

to Britain. One of the armies honouring him may have been that of the Rhineland for his part in the action before Gelduba. The other army could be that of Britain, the occasion for this second honour could be found during the campaigns of Cerialis. Again this is offered only as a surmise.

E. Birley has given reasons for thinking the diploma for A.D.98 relates to the Chester command of the Twentieth Legion, covering the area of the northern half of Wales, "the Lancashire plain and the western Pennines".<sup>5)</sup> Thus in early Trajanic times the ala was probably here, although only an inscription will place it with any certainty in one of the possible cavalry forts listed by M. Jarrett<sup>6)</sup> - Caersŵs II, Forden Gaer, Ribchester (unless the second Asturian ala was already there) or perhaps Manchester.

The first definite station for the ala was Benwell early in the third century (45.6). Could the ala have been at Benwell at any time during the second century? Benwell was built for a cavalry regiment<sup>7)</sup> but its first garrison is unknown.<sup>8)</sup> A case may be made for supposing that part of the milliary cohors I Vangionum was stationed here under a prefect at some time in the second century.<sup>9)</sup> The sister fort of Chesters (also originally constructed for a cavalry regiment) was perhaps held by cohors I Delmatarum,<sup>10)</sup> either during the second occupation of the Antonine Wall or after its abandonment. Later in the century there is a chance that both forts may have been reoccupied by cavalry regiments; Chesters by ala II Asturum, Benwell by an unknown ala, but if the parallel with Chesters is acceptable, possibly the one under consideration. A suitable cause for

a change of garrisons in the late second century may be found in the arrival of 5,500 Sarmatian cavalry shortly after 175. Redeployment of cavalry units almost certainly ensued; the Sarmatians are later found at Ribchester where the second Asturian ala (q.v.) lay at some time in the second century.

There are three arguments which may be advanced against the occupation of Benwell and Chesters by cavalry regiments in the late second century. One concerns the view taken of the terminal date of the second occupation of the Antonine Wall. If it was held until late in the second century there would be little chance that two cavalry regiments could have been spared to garrison these two forts. However, B.R. Hartley's work on samian stamps has provided us with a strong probability that the Antonine Wall had been abandoned more than a decade before 175.<sup>11)</sup> Secondly, Benwell and Chesters are known to have been garrisoned by the Asturian alae in the third century and it is said "continuity of posting between the second and third centuries is .... rare on Hadrian's Wall".<sup>12)</sup> Jarrett and Mann<sup>13)</sup> point out that a lack of Commodan inscriptions nullifies this. It is possible to go further, for it may be argued that the logical move for Virius Lupus, as first Severan governor of a regained province, would be to use records left by his predecessors to send regiments back to their former stations pro tempore. An ala which had been in a fort on Hadrian's Wall, and had survived the battle at Lugdunum, would, on this view, be more likely than not to return there. Thirdly, there is the question of the acceptance of an early third century,

as well as a Commodan, governor named Ulpus Marcellus.

E. Birley based his argument for two Ulpus Marcelli upon the evidence of:

- i) The altar to Anociticus set up by a praefectus equitum, Tineius Longus, at Benwell, RIB 1329;
- ii) A passage in Dio (73,8,2) which relates that the tribes in Britain had crossed the wall and killed a governor (or general) together with his troops, so that Commodus in alarm sent Ulpus Marcellus against them;
- iii) Two stones from Chesters (RIB 1463 and 1464 = 45.5 and 45.6) set up under Ulpus Marcellus, one of which records the building of an aqueduct.

Let us examine the evidence in detail:

i-ii. The reasons for assigning a third century date to the altar set up by Longus are summarised in "The Roman Governors of Britain" by A.R. Birley.<sup>14)</sup> It is indeed difficult to see how Longus could have received his remarkable elevation to the senatorial order at the behest of two emperors (Marcus and Commodus), and dallied some eight or nine months before erecting his thank offering under the new governor Ulpus Marcellus. For this is the implication of the explanation offered by R.P. Wright, in the apparatus to the inscription. Nor, for that matter, can one imagine that the times were suitable for an officer to be engaged in setting up an altar soon after the arrival of Marcellus, if Dio's description is correct. Either that stern disciplinarian would have co-opted him back into military service, for Dio says that troops had been

lost, and experienced officers like Longus (who had served his militia tertia) would be at a premium, or he would be hastening back to Rome to take up his appointment.

It has been argued, in support of a late second century date for the altar of Longus "the shrine containing these two altars (RIB 1327 and 1329), demolished when they were overturned, contained no coin later than Marcus Aurelius and was therefore presumably destroyed in A.D.197 (Richmond AA<sup>4</sup> 19 (1941) 39 n.136".<sup>15</sup>) Reading the original report by G.W. Rendel<sup>16</sup>) it becomes apparent that the first part of that statement is not conclusive. The coins found within the temple were associated with three burials in the semi-circular apse. These appear to be later insertions, "the bones were covered with stones apparently the ruins of the surrounding wall". The identified coins do stop with Aurelius, but Rendel remarked "other bronze coins are defaced", so that: a) the coins may have come into the temple with soil and stones brought in with the burials, and b) even the contention that the coin record ended with Aurelius cannot be maintained with certainty.

The second part of the statement is also less tenable since it is no longer universally held that wholesale destruction occurred on the Wall in A.D.197,<sup>17</sup>) so that the destruction of the temple could have a later provenance.

E. Birley has also pointed out<sup>18</sup>) that one of the altars found in the temple (RIB 1327) looks early third century in style. The dedicator lacks a praenomen and

his nomen is abbreviated. Without proof that Longus belongs to the late second century the presence of an ala (and perhaps our ala) at Benwell in that period is not attested, although it is not entirely ruled out.

- iii. The placing of the Chesters inscriptions under a third century Marcellus is more arguable. E. Birley remarked that in style the lettering of RIB 1463 "bears an extremely close resemblance to" RIB 1466 also from Chesters.<sup>19)</sup> The latter stone may be given a date of 221-2 (cf. ala II Asturum). He also doubted that the addition of an aqueduct to Chesters would have been made under the Commodan Marcellus "For the governor who gave the northern barbarians such a beating can hardly have had leisure for adding to the amenities of a fort on Hadrian's Wall". The likeness of the lettering on the stones may not be gainsaid, but they could hardly have been inscribed by the same mason. The foot of the L's, for instance, is quite different, the leaf stops are inverted, and the R of Astur is not ligatured onto the preceding V, in the stone for the aqueduct, as it is in the other. Lettering styles may be copied.
- With regard to the provision of an aqueduct, this would make good sense if, in 175, a cavalry regiment replaced a cohors equitata, for the water supply would need supplementing for the additional horses. Marcellus' name may simply appear because he completed a scheme begun by his predecessor(s).

If it is possible ala II Asturum was at Chesters in the late second century, the presence of the first ala at

Benwell is a little more feasible.

Unfortunately another stone which carries interesting possibilities, if it could be securely dated, is also difficult to place. This is the tombstone of Victor the Moor, found at South Shields (45.11). Certain artistic features have prompted D.J. Smith<sup>20)</sup> to associate it with the tombstone of Regina, wife of Barates (RIB 1065) and to suggest that both came from the workshop of a Palmyrenian craftsman. Hübner<sup>21)</sup> placed the tombstone of Victor in the third century on epigraphic grounds, principally the lack of praenomina and nomina for ex-master and freedman. Against this it may be noted that there are no ligatures, and apart from the initial D.M. apparently no abbreviations. One slight caveat might be offered in the matter of abbreviations. As normally published this is true, and the puzzling lack of agreement between LIBERTUS and VICTORIS is attributed to a degree of unfamiliarity with Latin. On all the published photographs, and in the transcript offered by R.P. Wright in RIB, there is what appears to be a punctum between LIBER and TUS. An alternative reading of the second line might be A] NNORUM XX LIBER(ti) TUS(idii?) NUMERIANI. This would allow Numerianus a nomen albeit in an abbreviated form. E. Birley has pointed out the archaic look of the formula E] QITIS ALA I ASTURUM<sup>22)</sup> suggesting that this supports a second century date at latest. On grounds of artistic style, dates offered for this and the stone of Regina are centred on the late second and early third centuries.<sup>23)</sup>

One of the baffling aspects of the stone concerns its richness. The person commemorated was the freedman of an ordinary trooper in the auxilia. A second question is what

brought a twenty year old Moorish youth to the bleakness of northern Britain ? The theory that best answers these two questions is most likely to supply a firm dating for the stone itself.

I.A. Richmond's theory was that Numerianus had "placed" Victor "as active partner in a business at South Shields".<sup>24)</sup> On this basis the stone would have been erected in the third century when South Shields had a busy civilian settlement attached to the supply base. It must be added that water transport was possible upstream as far as Benwell, where the ala was certainly stationed at this period. As a port South Shields may have received exotica such as Moorish slaves, but it may seem odd that such a young man would be given the responsibility for conducting a business, or indeed that he would have had time to have won his master's esteem to such an extent as to warrant both his freedom and the splendid tombstone.

Hübner queried whether Numerianus, like Victor, was Moorish. This would perhaps explain the strong tie between man and ex-master, but it would be very difficult to prove, and in any case how could we account for the conscription of a Moorish cavalryman into a British based ala ? The only possible occasion which would offer such a chance would be during the Mauretanian revolt of the reign of Pius. There is some evidence that legionary vexillations were sent from a number of provinces to quell this revolt,<sup>25)</sup> among them one of legio XX V.V. from Britain. Other inscriptions<sup>26)</sup> make it clear that the accompanying auxilia were mainly cavalry units. Ala I Asturum on this reckoning could have been part of the expeditionary force, and Numerianus may have

been recruited in Mauretania, or at very least have acquired a Moorish slave. This would date the stone of Victor to shortly after 150, and imply that South Shields had already a flourishing civilian community at that time.<sup>27)</sup> It would presumably carry the stone of Regina back with it.<sup>28)</sup>

On balance Richmond's theory carries less complicated suppositions. The alternative is advanced only as a tentative theory, for the interest it may have concerning the possible movements of the ala.

In the third century there is no doubt that the ala was at Benwell. As planned by Simpson and Richmond<sup>29)</sup> there is not room for a complete quingenary ala in the third century fort. This is true for several stations in the area of the northern limites at this period. It is thought that parts of the regiments concerned were always outposted. They were probably engaged in patrolling. Although Hübner had a theory that a section was at South Shields aiding the permanent garrison there (cohors V Gallorum equitata), this was based upon the tombstone of Victor already discussed, and there is no other evidence.

In whatever way the "missing" four turmae were employed, the main body of the ala was responsible for the reconstruction of the commandant's house at Benwell. J. Petch<sup>30)</sup> noted that the drain underlying the hypocausted room in the south east corner of the praetorium was capped by stone slabs and then covered with tiles, as if to protect the drain from the effects of heat when the hypocaust was put into action. These tiles were stamped by the ala and are supported by other inscriptions to show that in this case it was participating in the work (45.12).

The ala may have seen some action early in the third century. 45.6 is a dedication to the Victory of two Augusti in the period A.D.205/7 when Alfenus Senecio was governor. According to Herodian<sup>31)</sup> the "barbarians had risen and were overrunning the country" and the governor asked for more troops or "the presence of the emperor". The fact that the ala describes itself as felix indicates, at least, that it had not disgraced itself in any engagements although there is no record of battle honours being won.<sup>32)</sup> Later in more peaceful circumstances (at least within the province), the ala rebuilt a temple to the three mother goddesses of the parade ground under its prefect T(erentius?) Agrippa. It was styled Gordiana which, together with the suggested restoration of Pupiena and Gordiana as the erased honorifics, gives a date of A.D.238 for the stone (45.7).

Whatever the vicissitudes encountered by the ala at Benwell in the next century or so, it is still recorded as the garrison of the fort in the Notitia Dignitatum (45.5a).

## Footnotes

1. See the suggested ascription to ala I Asturum.
2. Annals 14,38.
3. Histories 4,32. We cannot be sure that there were no cohortes Vasconum in existence prior to Galba. There were two series of such units, cohortes I and II Hispana Vasconum and cohortes I and II Vasconum, although Alföldy following Stein seems to have missed this (Hilfstruppen p.61 and Beamten pp.222/3). The ordering of posts of the unknown prefect suggests that the career is at least post Claudian, and as Stein noted (op. cit.) the most likely time for the arrival of the Vascones in Britain in a post Claudian context would be in 71 with legio II Adfritrix.
4. ILS p.537 n.2 to 2712.
5. Arch. Camb. 102 (1952/3) Part 1, 17ff.
6. V.E. Nash-Williams, The Roman Frontier in Wales, 2nd ed. M.G. Jarrett (1967, Cardiff), p.16.
7. Simpson and Richmond, AA<sup>4</sup>, 19 (1941) "The Roman fort on Hadrian's Wall at Benwell" p.25.
8. Of the fourteen alae probably in Britain in Hadrianic times it is possible to suggest stations for only a few with any degree of certainty. The cavalry forts at Benwell, Rudchester, Halton Chesters and Chesters may have been occupied by combinations out of eight or more alae. It would be wishful thinking to endeavour to prove an historic connection between an ala and any particular fort based upon the later dispositions.
9. See Appendix 2. on the plan of the Hadrianic fort at Benwell.

10. JRS 47 (1957) p.229 No.14 but note that this cohort was at Maryport some time in the reign of Antoninus Pius according to the evidence of RIB 850.
11. "The Roman Occupations of Scotland", Britannia, 3 (1972) pp.1ff.
12. RIB p.472. Apparatus to RIB 1463.
13. M.G. Jarrett and J.C. Mann, "Britain from Agricola to Gallienus", BJ, 169 (1969) p.193.
14. Ep. St. 4 (Köln, 1967) p.76 No.33, and pp.81/2 No.38b.
15. Apparatus to RIB 1329 p.440.
16. AA<sup>2</sup> 6 (1865) p.170.
17. B.R. Hartley, Northern History 1 (Leeds, 1966) "Roman Military Occupation in the North"; M.G. Jarrett and J.C. Mann, op. cit. p.195; although now see A.R. Birley AA<sup>4</sup> 50 (1972) "Virius Lupus" pp.179-89.
18. In a letter to me 5/4/'72.
19. "Roman Inscriptions from Chesters" AA<sup>4</sup> 16 (1939) p.243.
20. AA<sup>4</sup>, 37 (1959) pp.203ff.
21. Bulletin Épigraphique 5 (1885) pp.5ff.
22. In a letter op. cit.
23. cf. P. Salway, The Frontier People of Roman Britain (Cambridge, 1965) pp.256/8.
24. "The Roman Fort at South Shields". A guide. p.13.
25. Legio VII Gemina from Spain, CIL VIII 20365 (Setif); Legio X Gemina from Pannonia superior, CIL VIII 9761 (Portus Magnus) and p.2046 and CIL VIII 21669 (Albulae); Legio II Adiatrix from Pannonia inferior CIL VIII 9653, 9660 (Cartennae); Legio I Minervia from Germania inferior CIL VIII 9654, 9662 (Cartennae);

Legio XXII Primigenia from Germania superior CIL VIII  
9655/6/9 (Cartennae);

Legio XX V.V. from Britain AJA 64 (1960) pp.273ff.

26. CIL XVI 99, CIL VIII 9657, CIL VIII 21050.
27. cf. Salway op. cit. pp.60ff.
28. There seems no real advantage in discussing whether or not Regina was the wife of Barates attested on a probable third century tombstone from Corbridge (RIB 1171). Even if they were related Barates was 68 when he died and Regina only 30, so that anything up to 2-3 decades may separate the two tombstones. Further, heed should be taken of the life of a workshop, so that the stone of Regina and that of Victor could also be separated by more than a decade.
29. op. cit. pp.1ff. and see Appendix. 2.
30. AA<sup>4</sup> 4 pp.135ff. and AA<sup>4</sup> 5 pp.46ff.
31. 3,14,1.
32. Dio, 76,10,6 shows that battles were being won at this time in spite of Herodian's gloomy account.

46. Ala II Asturum.

This ala must belong to the series raised by Augustus. The earliest inscription on which it is recorded comes from Aquincum (46.1) and is Julio-Claudian in format.<sup>1)</sup> From the tombstone we learn this ala and ala I Auriana had been stationed in the Rhineland before their transfer to Pannonia.<sup>2)</sup> The Treveran brothers, Reginus and Receptus, probably enlisted about the same time, as local recruits, when the two regiments lay near their tribal territory. Reginus had served five years before dying so the move to Pannonia must have followed shortly after their enlistment.

Reasons have been given for supposing that early tombstones belong to cemeteries attached to stations, at strong points, but that the regiments they record need not necessarily be in permanent garrison there.<sup>3)</sup> On the other hand, a cemetery is not likely to exist without a fort. The earliest possible date for 46.1 should therefore be related to the first military occupation of Aquincum.

J. Szilágyi interpreted a building stone from Aquincum to mean that the first fort there was erected under Drusus Caesar, son of Tiberius, in A.D.19.<sup>4)</sup> This stone has recently been examined by E. Tóth and G. Vékony,<sup>5)</sup> and they show it really refers to Titus Caesar and is datable to A.D.73. However, Tóth and Vékony point out there were two forts at Aquincum. One lay to the north-east at or near Víziváros, the other in Óbuda. The site at Víziváros is the earlier and terra sigillata of Tiberio-Claudian date has been found there.<sup>6)</sup> Although it is difficult to be sure, the ala I Hispanorum seems the most likely contender for the first regiment in garrison at Víziváros. There are

four tombstones of this ala from Aquincum of which three come from the cemetery at Víziváros. Ala I Hispanorum (q.v.) was unlikely to have left the Rhineland before A.D.33, but was surely at Aquincum before A.D.50, with an intermediate posting in Dalmatia. Possibly all three alae (I Hispanorum, I Auriana and II Asturum) arrived at or near Aquincum at the same time, their transfer being connected with the same military realignments. A date early in the reign of Claudius would fit both the interpretation of the inscriptions and the terra sigillata of Víziváros. The most obvious occasion would be on the removal of legio IX Hispana to take part in the British expedition. The Claudian high command may have seen the value of mobile reinforcements for Pannonia, with long stretches of the Danube to keep under surveillance.<sup>7)</sup>

The suggested sequence of movements for ala II Asturum is:

- 1) Raised in Asturia circa 19 B.C.
- 2) Transferred to the Rhineland frontier under Augustus.
- 3) To Pannonia circa A.D.42/3, patrolling the Danube between Aquincum and Intercissa.

The exactness of the last statement depends upon the interpretation of 46.14. Tóth and Vékony<sup>8)</sup> are responsible for the reading given. If they are correct the stone is early,<sup>9)</sup> and Insel Szalki is on the opposite bank of the Danube from Intercissa.

Titus Iulius Bellicus, decurion of the ala, who is recorded on a tombstone (or possibly a cenotaphium since the formula h.s.e. is not used) at Celeia (46.2), probably lived in the first two thirds of the first century. The wording is Iulio-Claudian in style,<sup>10)</sup> and although the town of Celeia has a Claudian charter as E. Birley pointed out<sup>11)</sup>

"the position of the numeral indicates as early a date as may be after the granting of the charter". The inscription does not indicate that an ala was stationed in Noricum. Bellicus was a decurion, perhaps promoted to this position in the Asturian ala from another unit, and we are informed that Celeia was his home town; the stone was erected under provisions made in his will. Tóth and Vékony may be correct in thinking the ala was still in Pannonia in the early Flavian period, although not for the reasons they give.<sup>12)</sup> We cannot be sure when the ala left Pannonia. It was certainly in Britain in A.D.122 (46.3). A suitable time for its arrival might be during the Vespasianic reorganisation; after this the detachment of troops from a Danubian province seems less likely.

Ribchester is indicated as a station for the unit in Britain some time during the second century.<sup>13)</sup> The altar to the mother goddesses (or the goddesses of the parade ground, as R.P. Wright suggests)<sup>14)</sup> (46.11), erected by the decurion M. Ingenius Asiaticus, should belong to this period on epigraphic grounds alone, but we also know the third century station of the ala. Ribchester was garrisoned by a cavalry regiment of Sarmatians during the third century (RIB 583,594 and 595), but the Sarmatians had arrived, in a body of 5,500 men, in 175. At Ribchester some of them appear to have been formed into a numerus in charge of seasoned legionary officers (RIB 583 and 587); it may be reasonable to conjecture that they were all parcelled out in this fashion soon after their arrival, in Welsh or in northern forts, to the rear of Hadrian's Wall for reasons of security. (That is to assume that Hadrian's Wall was once

more the limes, as B.R. Hartley's work, op. cit., now makes likely.) This would release certain cavalry regiments to guard strategic positions in the frontier zone. Hypothetically then, ala II Asturum could have been free to garrison its next known fort, Chesters, in the 180's if 46.5 and 46.6 are assigned to the late second century. In favour of this ascription it may be noted that both inscriptions describe Ulpus Marcellus as leg. aug. pr. pr., whereas the Tineius Longus altar, on which E. Birley based much of his argument for a second (third century)<sup>15)</sup> Marcellus, gave him as co(n)s(ul)<sup>alis</sup>. If ala II Asturum left Ribchester for Chesters soon after the arrival of the Sarmatians, it would make sense for it to be building an aqueduct, as recorded in 46.5, within a decade of its arrival at the latter fort, for its requirements in water would be greater than those of a quingenary cohors equitata. A chalcedony bead, identified as Sarmatian, found at Chesters need not indicate the presence of these tribesmen on the site, it could merely be the result of a soldier's barter during the changeover at Ribchester. The eye guard for a horse from Chesters, also ascribed to the Sarmatians, need not be part of the armour of catafractarii. The point has been made that Virius Lupus would be likely to return many units to their old posts. Inscription 46.4 reveals that the ala was at Chesters in the period when Alfenus Senecio was governor (205/8). The ala remained at Chesters until the Notitia dignitatum recorded its presence at 'Cilurnum'.

It is uncertain which parts of the fort were being refurbished in the first quarter of the third century, as revealed by the building inscriptions 46.4, 46.7 and 46.9,

save that the last was found in the bath house and may refer to work done there. These, like others of a similar nature in the Wall area, are to be interpreted as evidence of settling in for prolonged occupation. From 46.7 and 46.9 we know that Septimius Nilus was prefect of the ala at least from October 221 to 223. The tenor of 46.7 implies that Nilus had actually supervised the rebuilding of the structure concerned. He was surely then the prefect in charge when the loyal dedication to the joint emperors Elagabalus and Severus Alexander (46.8) was erected, some time after July 10, 221 but before March 11, 222.

A curator alae, Aventinus, died after 15 years' service. His tombstone was erected at Chesters by his heir the decurion Aelius Gemellus. The lettering and ligatures used in the inscription suit a third century date.<sup>16)</sup> (46.10)

Probably connected with the period of the unit's stay at Chesters is the lead seal from Corbridge (46.13). The ferrying back and forth of stores between Corbridge and Wall forts may have been routine at this period.

Neither 46.12 from Lincoln, nor 46.15 from Rome have any bearing on the station of the regiment. Cornelius Qu[ietus?] of 46.15 almost certainly dates to the third century and therefore surely commanded the ala at Chesters. As E. Birley points out, his age (66 years) as commander shows that not all equestrian officers were young men "on the threshold of a non-military career". It also highlights the necessity for the retention of experienced officers in the auxilia, during the growing difficulties of the third century. The septuagenarian from Lincoln may have retired

there after service, as decurion of the ala, at Chesters or Ribchester.

There are other possible stones of individual members of the ala (a decurion and a prefect) suggested by E. Birley<sup>17)</sup> but as the ala is not named and as neither adds materially to the history of the regiment they have not been included in the tally of relevant inscriptions.

## Footnotes

1. Names in the nominative, numbers of regiments following their names, formula h.s.e.  
Wagner, Dislokation p.11 considered it was Claudian at latest.
2. The Treveri were good cavalrymen. If proof is needed both brothers were sesquiplicarii, Reginus, at least, after only five years' service. The relief accompanying the stone shows an attendant leading two horses. Aquincum Guide 1924 "A description of excavations and of the Museum" Bálint Kuzsinszky. cf. Hyginus, Liber de Munitionibus Castrorum 16, attributing two mounts to men who had the rank of sesquiplicarius. It is just possible that the tombstone of Albanus from Chalon belongs to this ala (45.10). The Ubii lay next to the Treveri.
3. Viz. Section Strategy and epigraphy.
4. LA 1 (1938) pp.309-311.
5. Acta Arch. Hung. 22 (1970) pp.133ff.
6. D. Gabler, "Verkehr der importierten 'terra sigillata' in Panmonien", Arch. Ért. 91 (1964) p.95.
7. Admittedly this is conjectural. Tacitus, Annals 4,5 gives the impression that auxiliary regiments were not in permanent stations by A.D.23. Ala I Hispanorum may not have been the first regiment to camp at or near Aquincum and earlier artifacts may be found but the suggestion remains viable, unless datable structural remains of a pre-Claudian fort are found through excavation. See ala I Hispanorum Auriana for further comments.

8. Op. cit. p.142.
9. Use of ablative ala, numeral following the name of the regiment.
10. Names in nominative, numeral following name of regiment, the praenomina and nomina have an early look.
11. AA<sup>4</sup> 16 (1939) pp.252/3. I owe a great deal to Professor Birley's discussion of the "Roman inscriptions from Chesters (Cilurnum), a note on ala II Asturum", in my appraisal of the evidence for this ala.
12. They consider the ala replaced ala I Hispanorum at the fort near Víziváros, but this is because they fall into the error of equating find spot of a tombstone with a permanent station. This cannot be proved to be so in the early period.
13. G.B.D. Jones, Arch. J. 127 (1970) p. 277 suggests "the famous parade ground helmet (now in the British Museum) should perhaps be assigned to their period in garrison".
14. RIB p.196, apparatus to RIB 586.
15. cf. ala I Hispanorum Asturum p. 324 ff.
16. cf. E. Birley op. cit. pp.249/50 for the significance of the term curator alae in this context.
17. Op. cit. pp.254/5.

47. Ala III Asturum pia fidelis civium Romanorum.

The first inscription in which this ala appears (47.9) is Julio-Claudian and is assignable to the early part of that period on stylistic grounds.<sup>1)</sup> It was found at Saguntum in Tarraconensis. The equus of the tombstone is Elaesus son of Coelo. The name is Celtic but the three homonyms quoted by Holder<sup>2)</sup> are all Spanish in provenance. The name of the father may be derived from one of the septa quoted by the Elder Pliny as living in the region of Bracara.<sup>3)</sup> Elaesus may thus have been one of the original Asturian recruits, in which case, as he had only served 5 years, the inscription could date as early as circa 14 B.C. Since there does not appear to be a military installation at Saguntum, the presence of an ala there is difficult to explain. Either it had some function connected with duties such as those of the "cohorts" under the praefectus orae maritimae, or its stay at Saguntum was transitory, and it may have left Spain altogether within a short space of time.

The next record of the unit is in the diploma of A.D.88 in Mauretania Tingitana (47.1).<sup>4)</sup> The diploma was issued on January 9th, and it seems unlikely that the ala would have spent less than a campaigning season in Tingitana prior to this, for there would be little sense in transferring to a new province men approaching the age of discharge.

When was the regiment transferred from Spain to Tingitana? It is possible that the move was not direct. It appears likely that alae I and II Asturum were sent to the Rhineland initially and the third ala may have accompanied them as part of the series. (cf. the arguments concerning the cohortes I-VI Asturum in Auxilia raised in

North-West Spain, and Cheesman's opinion quoted there.)  
 If this was the case, since it cannot have entered Tingitana before the annexation of Mauretania, followed within a few years by the creation of the two provinces,<sup>5)</sup> it may have been withdrawn from the German frontier to take part in the campaigns of conquest. On the other hand although the evidence cited by Carcopino<sup>6)</sup> and reinforced by M. Racht<sup>7)</sup> for the presence of legio X Gemina and legio IV Macedonica is suspect,<sup>8)</sup> it does seem likely that at least part of the expeditionary force, raised for the suppression of the revolt of Aedemon, was drawn from Spain. In this case the Asturian ala may have been among the auxilia accompanying legionary vexillations from there.

If the ala remained in Spain (or another province) later than this the most probable dates for its transfer to Tingitana are:

- 1) As part of Vespasian's military reorganisation circa A.D.70.
- 2) Circa A.D.75 when trouble may be inferred in Mauretania through the appointment of a senatorial governor (who could command legionary vexillations if the need arose) over Tingitana and Caesariensis.<sup>9)</sup>
- 3) Circa 84/5 when C. Velius Rufus was made "dux exercitus Africi et Mauretanicus ad nationes quae sunt in Mauretania comprimendas".<sup>10)</sup>

Between A.D.88 and 109 the ala almost certainly took part in fighting in Mauretania Tingitana. In the diploma of the latter date (47.2), it bears the 'battle honours' p.f.c.R. Two other regiments already stationed in Tingitana show the title of privilege c.R. in this diploma<sup>11)</sup> and five

others which share the same honour in this and another diploma of the same year (CIL XVI 162) appear on the Tingitanian lists for the first time. Four of these are Spanish regiments and it is tempting to see in this some emergency which necessitated bringing in troops from the nearest province;<sup>12)</sup> cohors I Celtiberorum equitata c.R. seems to provide an example of this (No.13).

If it could be argued that 47.10, in which the ala lacks the additional p(ia) f(idelis) c(ivium) R(omanorum), was significant in this respect it might be possible to narrow the period during which the award was made to 98-109. The inscription must be Trajanic or later on the names of the deceased and his freedman alone. Unfortunately in such inscriptions the titles of regiments are not always given in full. However the award to this ala (and the other regiments) does fit what is known of Trajan. As E. Birley pointed out in another context<sup>13)</sup> "Trajan was lavish in his bestowal of decorations"; it has already been remarked that he also had difficulties enough to appoint P. Besius Betuinianus (a good soldier who had entered upon a procuratorial career) procurator pro legato of the province of Mauretania Tingitana, some time towards the latter part of the period 106 to mid-114.<sup>14)</sup> After the award of honours the ala remained on the diploma lists at least until A.D.157 or a little later (47.5, 47.7 and 47.8). The provisions made for the health and welfare of the ala (not of course exceptional in this respect<sup>15)</sup>) are revealed through 47.10 of the medicus M. Ulpus 'Telesphorus?', who had previously served as doctor to the ala Indiana in Germania superior, and who later retired from the military life to practise at

Viterbium in Italy.

Where was the ala stationed in Mauretania Tingitana ? A study, based upon the geographical order followed in naming regiments in the Hadrianic and post-Hadrianic dip-lomata,<sup>16)</sup> shows that a likely site might be at Thamusida. A conjectural restoration of an inscription from this site (47.12) demonstrates that it could refer to ala III Asturum. Thamusida, with a fort of 2.25 ha., is large enough to house a cavalry regiment. However, at least two other Asturian regiments are on the lists of Tingitana and this suggestion must wait upon further evidence for confirmation or rejection. As restored the inscription appears pre-Flavian (note the formula h.s.e. and the lack of Dis Manibus). This, if correct, supports the conclusion that the ala was part of the initial garrison of Tingitana, but confirmation is required.

One other fragmentary inscription from Ain Schkor, not far from Volubilis (47.11), appertains to the ala. It has no territorial significance, since it is the tombstone of a veteran Volsienus(?), but in spite of the lack of a numeral should relate to ala III Asturum since no other cavalry regiment of Asturians is known in Tingitana. All that may be gleaned from it is the probability that the regiment was in Tingitana in the third century. The stone shows the typical abbreviations of that period, and the omission of a praenomen and nomen for a discharged soldier (who may be assumed to possess citizenship) makes a late date fairly sure. If his age has been read correctly either he was discharged through ill health or injury before serving his full 25 years or he had enlisted at the very early age of 15! Further than this there is no trace.

## Footnotes

1. Pointers: ala in ablative, numeral following the name of the regiment, stipendiorum and annorum in full and in the genitive.
2. Holder 1 col. 1411 citing CIL II 2633 (Asturica), II 2868 (Lara), II 5034 (Traguntia).
3. N.H. 3,3,28.
4. The diploma is of the type issued to serving soldiers as well as those who were being honourably discharged, not as G. Alföldy indicates to 'aktive Soldaten' p.218 Historia (1968).
5. Perhaps circa A.D.46 as Carcopino suggests in Maroc Antique (Paris, 1943) p.238; the appointment of M. Fadius Celer Flavianus Maximus as proc. Aug. pro legato is taken by Pflaum Carrières (L) p.1098 col.1) to apply to the governorship of Tingitana in 44/45, thus implying a slightly earlier division.
6. Op. cit. p.37.
7. Rome et les Berbères, Collection Latomus 110 (Bruxelles 1970) pp.129/130.
8. Carcopino's reading of CIL VIII 21669 (Albulae) is not acceptable. He wished to give Capito a tribal origin among the Lingones and read LIN/DO as LIN(go)/DO(mo). An origo of Lindum should place Capito at the end of the first century at earliest, as the abbreviated D.M. might also suggest. His other evidence is not verifiable as it was unpublished, and not cited in full by him. There is a strong possibility that these references to legio X Gemina should be placed in the reign of Pius when the legion was part of the army of Upper Pannonia (cf. Parker,

Legions p.165 n.5), and vexillations were drawn from six legions to combat a Mauretanian revolt. See Ala I Hispanorum Asturum fn.25. M. Racht quotes Orellius 363 (Aventicum) in which C. Iulius Camillus is decorated twice by Claudius, the second occasion being in the British Expedition. With regard to the first decoration when he was serving as tribune with legio IV Macedonica she can find no occasion in the reign of Claudius for its receipt other than the Mauretanian War. In fact it is generally held that legio IV Macedonica was transferred to the Rhineland from Spain in A.D.39. The occasion for the decoration may have been the campaigns of Galba in the Rhineland at the beginning of the reign of Claudius.

9. AE 1941,79 (Banasa) of Sextus Sentius Caecilianus cf. also ILS 5955 and 8969.
10. Pflaum Car. No.50 pp.114/117.
11. Cohortes IIIII Gallerum and I Lemavorum.
12. Cohortes III Asturum, I Celtiberorum, II Hispana (Vasconum) II Hispanorum, I Ituraeorum. It is possible that the c.R. of the Spanish regiments reflects Flavian policy in Spain, but the fact that cohors I Ituraeorum, which is not Spanish, has the title (and in addition the other three regiments already in Tingitana acquire the title between 88 and 109), supports a military award. See Table III and cohors I Celtiberorum c.R. (Appendix 1) (No.13).
13. RBRA p.24.
14. Pflaum Car. No.73 pp.168/169.

15. cf. R.W. Davies "The Roman Military Medical Service"  
Saalburg Jahrbuch 1970 pp.84ff.
16. Appendix 1. (To be published in Latomus).

48. Ala I Gigurrorum.

Pliny the elder<sup>1)</sup> tells us "adjoining these" (the Vardulli and Cantabri) "are twenty two peoples of the Astures, divided into the Augustani and the Transmontani, with the splendid city of Asturica; these include the Gigurri, Pescii, Lancienses and Zoelae. The total number of the population amounts to 240,000 free persons".

Garcia y Bellido thinks the Gigurri lived in the mountainous district of Orense where a watershed is formed between the Tamega, flowing south to the Duoro, and the Sil, running north into the Miño.<sup>2)</sup> According to Ptolemy<sup>3)</sup> they had a town, Forum Gigurrum, which Garcia y Bellido considers was probably little more than a market town (as indeed its name implies).

The stone that is said to give proof of the existence of an ala raised from this tribe (or possibly 'sept' of the Astures) was found near Castrelo del Valle, in the municipality of Verin. This places its find spot in the heart of the territory which Garcia y Bellido assigns to the Gigurri. The stone is an altar to Iuppiter Optimus Maximus, of this there can be no doubt, but otherwise the inscription is difficult to read and to interpret.

The version given of the inscription is that of Garcia y Bellido who proposes that the dedicator Iscaen was peregrine, and his orige the Tamaconi or Tamagini (the peculiarity of spelling he ascribes to a Celtic version of a Latin genitive). He was decurion of an ala. That much seems reasonably clear. Garcia y Bellido reads the last three letters of the third line as GIG., and, taking into account the geographical factors, expands the abbreviation

so that the line reads: dec(urio) al(ae) I Gig(urrorum). For line 4 he proposes that perhaps the com(m)il(tones) were the members of the turma led by Icascaen.

This version, although ingenious, is not completely satisfactory. He supposes the stone to be, at latest, Julio-Claudian, because the decurion, Iscaen, is a local recruit, and the ala was still situated in the region where it was raised. This may be queried on the grounds that early first century stones are not commonly quite so drastically abbreviated, or ligatured. Secondly, the reading GIG. is not certain (see appended tracing) although it is possible that the actual stone may be easier to interpret than the photograph.<sup>4)</sup> There is, however, no known cavalry regiment in Spain with the initial letter G or C other than ala II Gallorum (in pre-Flavian times). Millán González Pardo<sup>5)</sup> offered another version of line 5 of the inscription, but, unfortunately, a printing error in the journal deprived readers of the complete version he intended. It appears that he is suggesting the following:

ICASCAEN / TAMACONUM / DEC(urio) AL(ae)  
 I GIG(urrorum)/COM(m)ILI[T](ones) IC/  
 [ASC]AENIS GENTIS / IOVI O(ptimo) M(aximo)  
 V(otum) S(oluerunt) / L(ibentes) M(erito)

In other words he proposes that the dedication was made by Icascaen together with those of his comrades who belonged to the same tribe, the Tamacones or Tamgones. This makes rather more sense of the latter part of the inscription but casts no more light on the identity of the regiment.

Another (rather faint) possibility is that this is really ala I C.R. (cf. ala II Flavia Hispanorum civium

Romanorum No.08). As for the commilitones (if such they are) it might be possible to see them as legionary, reading the fourth line as:

COMI. LE[G...] G(?)

and, considering the analogy with the inscriptions from Villalis,<sup>6)</sup> where legionary vexillations are parcelled out with auxiliary sections, another example of the use of soldiers as technical assistants and supervisors in mining districts.

Whichever solution is preferred, it must be emphasised that it will be largely conjectural. An ala I Gigurrorum remains possible but not proven.

Footnotes

1. Nat. Hist. 3,3,28.
2. Arch. Esp. Arq. 34 (1961) pp.139-142.
3. 2,6,37.
4. op. cit. p.140.
5. Arch. Esp. Arq. 38 (1965) pp.80-83.
6. IIS 9125, 9126, 9127, 9128, 9129, 9130, 9131.

I CAS GAEM  
 TAMC 7 NM  
 DEC ATIG 16  
 @MI 1, L: IC  
 #IINEM'S E, NS  
 IO VIOMVS  
 L

Enceing of photograph . . . 1"0 Arch. Esp. 199.  
 34, 1961. Fig. 3.

49. Ala I Lemavorum.

The Lemavi were a tribe of north-west Spain and, according to Pliny the Elder,<sup>1)</sup> belonged to the conventus Lucensis centred upon the town of Lucus Augusti. Schulten sited them in the valley of the upper Miño (Minus Fl.) in the vicinity of Monteforte de Lemos; probably their 'capital town' was Dactonium.<sup>2)</sup> Thus they originated from the rich mining area of Gallaecia.

The sole certain inscription of this regiment is the cursus of a prefect, C. Venaecius Voconianus (49.1), who had previously served as prefect of cohors I Chalcidenorum, whose early station is unknown, although it was in Africa in the second century; he then served as tribune in legio III Gallica felix, probably in Syria, before commanding our ala.<sup>3)</sup> The stone came from Urgavo, in Baetica.

The inscription must fall in or after the Flavian period since Voconianus had been flamen divorum Augustorum before embarking on his military career, and there is evidence to suggest that the Imperial Cult did not acquire official status in Baetica until the reign of Vespasian.<sup>4)</sup> The plural Augusti are dead divi so do not help with the dating of the inscription.

The style of the inscription suggests the period of the late first or early second century. Perhaps, since the career follows the pattern standardised under Hadrian, a date during the reign of that emperor may be surmised.

We can have no certainty about when the regiment was raised, although it may be guessed that its levying is likely to have followed the Augustan campaigns of 29-19 B.C.<sup>5)</sup> Similarly there is no evidence for its station, or indeed in

which province it served - the cursus of a prefect is no indication of the site of a unit; Urgavo was almost certainly the home town of Voconianus. (Pace Cheesman, who placed the inscription 161-7 or later, presumably on the citation of plural Augusti, and the ala in Tarraconensis<sup>6</sup>.)

Since there is a scarcity of alae whose titles begin with the letter L<sup>7</sup>) it is just possible that an inscription from Africa (49.2) relates to this regiment. However it is very fragmentary, and what was read as L might just as easily be I, in which case the inscription could belong to ala I Pannoniorum. The latter unit was certainly in Africa from the first century, although its station in the second century is uncertain.

## Footnotes

1. NH 3,3,28.
2. Schulten, PWRE 12,1894.
3. legio III Gallica is not usually given with the title felix. It is uncertain when this was acquired.
4. cf. CIL II 3271 recording an unknown man as the first flamen Augustalis in Baetica in the reign of Domitian; and R. Étienne, Le culte impériale dans la péninsule ibérique d'Auguste à Dioclétien (Paris 1958).
5. Conscription had certainly been effected among the Lemavi in the Julio-Claudian period since cohors I Lemavorum c.R. (No.71) had men qualified for honesta missio in A.D.88 (71.1), but see that cohort for a speculative theory concerning the date of its raising.
6. Auxilia p.166, although he qualified the siting in a footnote admitting that the evidence was not conclusive.
7. ala Longiniana, for example, is known only from Lower Germany and is thought to have perished circa 70.

50. Cohors I Asturum (equitata ?).

This is one of the Asturian regiments for which there is no very early evidence.<sup>1)</sup> Probably the first inscription in which it is recorded is 50.2 from Rome. At first sight this might appear to belong to the early third century, as the cohort seems to bear the title Macriniana (placing it in the year 217/8 when Macrinus briefly held power). However, other factors rule out this interpretation. The names of the deceased niles are given in the nominative and in full, and precise details of his origo are included. This style is unlikely in a third century context, and probably the rather odd symbol before Macriniana is to be interpreted as a centurial sign, i.e. he belonged to the century (formerly ?) led by Macrinus. Wagner<sup>2)</sup> considered the stone should belong to the first century; Kraft<sup>3)</sup> opted for the Flavian period. The period 68-69 would provide a good historical reason for the presence of the cohort in the vicinity of Rome, during, or just after, Vespasian's struggle for power. If correct this gives a clue to the pre-Flavian location of the cohort. L. Cuspius Lautus is unequivocally from Noricum. His home town is given as Claudium Iuvavum (Salzburg), thus proving the inscription to be Claudian or later<sup>4)</sup> and suggesting that the cohort had been in Noricum at least 15 years earlier (when he enlisted), that is to say circa 54/55. This would suit the suggested Claudian origins of the cohort<sup>5)</sup> but (as with the others in this series) there is the chance that it was an Augustan foundation and early evidence has just not come to light. (cf. the auxilia raised in north-west Spain for a suggestion that initially it may have been drafted to the

Rhineland.)

Certainly the cohort was in Noricum by the reign of Trajan. The diploma from Wels (Ovilava) was issued in A.D.106 to a soldier of this cohort, Clemens son of A..... (50.1). Unfortunately his status (as equus or pedes) has not been preserved. His wife had the Celtic name, Seccia.

The province of Noricum, placed under a procuratorial governor during the reign of Claudius, was, by virtue of its position, subject to romanising influences from an early period. Nevertheless the Danubian limes had still to be guarded and the auxilia might be thought likely to be concentrated in that region, but there is some possibility of placing the cohort elsewhere. Two tombstones of serving soldiers, Iulius Aprilis and Tiberius Claudius Ingenuus (50.3 and 50.8), came from Virunum (Dochmannsdorf), which lies in the south of the province. This highlights one of the other factors necessitating the use of auxilia in Noricum, namely the mines. Strabo<sup>6)</sup> placed both gold and iron in the region of Noreia, which lies some 40 km. north of Virunum.

Virunum was the headquarters of the procuratorial governor of Noricum and lay at an important junction of roads. From the north a road ran down from the Danube through Ovilava, Noreia and Virunum to Emona and Aquileia. From the west a road ran through the south of Noricum, linking up with others leading to passes to Italy, through Aguntum and Teurnia, Virunum itself to Celeia, and thence across Pannonia, following the Drave valley, towards Mursa and the Danube. The iron of Noricum was famous,<sup>7)</sup> even if the gold appears not to have been exploited much after the

time of Strabo. It is possible that the cohort may have been stationed somewhere in the vicinity of Noreia supervising the iron workings and the dispatch of iron pigs or finished goods to Aquileia, or guarding the important road communications.

Since 50.8 mentions a decurion of ala I Thracum, which should have been at Trigisamum (Traismauer) on the Danube at this time,<sup>8)</sup> and if Iulius Aprilis is really beneficiarius tribuni (50.3) rather than tubicen, the two inscriptions probably are tombstones of soldiers who had been seconded for duty at the headquarters of the procuratorial governor.<sup>9)</sup>

Both inscriptions from Virunum may be placed in the second century. 50.8 must post-date the early part of the reign of Antoninus Pius, as ala I Thracum, in which the dedicater (Bellicus Statutus) served, did not join the army of Noricum until that date or shortly before;<sup>10)</sup> it should not be too late in the century on grounds of style. 50.3, on the other hand, has characteristics which may place it later in the century.<sup>11)</sup>

Although 50.5 also originated from Virunum, it is not of significance for the station of the cohort since it was erected by the sister of the two dead soldiers. Atuco had previously served with cohors III Lusitanorum in Pannonia inferior; Tertius died while serving in our cohort, and the family, whose names are of types well attested in Noricum according to G. Alföldy,<sup>12)</sup> presumably lived at Virunum, perhaps in the first half of the second century. 50.4 from Iuvavum, which was erected by three freed-women to a deceased centurion, L. Naevius Proculus, does not help in siting the

cohort.

Similarly 50.6 and 50.7 are of no great value in locating the cohort within the province. Aurelius ..landinus died at the age of 50 and may well have retired as a veteran to Celeia; the family tombstone of the Anni from Solva merely tells us that one son, M. Annius Marcellinus, was centurion in a cohort probably to be identified as the one under discussion. Again these inscriptions should belong to the second century. 50.7 should be placed some time after the adoption of Marcus Aurelius as Caesar, since the family names (Marcus Annius) may indicate the father (or his father ?) receiving citizenship at that time. 50.6 could be either late Antonine or early third century.<sup>13)</sup> However, the grouping of all these inscriptions in the south may lend a little support to the idea that the cohort had its station there.

The suggestion that the cohort had a station not on the limes, but possibly in the south of Noricum, is at variance with Wagner's assertion that the cohort was stationed from Trajanic times at Astura, in the north-eastern corner of Noricum. The only firm connection between the cohort and this site is the name itself, and a mention in the Notitia dignitatum (50.11). Eugippius says<sup>14)</sup> "Severinus de partibus orientis adveniens in vicinia Norici Ripensis et Pannoniorum parvo, quod Asturis dicitur, oppido morabatur", and it used to be thought that this description fitted Klosterneuberg, which lies a little west of Vienna, on the Danube. E. Polaschek,<sup>15)</sup> however, gives the equation Klosterneuberg = Cannabiaca (the station of cohors I Aelia sagittariorum milliaria equitata) and follows E. Nowotny<sup>16)</sup>

in placing Astura at Zeiselmauer.

Zeiselmauer was thought by its original investigators to be a mediaeval fortification,<sup>17)</sup> in which a small Roman watchtower, of the kind found on the Rhine-Danube limes, was situated. It lies 7 Roman miles east of Tulln and circa 23 millia passuum from Traismauer. Nowotny argued that in plan (a square structure with square corner towers) and in size (side 500 Roman feet i.e. circa 4 acres = circa 2 ha.) it resembled a late Roman fortification.<sup>18)</sup> An appraisal of material from graves at Zeiselmauer (which included some of the material of Kaschnitz and Kubitschek), mainly excavated after 1925,<sup>19)</sup> showed the majority of the graves to belong to the fourth century. This is not conclusive but it adds to the picture of Zeiselmauer (if it is indeed Astura) functioning in the post-Diocletianic period - perhaps belonging to the military realignment of Constantine, or even more plausibly that of the third quarter of the fourth century.<sup>20)</sup>

A tentative sequence for the history of this cohort is:

1. Raised by Galus or Claudius and sent to Noricum, with perhaps an intermediate posting to the Rhineland.  
First station in Noricum unknown.
2. Perhaps taking part (on the Flavian side ?) in the struggles of 68-69 and, briefly, in Rome itself.
3. Returned to Noricum and stationed at an unknown site.  
This could be on the limes but another possibility lies in the district between Virunum and Noreia, perhaps assisting in the overseeing of mines and mineral exports. Alternatively in an unknown site with some members at least at Virunum, with duties

connected with the fact that Virunum was the headquarters of the procuratorial governor, in the second and early third centuries.

4. Later in the third century, or perhaps in the fourth, stationed on the limes and building for itself a fort at Zeiselmuer, which thereafter took its name from the regiment. By this later period it will have been altered in function, but possibly also in size, as the Notitia has it commanded by a tribune, 50.11.

We know the name of two of its prefects (at least in part). Valerius ..... commanded the cohort in the year 106 (50.1). The Italian, Tiberius Claudius Zeno Ulpianus (50.10), probably was prefect during the latter part of the reign of Commodus,<sup>21)</sup> as Pflaum places his post of procurator bonorum damnatorum at the time of the proscriptions against the followers of Clodius Albinus.

The family tombstone from Aquincum (50.9) which gives us the name of a miles of the cohort (Marcus Aurelius Titianus) is not territorially significant since it is obviously erected at the home of the soldier. On the names and abbreviations employed it should belong to the first half of the third century, and indicates a Pannonian recruit being sent to Noricum. At least three of the cohortes Asturum<sup>22)</sup> may be shown to have been organised as cohortes equitatae. Although there is no evidence in the inscriptions of this cohort to prove that it too was part-mounted, the likelihood of a similar structure is strong. A fortunate inscription or the location (and excavation) of the fort site of the cohort are the only real hope of a definite answer on that score.

## Footnotes

1. See The auxilia raised in north-west Spain.
2. Dislokation p.89.
3. Rekrutierung p.167 No.1081.
4. Claudius raised Iuvavum to the status of municipium as its name implies. Lautus probably had Latin citizenship.
5. Fn.1 supra. If the cohort was in Noricum in the reign of Claudius its conflation with cohors I Asturum et Callaecorum (q.v.) is far less likely. cf. Nesselhauf CIL XVI p.179.
6. 6,214.
7. Petronius, Satyricon, 70 "et quia bonam mentem habet, attuli illi Roma munus cultros Norico ferro".  
O. Davies, Roman Mines in Europe (Oxford, 1935) seems to think that the gold-mines "behind Aquileia" were restricted by the time of the early Principate. It is unclear if he means this to apply also to the gold-mines of Noricum.
8. Wagner, op. cit. p.72.
9. H. Vetter, PWRE Band 9, A1 279/80, thinks there was no military occupation near Virunum after the reign of Claudius, but he leaves the mining district out of consideration. Aprilis could clearly not be beneficiarius of the commander of the cohort, who was a prefect, but there could be a tribune at the governor's H.Q. E. Birley suggested the solution that TB denoted tubicen, in a letter, 18/9/'72.
10. Wagner, op. cit.

11. Lack of a praenomen together with two ligatures give it a later appearance.
12. Ep. St. 8 (Düsseldorf, 1969) p.18 No.26.
13. It is fragmentary but the name Aurelius suggests these possibilities cf. Kraft, op. cit. p.167 No.1087.
14. Vita St. Severinus 1. (Severinus fl. 5th C.).
15. PWRE 17. Noricum.
16. Ber. RGK. 15 (1924) pp.167/168.
17. W. Kubitschek, Jahrb. für Altertumskunde 4 (1910) pp.116ff.; G. von Kaschnitz, 5 (1911) pp.30/31.
18. Nowotny cites Deutz, Kreuznach and Horbourg among possible parallels. Deutz is considerably smaller but the other two are of approximately the same size.
19. R. Pitt<sup>l</sup>oni, Beiblatt, Jahreshefte des Österreich Arch. Inst. 36 (1946) 85ff.
20. Both Kreuznach and Horbourg are placed in that period by H. Schönberger in "The Roman Frontier in Germany", JRS 59 (1969) p.182.
21. The attribution to this cohort is not certain. He could be prefect of cohors I Asturum of Germany (later Britain) but Pflaum, Car. 228, p.604 prefers to place his command in Noricum because of the Danubian provenance of his other military posts.
22. See Table III. †

51. Cohors I Asturum equitata.

The earliest record of this cohort comes from an altar to Belinus (51.7) erected at Aquileia by an unknown man whom Stein<sup>1)</sup> followed Domaszewski in identifying as having been sub-praefectus cohortis III Lusitanorum rather than centurion of that cohort as L'Année Épigraphique suggested. Domaszewski reasoned it was not likely that a centurion of a cohort would be curator of another cohort, nor that a principalis of this order would rise to be aedile of Aquileia.<sup>2)</sup> G. Alföldy suggests that he is probably to be identified with Tiberius Iulius Viator of the Fabian voting tribe, who was also sub-praefectus cohortis III Lusitanorum and later praefectus cohortis Ubiorum (ILS 2703). If the identification is accepted the altar, which is Julio-Claudian in style,<sup>3)</sup> may be placed with probability in the reign of Tiberius.<sup>4)</sup> The cohort, in any case, should belong to the Augustan series of Asturian regiments.

Cohors III Lusitanorum was in Lower Germany in the first century (until 104 when it left for Pannonia). It may be inferred that cohort I Asturum equitata was in the same military district. Alföldy<sup>5)</sup> thinks that it was in Upper Germany, where it certainly appears in Flavian times, but perhaps fails to take sufficient note of the implications of inscription 51.6. This is the tombstone (admittedly from Zahlbach near Mainz, in Upper Germany) of a man who died after 22 years' service. It is stated that he was Tungrian. The stone is first century in style, and most probably Flavian,<sup>6)</sup> or even earlier, if the formula eq(ues) ex coh(orte) is significant. The Tungri suggest enlistment in

Lower rather than Upper Germany.

Wherever it was in the Rhineland before the Flavian period its presence in Upper Germany from A.D.74 at latest is attested through diplomata (51.1-5) which run from that year to A.D.134.

The legate for the military district of Upper Germany in A.D.74 was Cn. Pinarius Clemens, who was responsible for an advance into the Black Forest region, beginning the process by which the length of the frontier connecting the Upper Rhine and Danube was to be progressively shortened in succeeding reigns. If this cohort took part it did not distinguish itself sufficiently to receive a decoration, although the campaign met enough opposition for Clemens himself and two brothers who were senatorial commanders of the auxilia to be given awards. Vespasian himself was saluted imperator three times.<sup>7)</sup>

We have to rely upon indirect evidence for the station of the regiment in Germany at this time. The tombstone of Freioverus (51.6), from Zahlbach, places the cohort in the command area of the legionary forces at Mainz (either just before or after 68/70).

The other pointer lies in the distribution of tile stamps of the cohort. Tiles stamped COH. I AS. (51.17) were found at Hedderheim, Gernsheim and Nied. Nied was the centre of a legionary tilery after 83 (before that the tile-works were at Rheinzarbern), and cohors I Asturum appears to have been the only auxiliary regiment producing tiles here. The tiles have been carefully dated. At Hedderheim recent finds suggest that the fort was founded in Vespasianic times<sup>8)</sup> but replaced by a new structure of earth, with a

stone bath in Domitianic times, just after the Chattian War of 83. Nied tiles<sup>9)</sup> of the cohort were used in the baths, and one was found close to the praetorium.<sup>10)</sup>

It seems reasonable to suppose that the cohort was stationed not too far from Gernsheim, Heddernheim and Nied; Ritterling suggested<sup>11)</sup> Höchst (another earthen fort) as a probability, but Höchst is not listed among the fort sites of the limes by Schönberger.<sup>12)</sup> The exact location of the cohort in this period must wait upon further excavation.

Some time after the revolt of Saturninus (88-89) a link was established between the Wetterau and the Neckar via the Odenwald limes. The timing of this has not yet been worked out completely.<sup>13)</sup> It is possible that the foundation dates of forts on the Neckar will eventually be correlated with the dates of abandonment of some of the sites in the Wetterau, but much remains to be decided on that score. Writing in 1897, A. Mettler suggested<sup>14)</sup> that cohors I Asturum occupied Walheim on the Neckar at least from Trajanic times. The fort was circa 2.1 ha. and would be large enough to house a quingenary cohors equitata (that the cohort was part-mounted may be readily inferred from the description of Freioverus as eq(ues)). The basis of this siting lies in the fact that Walheim lies to the west of, and is linked by a road to, Mainhardt, the certain fort of the cohort on the Lorch-Miltenberg limes of Antoninus Pius. Mettler's thesis was endorsed by Fabricius<sup>15)</sup> in 1931, and later still by Schleiermacher.<sup>16)</sup> There are a number of sites along this line where an exact correspondence may be shown between the regiments there in the second half of the second century and those stationed on the earlier

limes some 25 kms to the rear.

Mainhardt is a little larger than Walheim at circa 2.5 ha. It has produced a number of inscriptions of the cohort. 51.8 is a tombstone of Maximus, son of Dasans, ensor, who came from the municipium of Magnum in Dalmatia and Bato, son of Bensus, optio, who originated from the same province and the municipium of Salvium. Both men had belonged to the century of Cobrunius Quintinus, whom Holder<sup>17)</sup> identified as Gallic. The two deceased soldiers had served 18 years each, and are evidence of a recruiting drive in Dalmatia, indicating that eighteen years before a date in the second half of the second century, to which this stone surely belongs, there were difficulties in obtaining the right calibre of recruits from local sources. Another Gaul named Cobrunius Divixtus was optio of the cohort in the same period and erected an altar to Jupiter Optimus Maximus in honorem domus divinae, 51.16.

Five altars to Jupiter Optimus Maximus (together with another possible one which is too fragmentary to interpret<sup>18)</sup>) were found in the terrain in front of Mainhardt, between the porta praetoria and the 'wall' of the limes, which lay some 320 m. to the east (51.9-13). Two of them were erected by the cohort under the command of C. Iulius Artemo<sup>19)</sup> and the obvious parallel is with a similar series from Maryport. They should, like those of Maryport, be part of a series of annual dedications to Jupiter erected on January 1st on renewing the vows of loyalty to the reigning emperor; former altars being ceremonially buried beside the parade ground.

The cohort remained at Mainhardt for some time, on the

evidence, but we know that it was in Britain by 260, from the inscription of Q. Gargilius Martialis from Auzia (51.14). The inscription is dated to 260 and states that he had previously commanded cohors I Astyrum! in the province of Britain. E. Birley<sup>20)</sup> has shown that the fact that it is described as pr. Brittaniae rather than pr. Brit. inferioris need have no great significance for siting the cohort. The placing of the cohort at Aesica (Greatchesters) by the Notitia dignitatum (51.15) may then indicate that the cohort came to Britain, and was sent up to Brittania inferior, replacing cohors II Asturum at Aesica, some time after A.D.225 but before 260.<sup>21)</sup> It may be however, as Professor Birley suggested, that the first cohort came to Britain under Severus and only relieved the second cohort at a later date, its intermediate siting being unknown.<sup>22)</sup>

## Footnotes

1. Beamten p.164.
2. Rangordnung p.119 fn.6.
3. In any case it precedes the formalising of the career structure of equestrian commanders.
4. From his names and voting tribe.
5. Hilfstruppen p.208, Nos. 139 a and b, and pp.65ff.
6. Kraft, Rekrutierung, p.169, No.1091.
7. ILS 997, 990 and 991. PWRE 6, 2664.
8. Schönberger, "The Roman Frontier in Germany" JRS 59, 1969, p.155.
9. Identified by an analysis of the clay used as well as the type.
10. ORL B 27 "Das Kastell und die Erdlager von Heddernheim", G. Wolff p.69.
11. ORL B 31, p.56.
12. op. cit. Map B.
13. Schönberger, op. cit. pp.160-162.
14. ORL B 57, p.11.
15. ORL A, Strecke 7-9, pp.49ff.
16. Der Limesführer für Autofahrer und Wanderer (2nd ed.) Berlin, 1961, pp.222-223 and Abb.40.
17. Holder 1, 1055.
18. Ber. RGK, 40, No.137.
19. ILS 4044 (Aquincum).
20. CW<sup>2</sup>39 (1939) p.217.
21. It is just possible that 51.16 should be given an early third century rather than a second century date, since Duncan Fishwick points out the majority of dedications in.h.d.d fall in that period in the Rhineland. ("The

Imperial Numen in Roman Britain ", JRS 59(1969) p.88). In this case cohors I Asturum may have remained in Germania during the first quarter of the third century and only have come to Britain in the second quarter. However, the movement of troops from the German limes to Britain in the period 225-50 makes little sense historically, whereas we may readily suppose that under Severus new auxiliary strength might have been brought here.

22. The assumption of M.G.Jarrett (Britain and Rome p.35) that " a copyist's error has turned the cohors II Asturum known at Greatchesters into the I Asturum of the Notitia " is an interesting possibility, but does not take into account ILS 2767 (No.51.14) and is no more provable than the alternatives discussed above and under cohors II Asturum (No.52) q.v..

52. Cohors II Asturum

There are two possible interpretations of the mention of this cohort in the Notitia dignitatum (52.1).

The first assumes that it was the second cohort of a series raised in an unknown period, probably the early principate, whose station is unattested in the first four centuries of our era. It may have been stationed somewhere in the East, if not in Egypt itself, but it finally garrisoned Busiris in the Nile Delta.

The second infers this is really the cohort attested first in Lower Germany and then in Britain, appearing at Greatchesters (Aesica) in the early third century and moving to Egypt at an unknown date between then and the end of the fourth century. This was suggested by E. Birley,<sup>1)</sup> since in the Notitia dignitatum the garrison of Aesica is listed as cohors I Asturum.

Although this represents an 'economic' answer, it is not easy to find a plausible historic reason for such a transfer. Jarrett's theory that the entry under Aesica in the Notitia was a copyist's slip ( cf. No. 51) is not without drawbacks, as we know the first Asturian cohort to have been in Britain in the relevant period.

The question remains open, but we have, at present, no other evidence concerning the fate of the British-based cohors II Asturum after it left Aesica.

## Footnotes

1. CW<sup>2</sup>39 (1939) p.216.

53. Cohors II Asturum equitata (pia fidelis).

Geza Alföldy assumes this cohort to have been raised early in the principate<sup>1)</sup> but admits its station prior to the Flavian period is unknown. He points to the possibility that it remained in Spain and came to the Rhineland with the Spanish legions in 70, citing Garcia y Bellido for evidence of an Asturian regiment in Spain.<sup>2)</sup> I have suggested that the fragmentary inscription to which he refers could be a boundary stone between the territorium of an Asturian regiment and the tribal territory of the Luggones.<sup>3)</sup> In a letter, P. le Roux informs me the stone is not large enough to perform such a function. Even if the stone does refer to an Asturian regiment, there are two possible candidates in the ala III Asturum and cohors III Asturum c.R., whereas this cohort has produced no evidence from Spain so far. It seems simpler on the present indications to place it in the suggested Claudian series<sup>4)</sup> in which case there is no need to postulate a long stay in Spain.

It is first definitely attested in Lower Germany in A.D.80 (53.1) which implies that it had been raised at least 25 years earlier, but more probably a few years before that, bring it by inference into the Claudian period. An inscription from Tarraco (53.2) also places the cohort in Germania. It was erected in honour of M. Valerius Propinquus Grattius Cerealis of the Edetani<sup>5)</sup> (a tribe from just south of the Ebro), who had been provincial flamen of Hispania citerior then adlected into the equestrian order by the emperor Titus. He thus began his equestrian career in the period 79-81. Since he was praefectus fabrum twice, before

becoming prefect of our cohort 'in Germania', he is likely to have held this post shortly after 81. To confirm this, Alföldy notes that his following post as tribune of legio V Macedonica was held in Moesia, and, by omission, it may be deduced before that province was divided in 86. The most probable date of his command is 82/3.

The cohort remained in Germania until after A.D.89, since an altar to Hercules Saxanus (53.3) was erected by Gemellus, imaginifer cohortis II Asturum, with a vexillation of that cohort, which now bore the title pia fidelis Domitiana. Domitian so honoured the Rhineland regiments who aided in the suppression of the revolt of Saturninus in 89. This stone together with two others, both altars to Hercules (53.4 and 5), was erected at Brohl. Hercules Saxanus (53.3 and 53.5) seems to have a special connection with quarries,<sup>6)</sup> and Brohl is attested as a quarry. According to H. von Petrikovits<sup>7)</sup> Brohl was in the territory of Upper Germany, but vexillations of the legions of Lower Germany have left inscriptions recording their presence, so there is no need to assume the cohort had been transferred to Germania superior by Domitian when that province was created by him. The stone quarried was Tuff, probably the volcanic variety, which makes a strong building material, and no doubt the intensive activity in this quarry by military personnel reflects the need for stone for the rebuilding of the limes in Flavian (but more particularly Domitianic) times.

The cohort was also engaged in tile-making. Distinctive circular tiles with the legend Tra(n)s R(h)eno feci(t) Peregrin(us) / mil(es) c(o)ho(rtis) II Ast(urum) have been

found at Köln-Alteburg, a base for the Rhine fleet, and at Xanten (from Vetera). The fort of the regiment should presumably lie between, or at least near, these military centres, perhaps on the left bank of the Rhine with vexillations sent across to work at Tegularia transrhenana, in the military no-man's-land on the opposite side. The cohort was taking in local recruits, since both Gemellus and Peregrinus were probably Gauls.<sup>8)</sup> It is interesting to note that Gemellus, who was still peregrine, had sufficient rank to lead, as imaginifer, a vexillation of the cohort.

Alföldy suggests that the cohort was transferred to Britain circa 100, when a realignment of troops was taking place in preparation for Trajan's first Dacian War. This date is supported by the interpretation given to the tombstone of C. Iulius Karus (53.7) by E. Birley.<sup>9)</sup> Through analysis of all the military factors involved and by balancing all the probabilities, he has narrowed down the date of Karus' command of the cohort, during the course of which he took part in a British War (which gave him the opportunity to win decorations) to the period 103-116/7. Thus we may suppose the cohort to have been in Britain several years before its presence is definitely signalled by the diploma for A.D.105 (53.8).

In a discussion of three British diplomas, for A.D.98, 103 and 105, E. Birley was able to show<sup>10)</sup> that the first and third of these listed units stationed within the command area of legio XX Valeria Victrix at Chester. Our cohort may be sited with a degree of confidence within the area of mid-to-north Wales, Lancashire and Derbyshire, the extent of that legion's command. Some support for this, unfortunately

undated, and unconfirmed by excavation, comes from Llanio in Cardiganshire. This site (perhaps Bremia of the Ravenna Cosmography) has produced evidence of the presence of the cohort in the form of a building stone (53.11) and a dedication in fragmentary condition (53.12). We cannot be sure that the cohort was in Llanio soon after its arrival in Britain, but it is a probability to be borne in mind. It is interesting to note that another cohort which bears witness to the occurrence of warfare in Britain<sup>11)</sup> in Trajanic times seems also to have been stationed in Wales in this period, but falling into the command area of legio II Augusta at Caerleon. This need not mean that the British War took place in Wales, the two cohorts could have been part of a task force made up from all three legionary commands in Britain.

The cohort remained in Britain to be recorded on two more diplomata (53.9 and 53.10) of 122 and 124.

We have the names of two commanders other than Karus during the early period of its stay in Britain. Gn. Munatius Aurelius Bassus (an Italian) commanded the cohort before becoming censitor civium Romanorum coloniae Victric-ensis quae est in Britannia Camaloduni. Since Hadrian was responsible for regularising the census process and placing it under procurators (from Hadrianic times we have the post proc. ad census accipiendum) Bassus must have held this latter position between circa 100 and early in the reign of Hadrian (53.15). His career is an unusual one. Having been praefectus fabrum, he was prefect of two cohorts before becoming censitor. One gains the impression that his talents lay in the administrative rather than the military field.<sup>12)</sup>

Three inscriptions from Trieste and one from Ostia (53.17a-d) together give the career of Q. Baienus Blassianus who ended his career as prefect of Egypt in A.D. 133.<sup>13)</sup> Tracing his progression through eleven posts altogether, it becomes clear that his first military command as prefect of our cohort must have been held before A.D.110. Two other Italian prefects probably belong to the second century. C. Saturius Secundus died, while commanding the cohort, at the early age of nineteen. The amount of detail in the inscription ( including the fact that he was son of a primipilaris, to which fact he probably owed his early appointment) makes it unlikely that the inscription belonged to a later period (53.19). For T. Statilius Messalinianus (53.18) no details concerning filiation, tribe or age are given, so it is just possible that he should be placed in the third century. There is a proviso that must be emphasised concerning these three men. There is no proof that they commanded the British-based second Asturian cohort. If there were two cohorts of this name and number<sup>14)</sup> it may be that one (or all) of them commanded the putative alternative cohort in an unknown province

During the Antonine period, at latest, there is an indication that the cohort had been moved to the northern command. The lead sealing with the stamp of the cohort from Bainbridge (53.14) is described as having been found "'with residual Antonine material' in the Severan extension to the fort".<sup>15)</sup> This is slight evidence for siting a cohort but it may be taken to mean the cohort lay not too far away.<sup>16)</sup>

In the early third century it was at Greatchesters (Aesica) on Hadrian's Wall. A building stone (53.13), datable

to A.D. 225, shows that it was engaged in rebuilding a decayed granary under the charge of Valerius Martialis, centurion of a legion. From the same site comes a tile stamp(53.20) which corroborates this evidence of the cohort refurbishing the fort for its future use.

Epigraphy, combined with excavation, has shown there to have been much activity of this kind on the British limes at this time.<sup>17)</sup>

To this period must belong the command of P. Furius Rusticus, prefect of the cohort in the province of Britannia inferior. His tombstone, from Lambaesis, must be post-Severan at earliest because of this mention of the division of Britain (53.16).

Cohors II Asturum equitata appears to have left Greatchesters at some time before the compilation of the Notitia dignitatum<sup>18)</sup> and was replaced by the first cohort of the same name. Unless the Notitia is in error, either it was lost(~~or~~ removed to another fort in Britain, so far unidentified) or it was transferred to Egypt and should be equated with the unit at Busiris.<sup>19)</sup> If the second alternative is rejected the most likely time for the change of garrison at Greatchesters is in the reorganistaion of Constantius. Cohors I Asturum equitata (No.51) came to Britain before 260, but need not have been posted there immediately. In that case we may have to suppose cohors II Asturum perished in the struggle between Allectus and Asclepiodotus, or in the area of the Wall itself(Greatchesters suffered some damage at this time), since Constantius seems to have returned most other regiments to their former stations in the north.

## Footnotes

1. Hilfstruppen pp.42-43.
2. Arch. Esp. Arq. 34 (1964) 145f.
3. 'Epigraphic Notes' Ep. St. 9 p.250.
4. See The Auxilia raised in north-west Spain.
5. He belonged to the Galerian voting tribe, which had a particular link with Spanish towns in the early principate.
6. Keune, PWRE 2A, 285/6.
7. "Das römische Rheinland" Arbeitsgemeinschaft für Forschung des Landes Nordrhein-Westfalen, Heft 86 (Köln, 1960) p.116 n.194.
8. Alföldy, op. cit. p.193.
9. RBRA pp.22ff. The tombstone of Karus establishes that the cohort was equitata.
10. 'Roman Garrisons in Wales' Arch. Camb. 102 (1952-3) pp.17ff.
11. Cohors I Cugernorum of CIL XVI 48 (A.D.103) becomes cohors I Ulpia Traiana Cugernorum civium Romanorum in CIL XVI 69 (A.D.122), cf. E. Birley RBRA p.24.
12. Dessau indicates that Bassus held the post of censitor simultaneously with his command of the cohort. Whether or not the cohort would assist him in this task seems unclear. Pflaum (Car. 83) points out that this post was not part of the usual equestrian career at this time.
13. See Pflaum, Car. p.974 for the reasons for this date.
14. See cohors II Asturum No.52.
15. JRS 53 (1963) p.162. The description was sent in by B.R. Hartley, the excavator, who discovered the seal in 1962.

16. In Severan times the regiment at Bainbridge was cohors VI Nerviorum, which had previously been at Greatchesters.
17. cf. E. Birley, CW<sup>2</sup> 39(1939) p.216, for the possibility that Greatchesters also housed a vexillation of Raeti gaesati in this period. (RIB 1724).
18. For the date of the Notitia dignitatum, i.e. an early fifth century compiler working from documents ranging from 395 onwards, see E. Birley, op. cit. pp.194 ff.
19. See cohors II Asturum No. 52.

54. Cohors III Asturum civium Romanorum equitata (pia fidelis).

This cohort is first recorded in the diploma of Mauretania Tingitana for A.D.109 (54.1). We can thus be reasonably certain it existed from circa A.D.84 at latest. However it does not bear the title Flavia and this is a pointer to the fact of its existence before the Flavian period. Early evidence is missing and it may well be that this cohort belongs to the postulated Gaius-Claudian series of regiments.

It could have been sent to the province within the Claudian period since its absence from CIL XVI 159 of A.D.88 may not be taken as proof that it was not already in Tingitana.<sup>1)</sup> Alternatively it may have been sent to the Rhineland with other Asturian cohorts, on the eve of the British invasion. In this case its arrival in Tingitana must be tied in with later events.

It bears the title civium Romanorum along with three other Spanish regiments which also make their first appearance in 109.<sup>2)</sup> An argument could be made for this reflecting Flavian interest in Spain<sup>3)</sup> but there are four other regiments (two of them Spanish)<sup>4)</sup> which are civium Romanorum for the first time in 109, and three of them had been listed in Tingitana in 88 without that distinction.<sup>5)</sup> The conclusion must surely be that these eight regiments were most likely to have been decorated during some uprising which occurred between 88 and 109. The possibilities have already been noted under ala III Asturum p.f.c.R. (No.47), and cohors I Celtiberorum equitata c.R. (No.13). cf. Appendix 1. It is reasonable to suppose that cohors III Asturum owed its grant of citizenship to Trajan, presumably for bravery

in action.

The cohort was equitata (54.9) and, as far as may be ascertained, remained in Tingitana for its entire existence after 109, being recorded in diplomata up to A.D.151/160 (54.2-54.8) and later appearing in the Notitia dignitatum under the aegis of the Comes Tingitaniae (54.10).

During this period we have little evidence for its station. In a study of the auxilia of Mauretania Tingitana<sup>6)</sup> some indications are given of the possible area in which the cohort may have been situated, that is, in the south of the province perhaps east of Volubilis. This is, as yet, only a theory based upon the presumed topographical lists of regiments in the diplomata of Tingitana from A.D.122 onwards. By the time of the Notitia dignitatum, when Diocletianic changes had completely altered provincial boundaries, and probably military dispositions in the African provinces, the cohort was stationed at Tabernae on the west coast.

Apart from the postulated Trajanic award for bravery, the cohort earned another battle honour, perhaps during the serious revolt of the reign of Pius.<sup>7)</sup> These disturbances may have involved the Baquates<sup>8)</sup> and if the cohort was east of Volubilis it would have been well situated for dealing with that troublesome tribe and thus to earn pia fidelis, which is added to its title in the diploma of 156/157 (54.7).

We have the name of one of the prefects commanding this cohort. Sextus Ticiasenus Allianus, an Italian from Ameria, was prefect some time after 165/166, for he held his next post as tribune of legio II Italica, which was raised by M. Aurelius at that time.

## Footnotes

1. The diploma of 88 almost certainly did not represent a complete tally of the auxilia in Tingitana. See cohors I Asturum et Callaecorum c.R. (No.58).
2. CIL XVI 161 and 162. Cohortes I Celtiberorum, II Hispana Vasconum, II Hispanorum.
3. cf. cohors I Celtiberorum equitata c.R. (No.13).
4. Ala III Asturum, and cohortes IIII Gallorum, I Ituraeorum and I Lemavorum.
5. See Table 'Diplomata of Mauretania Tingitana'.(Appendix 1, Table III).
6. Appendix 1.
7. In 145-152 and again towards the end of the reign of Plus there was serious fighting in Mauretania Caesar-  
iensis and Tingitana cf. Pausian<sup>a</sup>s 8 43,3, CIL III 5211, 5213 and CIL VI 1208.
8. E. Frézouls pointed out that the walls surrounding Volubilis date to 168/169, and may signify distrust of the neighbouring Baquates. BAM 2 (1957) p.105.

55a. Cohors IV Asturum (equitata ?).

There is no evidence concerning the existence of this cohort, but that it was raised there can be little doubt, since the fifth and sixth cohorts of the series are certainly attested. If a Claudian series of Asturian regiments was raised, this cohort would be likely to have been among them, as one of the main arguments for the possibility of the later levy lies in the fifth cohort. (q.v.).

If the Roman High Command thought along lines of strict conformity when levies were made this cohort is likely to have been part-mounted like others in the series.

Since we know nothing of it, the cohort may have been lost, or disbanded in an early period. cf. The Auxilia raised in north-west Spain.

55. Cohors V Asturum (equitata ?).

G. Alföldy states<sup>1)</sup> that this cohort was probably raised in the conventus of Asturica at the beginning of the principate, and perhaps brought to the Lower Rhine after the Varian catastrophe. However the two inscriptions which, so far, comprise the sole evidence for its existence do not bear out either of these two statements. As Alföldy himself points out, the most probable date for 55.1 is in the Claudio-Neronian period.<sup>2)</sup> He ascribes this tombstone to the same workshop as that of Q. Petilius Secundus, miles of legio XV Primigenia,<sup>3)</sup> and thus it should lie between A.D.40 and 70.

Pintaius, the deceased member of the cohort, had served only seven years, and was a native of Spain. He gives as his origo: Astur Transmontanus, castello Intercatia. It is fairly safe to say that he was recruited, while the cohort was in his homeland,<sup>4)</sup> between A.D.33 and 63, if Alföldy's workshop dates are accepted.<sup>5)</sup> This means that, even if an Augustan foundation is correct, the cohort is not likely to have left Spain for the Rhineland before late Tiberian times, at earliest. On the other hand, if the stone is assumed to lie within the first decade of the period 40-70, a Gaius-Claudian date of origin for the regiment would fit the circumstances without having to postulate an intermediate stay in Spain of some 50 years. It would make good sense for the newly raised cohort to have been removed from Spain to the Rhineland, to fill a gap left by more experienced soldiers embarking on the British expedition.

Pintaius was a signifer of the cohort and is depicted

in the funerary relief wearing a bearskin head-covering with the front paws crossed on his chest, an interesting illustration of conformity to Roman military practice among the auxilia in Julio-Claudian times.<sup>6)</sup> In his right hand he holds the signum. None of the emblems suggest that the cohort was equitata (indeed one would not expect this on a standard relating to the pedites of the cohort) but it is reasonable to suppose that it may have been part-mounted (cf. the inferred fourth cohort of Asturians). The stone came from Bonn and the cohort should therefore have been under the command of the legate of the legion quartered there (legio I in the assumed period). Although a permanent fort for the cohort need not be assumed to have existed, the affairs of Lower Germany may have been considered sufficiently stable at that time for a semi-permanent station to have existed somewhere in the vicinity.<sup>7)</sup>

The altar to Poeninus (54.2), from the Great St. Bernard Pass, gives no real indication of the fate of this cohort. Poeninus was a local god of the 'mountains' (assimilated with Iuppiter in some dedications of the Roman period) to whom altars were erected in gratitude for a safe passage over the Alps. There are a number of altars and votive inscriptions erected by men of the Rhineland armies. F. Staehelin<sup>8)</sup> suggests that some at least were erected in 69, when Caecina led part of the Vitellian forces across the Alps using this pass. But Caecina's troops were drawn from the army of Upper Germany<sup>9)</sup> and our cohort has been accredited to the command of the Lower district. It would thus not have crossed the Alps but made its way through Gaul with Valens (or perhaps Vitellius) if it took part

in the operations against Otho.

It may be that the cohort survived 69 (in the Rhineland or in Italy) perhaps to be wiped out (or disbanded together with legio I ?) during the events of 70.

There are certainly no indications of the cohort after the year of the four emperors. The altar to Poeninus may fall into place as Alföldy suggests as a dedication by a young man on his way from Rome to take up his appointment (or returning to take up another ?). Alföldy thinks Antullus to be a Spaniard, basing this supposition upon the cognomen which occurs four times in CIL II (with four further examples of the feminine version). Kajanto however<sup>10)</sup> seems inclined to regard the name as derived from an ancient praenomen, and the name as such is not recorded by Firmat as of native Spanish significance.<sup>11)</sup> Wherever he came from his command should fall before A.D.70.

## Footnotes

1. Hilfstruppen p.44.
2. op. cit. p.194, No.91.
3. IIS 2275. Secundus served five years. If legio XV Primigenia was raised by Gaius circa 39 ? the stone should be A.D.44 at earliest.
4. cf. Recruitment, Chapter I. Firmat, Onomastica p.180 and Map 5 also points out that names in Pin- or Pen- are Spanish in origin.
5. See fn.3 supra for raising the lower date by four years.
6. cf. Cheesman, Auxilia p.132 on this topic.
7. See Chapter I, Strategy and Epigraphy, for an explanation of the burial of an auxiliary at Bonn.
8. Die Schweiz in Römischer Zeit (Basel, 1948) pp.344ff.
9. Tacitus, Histories 1,61.
10. The Latin Cognomina (Helsinki, 1965) pp.38 and 175.
11. op. cit.

56. Cohors VI Asturum (equitata ?).

The only certain evidence for this cohort comes from a single inscription from Asturica (56.2). In a striking analysis of the inscription<sup>1)</sup> G. Alföldy has shown that the commander, Pompeius Faventinus, who himself originated from Spain, began his military career in charge of this cohort in Lower Germany. Since he dates the decorations received by Faventinus, as prefect of ala Sulpicia civium Romanorum, to the period of the war against the Bructari of 77/78, Alföldy places his first command early in the reign of Vespasian, probably just after the Batavian War.

There is nothing to indicate whether the cohort was in the Rhineland before A.D.70, or if it came perhaps with legio VI Victrix from Spain in that year. Again the lack of early evidence may be mischance or it could support the idea of a Claudian levy. If the first command was a little earlier than Alföldy indicated, could this indicate that the cohort had been lost in the Batavian Wars? This is unlikely.

If Faventinus had commanded a cohort that perished one would not expect his career to have proceeded through the normal course, or decorations to be bestowed by Vespasian.

Nesselhauf<sup>2)</sup> has restored the name of the cohort in the diploma of Germania (inferior) for early 80 (56.1). The reasons for that restoration are stated beneath the inscription. Failing this its further history is unknown. Alföldy is inclined to place it as remaining in Lower Germany, pointing out that there is a paucity of evidence for cohorts there in the second and third centuries.<sup>3)</sup>

Certainly it has not yet appeared in the records of any other province. It may of course have perished in one of the Domitianic Wars, or in those of Trajan.

## Footnotes

1. Mad. Mitt. 6 (1965) pp.105ff.
2. CIL XVI Supp. p.217.
3. Hilfstruppen p.45.

57. Cohors I Asturum et Callaecorum.

An interesting point concerning the title of this regiment, and the two others so named, is that in it the Callaeci are associated with the Astures. In the conventus system the Callaeci were placed in the jurisdiction of Bracara<sup>1)</sup> although they were neighbours of the Astures. Similarly in another series of cohorts they were banded with the Lucenses, again of a separate conventus.<sup>2)</sup> There were no cohorts or alae (of which we are aware) composed wholly of Callaeci.

It seems justifiable to place their original recruitment in the Augustan age, or at least before the founding of the conventus, when Callaecia, Cantabria and Asturica were still under strict military supervision, and the system recorded by the Elder Pliny had not been inaugurated.

The earliest evidence for a cohors I Asturum et Callaecorum comes from Zahlbach near Mainz (57.2). It is certainly Julio-Claudian. Ogrigenus was a Spaniard. The stem, Pint-, of his father's name was very common in north-west Spain,<sup>3)</sup> and his own name is also found there.<sup>4)</sup> He had served merely nine years before his death, and the implication must be that, whatever the interval may have been between its initial levy and its departure from Spain, the first destination of the cohort was to strengthen the army of Upper Germany. If recruited in the immediate post-conquest period by Agrippa, it may have been in the Rhineland, attached to the legionary hiberna at Mainz, before the first years of our era. On the other hand the peculiarity of its title might be explicable if it represents a later Augustan levy (perhaps it might be more correct to

suggest two Augustan levies for the two first cohorts), either in response to the Pannonian War of A.D.6-9<sup>5)</sup> or the Varian disaster.<sup>6)</sup> If Augustus was really reduced to extreme measures with regard to recruitment, he might well band together tribes from the different military districts of north-west Spain for the purpose of the levy.

K. Kraft<sup>7)</sup> suggested that this cohort was next transferred to Mauretania Tingitana, basing this upon the inscription from Volubilis of A.D.57/58.<sup>8)</sup> This equation is possible. It might imply that Claudius (or perhaps Nero) sent a well-established regiment to serve in the garrison of a recently acquired province, where it remained for at least another century. If this is correct the suggestion of Stein<sup>9)</sup> and Wagner<sup>10)</sup> that the cohort of the Rhineland is that which occurs in the diploma of A.D.60 (57.1) in Illyricum, cannot be maintained. The series of rapid movements that this would involve for one cohort is highly unlikely.

Without further evidence it is difficult to decide which of the two possibilities carries the greater weight:

1. Stein/Wagner (who had no knowledge of the Volubilis inscription when they wrote): An Augustan regiment transferred from Spain to Upper Germany and then to Illyricum before A.D.60 (perhaps in the Claudian re-alignment of auxilia ?).
2. Kraft: An Augustan regiment transferred from Spain to Upper Germany and thence to Mauretania Tingitana (where it remained) before 57/58.

Kraft's solution has the merit of providing a background for the Mauretanian cohort. It is not difficult to envisage

a Spanish regiment being raised and sent to the Illyrian scene after A.D.6-9 and leaving no record until A.D.60. However it is perhaps wiser not to leap too hastily at the tidier solution.<sup>11)</sup> In any case we are left with the problem of what happened to the regiment in Illyricum after A.D.60, since there appears to be no later record.

There are four possibilities:

1. It continued to exist but the records are lost or have not yet been disinterred.
2. It perished, perhaps in the period 68-70, when there are many occasions for a Danubian cohort to have been lost.<sup>12)</sup>
3. It dropped the latter part of its title and reappeared as cohors I Asturum in Noricum. This suggestion was made by Nesselhauf<sup>13)</sup> and it certainly presents an economic answer to the evidence. However, there is reason to believe cohors I Asturum of Noricum (No.50) was in that province in Claudian times, which may suggest caution in the acceptance of this solution. It is at variance too with the postulated Claudian recruitment for one of the series of Asturian cohorts (although this in itself is not an admissible argument) as it would deprive it of a first cohort of that name, unless another, unattested, unit was inferred.
4. Although it was placed first on the Illyrian list, and preceding three other cohorts with the numeral I, this represents a copying error. Cohors II Asturum et Callaecorum (No.59), which appears in diplomas of Pannonia and then Pannonia inferior from A.D.80-167, was really in question. This is an attractive suggestion

and would reduce the number of cohortes Asturum et Callaecorum levied to two.<sup>14)</sup> The mistake, however, would have to have been made at headquarters level, because of the position of the cohort on the list.

Unsatisfactory though it may be, the question must be left open to await further evidence.

## Footnotes

1. Pliny the Elder, NH 3,3,28.
2. Pliny, op. cit.
3. Firmat, Onomastica pp.182/3.
4. op. cit. p.172 and p.280, Map 9.
5. Velleius Paterculus, 2,111, writes in terms which suggest exceptionally heavy recruitment at this time.
6. Velleius, 2,117, says three alae and six cohorts were lost as well as the three legions.
7. Rekrutierung p.168, No.1110.
8. ILM 58. See 58.1.
9. Beamten p.166.
10. Dislokation p.90.
11. Note that the grouping of the inscriptions does not imply an acceptance of the Stein/Wagner thesis. Kraft cited AE 1934,45 from Thamusida as evidence for the transfer of the cohort from Germany to Tingitana, but the inscription is very fragmentary and it is equally possible to attribute it to ala III Asturum p.f.c.R. (No.47). The latter alternative has been adopted because of the early siting of the Tingitanian cohors I Asturum et Callaecorum at Ain Schkor. cf. 47.12.
12. Viz.: Tacitus, Histories 1,79, says the Rhoxolani massacred two cohorts in the winter of 68/69, before invading Moesia; ibid. 3,46, the Dacians crossed the Danube and stormed the hiberna of the auxilia; Josephus 7,89-94, tells us that the Sarmatians invaded the Danube lands in 70. Pannonian auxiliaries were undoubtedly involved in the Flavian battles under Primus.
13. CIL XVI p.179 col. 2.

14. H. van de Weerd and S.J. De Laet in Collection de Latomus 2, "Homages à J. Bidez et à F. Cumont" (Brussels, 1949) p.350.

58. Cohors I Asturum et Callaecorum civium Romanorum.

The possibilities concerning the early history of this cohort have already been explored under cohors I Asturum et Callaecorum (No.57). By 57/58 the cohort was in the province of Mauretania Tingitana, at or near Volubilis, from which the first inscription comes (58.1). The cohort erected the stone to record the building of a portico, along with another structure, whose nature has been lost. We are fortunate in being able to identify the fort it garrisoned. 58.11 is a building stone erected to the 'genius' of the site by the prefect of the cohort, and commemorates the completion of a praetorium at Ain Schkor. The use of the formula a solo composuit et fecit implies that the cohort was constructing the praetorium (and fort) for the first time. The site of Ain Schkor was partially excavated in 1959, and it has been suggested that it was built soon after the middle of the first century. If the nomen of the prefect has been correctly restored a Flavian date, rather than Neronian, may be inferred. It is 0.8 ha. (circa 2 acres) in size. This is rather small for a quingenary cohort, but M. Euzennat<sup>1)</sup> has pointed to the presence of a number of look-out towers in the area, which may have absorbed part of the cohort.

Ain Schkor was an important site, and was part of the strategic network around Volubilis (lying circa 4 km. north and slightly east of the town) discussed by M. Euzennat. The cohort is presumed to have stayed there nearly a century. It is recorded on diplomata of Tingitana from 109 to 151/160 (58.2-58-10).<sup>2)</sup> Eventually it was replaced at Ain Schkor by cohors IV Tungrorum (milliaria), for an inscription of the

time of Severus Alexander reveals that cohort restoring the baths there, presumably as the resident garrison (AE 1966,606). Cohors IV Tungrorum sent a vexillation to Mauretania Tingitana some time between 121/5,<sup>3)</sup> when a (military ?) cohort of that name and number is recorded in Raetia, and 156/157, when (cohors<sup>4)</sup> IV Tung(rorum) vexil(latio) appears in eleventh place on two diplomata of Tingitana.<sup>4)</sup> This raises a problem. The fort at Ain Schkor is said by Euzennat to have been destroyed and reconstructed about the middle of the second century (which might fit in with the disturbances under Pius). The walls of Volubilis are datable to 168/169, so that a general tightening up of security measures in and around Volubilis might be postulated for the decade or so after the Tungrian cohort first appears in the lists. However, the diplomata of Mauretania Tingitana list the auxilia in, what is assumed to be, geographical order after 122. Cohors I Asturum et Callaecorum appears throughout in fifth place among the cohorts; when the Tungrian vexillation arrives in the lists it is in last (eleventh) place. If it had taken over the fort at Ain Schkor from our cohort it would be expected to show up in its stead, unless we suppose that the list (originally geographical in 122) had now become stereotyped and the two additional cohorts of 156/157 (the Tungrians and cohors III Gallorum felix) were merely placed at the end for the sake of convenience.

If our cohort was ousted from Ain Schkor in the middle of the second century, or just after, we have no clue as to its later fate.

Although Nesselhauf restored all the diplomata after

(and including) that of 122 with the cohort carrying the title civium Romanorum, the first diploma on which this distinction actually appears is CIL XVI 182 of 156/7 (58.9). Since the title is not present in any of the other inscriptions, it seems simpler to assume it need not have been received so early. The cohort could as easily have been decorated in the wars of Plus, as under Hadrian as Nesselhauf assumed.

There are records of some of the commanders of the cohort. Flavius Neon was prefect (some time after A.D.70 ?) during the building of the praetorium at Ain Schkor (58.11). His cognomen could indicate an eastern origin cf. IIS 2839.

Gaius Iulius Longinus erected an altar to Frugifer, in gratitude for the recovery of his health, at Volubilis, in the late first or early second century (58.12).

C. Vibius Salutaris commanded this cohort or, less probably, the second of the same title (58.16). His first non-military post was as sub-procurator of Mauretania Tingitana, which may indicate previous experience in the province. His cognomen and tribe suggest that he was of Italian extraction in spite of his devotion to Diana of Ephesus. Pflaum<sup>5)</sup> places the Tingitanian post in the period 81-96, but the lower date should be raised to at least 90 as immediately prior to this Salutaris had been tribune in legio XXII Primigenia pia fidelis, the latter title of honour being awarded to the legions of the Lower Rhine by Domitian after 89.<sup>6)</sup> The command of the cohort should thus lie, at earliest, in the latter part of the 80's.

\* A fragmentary cursus of an unknown Italian(?) identifies the cohort in Mauretania (Tingitana) (58.13). It reveals him

to have begun his military career in charge of our cohort and then to have moved to Cappadocia as prefect of a cohort whose name is partially preserved as .....ag... E. Birley supplied the name of the cohort as I Ulpia Paphlag(onum).<sup>7)</sup> A late Trajanic or early Hadrianic date is therefore the earliest time at which the command of the cohort could have been held.

L. Chatelain suggests, from the style of the lettering on the base of a funerary statue, that Nammius Maternus, another prefect of the cohort, should belong to the Hadrianic period. Chatelain also remarked that Nammius was an African name, although Maternus had Celtic overtones according to Kajanto<sup>8)</sup> (58.14). His wife, Aemilia Sextina, was Gallic; she originated in Vienne.

These two stones are important when considering the implications of 58.15. L. Domitius Dentonianus, from Consaburum in Spain, began his career as duovir of that municipium. He served as municipal and then provincial high priest and was elected to the judicial decurionate and given the equus publicus by Trajan. He claimed then to have commanded cohors Asturum (et) Callaeciae ! in Mauretania Tingitana as tribunus militum. The implication is that the cohort had become milliary. A doubling of the cohort would not have been out of place under Trajan,<sup>9)</sup> but the fact that in two seemingly later inscriptions the commanders are prefects, and the cohort clearly not milliary, makes this interpretation suspect. Further, no change of status is noted in any of the later diplomata (58.4-58.9). Either the inscription was set up incorrectly, or Dentonianus was tribune of an unnamed milliary cohort (or in a legion), and

the word praefectus has been omitted from what is, in any case, a rather muddled inscription.

## Footnotes

1. "Le Limes de Volubilis", Studien zu den Militärgrenzen Roms (1957) pp.194-199.
2. The presence of this cohort in the province from the reign of Nero implies that the diploma of 88 (from which it is absent) does not record all the auxilia in the province at that time.
3. Straubing diploma. Germania 39 (1961) p.93.
4. CIL XVI 181 and 182.
5. Carrières p.1099.
6. Stein, Beamten p.104.
7. Alae and cohortes milliariae p.63.
8. The Latin Cognomina (Helsinki 1965) p.18 and p. 180.
9. E. Birley, op. cit. p.61.

59. Cohors II Asturum et Callaecorum equitata.

The appearance of this cohort in a Pannonian diploma in A.D.80 (59.1) assures us that it was pre-Flavian in foundation. The title, as we have seen, may point to a pre-Claudian existence, or more likely to a late Augustan levy.

An assessment of the early history of this cohort is bedevilled by the problems attached to the first cohort, or cohorts, of the same title. If there was only one first cohort, it appeared first in the Rhineland and then in Mauretania Tingitana by the reign of Nero. In this case the second cohort, mistakenly listed with the numeral I in the list, was in Pannonia (Illyricum) in A.D. 60 (57.1) and perhaps there from the time of the Pannonian revolt. If there were two cohortes I Asturum et Callaecorum either:

- a) One of these went first to the Rhineland and then to Pannonia, and the other manifested itself in Mauretania Tingitana; or
- b) The Rhineland cohort is to be identified with that later in Tingitana, and the other first cohort was in Pannonia perhaps from an early date.

If there were two first cohorts the latter alternative is more attractive; it fits with the idea that cohorts in numbered pairs often appear together in the same province in the early stages of their existence.

The result of these suppositions is to suggest, but by no means prove, that the second cohort is likely to have been in the Pannonian area from early in the principate.

From A.D.80 until A.D.167 it is registered in diplomata,

first of undivided Pannonia (59.1 and 59.2 of 80 and 85) then, four years after the division of Pannonia in 106, in the Lower province, where it apparently remained (59.3-59.9).

It may seem likely that the cohort should have taken part in Trajan's Dacian campaigns but there is no proof of this; certainly it bears no decoration that might indicate success in action.

A. Radnóti and L. Barkóczy<sup>1)</sup> made a valuable contribution to the history of the auxilia in Pannonia inferior, in their study based upon the assumed topographical nature of the diploma lists from, and including, the two 'Regöly' diplomas of 148 (59.5 and 59.6). In this they suggest that the auxilia were situated in groups, of usually one ala and several cohorts, along the lines of Pannonia inferior in the second century. By tracing the known fort sites of named regiments they are able to assign, with some degree of plausibility, appropriate sites for the remaining regiments. They suppose that our cohort was stationed at Lugio (Dunaszekcsö) together with cohors VII Breucorum, during the second century, with the important task of controlling the river crossing to the road leading, from Pannonia inferior across the territory of the Sarmatians to the east, towards the new province of Dacia. (cf. ala I Hispanorum Campagonum (No. 05) at Veczel in Dacia.) Wagner<sup>2)</sup> had suggested the cohort lay at Batina on the strength of tile stamps there (59.10) but Radnóti and Barkóczy are able to point out that tile stamps of regiments are usually distributed in an area south of their fort sites in Pannonia inferior; in other words down the Danube

following the flow of the river that made their transport safe and simple. (cf. Chapter I Working hypotheses.)

The inscriptions of Bononia and Szalk Island have probably no bearing on the cohort: the first is too cryptic to be of value, even if our cohort is intended (59.11), the second fragmentary and uncertain (59.12). The history of the cohort after the latter part of the second century remains unclear from the epigraphic record. Its position would be a vital one during the Sarmatian Wars of Marcus Aurelius, it may have been lost at this time, or possibly moved to a new position.

We have the name of an equus of the cohort from the diploma of 145 (59.4), ..... Iustus, son of ...ens, who may be claiming to have been born at a military camp (ex castris) or whose tribe or town began with the letters Ca.... The importance of this diploma is to reveal that the cohort was part-mounted, as indeed it would need to be if its task was really to guard an important stretch of road and river. (Cohors VII Breucorum is known to be equitata.) The prefect commanding our cohort in 145 was an Italian (from Faventia), .....s Granianus.

Two criticisms of the analysis of Radnóti and Barkóczy should be noted here:

1. They make no attempt to explain the jumbling of the order of cohorts (and alae) in the two diplomata of 160 (59.7 and 59.8) in which our cohort appears in third rather than in seventh place. The order is plainly not numerical in these diplomata either. (They do point out that in the diploma of 167 (59.9), where our cohort is fifth of the infantry regiments, the list is incomplete since five

regiments were already engaged in the Marcomannic War.)

2. Their explanation of the change of title of the cohort (apparently to Nerviorum et Callaecorum) in 148 (59.5 and 59.6) is unconvincing. They suggest that cohors II Augusta Nervia Pacensis Brittonum milliaria, cited fifth of the cohorts in CIL XVI 61 of 114, was stationed at Lugio some time between 110 and 148. This unit is later found in Dacia Porolissensis and they argue that it went to Dacia during Hadrian's Sarmatian Wars. Part of the cohort is then supposed to have returned to its former camp to be merged with cohors II Asturum et Callaecorum and so its name was incorporated into that of the amalgamated cohort. Apart from the involved nature of the argument, they fail to explain how cohors II Augusta Nervia Pacensis Brittonum continues to be labelled milliary both in the interim<sup>3)</sup> and later<sup>4)</sup>. They also fail to note that the title of the British cohort derives from Nerva, whereas Nervior(um) denotes a regiment raised from among the Nervii, a Belgic tribe. It is simpler to accept Nesselhauf's explanation of a clerical error in the diploma lists at headquarters level, compounded in the copying by the engravers, in both Regöly diplomata.

## Footnotes

1. Acta Arch. Hung. I (1951) pp.191ff. "The distribution of Troops in Pannonia inferior during the second century A.D."
2. Dislokation p.90.
3. JRS 51 (1951) pp.63ff. of A.D.133, admittedly unpublished when they wrote.
4. CIL XVI 110, 185, Athenaeum 36 (1958) pp.193ff., Materiale și cercetări arheologice 2, 1956, pp.703ff.

60. Cohors I Bracarorum.

The title of this cohort raises an interesting question. Was it named for the tribe of the Bracari rather than for the conventus or military district, Bracara Augusta, which seems to be the foundation of the designation of other cohorts of similar title ?<sup>1)</sup> As there is only one inscription in which it is found in Mauretania Tingitana, and that is a diploma, where mistakes in transcription are not unknown, it is difficult to make a firm judgement. A glance through the evidence of the other cohorts in the series reveals that there was no hard and fast way of denoting titles. Probably because of the unwieldy nature of the full style Bracaraugustanorum, even official inscriptions varied. An example, which provides a possible parallel, is cohors III Bracaraugustanorum of Britain. In the diploma for 103 (65.1) the cohort is unequivocally Bracaraugustanorum, in that for 122 (65.2) it is Bracarorum. Cohors IV Bracaraugustanorum of Syria is so denoted in the diploma of 88 (67.1). In an inscription referring to a prefect of the same cohort (67.3) the name given is Bracarum. There are other versions but the examples given suffice to show that the probabilities lie with this being of similar origin to others in (possibly) three separate series.

The date of 88, on the diploma of Mauretania Tingitana, ensures that the cohort was raised in the pre-Flavian period, but it may have been either Augustan or Gaio-Claudian in origin. By the same token there is no certainty about the date on which it joined the garrison of Tingitana, straight from Spain to fight against Aedemon, or as part of later

reinforcements. We have no real clue concerning its later station. If really one of the cohortes Bracaraugustanorum:

1. It could be the cohort later in Dacia (No.61/62),
2. It may have been moved to Britain,<sup>2)</sup>
3. It could have perished in one of the Mauretanian uprisings hence its non-appearance in the later diplomata of Tingitana,<sup>3)</sup> or it may have persisted but the records have not yet been unearthed.

## Footnotes

1. See The auxilia raised in north-west Spain.
2. cohors I Augusta Bracarum 62.3. This is not very likely.
3. cf. Table II The diplomata of Mauretania Tingitana. (Appendix 1).

61/62. Cohors I Bracarum Augustanorum? (=Augusta Bracarum?).

Unless further evidence comes to light the early history of this cohort is very obscure. It appears first in the diploma of December 140 in Dacia inferior. One possibility already mentioned<sup>1)</sup> is that it is to be equated with the cohort of Mauretania Tingitana, and its transfer to the Danubian area should be connected with either Domitian's or Trajan's Dacian wars. However, both emperors had difficulties in Mauretania which would make it less likely that troops would be transferred out of that area. (Unless it is postulated that the troubles in Mauretania were partly occasioned by a weakening of the occupying forces after such transfers, for which there is no evidence.)

If it is not the Mauretanian cohort there is nothing to indicate the area of its existence prior to 140. The title contains no descriptive term to indicate, for example, that it was either a Flavian or Trajanic foundation, in any of the known inscriptions. Its origins may therefore go back either to a levy of Gaius, Claudius or Augustus.<sup>2)</sup> It seems certain that it may not be identified with the cohort of similar title in Dalmatia and then Moesia inferior, since the latter is attested in Moesia in diplomata of 134 and 145/156<sup>3)</sup> and there is no reason to suppose that one cohort would be moved back and forth with such rapidity in the period in question.

The sole clues to its station in Dacia inferior are in the form of tile stamps. Those from Brețcu, possibly the Angustia of Ptolemy, definitely belong to this cohort. Brețcu was the site of a fort lying at the north-eastern limits of Dacia inferior, over 2 ha. in size, but it has

also produced tile stamps of a cohors Hispanorum.<sup>4)</sup>

A reasonable conclusion would be that, if not at Brețcu itself, the cohort was stationed in the vicinity, perhaps to the south-east along the river Alutus, or that it succeeded cohors I Hispanorum veterana at that site. The tiles from Slăveni (61.3) (along the limes Alutanus) are less conclusive since only the initials (presumably of a cohort) C.I.B. are used. Admittedly there are no other first cohorts of Dacia inferior with the initial B (if one excepts I Augusta Pacensis Brittonum) but, since Slăveni lies in the area which belonged to Moesia inferior before the Hadrianic adjustments of the provincial boundaries, the C.I.B. of the tiles might be the cohors I Bracaraugustanorum of Moesia inferior<sup>5)</sup> (No.63).

We have the name of one of the commanders of the cohort, P. Aelius Marcianus (62.2). The identification of his command with this cohort rather than another cohors I Bracaraugustanorum is made through the fact that Marcianus is also named as praepositus of numerus Illyricorum, attested in Dacia inferior in both 129 and 140.<sup>6)</sup> The term praepositus implies that Marcianus was acting commander of the numerus at the same time as his command of the cohort and should indicate propinquity for the two units. H-G. Pflaum has dated this career as probably falling in the reign of Pius<sup>7)</sup> but there are reasons for considering it to have been later than this. Marcianus' praenomen and nomen reflect a post-Hadrianic date but this need not be immediate. Publius Aelius Magnus, for example, commanded ala Augusta ob virtuta appellata at Old Carlisle in A.D.191.<sup>8)</sup> The cohors Aelia expedita is indicated as a Hadrianic foundation by its title,

but it will have persisted after its formation by that emperor. Cheesman considered the numerus Illyricorum had been raised to the status of ala in the reign of Pius<sup>9)</sup> but his statement appears to have been based upon the evidence of IIS 2209 from Rome.<sup>10)</sup> This unit was still a numerus in A.D.140<sup>11)</sup> and, in his study of the Equites singulares Augusti,<sup>12)</sup> M. Speidel places the inscription after 193, so that the upgrading could have taken place much later than Cheesman thought. Far more significant is the mention of the ala Gemina Sebastena. P. Salama<sup>13)</sup> discusses the origins of this ala, which was stationed in Mauretania Caesariensis. He comes to no firm conclusion about the reason for this title, although he poses several interesting possibilities, but points out that the word Gemina is often applied to the fusion of two existing units and that in this case the fusion should belong to the Severan period.<sup>14)</sup> The known inscriptions of the ala Sebastena in Mauretania Caesariensis add credibility to Salama's suggestion. Of three inscriptions which specifically refer to ala Gemina Sebastena (including that of Marcianus) two may be placed with assurance in the early third century.<sup>15)</sup> Of the remaining three inscriptions of Caesariensis containing a mention of ala Sebastena, two may be dated (from the use of additional titles and other factors) to later in the third century, the third on balance would better fit a third than a second century provenance.<sup>16)</sup> If the weight of the epigraphic evidence supports the early third century for Marcianus' acting command of ala Gemina Sebastena,<sup>17)</sup> what light may be thrown upon his first post in charge of cohors I Augusta Bracarum ?

A partially preserved altar from York (62.1) was set up to the goddesses of hospitality and the Penates by a homonym of our prefect if Lister's version is accepted. Is this the same man? E. Birley suggested that he might be. He certainly commanded a cohort, and it may be that at some time cohors I Augusta Bracarum was in Britain. On what occasion could the cohort have been in the province? There are no other certain references to its stay save possibly 62.3<sup>18)</sup> which sets out the career of T. Furius Victorinus. Victorinus began his tres militiae commanding coh. Bracarum in Brita[nnia]; <sup>19)</sup> he was praefectus Aegypti by 10th July 159,<sup>20)</sup> so that his command of the Spanish unit in Britain should date to the early part of the reign of Pius. This would certainly agree with Pflaum's date for the career of Marcianus, but, as we have seen, there is evidence to place both the Danubian cohortes I Bracraugustanorum firmly within their respective provinces in that area early in the reign of Pius. Even if we suppose that the Dacian diploma for 140 records pre-campaigning releases, and that the cohort was removed to Britain to 'drive back the barbarians' under Lollius Urbicus<sup>21)</sup> this cannot tie in with the evidence connected with Marcianus, which has been shown to lie in a later period in all probability. Another possibility is that Victorinus commanded the cohort which had formerly served in Mauretania. This, however, is purely conjectural and it appears simplest to consider his command to be of cohors III Bracaraugustanorum, which is certainly attested in Britain,<sup>22)</sup> and the omission of the number in the title of the cohort due to the fact that there was only one regiment of that name in Britain at

the time, rather than indicating a first cohort, as it might be thought to do. If the Marcianus of the York inscription is indeed the commander of cohors I Bracar-augustanorum of 62.2, careful consideration of all the factors involved leads to the conclusion that there is only one date which will produce both a reason for the presence of the cohort in Britain and agree with all the epigraphic pointers. This date must fall within the period when Virius Lupus governed Britain. Lupus came to Britain in 197 after Severus defeated Clodius Albinus near Lyons. The account of Cassius Dio indicates that losses were heavy in the battle,<sup>23)</sup> and it may well be Severus thought it necessary to reinforce the reduced garrison of Britain (in any case of suspect loyalty) with troops he could trust. Units drawn from the Danubian provinces would fit the bill; they would have been with Severus in Gaul and so at hand. Further, a station at or near York would agree with the area of all the known work of Lupus.<sup>24)</sup> What is more, it makes feasible the presence of numerus Illyricorum in Britain as part of the Danubian contingent. True this numerus has left no epigraphic record of a stay in Britain but the sojourn of both units need only have been brief, perhaps the term of the governorship of Lupus. The rise in status of the numerus to ala may have been a reward for faithful service as well as fitting Severan army policy.<sup>25)</sup> Aurelius Victor of ILS 2209 on this reckoning must have been among the first recruits drawn from the ala to serve in the equites singulares, an honour which he cannot have lived long to enjoy.<sup>26)</sup>

The latter part of the career of Marcianus was all in

the province of Mauretania Caesariensis: as tribune of the military cohort Aelia expedita, possibly still in the west of the province at Albulae; as prefect of ala II Augusta Thracum presumably in the region of Auzia in central Caesariensis from the epigraphic indications; and also as praepositus of ala Gemina Sebastena at the hiberna of that regiment overlooking the High Plain of Sersou to the south. The fact that an inscription of early third century provenance carries the praenomen, filiation and tribe of the person honoured may seem surprising, but the omission of such details was not inevitable in Mauretania even later in the century, witness ILS 2766 of A.D.255, and ILS 2767 of A.D.260.

If Marcianus of the York inscription is not the prefect of ILS 2738 we must assume that the latter served in Dacia inferior in command of cohors I Augusta Bracarum, and numerus Illyricorum, before being transferred to Mauretania Caesariensis, some time at the end of the second or beginning of the third century.

Whichever theory is correct it seems reasonable to suppose cohors I Augusta Bracarum remained in Dacia inferior at least until towards the end of the second century. Of its later fate we have no knowledge as yet.

## Footnotes

1. See cohors I Bracarorum No.60.
2. The existence of at least two third cohorts of Bracaraugustani at the beginning of the second century speaks for a first century origin for at least two first and second cohorts of the series. (CIL XVI 48 and 55.)
3. CIL XVI 78 and Bulletin Arch. Soc. Staline 9 (1952) Bulgaria pp.1ff. The date suggested by Radnóti for the latter is 146/154, Germania 46 (1968) p.123.
4. CIL III 8074,17. Breţcu was first occupied in the Trajanic-Hadrianic period. SCIV 2 (1951) p.295. cf. Radnóti, Auxiliartruppen in den Donauprovinzen p.148.
5. The station of this cohort in the relevant period is also unsure.
6. CIL XVI 75 and Klio 37 (1959) 196-210.
7. Carrières No.125, pp.303ff.
8. RIB 894.
9. Auxilia p.77, n.3.
10. D.M. / Aurel. Victori eq. / sing. tur. Costan/tini, nat. Dacus / allect. ex ala I Illy/ricor., vix. an. xxxiii / mil. an. xiii, Ulpus / Macedo et Ulp. Ma/ternus dupl. hered. b.m.f.
11. Klio 37 (1959) 196-210.
12. Bonn, 1965. p.96 fn.602 and p.100.
13. 'Nouveau témoignages de l'oeuvre des Sévères dans la Maurétanie Césarienne', Libyca 1 (1953) pp.237-253.
14. "le génétif pluriel étant la règle de formation des noms des troupes auxiliares dans l'armée romaine.

Ala Sebastena signifierait plutôt une troupe ayant séjourné ou s'étant distinguée dans une opération de guerre à Sebaste..... Nous savons qu'un certain nombre de contingents africains prirent part noyamment à la campagne d'orient où s'affrontèrent Pescennius Niger et Septime Sévère, et que la ville de Samarie qui s'était ralliée au premier des belligérants fut attaquée et prise par le second".

15. Libyca 1, 1953,240 = AE 1954,143b; CIL VIII 9359.
16. It concerns a sesquuplicarius with the name Saggin, which Salama identifies as African. It was a general rule, noted by Cheesman, that oriental regiments continued to recruit new members from their places of origin long after the composition of other units bore little or no relation to their ethnic titles. The inclusion of an African in ala Sebastena may perhaps indicate a late date when this general rule had broken down if the ala was genuinely oriental, or it could be taken as supporting Salama's theory regarding the title of the ala i.e. that it represents an African unit (or units) honoured for exploits in Samaria by Severus.
17. Salama places it "un peu plus tard" than the building of the hiberna for the ala, at Kherba des Ouled Hellal, in A.D.201.
18. Placed for convenience under the heading cohors I Augusta Bracarum although its attribution to that cohort is far from certain.
19. As praefectus in view of its position in his career, rather than as tribunus as Huelsen, Dessau and A. Stein inferred. See H-G. Pflaum's rendering in Carrières, No.

139, Text 1, p.326. However, Pflaum appears to have accepted the inference that cohors III Bracar-augustanorum was milliary, which was the basis of the former reading. There is no reason to suppose this cohort to be other than quingenary.

20. A. Stein, Die präfekten von Agypten p.87.
21. SHA, Antoninus Pius 5,4.
22. CIL XVI 48,69,70,93.
23. 76,7,1.
24. RIB 637 (Ilkley); RIB 730 (Bowes); RIB 1163 (Corbridge).
25. See now E. Birley, 'Septimius Severus and the Roman Army', Ep. St. 8 (Düsseldorf 1969) pp.63ff.
26. The inscription does not include the abbreviations which Speidel confidently assigns to later than the first decade of the third century, so the timing is very tight.

63. Cohors I Bracaraugustanorum.

In spite of the reckoning made under the title "Auxilia raised in North-west Spain"<sup>1)</sup> it is possible to argue that this cohort may have a Claudian rather than an Augustan origin. The usual view (accepted by Wagner,<sup>2)</sup> Alföldy<sup>3)</sup> and Wilkes<sup>4)</sup>) is to consider the cohort was raised under Augustus and transferred to Dalmatia in the period A.D.6-9, that is during or just after the suppression of the Pannonian revolt. Wagner<sup>5)</sup> thought that in the reign of the first princeps there was a concentration of Spanish cohorts in Illyricum. He is echoed by Alföldy<sup>6)</sup> and supported in the main by the epigraphic evidence. In this particular case, however, an analysis of the inscriptions is not conclusive. The altar from Bigeste (Humac) to Diana Nemoensis, set up by Tiberius Claudius Claudianus, must assuredly be Claudian at earliest, more probably Neronian (63.1). If he is identifiable with the prefect of 63.2 from Tudae in Spain, his origin is Spanish, he came from the conventus of Lucensis. This fact is not of great importance to the earlier situation of the cohort, as he is a commander, but might just argue for a recently raised cohort with a prefect chosen for his ability to deal with tirones from his home terrain.

The other two pieces of supposed pre-Claudian evidence, also both from Bigeste in Dalmatia, are definitely first century in format. They are tombstones of serving infantrymen. One is of Spanish origin as his name, Meduttus, and that of his father (Caturus) testify<sup>7)</sup> (63.3); Alföldy is inclined to guess that the other (although the reading is fragmentary) is also from Spain (63.4). These two men

should therefore have been among the original recruits drawn in their homeland. If one is convinced of the Augustan levy this carries both stones into the second or early third decade of the first century. Close scrutiny shows the stones need be no earlier than Claudius, there are no positive very early signs (such as the use of aera instead of stipendia, or the number of the cohort coming after rather than before the name). If the cohort belonged to a Claudian levy its presence in Dalmatia could be accounted for as part of that emperor's scheme for redeployment following the Mauretanian conquest and preceding that of Britain. One other pointer to a possible Claudian date may be found in the analysis of troop concentrations given by J. Wilkes.<sup>8)</sup> He suggests that Bigeste lay at the southern end of a road linking the two legionary stations of Burnum and Tilurium, and that this line was used as a base position from which to attack the peoples over the Dinaric Alps. He goes on to say that probably as many as four cohorts were stationed at Bigeste during the Augustan emergency (cohortes III Alpinorum, I Bracaraugustanorum, I Lucensium and possibly I Campana)<sup>9)</sup> but, by his own reckoning, at most eleven units were actually in the province at this period (including our cohort). This leaves only seven auxiliary units to be spread out over the rest of the province, and assumes that the epigraphic evidence of these four cohorts at Bigeste (or most of it since he thinks these regiments were dispersed after A.D.9) lies in the period A.D.6-9. This is manifestly unprovable, and, since he considers Bigeste continued to be a military centre even after part of the land had been given to the legionary veterans of Narona in

A.D.14-15, it leaves a blank for the evidence of military occupation of the site until the advent of cohors I Belgarum in the second century. It seems feasible that our cohort could have been a later garrison of Bigeste and the tombstones erected still before mid first century (early in the reign of Claudius, tying in with the altar set up by the prefect). This is not provable but is an interpretation at least as viable as those stated with a greater degree of certainty, and serves as a warning to keep the options open until proof is obtainable. All that may be asserted is that cohors I Braearaugustanorum moved from Spain straight to Dalmatia at some period within the first half of the first century; history provides two suitable occasions for the move:

- a) The Pannonian revolt of A.D.6-9;
- b) early in the reign of Claudius.

For some part of its stay in Dalmatia it was stationed at or near Bigeste.

Patsch<sup>10)</sup> suggested the cohort left Dalmatia at the time of the move of legio IIII Flavia to Moesia, that is at the time of the division of Moesia into two provinces circa 86/87. It is definitely attested in Moesia inferior in August 99 (63.5). This cannot mean that either in Dalmatia or Moesia the cohort was attached to the command of that legion since the latter went to the newly created Upper province whilst our cohort is found in the Lower.

The station of the cohort in Moesia inferior is not known. If the tile stamps of Slăveni (C.I.B.)<sup>11)</sup> belong to the cohort it may have been stationed in the westerly part of the province. Slăveni was in the charge of the governor

of Moesia inferior from circa 106-119. It may have been involved in the Dacian campaigns and then been set to help in building operations. A camp upstream (north) of Slăveni would suit the indications since water transport would be available to ferry tiles down to the fort under construction.<sup>12)</sup> Certainly, whether north or south of the Danube, the cohort remained in the Lower Moesian command as the diploma ante 114 reveals (63.6). By this time Trajan's campaigns and readjustments had resulted in changes in the legionary commands. The group of auxilia listed contains units from both the diplomata of A.D.99. When Hadrian reorganised the boundaries of Dacia and Moesia and abandoned Wallachia, the cohort must certainly have been moved south of the Danube (if it was not already so) since it appears on the lists of Moesia inferior in 134 and 145/56 (63.7 and 63.8). Wagner follows Rostovzeff<sup>13)</sup> in considering that military supervision of the Tauric Chersonese by Moesia inferior had been inaugurated at latest by the reign of Hadrian, and it may be that emperor who transferred the cohort (or at least part of it) to the Crimea. The tombstone of Maecilius (which also gives the name of a centurion of the cohort, Bicanus) would fit into a second century context (63.9); unfortunately it is the sole evidence for the presence of the cohort there.

Another inscription relating to the cohort comes in the form of a fragmentary cursus from Vasio, in Gaul 63.10. It mentions an unknown prefect who also commanded a vexillation of the army of Moesia. This last makes it reasonable to assume that he commanded the Moesian rather than the Dacian cohort, but sheds no further light on its station.

No further records exist at present.

A tombstone from Gorna Bešovica in Moesia was set up to a deceased member of the cohort by his brother, Aurelius Maximus Daezerius(?) (63.11). The soldier, Aurelius Valerianus, was killed in battle, and this together with the names of the brothers (and their abbreviated nomina) suggests an early to mid-third century setting. Gorna Bešovica was presumably the soldier's home (his wife is associated in the dedication). The stone is (surprisingly when the times are considered) elaborately carved with reliefs in three registers. The upper relief shows two horses, the next a family group. It is possible that the horses reflect the changing role of the auxilia in this period.<sup>14)</sup>

## Footnotes

1. Chapter III.
2. Dislokation p.98.
3. "Die Auxiliartruppen der Provinz Dalmatien", Acta Arch.Hung. 14 p.269.
4. Dalmatia (London 1969) pp.140ff.
5. Op. cit. p.218.
6. Op. cit. p.270.
7. Holder 2 529, 1 861; Firmat, Onomastica p.154 and 82.
8. Op. cit. p.143.
9. Op. cit. Appendix 8 p.470.
10. Schriften der Balkankommission antiquarische Abteilung 5, "Zur Geschichte und Topographie von Naronä" (Vienna 1907).
11. AE 1966,317, see under cohors I Bracarum Augustanorum (61.3).
12. See ala I Hispanorum (No.06) for the date of construction of this fort. Under ala I Asturum (No.44) the possibility is discussed that CIL XVI 45 listed regiments in an eastern command in Moesia inferior, which might indicate a western district for CIL XVI 44, in which our cohort is named. It must be admitted that this is little more than a guess, the evidence is so insubstantial.
13. Iranians and Greeks in South Russia (Oxford 1922) p.155. In "Römische Besatzungen in der Krein und das Kastell Charax", Klio, 2 (1902) p.83, Rostovtzeff pointed out that there is evidence for Roman occupation in Olbia as well as the Tauric Chersonese. Both legions (I Italica and XI Claudia) and auxilia occupied parts of Southern Russia.
14. Arkheologia (Sofia) 4 (1962) pp.38-49, Pl.1-5. In spite

of the comments in L'Année Epigraphique, where the cohort is thought to be that of Mauretania Tingitana, this tombstone undoubtedly belongs to a member of the cohort based in Moesia. Valerianus would have been recruited, and have served, in the province of his origin. The variation in title of the cohortes Bracaraugustanorum has already been demonstrated to be largely without significance.

64. Cohors II Bracaraugustanorum equitata.

In the de Bello Iudaico<sup>1)</sup> Josephus states that Thrace was guarded by two thousand men. His remarks refer to the Neronian garrison.<sup>2)</sup> That he was reasonably correct in his estimate of the small size of the garrison appears in an unpublished diploma of July 114 (64.1). Only two cohorts are listed (although this need not represent the total of the auxilia in Thrace), one of which is a cohors II Bracaraugustanorum. On normal calculations from the date of the diploma the cohort should have been in existence from at least Domitianic times but, since the title lacks the appellation Flavia, we may suspect it to have been even earlier than this. If no intermediate station is envisaged (and there is no evidence for this even if negative indications are suspect) the cohort may not be Augustan in origin since Thrace was not established as a province until A.D.46.

The cohort may have been raised:

- a) in the reign of Augustus and retained in Spain, or sent to another province, for which there is no proof; or
- b) by Claudius and sent, fairly soon after its creation, to the newly annexed province of Thrace.

The only inscription, other than the diploma, which gives a Thracian venue for the cohort belongs to the latter part of the first or, at latest, early second century (64.2). The proposed restoration of D(is) M(anibus) at the head of the Latin version of the epitaph may be ignored. A squeeze of the stone (admittedly very poorly photographed) does not justify its inclusion.<sup>3)</sup> The names of the deceased are in the nominative and his 24 years of service in the genitive (unabbreviated), which conforms with first century usage.

Further, Marcus, the dedicator, is eques in cohors II Numidarum. This cohort is usually named as Flavia Numidarum, indicating that it was raised between 70 and 96. By 129 the same cohort appears on the lists of Dacia inferior<sup>4)</sup> so, if propinquity is assumed for the two units, this tombstone should fall between 70 and 129. However, Marcus had a father with what seems likely to have been a Thracian name<sup>5)</sup> so he cannot have been one of the original Numidian recruits. The presence of the cohort in Dacia in 129 justifies the suggestion that it took part in Trajan's Dacian Wars and remained there as part of the permanent garrison, which would certainly account for its absence from the Thracian diploma of 114.<sup>6)</sup> Allowing for all these factors, a date in the latter part of the first century or before 114 (perhaps before 101/2) might be considered most likely for the tombstone of Celsus Marius. The Latin inscription on this bilingual stone is headed by a relief of a "Thracian cavalryman". The photograph is too poor<sup>7)</sup> to judge if he has the attributes of the "Héros cavalier"<sup>8)</sup> or depicts a cavalryman of the sort appearing on many auxiliary tombstones. Below the Latin, and above the Greek, rendering is the conventional funerary banqueting scene. The deceased is shown on a couch with a female sitting at its foot. In his left hand he holds a cup; a three-legged table stands in front of the couch bearing what appears to be food and drink. Both the texts and the upper relief confirm that cohors II Bracaraugustanorum was part-mounted and this raises the probability that at least one complete series of cohortes Bracaraugustanorum was equitatae, if the usual Roman methodical approach to auxiliary formations

was maintained. (It should be borne in mind that any of the other cohortes Bracaraugustanorum discussed may also be part-mounted although none are so identified.) The find spot of the tombstone was Šipka, which lies in the southern foothills of the Haemus Mountains between 10 and 15 kms. north-east of Seuthopolis. As far as can be ascertained, no excavation has been undertaken and the presumed military post has yet to be identified. Celsus Marius was still serving when he died so it may not be far away, but the presence of an eques from another unit makes it dubious that it was a normal cohort fort.

It is possible that the garrison of Thrace was parcelled out in small sections.

For the further history of the cohort we have the testimony of three careers and one diploma. Inscription 64.4 from Mauretania Caesariensis shows Tiberius Claudius Secundus acknowledging his advancement to Nerva. His first military post was held as prefect of our cohort (clearly specified equitata). His command would therefore be held in Thrace probably shortly after 100. His later career appears to have been centred in the eastern provinces.<sup>9)</sup>

From Rome we have the tombstone of another prefect, A. Atinius Paternus who, following his command of the cohort, was decorated as tribune of legio X Fretensis in Trajan's Parthian campaigns. On the assumption that commands are less likely to be changed during an actual campaign (except in cases of incompetence or casualty) Paternus should have been prefect of the cohort shortly before 113 in Thrace (64.5).

The cohort next appears in Moesia inferior in the reign

of Pius (64.3). The transfer may have been effected during several periods:

1. In the general reshuffle following troubles in Dacia and the abandonment of Wallachia at the beginning of Hadrian's reign.
2. In the reign of Pius himself, perhaps because of the growing unrest in the Danubian area, which culminated in the Dacian campaign of 157 mentioned in S.H.A.<sup>10)</sup>.

For the date of the last inscription Pflaum's impeccable reasoning<sup>11)</sup> gives us 148-150 for the probable command of cohors II Brac. by Tiberius Claudius Proculus Cornelianus (64.6). If he commanded this cohort it should then have been in Moesia inferior, so that his career moved him from Moesia to Britain<sup>12)</sup> and then to Germany<sup>13)</sup> before he entered the procuratorial service. The station of the cohort in Moesia inferior is unknown, but Radnóti hazarded a guess that it may have been in the neighbourhood of Troesmis, at Beroë, where an auxiliary fort has been identified. This assumption is made on the grounds that the Brestovena diploma lists units in topographical order, a valuable suggestion but one which requires further verification.<sup>14)</sup>

Although we must suppose there to have been at least three cohortes II Bracaraugustanorum the inscriptions have been fitted into the history of a single cohort.<sup>15)</sup> This is because it seems simpler, at this stage of our knowledge, to suppose the other two cohorts unattested. It should be noted however, that a possibility exists of the Moesian diploma referring to a different cohort from that identified in Thrace. In the same way the commanders listed may have been in charge of one of the other two units.

## Footnotes

1. 2,368.
2. cf. Domaszewski, "Die Dislokation des römischen Heeres im Jahre 66 n.Chr.", Rheinisches Museum, 1892, pp.207ff.
3. Inscriptiones Graecae in Bulgaria Repertae Ed. G. Mihailov No.1741 bis p.153 and Tabula 124. It seems likely that the letter denoting the penultimate word of the inscription should be H (H(eres)) rather than R.
4. CIL XVI 75.
5. Traidacus. cf. D. Dečev, Thrakische Sprachreste p.517.
6. It is also absent from the diplomata of Dacia of 110, CIL XVI 57 and 163.
7. Op. cit. Tabula 123.
8. See ala I Hispanorum No.06.
9. Prefect of cohors I Flavia c.R. in Syria in 88 (CIL XVI 35) and Syria Palaestina by 139 (CIL XVI 87); tribune of legio IV Scythica of Syria, then legio XII Fulminata of Cappadocia (viz. Parker, Roman Legions p.158); prefect of ala Phrygum, Syria/Syria Palaestina (CIL XVI 103 and 87); ala II Gallorum, Cappadocia Arrian 9.  
  
Careers such as this suggest that the officer concerned may have been particularly fluent in Greek, in spite of his apparent Mauretanian origins. cf. Jarrett, Ep. St.9 (Bonn 1972) pp.167/8.
10. Antoninus Pius 5,4-5.
11. Libyca 3 (1955) pp.123-133.
12. Either at Bewcastle or Birdoswald in command of the military cohort Aelia Dacorum cf. E. Birley, "The Beaumont Inscription, the Notitia Dignitatum, and the

Garrison of Hadrian's Wall". CW<sup>2</sup> 39 (1939) p.218 and p.223.

13. As prefect of ala Sulpicia cf. 09.5
14. Auxiliartruppen in den Donauprovinzen p. 149.
15. There is evidence suggesting the existence of three cohortes III Bracaraugustanorum. The major portions of the careers of Tiberius Claudius Secundus and Aulus Atinius Paternus were centred in the East. Possibly the station of one of the missing coh. III Bracaraugustanorum should be sought in an Eastern province. Epigraphic evidence from this area is very sparse as far as the auxilia are concerned. It may be that a series of three Bracaraugustan cohorts was raised specifically for Eastern service:  
 No. 61/2, prior to its arrival in Dacia before 140; one of the, otherwise unattested, second cohorts; a third cohort, withdrawn before the end of the first century for service elsewhere.  
 The fourth and fifth Bracaraugustan cohorts might be added to the (tentatively advanced) theoretical Eastern contingent if cohors V Bracaraugustanorum came to the Rhineland, in the reign of Vespasian, following the conclusion of the Judaean campaigns. The fourth cohort was certainly in Syria in 88.  
 If any support should ever be found for this hypothesis a suitable historical framework could be provided by either the dispositions of Augustus or the campaigns of Corbulo.

65. Cohors III Bracaraugustanorum (equitata ?).

Almost certainly we may postulate the existence of three cohortes III Bracaraugustanorum. One served in Britain from at least the beginning of the second century; another has left ample evidence for its co-existence in Raetia; the third probably lay at this time in Moesia inferior.<sup>1)</sup>

The testimony for the British based cohort consists of four diplomata ranging from the years A.D.103-145/6,<sup>2)</sup> a tile from Manchester (65.5), and an unpublished counterpart from Melandra Castle.<sup>3)</sup> When did the cohort come to Britain? If with the Plautian troops, we may suppose it to have been raised before the reign of Claudius, for a raw cohort would hardly have been sent in such an invasion. On the other hand it may have come over with later reinforcements, for example after the suppression of the Boudiccan revolt or with Cerealis in 71; in this case it could belong more readily to the Claudian series.

In a discussion of the British diplomata of A.D.98, 103 and 105, E. Birley was able to demonstrate the strong probability that the list for 103 consisted of units "under command of legio II Augusta at Caerleon".<sup>4)</sup> This means that we should seek the fort of the cohort in south or mid-Wales in the early Trajanic period. Further than this it is difficult to go. M.G. Jarrett gives a number of possibilities on the assumption that the cohort is equitata,<sup>5)</sup> but although it seems fairly certain one series of cohortes Bracaraugustanorum was so organised the other two were not necessarily so.<sup>6)</sup>

If the cohort was in Wales in 103 the tiles from

Manchester and Melandra Castle should relate either to an earlier or to a later period, for there may have been a shuffle of legionary commands between the northern campaigns of Agricola and the reign of Trajan as there almost certainly was in Hadrianic times.

Manchester had a Flavian fort, of which only a small section of the defences, west of the North gate, has so far been uncovered. The Flavian fort had a clay and turf rampart, which was replaced by a stone faced rampart probably in the early second century.<sup>7)</sup> Melandra Castle was occupied circa A.D.80-140. Taken together the tile stamps and building periods make it seem likely that the cohort was making tiles for constructional work at Manchester and Melandra Castle in the Flavian period. Where precisely it was situated, in the South Lancashire-Derbyshire area, is not yet clear.<sup>8)</sup> (There is a close connection between Manchester and Melandra Castle, as both forts have produced building stones of cohors I Frisiavonum, those from the former site are probably Trajanic.)<sup>9)</sup>

One very tentative hypothesis may fill in a little of the history of the cohort in the second century. The existence of three cohorts bearing the same title has already been remarked. One of these appears to have taken part in Hadrian's Jewish Wars, for it is on a diploma list of Syria Palaestina in 139.<sup>10)</sup> A. Radnóti has made a case<sup>11)</sup> for supposing this to be the Raetian cohort but his arguments are not incontrovertible (cf. No.66). It is known that one of the generals sent to Iudaea was Sextus Iulius Severus, former governor of Britain. E. Birley considered that he might have taken a vexillation of legio XX V.V. with him.<sup>12)</sup>

A legionary vexillation may have been accompanied by an auxiliary cohort. If the cohort in Syria Palaestina was the British based cohors III Bracaraugustanorum the British field force cannot have returned, as Birley believed, on the cessation of the Jewish War, but rather in 140, to assist in the task of subjugating Lowland Scotland.

It must be admitted that there is no real reason why the Palestinian cohort should not be equated with the Moesian rather than either the Raetian or the British based cohort. It is one of the merits of a non-provincial appraisal of auxiliary units that wider possibilities must be considered; even if the results have less of an air of certainty they leave the options open for confirmation or disproof through the advent of new inscriptions.

It seems probable that 62.3, the cursus of Titus Furius Victorinus, relates in part to the command of this cohort, and reveals him to have commanded it during the early part of the reign of Pius.<sup>13)</sup>

## Footnotes

1. E. Birley, "Promotions and Transfers in the Roman Army 2: the Centurionate", Carnuntum Jahrbuch 1963/4 (1965) pp.26 and 30.
2. 65.1-65.4.
3. I owe this information to the kindness of Mr. Peter Webster in a letter, 10/4/'73. He informed me that it was a second example of Eph. Epigr. 9, 1277, i.e. the tile from Manchester.
4. "Roman Garrisons in Wales", Arch. Camb. 102 (1952-3) pp.9ff.
5. The Roman Frontier in Wales , V.E. Nash-Williams, 2nd ed. M.G. Jarrett, p.15.
6. It may be that different series represent separate recruiting drives with differing needs.
7. G.D.B. Jones, "The Romans in the North-West", Northern History 3 (1968) pp.7-9.
8. Since tile making requires suitable clay and an adequate water supply it may be possible to locate the site, although the area is very heavily built up in some parts today.
9. E. Birley, op. cit. p.18.
10. 66.16.
11. cf. No.66.
12. Carnuntum Jahrbuch op. cit. pp.29-30.
13. See Pflaum, Car. No.139.

66. Cohors III Bracaraugustanorum.

A. Radnóti states<sup>1)</sup> that cohors III Bracaraugustanorum, attested in Raetia between 107 and 167/8 (66.1-66.11), was stationed at Munningen. This fort lies circa 28 kms north of the Danube on a route following the western side of the valley of the Wörnitz, a tributary of that river. There is no direct evidence for this placing and it is presumably based upon two considerations:

1) At least one series (possibly all three) of Bracaraugustan cohorts was part-mounted. We may guess from the size of the fort at Theilenhofen<sup>2)</sup> (a later station of the cohort if the tile stamps there have been correctly interpreted) that the Raetian cohort was equitata. Munningen is approximately the same size as Theilenhofen<sup>3)</sup> and would also accommodate a cohors quingenaria equitata.

2) The garrisons of the other large cohort forts of Raetia have been identified and it is a matter for deduction to place our cohort at Munningen.

In the absence of more positive evidence this conclusion is accepted with the proviso that there is an element of uncertainty.

Munningen was an earth and timber fort, built in the reign of Domitian, and never replaced in stone.<sup>4)</sup> From its position and the later advance of the limes it might well have outlived its strategic usefulness by the time rebuilding would have been contemplated. Schönberger<sup>5)</sup> highlights the reservations which may be made concerning the exact function of the series of forts with which Munningen was connected, and this makes it difficult to estimate its exact period of occupation. Older forts were not necessarily abandoned on

the move forward of the limes but if Theilenhofen was the next station (and no intermediate siting is envisaged, at least in Raetia) it may well be that the fort at Munningen had been relinquished by our cohort by the reign of Hadrian.<sup>6)</sup>

One question that remains unanswered is how long the cohort had been in Raetia before it occupied Munningen. We may suppose that it had been in the province at least since the Flavian reorganisation; with no inscriptions earlier than 107 it may be justifiable to suggest it belonged to a Claudian levy.

Its station in Raetia, prior to the erection of Munningen, is not yet ascertained. Perhaps it lay in one of the forts south of the Danube, which Günter Ulbert<sup>7)</sup> believed to be Claudian in inception, then used as the basis of an advance early in the Flavian period. If Ulbert is correct in his assessment of the military situation, Burghöfe could be a likely candidate for the early station of our cohort. It lies south of the Danube, west of Eagelsee Bach, on the same valley line (south-south-east to north-north-west) as Munningen, and its size (circa 2.25 ha.) would enable it to house a cohors quingenaria equitata in the Claudian period. Burghöfe has also produced a few pieces of horse trappings<sup>8)</sup> but the possibility is little more than guesswork at this stage.

Radnóti considers that the cohort left Raetia in 132 as part of the provincial field force sent to Iudaea. He makes this assertion on the grounds that the cohort is absent from the Gnotzheim diploma of 139/141 (66.2) but present in (a) the diploma of Syria Palaestina (66.16) and (b) again in Raetia in 147 (66.3). His argument is attractive.

However, there are several weaknesses. The other two cohorts in the supposed field force both acquired battle honours,<sup>9)</sup> which can be reasonably placed in the appropriate period, and thus support his contention. Both cohorts are assumed to have been listed in the Gnotzheim diploma and to have returned to Raetia before cohors III Bracaraugustanorum. This seems rather strange. The Spanish cohort is not thought of as having been detached to form part of the permanent garrison of Syria Palaestina, since a few years later it is attested in Raetia. Normally it might be expected that the component parts of a field force should return at the same time. The Gnotzheim diploma is largely restored. Originally H-J. Kellner<sup>10)</sup> thought cohors III Bracaraugustanorum was on its list (which would make identity with the cohort in Syria Palaestina a much less attractive proposal). Later<sup>11)</sup> he considered the space would be better occupied by II TUNGR. & VEX. a unit which appears on Raetian diplomata from 121/5-153.<sup>12)</sup> It should be noted that this name occupies space for 14 characters and III BRAC. only that for 8. There is thus no certainty about the restoration of the Gnotzheim list.

Even then, diplomata do not invariably give all the units of a province. The absence of a specific cohort from a list may merely indicate a lack of men qualifying for honesta missio at that time, either cohors II Tungrorum milliaria vexillatio or cohors III Bracaraugustanorum may have been in that position when the Gnotzheim diploma was issued. The identity of the Raetian cohort with that of Syria Palaestina has yet to be conclusively demonstrated. There are other possibilities.<sup>13)</sup> A reinvestigation of Theilenhofen might help in settling the issue for if this

fort began in the reign of Hadrian, as Schönberger is inclined to believe, and no break in occupation can be shown (as, for example, at Künzing, where the break ties in with the evacuation by cohors III Thracum c.R.) the cohort is less likely to have formed part of the Iudaean field force. A converse finding would support Radnóti's suggestion.

In the reign of either Hadrian or Pius the cohort has been placed at Theilenhofen by the presence of a tile stamp.<sup>14)</sup> As already indicated, Theilenhofen was large enough to house a cohors quingenaria equitata, and the only other Raetian regiment which might have produced this stamp (cohors III Britannorum) is attested at Eining. If the cohort remained at Theilenhofen throughout the vicissitudes of the latter part of the second century and third century it must certainly have been evacuated (or overwhelmed) by A.D.260, since the end of the forward position of the limes north of the Danube is generally agreed to have occurred under Gallienus. According to Schönberger<sup>15)</sup> the finds from the upper levels of Theilenhofen present a picture of destruction, but again the excavation report is too incomplete to be more precise. The destruction may have been due to any one of the Alemmanic invasions following, and including, that of 233.

If the cohort survived there is no evidence to suggest its later movements.

66.15, which Speidel<sup>16)</sup> places before 193, gives us the name of a miles of the cohort, Victor, who by implication is from Raetia, like his deceased friend. There are three men named on the stone who are Aurelii, which suggests an Antonine date, but this is further restricted by the use of a singular Augustus to the periods 169-176 or 180-193.

This inscription at least supports the continuation of the cohort in Raetia in the latter part of the second century after the evidence from diplomata has ceased. The bronze disc (66.13) probably records another Victor, centurion of this cohort, and a miles, Costio.

One of the officers commanding the cohort, Q. Papirius Maximus (whose origin in Trieste is inferred from his voting tribe, Pupinia), served in a clerical capacity to senatorial officials at Rome before embarking on his military career. On style the inscription (66.14) should be second century, early rather than late, and his militia prima may be securely attached to this cohort in spite of the lack of a numeral, since the inscription places it in Raetia.

Six further references exist to a third Bracaraugustan cohort, and of these two at least indicate the strong probability of the existence of yet another cohors III Bracaraugustanorum, stationed in Moesia inferior. Inscription 66.17 is the tombstone of a man who served in five legions as centurion, following an initial centurionate in coh. III Bra. Analysing the inscription, E. Birley pointed out "in every other case in which a man is shown proceeding to a legionary centurionate after service as decurion or centurion in an auxiliary unit, the sequence can be shown to occur in the same province".<sup>17)</sup> The first two legions were stationed in Moesia inferior (the second at least from the reign of Trajan), so that Tuccius (as his nomen may be restored, from that of his two sons) should have been centurion of the cohort in the same province. By comparing the sequence of posts held by Tuccius, with that of two datable inscriptions, Birley is able to suggest that, like other centurions, Tuccius

may have been moving with his century from one troubled area to another as part of a scheme to reinforce legions rather than move the legions themselves. The parallels between the three careers incline Birley to place that of Tuccius some time between the end of the reign of Domitian and the beginning of that of Hadrian. This date would make Tuccius centurion of the cohort probably in the last decade of the first century, at a time when it seems extremely unlikely that a cohort of Lower Moesia would be moved either to Raetia or Britain, even if the schedules of the cohorts in the latter two provinces would allow of such a scheme. Further than this the record of a cohors tertiae Valeria B(r)acarum, at Drasdea in provincia Thracia (in the Notitia dignitatum) (66.21), indicates a continued stay of the cohort in the general area of the Moesian command.<sup>18)</sup> In the remaining four inscriptions we can have no certainty concerning which of the three coh. III Bracaraugustanorum is indicated. A. Seius Zosimianus (66.18) became succurator of the roads of Antium, in the reign of Pius, according to Pflaum.<sup>19)</sup> His first military command (of the cohort) might then fall either in the reign of Hadrian or Pius. His second post took him, as tribune of legio XI Claudia, to Moesia inferior, so that we might suppose his first militia to have been held also in that province. This is by no means certain, however. Equestrian officers could, and did, move between widely separated provinces in successive commands.

Caius Cominius Boethius(?) Agricola Aurelius(?) Aper, from Concordia in northern Italy,<sup>20)</sup> became procurator ad annonam provinciae Narbonensis et Liguriaee, under plural Augusti. Pflaum suggests that these were Marcus Aurelius

and Lucius Verus, which would make his command of our cohort some years earlier, perhaps in the latter part of the reign of Pius. Again, in spite of our knowledge that legio I AdAtrix, to which he was next appointed as tribune, was stationed in Pannonia inferior, we cannot be sure of the identity of the cohort of which he was prefect (66.19). Similarly, Marcus Fabius Mettianus from Segermes in Africa commanded one of the three cohorts before being posted to legio XXX Ulpia victrix, probably at this time in Lower Germany (unless he was tribune soon after its raising by Trajan), and then became prefect of a Spanish ala in Tarraconensis<sup>21</sup>) (66.20).

## Footnotes

1. Germania 39 (1961) p.112.
2. circa 2.7 ha.
3. circa 2.6 ha.
4. ORL.B 6 68a. Eidam; cf. H. Schönberger, JRS 59 (1969) p.162.
5. op. cit.
6. cf. Schönberger, op. cit. p.170 on the presumed Hadrianic occupation of Theilenhofen and other forts on or near the limes of Pius.
7. Limesforschungen Band 1 "Aislingen und Burghöfe", Berlin 1959.
8. Ulbert, op. cit. Taf. 51, 6 & 7 and p.103.
9. cohors III Thracum c.R. equitata became bis torquata (Ber.RGK (1956/7) 236 nr.81 (Gnotzheim), dated 144); cohors I Breucorum c.R. acquired Valeria victrix bis torquata ob v(irtutem) appella(ta), (IBR. nr. 276 (Pfünz), of the reign of Pius).
10. BVbl. 31 (1966) pp.89ff.
11. BVbl. 33 (1968) pp.92ff.
12. Germania 39 (1961) 93 (Straubing) to Fdber.Schw. 15 (1959) 73 (Owen).
13. cf. the British based cohors III Bracaraugustanorum No.65.
14. ORL B 7 71a (Heidelberg, 1914) p.17 for a photograph of this tile. In spite of reservations concerning the validity of tile stamps as evidence of occupation the absence of evidence for any other cohort at Theilenhofen lends credibility to the attribution. Stein, Beamten p.172, suggests a detachment of the cohort may have

garrisoned the fortlet at Gunzenhausen which is only circa 0.7 ha. in extent. (ORL, B 7,71 p.4)  
There is no evidence to support this.

15. op.cit. p.177.
16. Equites Singulares p.99.
17. "Promotions and Transfers in the Roman Army 2: The Centurionate", Carnuntum Jahrbuch, 1963/4 (1965) p.26
18. The overall command is of the dux Moesiae Secundae, which approximates most closely to the command of the former governor of Moesia inferior.
19. Carrières p.1039.
20. cf. CIL V 8663 (Concordia)
21. See ala II, Flavia Hispanorum e.R. (No.08).

67. Cohors IIII Bracaraugustanorum (equitata ?).

There is evidence for only one fourth and one fifth cohort of Bracaraugustani and the presumed triple series went no further than coh. I-III.

Cohors IIII Bracaraugustanorum was stationed in Syria in 88 (67.1). From the time of Augustus there had been a large standing army in Syria, varying between three and four legions,<sup>1)</sup> together with a number of auxiliary units. In this particular case there does not appear to have been a total number of auxiliary personnel equal to the number of legionaries<sup>2)</sup> i.e. up to 40 regiments.<sup>3)</sup> In the absence of earlier inscriptions we cannot say when the cohort joined the army of Syria. There are many historical occasions when it may have seemed expedient to add to the army there. The cohort should be pre-Flavian in origin, from the evidence of the first diploma, but otherwise could belong either to an Augustan or a Gaius-Claudian series.

In the same way we cannot be precise about the date of the transfer to Iudaea. The recently published diploma of Egypt for 105<sup>4)</sup> records two cohorts being detached from the army of Egypt and exchanged for two formerly stationed in Iudaea probably in connection with Trajan's annexation of Nabataea. This period of Trajan's Parthian campaigns may have inspired the change. Certainly before 135 the cohort was in Iudaea as inscription 67.3 reveals, for from that year the province was renamed Syria Palaestina. The career of C. Aufidius Maximus, a Numidian from Cirta, gives no indication that the cohort was engaged in any action under his command, and it may be thought that the cohort was in Iudaea before the outbreak of the Jewish

revolt in 132.<sup>5)</sup> The conflict was severe, however, and the cohort would surely have been involved between 132 and 135, but survived to be recorded in the diploma for 139 (67.2). After this there is no clue to its fate. We lack further diplomata for Syria Palaestina.

The cohort was probably in a part-mounted series as the fifth cohort is almost certainly so.

## Footnotes

1. Although R. Syme argued that there were more than three legions in the province in the Augustan period.  
(JRS 23 (1933) p.24)
2. R. Syme C.A.H. 11 p.138.
3. In the first known diploma for Syria (cf. 67.1) 3 alae and 17 cohortes are recorded, one of the latter at least being milliary (although this may only represent the auxilia of two legionary commands). From epigraphic sources another 3 alae may with probability be added, in pre-Trajanic times.
4. Syria 44 (1967) pp.339ff. H-G. Pflaum.
5. If the cohort had been commanded by Maximus during the Jewish War, the time lapse we must allow for him to have served as tribune in legio XII Fulminata in Cappadocia, before the erection of the gate and shrine, will mean that he should have been aware of the change in provincial title. If this view is correct it will push his command of the cohort, and hence its presence in Iudaea, to at latest in the third decade of the second century. (cf. M.G. Jarrett, Ep. St. 9 (Bonn 1972) p.162.) In addition he specifies that legio XII Fulminata was in Cappadocia and we may well suppose that it would have been in Iudaea during the Jewish Revolt.

68. Cohors V Bracaraugustanorum equitata.

M. Stlaccius Coranus commanded cohors V Bracaraugustanorum "in Germania" (68.14). This inscription is of particular interest since Coranus' next posts were held as tribune of legio II Augusta and praefectus equitum of "ala Hispanorum in Britannia", in which capacity he was decorated. Stein considered the first command should fall either in the reign of Claudius or Nero, as the cohort is not recorded in any of the three diplomata of Germania before the creation of the Upper and Lower Provinces by Domitian.<sup>1)</sup> Alföldy<sup>2)</sup> follows Stein and wishes to bring Coranus over to Britain in the conquest period under Claudius, and account in this way for his decoration. However, this is by no means certain. The early German lists name 12 alae and 15 cohorts. A total of 27 regiments is hardly likely to be a complete tally of the auxilia along the Rhine in the early Flavian period. Secondly B. Dobson<sup>3)</sup> indicates that he believes this career belongs after 69, basing his judgement on the order in which the posts are held, particularly that of praefectus fabrum preceding the military posts. If Dobson is correct Coranus' decorations could belong to the campaigns of Frontinus in Wales or those of Agricola in the north. This would mean that Domitian was probably responsible for moving the cohort from Germania to Raetia, in the period 85-90, when troop movements are known to have occurred. It is precisely in the Domitianic period that the fort of Gnotzheim was built, according to its excavator.<sup>4)</sup> Gnotzheim was 2.2 ha. and large enough therefore to house a cohors quingenaria equitata. By the reign of Pius it held such a regiment, cohors III Thracum equitata c.R.<sup>5)</sup>

Schönberger suggested that cohors V Bracaraugustanorum and cohors III Thracum equitata c.R. exchanged positions during the fourth decade of the second century.<sup>6)</sup> Radnóti tied this in with the removal of the Thracian cohort as part of a Raetian contingent sent to aid in the suppression of the Jewish Revolt of 132-5;<sup>7)</sup> before its removal it had held Künzing, on its return it went to Gnotzheim, and the former garrison of that fort took over Künzing.

Recent excavations and reappraisals of the Raetian auxilia<sup>8)</sup> confirm a spate of activity circa A.D.90. Cohors V Bracaraugustanorum is certainly attested in Raetia in 107 (68.1). If Schönberger and Radnóti are correct we may infer:

- a) the cohort was brought to Raetia circa 85-90 to take part in the advance of the Domitianic frontier north of the Danube, and garrisoned Gnotzheim;
- b) this cohort (and probably the fourth cohort of the same series) was part-mounted.

Künzing,<sup>9)</sup> further east along the limes of Raetia, and lying south of the Danube, was constructed about the same time as Gnotzheim, presumably as part of the same overall scheme. The fort had four building periods. In the first two the earth and timber fort of 1.96 ha. was occupied by cohors III Thracum, as indicated above. Schönberger records a break in occupation circa 140, when he says there was no garrison in the fort. This would correspond with the removal of the contingent for Iudaea. In the years 140-150 the fort was rebuilt in stone, and now covered 2.2 ha. During this phase there was a total of five ditches around the fort, two of which Schönberger connected with the Marcomannic wars. Our cohort is taken to be the new garrison largely

on the evidence of the identification of Künzing with Quintana. The name Quintana survived at least into the fifth century, for it is mentioned as one of the towns visited by St. Severinus.<sup>10)</sup> It indicates a connection with a fifth regiment, and no other fifth cohort has been recorded in Raetia. The naming of a fort site after the occupying garrison implies a fairly long residence. Therefore although Schönberger reports signs of damage in the Marcomannic Wars we may be reasonably safe in assuming that the fourth rebuilding, dated to the end of the second century or beginning of the third, denotes the reoccupation of Künzing by the cohort. Unfortunately the evidence from diplomata, which carries the cohort through from A.D.107 to 167/8 in Raetia (68.1-68.13), is not supported by other inscriptions. The last phase of Künzing (when there was only one ditch) should perhaps be connected with the restoration of Raetia in the period after 179/180, when legio III Italica was established at Regensburg. The latest coin there is of Gordian III in 242-44, but the fort itself may have gone on until 260, the time of the Roman retreat, in face of Alemannic supremacy north of the Danube. Many Raetian forts were overwhelmed and/or evacuated in this period and Künzing shows clear signs of a fire. Weapons and implements damaged by heat were buried in the armamentarium and never recovered. The cohort was either lost or moved (or perhaps reformed as part of a field army). There are no further records.

According to the Notitia dignitatum, Quintana was occupied by ala prima Flavia Raetorum<sup>11)</sup> but the site of the late Roman fortification has not been identified. Kellner

suggests it may have been obliterated during a period when the Danube flooded the site.<sup>12)</sup>

## Footnotes

1. Beamten p.173, CIL XVI 20,23 and 28 of A.D.74, 78 and 82.
2. Hilfstruppen p.7.
3. Praefectus fabrum p.75.
4. Eidam. ORL B 70.
5. cf. Ber.RGK 1956/7 p.236 no.81.
6. BVbl. 24, 1959 109ff.
7. Germania 39 (1961) pp.93ff.
8. cf. Schönberger, "The Roman Frontier in Germany: An Archaeological Survey", JRS 59 (1969) p.160.
9. Schönberger, Interim Report: Jahresbericht der Bayerischen Bodendenkmalpflege 8-9 (1967-8) pp.37ff.
10. Eugippius, Vita Sancti Severini Chapter 15.
11. Oc. 35,23.
12. Die Römer in Bayern (München 1971) p.178, cf. Eugippius op. cit. for the threat from flood waters in the fifth century.

Cohortes Bracaraugustanorum.

Reasons have been given for supposing there were eleven cohortes Bracaraugustanorum cf. Table IIII, one series coh. I-V and two others coh. I-III. There are no clear-cut patterns to be discerned about the intentions of the High Command in raising specific series, due to the paucity of early evidence. It does, however, seem likely that one series, I-III, (Nos. 63, 64 and 66a) was sent initially for service in the Balkan/Danubian area, possibly by Claudius (although earlier postings may not be ruled out entirely).

A very tenuous theory concerning an early Eastern venue for another series has already been discussed, cf. cohors II Bracaraugustanorum No. 64 fn. 15.

### The Cantabri.

The Cantabri are noted as the fiercest opponents of Rome Augustus had to face in his subjugation of North-West Spain. The significance of the difference between the treatment meted out to the Asturians and the Cantabrians has already been remarked upon.<sup>1)</sup> Only two cohorts of Cantabrians are known in the auxiliary army, and for these two the evidence is very sparse.

### 69. Cohors I Cantabrorum.

This cohort appears in a diploma for A.D.78 in Moesia. There is some possibility that it was part-mounted as the diploma lists only cohorts but both pedites and equites are noted as being discharged.<sup>2)</sup> Two of the cohorts named in this diploma appear in the lists of Moesia superior at the end of the first century;<sup>3)</sup> two appear at a similar date in Moesia inferior;<sup>4)</sup> four cohorts (including the Cantabrian) never appear on any later lists.<sup>5)</sup> This is not necessarily significant; the diploma lists themselves do not give the full tally of auxilia in the first and second centuries but, combined with the troubled circumstances of the provinces of the Lower Danube from Domitianic to Trajanic times, may indicate losses in the auxilia. There is one other small piece of evidence connected with this cohort which suggests it should have been stationed in the west of Moesia rather than the east, namely the tile stamps reported by Szilágyi from Acumincum (69.2). Acumincum lies just south of the Danube in terrain which was annexed to Moesia superior from Pannonia when the former was created in 86, and returned to the newly created Pannonia inferior after the end of Trajan's Dacian wars. Tile stamps suggest

that the cohort lay there at some time (or not too far away). It may have been moved west across the old border when new dispositions were being made for the armies of the two Moesian provinces.

If it was not annihilated in the Dacian Wars (which seems the most likely solution) it might be sought in Pannonia inferior in the second century. It remains to consider the date of raising of this cohort. The diploma demonstrates its existence in the reign of Nero, was it raised by Augustus? If credibility is attached to the account of Florus it hardly suggests the Cantabrians were regarded as a likely source of recruits by the first princeps,<sup>6)</sup> unless the term hostages covers men conscripted and sent far away from their homeland. If we should interpret hostages to mean recruits, we might expect there to be more than two cohorts of Cantabrians. On the other hand, if these cohorts were raised at a later date, their lack of numbers might represent the effects of the repressive measures taken by Augustus, upon the size of population, and the "nine states of the Cantabri"<sup>7)</sup> could contribute only circa 1000 men to the auxilia. It may be that we should add this cohort (and the second, q.v.) to the list of regiments with a possible Gaio/Claudian origin.

With the evidence available an intermediate posting between Spain and Moesia should not be inferred, although, given the events of 68/70, it is probable that the cohort was not stationary. It might even be thought that the tile stamps of Acumincum could belong to an earlier period than 78, but this cannot be proved. Excavation at Acumincum may provide an answer.

## Footnotes

1. Chapter III 'The auxilia raised in North-West Spain'.
2. This may, of course, refer to other cohorts. It can be shown that cohortes I Thracum Syriaca and II Lucensium were part-mounted, for example (ILS 2733 and AE 1925,66).
3. Cohortes I Thracum Syriaca (CIL XVI 46 of A.D.100) and I Cilicum (CIL XVI 39 & 46 of 94 and 100).
4. Cohortes III Gallorum (CIL XVI 45 & 50 of 99 and 105) and II Lucensium (CIL XVI 50 of 105).
5. Cohors Mattiacorum, which is probably a first cohort as the numeral is missing and may not therefore be identified with the second cohort which later appears in Moesia inferior; cohortes I Sugambrorum tironum, VIII Gallorum and I Cantabrorum.
6. 2 33, 44ff.
7. Pliny, NH 4,20,110/111. By the time Pliny wrote the Cantabri were reckoned in the conventus of Cluniensis.

70. Cohors II Cantabrorum.

The sole record of cohors II Cantabrorum occurs in Iudaea in A.D.86. The evidence for the eastern provinces is less complete than that elsewhere, there is for example a paucity of building inscriptions. For this reason it would be unwise to place too much significance upon the absence of later data. Possibilities regarding its date of raising have been discussed under the first cohort of the same name. Whether it went straight from Spain to the East, or had an intermediate posting to another part of the Empire, it is impossible to say at this time.

71. Cohors I Lemavorum civium Romanorum.

The origins of the Lemavi have already been noted.<sup>1)</sup> This tribe of the extreme north-west of Spain was placed within the conventus of Lucus and was one of the two exceptions made by Pliny when he dismissed the populi of the area as obscure and with barbarous names.<sup>2)</sup> It provided one ala and one cohort to the auxilia. Neither unit has produced very early evidence of its existence but the cohortes Lucensium are almost certainly Augustan in origin. This argues that the ala and cohors Lemavorum were raised separately, and it may be that their naming reflects a different policy and therefore a different date for their initial levy. It seems unlikely that Augustus would be willing to make exceptions in the period immediately following the conquest of the north-west (unless the Lemavi had voluntarily gone over to the Roman side, for which there is no evidence). Pliny's remarks make it clear that, by his day, the Lemavi had a special status in the conventus of Lucus. Perhaps the naming of regiments for the tribe rather than the conventus was an acknowledgement of loyalty, proven over a period after the initial conquest. All the epigraphic indications for cohors I Lemavorum come from diplomata of Mauretania Tingitana dated between A.D.88 and 156/7 (71.1-71.8) but, as the diploma for 88 is the first known from that province, it may be justifiable to suppose the cohort had been there earlier, and indeed probably part of the original garrison soon after A.D.40. If Claudian in origin it will have arrived soon after its initial training; if Augustan there is no evidence as to how it spent the intervening time between its levy and arrival in Tingitana.<sup>3)</sup>

The cohort was granted corporate citizenship between 88 and 109 like ala III Asturum and cohors IIII Gallorum, both of which were already part of the garrison of Tingitana. The most likely time for such a grant has already been suggested as in the Trajanic period,<sup>4)</sup> perhaps as the result of assistance in crushing a Moorish uprising.

The station of the cohort is completely unknown. If the topographical order of the diplomata is truly significant it may be that a fort for the cohort will eventually be located in the south or south-eastern part of Tingitana.<sup>5)</sup> Presumably the cohort remained in Tingitana during the latter part of the second century and into the third century, but its ultimate fate is still a matter for conjecture.

## Footnotes

1. See ala I Lemavorum No.49.
2. NH 3,3,28.
3. cf. ala III Asturum p.f. c.R. No.47, for possibilities concerning its arrival.
4. cf. cohortes I Celtiberorum eq. c.R. (No.13), II Hispanorum eq. c.R. (No.26) and II Hispana Vasconum c.R. (No.43).
5. cf. Appendix 1.

Cohortes Lucensium.

The origin of the cohortes Lucensium in the military district/conventus of Lucus and the reason for their naming has been touched upon.<sup>1)</sup> There is early evidence of cohors I Lucensium equitata in Dalmatia and as remarked under cohors I Bracaraugustanorum (No.63) there was a concentration of Spanish auxilia in Illyricum in the reign of Augustus. Cheesman<sup>2)</sup> considered that these came to the "disturbed area" after the rebellion of A.D.6-9, since Spain itself no longer required the "large garrison maintained during the earlier part of his reign". Analysis of the epigraphic pointers in inscriptions of the cohortes Lucensium<sup>3)</sup> supports these conclusions, but more may be said. If Cheesman's other suggestion, concerning the numbering of series of units in different provinces, is correct it might be expected that other cohortes Lucensium would have been drafted to Illyricum. In fact we find:

cohors II Lucensium equitata in Moesia by 78 (CIL XVI 22);  
cohors V Callaecorum Lucensium in Illyricum by 60 (CIL XVI 4);  
cohors IIII Callaecorum Lucensium equitata appearing in Syria by A.D.88 (CIL XVI 35) (but so does cohors I Lucensium equitata, so that the careers of the two cohorts may have been parallel and the former also in Dalmatia in the earlier period).

There is no evidence to connect cohors III Lucensium with the Danubian provinces but the inscriptions placing it in Spain are rather dubious in their attribution, apart from a mention in the Notitia dignitatum (which carries no numeral). It could have been returned to Spain from the Danube in a later reorganisation. There is some foundation therefore

for supposing that all the cohortes I-V Lucensium were raised specifically for service in Illyricum as a result of the Pannonian uprising whatever their later dispersal. This theory may be of some help in filling the gaps in the epigraphic record.

#### 72. Cohors I Lucensium equitata.

Two tombstones from Bigeste and one from Promona place the cohort in Dalmatia probably in Augustan times, and almost certainly in the reign of Tiberius. Rufus, son of Angetius, had served 11 years as miles (72.3) and Andamionius, son of Andamius, had been equus for 15 years (72.2) (incidentally providing proof that the cohort was equitata). In the former instance a Spanish origin is suggested by the name Rufus, which is common in Spain. Andamionius is otherwise unknown. G. Alföldy<sup>4)</sup> suggests he may be Spanish as his name is not Illyrian. In this case we must assume his brother Gavillius to have been a member of the Spanish auxilia, indeed this cohort, as otherwise it is hard to account for his presence in Dalmatia. The third soldier, Flavos son of Boutos (72.1), had his home given as Lucus Augusti and, if the cohort arrived from Spain some time in the period A.D. 6-9, his tombstone clearly cannot be placed later than A.D.19.

Alföldy suggested<sup>5)</sup> that the cohort was stationed at Bigeste with a section outposted at Promona. Some doubts about the precise meaning of the evidence from Bigeste have already been expressed.<sup>6)</sup> It is not necessary to envisage permanent stations for the auxilia of Dalmatia in the early period in any case.

Contra Wilkes,<sup>7)</sup> cohors I Lucensium left Dalmatia for Pannonia before "the development of a dangerous situation

on the lower Danube frontier in Domitian's early years" for it appears on the diploma of that province in June 80 (72.5); probably its transfer was part of Vespasian's redeployment of the auxilia after 70. Its stay in Pannonia was brief, less than 18 years, for it next appears in a diploma of Syria for November 88 (72.6). The answer to the question of why Domitian should have sanctioned the removal of a cohort from the Danube to Syria at a time when trouble was rife in the former area may lie in several oblique references. Tacitus and Suetonius mention the execution of C. Vettulenus Civica Cerialis, proconsul of Asia,<sup>8)</sup> which Waddington dated to 88, and ILS 1374 reveals C. Minucius Italus taking over as acting governor in his stead. It is difficult to avoid connecting this with Parthian support of the false Nero circa 88<sup>9)</sup>. Presumably Civica had responded to a treasonable proposition to place "Nero" back in power. Extra troops might be required. The Syrian diploma of 88 records 3 alae and 17 cohorts.

Thereafter the cohort remained in Syria or a neighbouring province for it appears in one of the diplomas of that province for 91 (72.7), and it must have stayed in the East for its cavalry section to be included in the task force gathered under the command of M. Valerius Lollianus for the Parthian campaigns of Lucius Verus (72.9)<sup>10)</sup>.

Its later history remains unattested. Alföldy followed Stein in placing the career of T. Statilius Optatus (72.8) in the early principate, although, obviously, the post of procurator Augusti ad census Britanniae must fall at earliest after 43 (and Pflaum has shown, in fact, that it lies after 117).<sup>11)</sup> He therefore included Optatus as an example

of an Italian commander of Dalmatian auxilia. Pflaum<sup>12)</sup> considered that the cursus was considerably later, and the regularity of order of the commands together with their geographical situation adds credence to his suggested date of 117 to 138 for the procuratorial posts. If Optatus was prefect of our cohort in Trajanic or early Hadrianic times, his command would occur in Syria rather than Dalmatia and his promotion as tribune in legio VI Ferrata would fall in the same province.

The fragmentary inscription from Salona of a prefect Calpurnius may with more credibility be assigned to the early period in Dalmatia. Calpurnius himself is thought to have belonged to an Italian family which had settled in Salona<sup>13)</sup> and to have risen via the legionary centurionate to an equestrian career. Both the find spot and his tribe (Tromentina) lend some support to this conclusion, although it should be noted that an inscription in the home town of a prefect does not site a cohort. His command could have been held in Pannonia or even in Syria.

## Footnotes

1. See The auxilia raised in north-west Spain.
2. Auxilia p.72.
3. cf. cohors I Bracaraugustanorum (No.63) where there is less certainty. In the case of the coh. Lucensium, CIL XVI 4 records discharges from cohors V Callaecorum Lucensium in A.D.60 and clinches the ascription of the ascription of the series to a pre-Claudian, and therefore probably an Augustan, foundation.
4. "Die Auxiliartuppen der Provinz Dalmatien", Acta Arch. Hung. 14 (1962) 294 n.58.
5. op. cit. p.270.
6. viz. cohors I Bracaraugustanorum No.63.
7. Dalmatia (London 1969) p.141.
8. Agricola 42; Domitian 10,2.
9. Suetonius, Nero 57,2.
10. Bormann's dating to Lucius Verus rather than Trajan for this inscription (JÖAI, 3 (1900) pp.11ff.) is generally accepted, cf. Nesselhauf CIL XVI p.96 n.1.
11. Procurateurs p.63.
12. Car. 119 pp.289ff.
13. Wilkes, op. cit. p.325.

73. Cohors I Lucensium Hispanorum (pia fidelis).

This unit is clearly distinguishable from cohors I Lucensium of Dalmatia/Pannonia since at an early date it appears in Upper Germany at Zahlbach near Mainz (73.1). The inscription from this site is almost identical in form to those of the homonymous cohort from Dalmatia<sup>1)</sup> and should belong to a similar period. Reburrus, the deceased miles, was a Spaniard, as his name reveals.<sup>2)</sup> He had served for 24 of his 53 years, which places his recruitment in his 29th year. This might be regarded as rather old for a new recruit. The title of the cohort in this inscription is also significant. The qualification of the Lucenses as Spanish might be thought to indicate that the cohort had been levied at a date after the Augustan reorganisation of Spain (at whatever precise time that occurred) when the north-western territory had been reallocated to the province of Tarraconensis. Taking these pointers together it may be considered that the levying of this cohort and its transfer to the Rhineland took place in the second part of the reign of Augustus, perhaps in response to an emergency situation such as the Varian disaster. In view of the sparse nature of the evidence this suggestion is merely tentative. If correct, the tombstone of Reburrus would belong circa A.D.33. The cohort does not appear in the diplomata of Upper Germany in the Flavian period and G. Alföldy follows Stein<sup>3)</sup> in thinking this must mean it had left the Upper for the Lower Rhineland, probably in the reorganisation after A.D.70. Absence from a diploma is not always significant but certainly the cohort should have been in Lower Germany by A.D.89, in order to qualify for the grant of pia fidelis, which

appears in the Trajanic inscription from Roomburg (= Matilo) (73.2). This is a building stone (from the armamentarium according to Stein) in the fort there. It demonstrates the presence of the cohort at Roomburg in the period 104 to 111; there are no later inscriptions. However, as Alföldy points out, the fact that cohors XV voluntariorum was engaged in building operations at Roomburg in 196-8 and 201 does not mean that cohors I Lucensium was no longer in garrison there, or even in the province. On both building stones of cohors XV voluntariorum only a section of the cohort was indicated;<sup>4)</sup> later numerus exploratorum Batavorum was attested at Roomburg. It may be that similar conditions obtained here as on the British frontier zone of the early third century, and extra, patrolling troops were based with the resident garrison to assist in supervision of the tribes bordering the Empire.

There is insufficient evidence to decide whether cohors Lucensium (Hispanorum) p.f. was peditata or equitata.

## Footnotes

1. cf. 72.1, 72.2 and 72.3.
2. cf. the recipient of the British diploma of 103,  
CIL XVI 48.
3. Hilfstruppen p.65; Stein, Beamten pp.200/201.
4. ILS 9178 the cohort was in the care of a praepositus  
rather than a tribune; CIL XIII 8826 was erected by  
vexillarii of the cohort.

74. Cohors II Lucensium equitata.

Although there is no evidence for the earlier existence of the cohort it may be thought to have come to Illyricum along with the other Lucensian contingents as a consequence of the Pannonian revolt. By A.D.78 it was in Moesia (74.1), perhaps in the eastern part of that province, for it appears next in a diploma of Moesia inferior of 105 (74.2) and again in another Trajanic diploma (74.3).

At some time between the late Trajanic period and the end of the second century the cohort was transferred to Thrace. The exact date of the transfer is unclear, nor is it certain whether it was involved in either of Trajan's two major military operations in Dacia, or in the East. The cohort is not one of two named in an unpublished diploma of Thrace for July 114. The diplomata of Moesia inferior of the reign of Hadrian (CIL XVI 78 of 134 and 83 of 138) do not list the cohort, but the latter is extremely fragmentary. The Brestnovena diploma of 146/154<sup>1)</sup> also has gaps, and Radnóti may be correct in suggesting the cohort could be restored in third place in the list of infantry.<sup>2)</sup> The two inscriptions of the unit within Moesia are of little assistance in narrowing down the time factor. 74.4, a tombstone from Hissarlik, a site not far from Razgrad, in the eastern part of Moesia inferior, may give a clue to its station, although another stone, an altar, comes from much farther west. The tombstone is of general military interest since it names C. Iulius Maximus, an equus singularis of the cohort, and this post was not recorded by Domaszewski in his list of principales of a cohors equitata.<sup>3)</sup> Presumably he was part of the "bodyguard" of the prefect of the cohort.

74.5 from Golêrna Brestniza is unique in its designation of the famous 'Reitergott' of Thracian cavalrymen as Heros Divesantus.<sup>4)</sup> The name of the dedicator Flavius Mestrius might be thought to argue for a late first century date, but it is difficult to be sure in a dedication of this kind. His cognomen identifies him as Thracian.<sup>5)</sup> Wagner<sup>6)</sup> took 74.6 to be evidence that at least a vexillation of the cohort was stationed in the Taurian Chersonesus (Crimea) in the middle of the second century, and that this region came within the command of Moesia inferior for military purposes (cf. cohors I Bracaraugustanorum 63.9). The first line of the inscription has surely been misread. This is clearly a tombstone; it should be D.M. M. Antonius Valens was still serving at the time of his death. It may be that the cohort was divided between Hissarlik and the Crimea at this period, or one posting may have followed the other. The cohort seems in any case to have been somewhere in the eastern part of Moesia inferior.

However, by 198 it was definitely in Thrace. Its prefect Lucius Pollius Gratus was erecting an honorary dedication to Severus in the seventh year of his tribunician power (74.6a).<sup>7)</sup> Some 23 years later it was proving its loyalty to Elagabalus under its prefect Ulpianus Marius and the praetorian governor L. Prosius Rufinus (74.8). In the following year<sup>8)</sup> (222) the next prefect, T. Herennius Niger, took good care to do the same for Severus Alexander, under the same governor (74.7 = 74.11). All three dedications come from Banja, which is thus indicated as the station of the cohort in this period.

Very little is known of military dispositions in Thrace.

Technically it was a 'provincia inermis' but Josephus (cf. cohors II Bracaraugustanorum No.64) tells us of a garrison of 2,000 men in the reign of Nero. The province, like others in the Lower Danubian area, suffered greatly from barbarian attacks in the middle of the third century. It may be that the barbarian pressures building up on the Danubian limes after 196<sup>9)</sup> resulted in precautionary measures being taken to the rear, in Thrace, by Severus.

The altar to Apollo Tadenus from Filow, near Iamboli in Thrace, erected by Aelius Tarsas, centurion of the cohort, should belong at earliest to the latter part of the second century if all the above premises are correct. Since the cohort is thought to have been stationed some distance away this may be a thank offering for promotion offered in the home of the centurion. His cognomen is registered as Thracian by Detschew.<sup>10)</sup> His nomen and the lack of a prae-nomen substantiate the dating. The conflation of Apollo with Tadenus is one that occurs only in this area of the Greek world.<sup>11)</sup>

The career of one of the commanders of the cohort (74.10), Publius Gavius Balbus, has been fully discussed by H-G. Pflaum.<sup>12)</sup> It should belong to the Hadrianic to Antonine period since Coela is described as Municipium Aelium Coela, a title acquired after Hadrian's visit in 123/4. Balbus should have commanded the cohort in Moesia inferior. Pflaum considers that Balbus did not originate from Ephesus since he was of the Palatine tribe rather than Quirina, but since two out of three of his administrative posts were held in the Greek speaking east, it is probable he was from an Eastern province.

The cohort was clearly equitata like others of the series (cf. 74.4).

## Footnotes

1. Bulletin Arch. Soc. Staline, Bulgaria 9 (1952) 1ff.  
Ivan Venedikov, Moesia inferior.
2. Limes Studien (Basel 1959) p.149.
3. Rangordnung<sup>2</sup> p.59, although he lists the equivalent post as No.19 in the principales alae, p.56.
4. G. Kazarow, Die Denkmäler des Thrakischen Reitergottes in Bulgarien (Budapest 1938) No.372, Abb.204. The "heros cavalier" has already been encountered in one of his guises cf. ala I Hispanorum No.06.
5. A. Aföldi, Zu den Schicksalen Sieben bürgens im Altertum p.25.
6. Dislokation pp.161/2.
7. E. Kalinka preferred to place this stone in 196 ("Antike Denkmäler in Bulgarien" Schriften der Balkankommission 4 (1906) No.32, p.27). He took the number relating to the tribunician power of Severus to be IIII, but this ignores the significance of the plural Augg. in line 10.
8. A. Stein (Römische Reichsbeamte der Provinz Thracia, Sarajevo, 1920 pp.54ff.) dated the two stones (74.8 and 74.7) to 221 and 222 respectively. He argued that the naming of the same governor in each placed the stones within a short span of time, both were expressions of loyalty under successive prefects; he considered one was to Severus Alexander, the other should therefore have been to Elagabalus. This is confirmed by the new reading for 74.7 = 77.11 by T. Ivanov.
9. cf. J. Fitz, Acta Arch. Hung. 14 pp.92ff.
10. Die thrakischen Sprachreste (Vienna 1957) pp.492/4.
11. PWRE 4a 1999.
12. Car. No.145 pp.343ff.

75. Cohors III Lucensium.

The inscriptions of the third Lucensian cohort are far from conclusive. 75.1 from Lucus Augusti should be the tombstone of a soldier since, on any interpretation, the words mil(es) and militavit appear. The name of the cohort in which he served is less clear. The editors of Inscripciones Romanas de Galicia<sup>1)</sup> dispute the reading given in CIL by Hübner. They suggest that a cohors tertia victrix is in question. Since the stone is now lost it is impossible to verify either rendition. Nevertheless the Hübner version with an improved reading of Vecius Clutami f. for lines 1 and 2 seems more reasonable and the A following militavit should be the beginning of annorum (or an abbreviated variant) indicating the age of the deceased. SVECIP. possibly covers a misreading for sesquip., but this is a very tentative suggestion.

If the stone does record cohors III Lucensium the style, or what may be deciphered of it, suggests an early date, perhaps soon after the formation of the unit and before it had completed training and moved away from Lucus.

Similarly the prefect whose cursus is recorded in a very fragmentary fashion at Tarraco (75.2) may be commanding cohors III Lucensium, or as Garcia y Bellido points out,<sup>2)</sup> possibly cohors III Luggonum. It would be unwise, however, to postulate the existence of the latter unit on such very inconclusive evidence, whereas we can be sure there was a third Lucensian cohort because of the existence of the fourth and fifth of the series. Even so, the cursus of a prefect will not help in siting a cohort and the Tarraco stone does little more than underline the fact of its existence.

The reference in the Notitia dignitatum (75.3) to a cohors Lucensis is open to several interpretations. The tribune could be commanding a cohort formed in the district in much later times and having no connection with our series. Since no numeral is appended it might be any one of the cohortes Lucensium returned to Spain. It cannot be used to suggest that a third cohort subsisted in Spain throughout, particularly having regard to the insubstantial nature of the other indications.

A possibility of the whole series of Lucensian regiments being raised for service in Illyricum following the Pannonian revolt has already been bruited. If further evidence substantiates this idea for other cohorts in the series there is no reason for excluding this particular one from the scheme. It is likely that, like others of the series, it was part-mounted.

## Footnotes

1. Francisco Vázquez Saco and Manuel Vázquez Seijas.
2. Arch. Esp. Arq. 34 (1961) p.144.

76. Cohors IIII Callaeorum Lucensium equitata.

If the conjecture concerning the cause for raising the Lucensian cohorts is correct, early evidence for this unit may appear eventually in one of the Balkan/Danubian provinces. By November 88 it was recorded in a Syrian diploma (76.1) and it may be thought significant that its course there is paralleled, to some extent, by that of cohors I Lucensium equitata. The latter was definitely in Dalmatia early in the first century and was transferred from Pannonia to Syria between 80 and 88, perhaps in connection with the dangers attached to the rise of a 'false Nero'. However, whereas cohors I Lucensium equitata is only attested in one further Syrian diploma (for A.D.91) the fourth cohort is found in diplomata both of 134/54 and 156/7 (76.2 and 76.3).<sup>1)</sup>

It also took part (at least through its cavalry section) in the Parthian campaigns of Lucius Verus, for it appears as one of the fifteen cohorts supplying contingents for that purpose, under the command of M. Valerius Lollianus (76.4), again like the first cohort of the series. This inscription confirms that the cohort must have been part-mounted.

For its later history, or its station within Syria, we have no evidence. The reason for the difference in title between this and the other cohorts has already been discussed, but see the fifth cohort for a further comment.

## Footnotes

1. See footnote to inscription 76.3, for the reason for the new reading of that diploma.

77. Cohors V Callaecorum Lucensium.

There seems little doubt, in view of the later inscriptions, that the cohort named as V Luc*i*ens. et Callaecor. in the diploma of Illyricum for A.D.60 (77.1) is identical with that appearing as cohors V Callaecorum Lucensium in Pannonian diplomata of the next century or more.

The difficulties associated with this title have already been remarked upon<sup>1)</sup> and reasons for accepting an economic view put forward. It is just possible that three further cohortes Callaecorum Lucensium should be postulated but in this case the odds are that they were raised for the same purpose as the (then) parallel series of cohortes Lucensium. Cohors V Callaecorum Lucensium at least should have been in existence since the reign of Tiberius and perhaps in Illyricum during that period. A likely historical context for its arrival there would be the Pannonian revolt.

As Nesselhauf points out,<sup>2)</sup> with the exception of two cohorts (I Asturum et Callaecorum and I Hispanorum) all the units named in the Illyrian diploma appear later in Pannonia (cf. 77.2 and 77.3). It is a reasonable assumption that these were stationed in the more northerly part of Illyricum and not in that area which was later to become Dalmatia.

Upon the division of Pannonia, which Radnóti and Barkóczi place circa 106,<sup>3)</sup> the cohort was assigned to the Upper province. Ritterling conjectured that in fact it appeared in the diploma for 116.<sup>4)</sup> It certainly occurs in the lists of 133, 146, 148, 149, 154 and possibly that for 163 (77.4-77.9). The station of the cohort in this period is not directly attested. Hungarian archaeologists are

inclined to place it at Crumerum where it is found in Severan times.<sup>5)</sup> As far as can be ascertained, no excavation has taken place at this site, although according to Szilágyi<sup>6)</sup> an aerial photograph has revealed the presence there of a military installation. The diploma of 149 (77.7), which was issued to a pedes of the cohort, was found at Brigetio, only 18 m.p. (26.64 km.) from Crumerum and this might be thought to substantiate this allocation. However, the soldier, Dasmenus son of Festus, was an Azalian, native to the area, and Brigetio had a considerable civilian settlement,<sup>7)</sup> as well as a legionary fortress, and might well attract auxiliary veterans. The significance of the find spot must not be overrated. L. Barkóczy produced a more interesting argument for siting the cohort at Crumerum in 163, in his attempt to prove that the order of listing of units in the "Brigetio diploma" was topographical.<sup>8)</sup> Even so he admitted "we need more excavations and more fortunate finds in order to establish this topographical succession as the original situation in 163". If he is proved correct it may be possible to assert that the cohort had recently arrived at Crumerum in 163, since the only other diploma of Upper Pannonia to give a non-numerical listing for the cohorts has a completely different order (CIL XVI 96 for A.D.148).<sup>9)</sup>

The inscription from Suvodol (77.10) was taken by Premerstein,<sup>10)</sup> and accepted by Wagner,<sup>11)</sup> to be evidence, together with ILS 2606 (Stojnik) of the movement of two units of Pannonia superior to Moesia superior under Marcus and Verus (circa 166 to 169). These two units (cohortes V Callaecorum Lucensium and XIIX voluntariorum c.R.) were

supposed to have been needed to suppress an uprising of the Montani. In fact the Stojnik inscription is suspect and may equally well be one placed by a man in his home town, after hearing the good news of his posting to the militia secunda; <sup>12)</sup> the same sort of objections apply to the Suvodol stone: the prefect C. Gellius Exoratus may also have been erecting an altar in his home town.

For the rest a comment of Professor Eric Birley suffices:

"... if the emperors are in fact Marcus and Verus, under them there would surely have been no safe occasion for a unit from Upper Pannonia - threatened by attack from across the Danube or undergoing such an attack - to be transferred to the borders of Upper Moesia and Dalmatia, well back from the Danube."<sup>13)</sup> The definite evidence from Crumerum comes in the late second and perhaps the early third century.

77.11 belongs to 198 from the titles of Severus, so that the title of honour Antoniniana does not, as so often is the case, apply to a grant of Caracalla. Fitz considered that the cohort had been involved in the gaining of a victory "against the barbarians of the opposite shore".<sup>14)</sup>

The altar to Neptune erected by Antonius Aulianus at Crumerum (77.12) could refer to M. Aurelius himself, to Commodus or to one of the Severi using the title M. Aurelius, i.e. Caracalla or Elagabalus. If Kubitschek is followed it might refer to M. Aurel. (Severi Alexandri) Aug.<sup>15)</sup>

Kubitschek even considered the restoration of line 7 as praef(ectus) coh(ortis) V Lu(censium) [S]e(verianae), which would make it possible to postulate the continuance of the cohort at Crumerum until the Danubian campaigns of Severus Alexander (perhaps between 227 and 230). This interpret-

ation is a little strained. At best, all that may be asserted is that there is a degree of probability that the cohort remained at Crumerum into the first third of the third century. The name of one further prefect should be noted. T. Flavius Modestus, of Rome, was in command when the diploma of July 5, 149 was issued.

It may be considered likely that the fifth cohort, like the fourth, was equitata.

J. Fitz<sup>16)</sup> restored the name of this cohort as that commanded, in his militia prima, by L. Valerius Valerianus early in the reign of Commodus (cf. ala I Hispanorum Campagonum 05.16). This is certainly possible as far as the spacing of the lacuna in the inscription is concerned, but much of Fitz's argument was based upon the premise that Valerianus was the son of M. Valerius Maximianus and originated from Poetovio in Pannonia, beginning his career under the aegis of his father near Brigetio. R. Duncan Jones<sup>17)</sup> has convincingly argued that Valerianus was "probably a native of Puteoli" from the evidence of his sarcophagus (05.16a) and his rare cognomen. The case for his command of our cohort is therefore not proven.

## Footnotes

1. cf. The auxilia raised in north-west Spain.
2. CIL XVI p.4 n.3.
3. Acta Arch. Hung. 1 (1951) p.191.
4. CIL XVI 64 cf. AEM 20 p.155ff. E. Bormann quoting Ritterling p.158.
5. viz. L. Barkóczy, Acta Arch. Hung. 9 p.419 and Magyar Múzeum 1 (1946) p.66.
6. Acta Arch. Hung. 2 (1952) p.200 n.94.
7. ILS 2395 reveals Brigetio to have had the status of municipium in the second century.
8. Acta Arch. Hung. 9 (1959) pp.413ff.
9. See Table I.
10. "Das dalmatisch-moesische Grenzgebiet bei Guberevci",  
Jahreshefte des Österreichischen  
Archaeologischen Instituts 3 (Vienna 1900),  
cols. 151-166.
11. Dislokation p.114.
12. As confirmed by the opinion of Professor Birley in a letter to me 5/6/'69.
13. op. cit. For a confrontation in that area, in any case, troops from Lower Pannonia would have been nearer to hand.
14. Acta Arch. Hung. 14 (1964) p.48 and p.94. Fitz adds the evidence of a rescriptum concerning a legacy of a centurion who died near Cirpi, dated November 1, 197, a coin hoard of 203 and road repairs in the vicinity, to point to barbarian incursions at the northern bend of the Danube in late second/early third century.
15. Jahrbuch für Altertumskunde 6 (1912) 139. Wagner

considered that the correct name was Antonius Iulianus.

Dislokation p.114.

16. "Le Carrière de L. Valerius Valerianus", Latomus 28  
(1969) pp.126-140.
17. Classical Philology 65 (1970) pp.107-109.

## Chapter VI

The auxilia raised in Lusitania

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78. Ala Hispanorum Vettonum civium Romanorum.

In "Three Notes on Roman Wales"<sup>1)</sup> E. Birley suggested that this ala "must have been raised before the closing years of the principate of Augustus, for the Vettones were included from its foundation in the province of Lusitania, and if the ala had been raised after the establishment of Lusitania as a separate province it would have been described as Lusitanorum, not Hispanorum". Later in "Roman Garrisons in Wales"<sup>2)</sup> he added "The inscription from Bath, describing a man from Caurium (which the elder Pliny, Nat. Hist. IV, 118 specifically assigns to the Vettones) as Hispanus must suggest caution". He went on to say that since the date of the change of provincial boundaries is uncertain "the formation of the ala cannot be proved to have occurred in the time of Augustus, however likely we may think that to be the case".

A possible solution to the dilemma may be indicated in another passage in the Natural Histories in which Pliny says "(Hispania) Ulterior in duas per longitudinem provincias dividitur, siquidem Baeticae latere septentrionali praetenditur Lusitania amne Ana discreta".<sup>3)</sup> From this it appears that, as late as the early Flavian period, it was possible to refer to Lusitania as a division of Hispania Ulterior. Further than this, the Vettones, although situated in the province of Lusitania, were not themselves Lusitani - Appian specifically refers to "The Vettones, a nation adjoining the Lusitanians".<sup>4)</sup>

It is open to speculation that the term Lusitanorum, as applied to regiments, referred to the tribal rather than the provincial origin of their members, and the wider term

Hispanorum could still be applicable to peoples (and Hispanus, to towns) in Lusitania for some time after the division of the province of Ulterior, whenever that occurred.

We can be certain that the ala existed in the reign of Tiberius, since the Bath stone (78.1) shows the trooper Tancinus to have served 26 years, and Birley has convincingly argued for a date belonging to "the closing years of Claudius, or to the reign of Nero at the very latest".<sup>5)</sup> Since that article was written a study entitled "Zur Beurteilung der Militärdiplome der Auxiliarsoldaten" by Geza Alföldy,<sup>6)</sup> together with observations made concerning individual regiments,<sup>7)</sup> makes it seem likely to me that the regular grant of the privilegia and citizenship was not inaugurated much (if at all) before A.D.50. Tancinus is unlikely to owe citizenship to an individual grant through a diploma. In this case, as Birley indeed suspected, the decoration received by the ala Vettonum may be placed in A.D.47, and the tombstone a few years later than this. Tancinus' praenomen and nomen reflect this year through their derivation from those of the consul of 47, Lucius Vitellius. An award of collective citizenship to a regiment would be in keeping with Claudius' views (cf. Seneca's well-known jibe in the Apocolocyntosis). In view of the find spot of the stone, at Bath, it is tempting to query whether the award may not have been won under Vespasian in his conquest of the two nations and twenty oppida of the south west of Britain. An attachment to legio II Augusta would fit the later history of the cohort. The variety of the pre-Flavian military tombstones from Bath<sup>8)</sup> indicates the possibility (not yet proven) of the existence of a military establishment at or near Bath, and again adds

credence to the idea of military cemeteries serving regiments (and in this instance legions) which had no permanent bases in the early periods of occupation in a province.

78.1 is the most interesting of the stones. Whether or not the ala was raised under Augustus, it tells us that the regiment remained in Spain well into Tiberian times, when Tancinus was recruited from a town of the Vettones.<sup>9)</sup> It is most probable, considering the early date of the tombstone, that the ala came over with Aulus Plautius at the time of the conquest, in which case we may consider that it is likely to have been moved to the Rhineland some time between A.D.22 and 43 (perhaps with legio IV Macedonica in 39 ?) since so much of the expeditionary force came directly or indirectly from there.

The ala next appears at Brecon Gaer in the Usk valley in Wales (78.2). Again the date of the inscription has been discussed fully by E. Birley and there seems to be no reason for varying his suggested date of "within a few years of A.D.100". In R.E.M. Wheeler's report on that site<sup>10)</sup> he considered that the fort could only have been founded after the pacification of the Silures, "... any considerable permanent garrison at Y Gaer implies a pacified district...", "... the spot, though at a convenient junction of rivers and defensible by nature upon two sides, is scarcely such as would be chosen as a point of vantage during a campaign". A T.P.Q. of circa A.D.75 is thus suggested for the earth and timber fort. The size of the fort (3.14 ha.) and what is known of its internal layout would suit a quingenary ala, and it is possible, but not certain, that our ala occupied

it from the first. How long it remained in garrison is still a matter for conjecture. There are two other possible stones of cavalrymen from Brecon: they may belong to this ala, or another which preceded or replaced it.<sup>11)</sup> Wheeler thought that a rebuilding of the walls of the fort in stone took place in the early years of the second century, but that the internal rebuilding was never completed. He inferred from the coins and samian that the reason for the 'intermission of the rebuilding is likely to have been connected with the withdrawal of labour for building Hadrian's Wall, and he further postulated "an almost complete evacuation of the site in the earlier part of the Antonine period". The theory of a large-scale withdrawal from Wales during the Hadrianic and Antonine periods no longer finds complete acceptance. Brecon Gaer has been subjected to reappraisal<sup>12)</sup> and the stone wall is now placed some time between 125 and circa 140, and the replacement of the principal internal buildings in stone to the latter date. There is now no positive reason to suppose the ala left Brecon Gaer before the Antonine period.

As Birley has shown, the ala lay in the command area of legio II Augusta at Caerleon<sup>13)</sup> so that it is equally possible that part or all of the ala accompanied the legion north either on the occasion of the building of the Hadrianic or the Antonine Walls. Its next appearance, in the north in fact, is not until the year 197.

In 197/8 a prefect of the ala, Valerius Fronto, is recorded at Bowes supervising the rebuilding of the bath building of the fort by cohors I Thracum (78.5). The prefect should not have been too far away from his own regiment, and

there is evidence for third century occupation of Binchester by the ala. It is probable that this inscription may be taken to indicate the presence of the ala at Binchester early in the reign of Severus.<sup>14)</sup>

The other evidence from Binchester is not very informative. 78.7 and 78.8 are now lost although they fairly surely appertain to the regiment. 78.6, however, is a dedication to Aesculapius and Salus by a medicus of the ala with a praenomen and nomen (Marcus Aurelius) suggesting a third century date. The ending of his cognomen .ocomas and his status as medicus underline his probable Greek origin. The fort at Binchester was examined by John Proud in 1877 and later. The results were published by R.E. Hoopell<sup>15)</sup> in 1891. More recent excavation, in 1937,<sup>16)</sup> indicated that there was no intermediate period of occupation between the Agricolan fort and the stone rebuilding of the early third century. The fort was thought to be a little over 9 acres (circa 3.6 ha.) and faced north-east. Perhaps future excavation may uncover the nature of the occupation, reveal whether the ala was the sole garrison of this rather large fort, and discover something of its fate if it remained here to the end of the third century.

We have the career, but not the name of one of the commanders of the ala in an inscription from Segermes in Africa (78.10). H-G. Pflaum placed the procuratorial posts of this man in the joint reign of Marcus and Verus on the evidence of the mention of plural Augusti. He was a good soldier and was promoted to the militia quarta in charge of ala II Flavia milliaria in Raetia. His command of our ala should be assigned to the latter part of the reign of Pius,

if Pflaum is correct.<sup>17)</sup> 78.9 could belong to a prefect of this ala or ala I Hispanorum Asturum, both of which are attested in Britain. G. Alföldy<sup>18)</sup> followed Stein<sup>19)</sup> in placing the inscription in Claudio-Neronian times, in which case this ala may seem the more likely candidate (cf. ala I Hispanorum Asturum No.45 for the possibility that the latter regiment came to Britain some time after the initial conquest). Dobson<sup>20)</sup> placed the inscription after 69, and in this case M. Stlaccius Coranus may have commanded either of the two alae, with this ala far less likely since it is usually clearly distinguished as Vettonum. In both diplomata in which it appears the full title Hispanorum Vettonum civium Romanorum is indicated (78.3 and 78.4).

## Footnotes

1. Arch. Camb. 91 (1936) pp.58ff.
2. Arch. Camb. 102 (1952) pp.9ff., in particular p.11, n.1.
3. 4,118.
4. Sp.10,58. The Vettones lay inland and west of the upper reaches of the Tagus (Elder Pliny, Nat. Hist. 3,3,19); they were also south of the Durius (Ibid. 4,20, 112), thus placing them more or less centrally in modern Portugal.
5. Ref. n.2 supra. This appears to make ala Hispanorum Vettonum the first recorded unit with collective citizenship, likely to have been acquired as a reward for bravery in the imperial period.
6. Historia 1968 pp.215ff. (= Historia 17)
7. cf. for example ala I Hispanorum No.06.
8. B. Cunliffe, Soc. Ant. Research Report No. XXIV (Oxford 1969), "Roman Bath" pp.1-3.
9. Ref. n.2 supra.
10. The Roman Fort near Brecon (London 1926).
11. RIB 404 and 405.
12. M.G. Jarrett, "The Roman fort at Brecon Gaer: some problems", Bulletin of the Board of Celtic Studies, 22, 1966-8, pp.426-32. He suggests "the garrison had been reduced from 500 cavalry to 500 infantry" by circa 150.
13. Arch. Camb. 102 (1952) pp.9ff.
14. There must have been a shortage of experienced and loyal commanders after the slaughter near Lyons.
15. Vinovia (London) (1891).
16. JRS 28 (1938) p.178.

17. Car. No. 170 pp.416-419.
18. Hilfstruppen p.7.
19. Beamten p.173.
20. Praefectus fabrum p.75 fn.52.

The Cbhortes Lusitanorum.

It has often been assumed that the cohortes Lusitanorum were named for the province rather than the Lusitani as a people. The distinction is a fine one, and the accounts of Pliny<sup>1)</sup> and Strabo<sup>2)</sup> do little to clarify the matter. Pliny states that there were 45 peoples in Lusitania, of which a certain number may be inferred to have been septa of the Lusitani. The gentes he names as the Celtici, Turduli, Vettones and Lusitani, placing the latter between Sacrum and the Anas. The position of the Vettones has already been touched upon (cf. No.78). Since the one regiment raised from this tribe was named distinctively, it may be legitimate to consider the cohortes Lusitanorum to have represented a tribal rather than provincial levy (or levies).

The Lusitani had been famed as fighters (cf. Diodorus Siculus<sup>3)</sup> and Appian<sup>4)</sup>). A total of ten cohorts, denoting circa 5,000 men, is not an impossible levy from a populous tribe (and several of the first cohorts may have been raised at different dates). Their loyalty had not been suspect since Caesar's day, so that there would be no reason for disregarding their powerful clan spirit, and honouring it through a tribal appellation.

The surprising lack of alae from this tribe has already been remarked,<sup>5)</sup> but it seems probable the whole series I-VII of cohorts was organised on a part-mounted basis. Which of the four first cohorts formed part of this series it is hard to say, save that Nos. 79 and 82, which are definitely attested as equitata, are the more probable candidates.

## Footnotes

1. NH 4,21,113ff.
2. Geography 3,3.
3. §,34.
4. 5,56ff.
5. cf. "The formation of professional auxilia".

79. Cohors I Augusta praetoria Lusitanorum equitata.

Cohors I Augusta praetoria Lusitanorum equitata is among the most well documented of the auxiliary regiments of the Roman army. By virtue of its long stay in Egypt several papyri of exceptional interest have been preserved.

In A.D.86 it was stationed in Iudaea and on its first appearance carried the honorary epithet Augusta. If this denotes a title earned during the reign of Augustus, it would carry the origin of the cohort back at least into the early principate but it could have been bestowed by a later emperor.

In September 105 the same cohort was listed in an Egyptian diploma. In this, two cohorts (I Hispanorum and I Thebaeorum) are recorded as having been "ex translatae in Iudaeam". H-G. Pflaum thinks that the arrival of our cohort in Egypt coincided with the departure of these cohorts and that it replaced one of them stationed in Lower Nubia.<sup>1)</sup> This suggestion is borne out by the Greek inscription from Abisko (79.9) of 29th March, 111. The inscription was erected under the prefect of the cohort, L. Lucceius Cerialis, and refers to a delimitation of territory. Abisko is not far from Talmis. It would seem the cohort was sent to guard the southern approaches to the Egyptian Nile.

There are several other pieces of evidence placing the cohort in the vicinity of Talmis, in Trajanic times, in the form of altars to Mandoulis (the deity of the area). One of these (79.11) was set up by an eques of the turma of Pompeius(?); another (79.12) by Valerius Apolinarius, miles; and a third (79.13) by two members of the cohort, one a miles belonging to the century of an unidentifiable

man, the other suggested by Lesquier<sup>2)</sup> to be an eques since he appears to be indicating that he was attached to a turma. A fourth Greek inscription from Talmis, erected by C. Iulius Germanus of the century of Iulianus, was ascribed to this cohort by Lesquier (79.10), presumably because of the weight of the other evidence. However, Gauthier<sup>3)</sup> read the numeral of the cohort as delta rather than alpha, and Hüttl<sup>4)</sup> accepted this. (See cohors IV Lusitanorum No.86.) Another Trajanic inscription from Talmis, dated to A.D.109, refers to a Lusitanian cohort but the numeral was read as II by Sayce, so that again ascription to this cohort is dubious.

In 115/117 the cohort was engaged in heavy fighting, at least according to the interpretation put upon 79.15 by J.F. Gilliam.<sup>5)</sup> Unfortunately the scene of the fighting is unknown and the find spot of the papyrus is unidentified. It lists the deposita of 126 tirones distributed among the 6 centuries of the cohort, that is circa one third of the total number of pedites of a cohors equitata (which this cohort undoubtedly was, cf. 79.4) were being replaced. Recruitment on this scale is inconceivable unless there had been either a natural disaster, such as plague, or warfare as is known just prior to 117. Gilliam, I think rightly, rules out the possibility that the cohort had been involved in Trajan's Parthian campaigns. The interval between Trajan's death circa August 9, 117 and the date of the papyrus (September 3rd of the same year) seems too short even for a swift return of units of the expeditionary force to their previous stations. The only other scene of heavy fighting is in Egypt itself during the Jewish revolt of

115/117. The cohort may have suffered losses in Lower Nubia if local tribes took advantage of the Jewish revolt to attack, or in the north where the main weight of the rebellion seems to have been felt. The cohort was certainly in Egypt when the papyrus was issued, the internal evidence of the dating system and the mention of obols as the small currency certify this. The fact that the tirones are all Asian is best explained by supposing that the savage onslaught of the Jewish revolt had left the auxilia of Egypt with too many gaps to be filled by local recruitment. This is one of the best examples of a senatorial province providing recruits for the auxilia for service elsewhere.

There is some ambiguity in the wording of the receipts, particularly the first, which makes it difficult to assess the position of the recipient of the document, Longinus Tituleius. He is described in the first receipt (if the editors are correct) as physician and centurion. Gilliam doubts this interpretation and considers that he was centurio princeps, and in fact was the centurion referred to without his nomen in line 2, Col.1. The full implications of this reading are not discussed by Gilliam. It should mean either that the centurio princeps had been detailed to collect the Asiatic recruits (perhaps at their port of disembarkation, or a receiving centre in the north of the province) and to be responsible for their safe conduct and finances on the journey, or that the recruits had been brought in and had reported first to the centurio princeps and deposited their money with him and that he had then allocated the tirones together with their deposita to the centuries. Either view

underlines the singular importance of the centurio princeps to the cohort.

R.W. Davies<sup>6)</sup> thinks it feasible that Longinus Tituleius was a medicus with the rank of centurion, although he was specified in the remaining receipts as centurion without the qualifying medicus, and the sole evidence lies in the reading given to the second word of the third line.<sup>7)</sup>

If he was both centurion and medicus, Davies considers that he may have accompanied the men throughout their journey, perhaps being responsible for assessing their fitness.

The receipts are his certificate that he had discharged his task correctly. The Tituleius of line 2, Col.1 would then be the homonym of the medicus. On balance Gilliam's reasoning is more attractive, particularly as the name of the centurio princeps would be expected to head the list, as it would do on his reading.

The document also confirms the responsibility of the signiferi of the centuries for the deposita of the men. We have the names of the six signiferi of the cohort in 117:

Longinus Longus of the century of Tituleius;  
 Valerius Rufus of the century of Crescens;  
 ..... Maximus of the century of Celer;  
 Domitius Rufus of the century of Ta.....;  
 .....rianus of the century of Agrius;  
 Quintus Herennius of the century of Longianus.

By July 8, 131 the cohort was stationed at Contrapollono-  
 spolis Magna in the Thebaid, as Mommsen's Pridianum (79.4) reveals. This document has been studied intensively.<sup>8)</sup> Mommsen originally suggested that three pridiana were drawn up annually in connection with the payment of stipendia.

Fink prefers the idea that pridiana were annual statements of the strength of units, normally drawn up on December 31st. With only two such documents extant, it is difficult to draw any hard and fast conclusions. Fink considers that the date of this pridianum (August 31, 156) may be explained by referring it to the end of the Egyptian year on August 29th, thus making Egypt a special case where two pridiana were submitted annually. He used this argument to account for the date of Hunt's pridianum (see cohors I Hispanorum veterana equitata No. 19) on 16/17, September. Reasons have already been adduced for rejecting his dating and provenance for this latter document, and for perhaps considering it to be a roll call on the eve of departure of the cohort for a new station. It is possible to envisage three types of occasion (and there may well be more) which would result in the need for such documents:

- 1) Annually, either on 31st December and/or 29th August in Egypt, as Fink suggests;
- 2) On the eve of transfer of a regiment to a new station or province;
- 3) after the issue of diplo mata when the opportunity would occur to note accessions as well as to delete the names of veterans.<sup>9)</sup>

Mommsen's pridianum notes only accessions but the latter part of the document is missing. It may be that pridiana should be viewed as subsidiary documents attached to the main records of the regiment. The docketts of the individual soldiers would make up the main bulk of the files; the register of the present strength of the unit, the day to day working paper (cottidiana or acta diurna);<sup>10)</sup> pridiana would fall into line as additional information kept with

the main roll or matricula to account for erasures and additions and temporary absences. Further rosters would record men "belonging to a special category or selected for special purposes".<sup>11)</sup>

One of the more interesting aspects of Fink's revision of Mommsen's reading concerns the prefect of the cohort for an unknown period (probably a few years) prior to April 23, 154. It is generally accepted that on that date Marcus Iulius Silvanus, of the Quirina, an African from Thubursica, replaced Pudentillus as prefect. Pudentillus was given the nomen Aelius by Mommsen. Fink reads this as Allius and points out that a Quintus Allius Pudentillus of the Collina is known from an inscription from Sardinia (ILS 6766). Confirmation comes from an epicrisis of the period 159-160, when T. Furius Victorinus was Prefect of Egypt.<sup>12)</sup> In the course of examination of documents, one Marcus Antonius Pastor was brought forward with his son, M. Valerius Antonius Ammonianus (79.16). Pastor produced a bronze tablet (obviously a diploma) as proof of his honourable discharge on 28th December when Quintus Allius Pudentillus was prefect of cohors I praetoria Lusitanorum equitata. A difficulty arises in that the publisher of the document, A. Bataille,<sup>13)</sup> restored the names of the consuls for the year of Pastor's discharge as Gaius Iulius Severus and Titus Iunius Severus, which would date his diploma to 154. In fact, as Mommsen's pridianum shows, Pudentillus was no longer prefect of the cohort in December 154. Gilliam has pointed out that Bataille's restoration cannot stand.<sup>14)</sup> Perhaps the suffect consul of 153 ..... Gallus had the praenomen and nomen Gaius Iulius;<sup>15)</sup> alternatively, suffecti, so far unrecorded,

for 152 or 151 may fit the bill. Pudentillus is unlikely to have been prefect for much more than three or four years.

From the mine of information connected with Mommsen's pridianum, the main facts to record concerning the history of our cohort are:

1. The papyrus was dated 31st August, 156, as Fink shows, at which time our cohort was still at Contrapollonosopolis Magna.
2. On 31st December, 155 the cohort had a total strength of 505, of which 6 were centurions, 3 decurions, 114 equites, 19 dromedarii,<sup>16)</sup> and 363 pedites. These figures confirm what common sense suggests: the strength of auxiliary regiments in practice varied from the ideal, whatever Hyginus' figures may mean (cf. Hunt's pridianum 19.3). Provision for this variation must have been allowed for in fort buildings and the "extra" rooms sometimes located in barrack blocks may reflect this as well as acting as "spares" for the mildly sick, or soldiers from other units on temporary secondment.
3. After 1st January, 156 accessions are listed, presumably raising the total still higher, although, if the end of the papyrus recorded losses, some sort of balance may have been kept.

After 27th April, 156 (unless one centurion had retired) there were seven centurions in the cohort, the latest being, on Fink's reading, Sextus Sempronius Candidus (who may be identical with the man of Col.ii lines 19 and 23). The date of his enrolment and the words "factus ex pagano" indicate that he was appointed centurion straight from a civilian position. Why? Fink originally thought "the

present centurion entered the army from the secret service of the civil police".<sup>17)</sup> This seems rather strained. It should be noted that his nomen ( though not his praenomen) corresponds with that of the Prefect of Egypt of 154-158/9, Marcus Sempronius Liberalis. His appointment may be an example of direct commissioning under patronage, by a member of the family of the Prefect, as demonstrated for the legionary centurionate by E. Birley.<sup>18)</sup>

4. Aulus Flavius Vespasianus has long been noted in military history as a decurion punished by reduction in rank on transfer from an ala (I Thracum Mauretana) to a cohort. Domaszewski<sup>19)</sup> used this as evidence that a decurion of a cohors equitata was inferior in status to a decurie alae. Fink rejects Mommsen's interpretation on the grounds that:
- (a) an officer, perhaps beaten on reduction in rank (as Mommsen inferred from ad vir(g)am c(o)hortis), would not have been able to exercise authority over the men thereafter. Simple reduction to the ranks would be more feasible.
  - (b) reicere could be a synonym for remittere. He suggests Vespasianus, who had served for 22 years (since his enlistment is given as 2nd March, 134), may have begun as eques (?) in our cohort, been promoted eques alae to the Thracian regiment, and was now returning to his original unit with a further promotion to the decurionate.

Everything known about the relative prestige of alae and cohortes equitatae, not least Hadrian's speech at Lambaesis,<sup>20)</sup> confirms Domaszewski's opinion on the

superior status of the decurions of the former units but, in view of the possibilities, this pridianum should not be taken as an endorsement of his view.

5. Col.i, line 33 records that among nine new recruits there was one dromedarius. This man is named in Col.ii, lines 10/11 as Cronius Barbasatis of the turma of Salvianus. This raises the interesting question: were dromedarii assigned in groups (in this case of 4 to 5 men) to turmae of horse riders, or were they formed into a separate body, known for convenience as a turma ? Consideration of the differing habits and speeds of the dromedary/camel and the horse makes it seem likely that the former were accommodated separately in the fort. R.W. Davies says that camels were used for transporting heavy or bulky supplies. He suggests two camels per driver,<sup>21)</sup> but Hyginus (29) seems to imply one epibata for each camel. There is support for the use of camels as baggage animals in Tacitus<sup>22)</sup> but they could be used in battle, as both Livy (190 B.C.) and Herodian (A.D.217) reveal.<sup>23)</sup> The grouping of dromedarii in a turma in the papyrus might be thought to argue for their use as a tactical unit. A total of twenty dromedarii appears to have been on the strength of the cohort in 156, enough to form a combat group, using the long spears written of by Herodian. There is no known precedent for the listing of baggage drivers as members of a cohort, which argues further for their use in some military capacity, either fighting or as scouts.
6. The names of the nine recruits, Col.i, lines 30-43, Col.ii, lines 1-11, on Fink's latest interpretation<sup>24)</sup> are:

- i) Philon Isiognis, recruited early May 156 and assigned to the century of Herculanus together with
- ii) Apollos Herminus who was enlisted on the 15th of the same month;
- iii) Anubas Ammon, recruited May 5, 156, in the century of Marcus;
- iv) Gaius Sigillius Valens, enlisted 156, in the century of Gaianus;
- v) Ammonius ..... in the century of Sempronianus, recruited 156;
- vi) Gaius Iulius ..... in the century of Gan... .  
Fink suggests he was recruited late in 155 since the next recruit, although assigned to the same century, is recorded as having been enlisted in the consulships of Silvanus and Augurinus (156) rather than by the formula eodem consule;
- vii) Herclammon Q..... detailed as above;
- viii) Hermachis Apynchis, recruited in April or late March 156, eques in the turma of Artemidorus;
- ix) Cronius Barbasatis, recruited mid-April 156, dromedarius in the turma of Salvianus (see above).

Two of these at least have the tria nomina, which implies some form of citizenship. The rest have names that are surely Egyptian in origin, and must fall into the category of local recruits (though the citizenship does not preclude an Egyptian origin for the others).

7. Two instances of demotion, not commented upon by Fink, may be found in the milites Valerius Tertius, of the century of Lappus, and Horatius Herennianus, of the century of Candidus. Both men had been supplied by the

Prefect of Egypt from legio II Traiana fortis. Since they do not appear to have any higher status than that of an ordinary soldier, their transfer should have resulted in a lowering of pay.<sup>25)</sup> Tertius had served circa five years (enlistment date March 25, 151), Herennianus circa eight (November 10, 148). As their unsuitability as legionary material (if this was the case) would have had ample time to manifest itself prior to this, it seems possible that the transfer was a punishment for some misdemeanour. Even if it is argued that the papyrus does not list principales, so that they may have been transferred for some specific skill, such as book-keeping, and become the signiferi of their respective centuries, it is apparent from Watson's pay scales they would receive less in that capacity than as legionaries.

Transfers of a more usual kind were those of Maevius Margellus from cohors I Flavia Cilicum (stationed probably at or near Syene), in the century of Candidus, and Gaius Longinus Apollo and Eros E....., from an unknown unit, in the centuries of Lappus and Sempronianus respectively. Margellus had served twenty years, Apollo one or fifteen (according to the name of the second consul quoted for his enlistment date), Eros E..... two or twenty years. These men may have been transferred for special duties and with a hope of promotion.

Definite promotions are also seen. Ision son of Petsiris, who had served one or fifteen years, was upgraded from pedes to eques; another man of four years' service had a similar rise. Ision served in the turma of Artemidorus who is thus the sole certain decurion of

normal status, apart from Vespasianus who had just arrived. As we have seen, Salvianus may have led a 'turma' of dromedarii.

Another diploma issued between 156 and 161 listed the cohort on the Egyptian strength (79.3). Further evidence of the continuing presence of the cohort at Contrapollonospolis Magna comes in an altar to Serapis erected by ....ius Crispinus of the century of Serenus (79.17). On the reverse of the stone are the names of Commodus and Valerius Fe(stus?), prefect of the camp, possibly commander of our cohort. If the front and back of the stone were inscribed in the same period, the cohort is attested at the site in 180-192. On the basis of a rather obscure inscription (79.14), Lesquier suggested<sup>26)</sup> a section of the cohort may have been at el Kab, supervising the working of the mines. The date of the inscription is the 11th year of Hadrian (i.e. 127/8), wrongly given by Lesquier as 149.

About one hundred years after its last known inscription from Contrapollonospolis Magna, the cohort is found further down the Nile. It was now stationed at Hieraconpolis, which Lesquier equated with Manfalouât, 352 kms. south of Cairo (79.6 = IIS 617). There is some confusion over the exact correspondence of this site with the Theraco (= Hieracon according to Wesseling) of the Notitia dignitatum (79.8). Lesquier suggested that the compilers of the Notitia may have confused the stations. It should be remembered, however, that the rebellion of 296 in Egypt resulted in the imposition of a new style of government, the kingdom being drawn into the regular provincial system, so that a change of the order of battle is quite feasible.

We have the names of several prefects from honorary inscriptions, although there is some degree of uncertainty over their ascription to this cohort.

A tombstone of a tribune of cohortis I Vardullorum was found at High Rochester (79.5). He was previously prefect of cohortis I Augusta Lusitanorum and then cohortis I Breucorum. In a study of this stone, E. Birley<sup>27)</sup> showed that the prefect's cognomen was Rufinus (cf. RIB 1271) and that his command belonged to the third century. He was 48 when he died and still only in his militia secunda. As Birley shows, he had interrupted his military career after his second command to hold "two posts, in the civil service in Italy". A new diploma for Moesia superior<sup>28)</sup> of February 161 lists the Lusitanian first cohort of that province, for the first time, as cohortis I Augusta Lusitanorum. In view of this it might seem possible that Birley's sequence of Egypt-Raetia-Italy-Britain for the career of Rufinus should be amended. However, the drawing made by Collingwood and published in RIB definitely shows that there is space at the end of the line, following COH. I. AUG on this stone, for the two letters PR (on the next line in the corresponding gap are the letters H I and a leaf stop). It therefore seems preferable to accept Birley's reading rather than that published in RIB and make Rufinus prefect of coh(ortis) I Aug(usta) [pr(aetoriae)] / Lusitanorum of Egypt.

A more unusual career, also of third century date, is that of Rutilius Pudens Crispinus (79.7). <sup>Gruen</sup> ~~Stein~~ points out that it had been possible, since Flavian times at least, for an equestrian to be upgraded to the senatorial order.<sup>29)</sup> Crispinus served as prefect of cohortis I Lusitanorum equitata

q(uingenaria) and then as praefectus urbi of the small Latin town of Ferentinum before being adlected to the senatorial order as quattuovir viarum curandarum. His career thereafter followed a fairly normal pattern for an able man of the senatorial order, save that he appears to have omitted tribunus militum. It may be that his experience in charge of a cohort enabled him to proceed straight from the vigintivirate to quaestor. Groag dated his consulship to 235/7 and his governorship of Achaëa to 233/5. This would bring his auxiliary command back into the reign of Caracalla. This could be the cohort of Egypt or that of Moesia inferior; the cohorts of the same title of Pannonia and Moesia superior were not certainly equitata.

An interesting point concerns the date of acquisition of the title praetoria by the cohort. As it was stationed in a province in which a praetor would not normally be found, the usual reason for the name, i.e. that it was, or had been, the bodyguard of a governor, would not apply. The distinction first appears in the pridianum of 156 (the papyrus of 117 does not give the cohort its full name). It may be legitimate to speculate that the cohort may have received this addition to its title as a mark of honour when Hadrian visited Egypt, and took his ill-fated trip up the Nile, in 130.

## Footnotes

1. "Un nouveau diplome militaire d'un soldat de l'armée d'Égypte." Syria 44 (1967) p.352.
2. L'Armée romaine d'Égypte (Cairo 1918) p.92.
3. "Le Temple de Kalabchah", Service des Antiquités de l'Égypte p.283, No.36 = SB 1 4608 (Preisigke).
4. Antoninus Pius 1-2 (Prague 1933/6) pp.296/7 fn.370.
5. "An Egyptian cohort in A.D.117", Historia Augusta Colloquium (Bonn 1964/5) pp.91ff.
6. "The Medici of the Roman Armed Forces", Ep. St. 8 (Düsseldorf 1969) pp.91/2.
7. ἰατ[ρῶ] Gilliam prefers to interpret this as "perhaps ἰλί[ω]?" " as "Tituleius had already been named in line 2 as the signifer's own centurion, and the signifer may be referring to this".
8. Th. Mommsen, Gesammelte Schriften 8, pp.553-66;  
R.O. Fink, "Mommsen's Pridianum B.G.U. 696", AJP 73 (1952) pp.75/8; R.O. Fink, "Roman Military Records on Papyrus", Monograph of the American Philological Association No.26, 1971. No.64 pp.228ff.
9. This papyrus breaks off at line 36 col.2. Another column or papyrus may have listed the losses.
10. cf. Fink op. cit. p.179 mentioning that Rostovtzeff used these terms.
11. So R.O. Fink, commenting on "Two fragments of Roman military rosters in Vienna", Parola del Passato 12 (1957) p.308.
12. A. Stein, Die Präfekten von Ägypten in der Römischen Kaiserzeit (Berne 1950) p.86.
13. "Un papyrus Clermont-Ganneau appartenant à l'Academie des inscriptions", Journ Jur. Pap. 4 (1950) pp.327/40.

14. "An Antonine Consul Suffect", Classical Philology 55 (1960) pp.177/8.
15. Degrassi, Fasti p.43.
16. The numbers in Fink's transcription differ from those in his translation, op. cit. p.232. The former is correct.
17. "Mommsen's pridianum" p.65.
18. "Origins of Legionary Centurions", RBRA p.122. This is also the view taken by J.P. Gilliam.
19. Rangordnung<sup>2</sup> p.57.5.
20. CIL VIII 18042.
21. Bulletin of the American Society of Papyrologists 4 (1967) p.33. P. Dur. 82 records 34 dromedarii in a cohors milliaria equitata.
22. Annals 15,12.
23. Livy 37,40,12; Herodian 4,14,3.
24. Roman Military Records op. cit. pp.228/233.
25. cf. G.R. Watson, The Roman Soldier (1969) p.101.
26. op. cit. p.411.
27. RBRA p.130. cf. JRS 56 (1966) p.231.
28. Chiron 2 (1972) pp.449/457.
29. "Die römischen Reichsbeamten von Achaia bis auf Diokletien", Schriften der Balkankommission 9 (1939) p.91.

80. Cohors I Lusitanorum.

H. Nesselhauf suggested<sup>1)</sup> that the Lusitanian cohort of Moesia superior may have originated as a result of the splitting, just prior to 100, of a unit of the same title which first appeared in Illyricum in A.D.60 (CIL XVI 4) and then in Pannonia between 84 and 98 (CIL XVI 30, 31 and 42). The discovery of a new diploma for undivided Moesia of A.D.75 (80.1) renders Nesselhauf's theory untenable as it stands. Mirković, who edited the new diploma, remarked that if such a splitting did account for the origin of the cohort it must have occurred before 75. There is no real reason why there should not have been two cohortes I Lusitanorum<sup>2)</sup> both raised in the Julio-Claudian period. The fact that both were given the same numeral should mean that they belonged to separate levies, or as Cheesman suggested,<sup>3)</sup> were sent initially to different provinces. If not formed round an existing cadre of men, the latest date for the formation of the Moesian based cohort would lie in the reign of Claudius, but it may have been raised earlier.

Upon the division of Moesia in 86 the cohort was probably assigned immediately to the Upper province since it was there in 100 (80.2), 159/60 (80.3) and 161 (80.4) according to the diplomata. There is no evidence that it moved out of the province, although it may well have taken part in Trajan's Dacian Wars, even if only in a supporting capacity.

In the last diploma in which it is recorded (80.4), the cohort has the title I Aug(usta) Lusitanor(um). There is no possibility of an equation between this and the

Egyptian based cohort with a similar honorific. Since the cohort lacks the additional title in the diploma for 159/60 it may have been bestowed in summer 160, if it relates to a battle honour, although, as diplomata are often lacking in full titles, it may have been given earlier. One possibility is that the cohort was called in to help suppress the Dacian rebellion of 157/8; another is that the victory coins of 160<sup>4)</sup> apply among other things to actions in the Danubian area. The cohort was most probably stationed along the Danubian limes of Moesia superior. According to A. Mócsy<sup>5)</sup> the origin of the tile stamp of the cohort, given in CIL as Milanovacz (80.5) (the Taliata of Notitia dignitatum<sup>6)</sup>), was actually Izlas. E. Swoboda<sup>7)</sup> placed Izlas circa 9½ kms. north-west of Taliata, on the south bank of the Danube, lying west of the junction of the Boljetinska with the Danube. A single tile stamp is slender evidence on which to site a cohort. The other known tile of the cohort (80.6) comes from Ravna, lying on the Timok, and well to the rear of the limes. Nevertheless it seems likely that the main force of the auxilia was concentrated along the south bank of the Danube, and there is a fortification of approximately 2.3 acres or 0.95 ha. near the mouth of the Boljetin. From the account given by Vučković-Todorović<sup>8)</sup> there seems little prospect that archaeology will solve the problem of the garrison here in the immediate future.

There is no other epigraphic record concerning the later history of the cohort. It may well have been involved in the wars of Marcus; it would certainly have been affected by the disturbances that built up in the third century

beginning under Caracalla.<sup>9)</sup> Under these circumstances  
its fate remains obscure.

## Footnotes

1. CIL XVI 111 p.101 n.4.
2. There are in fact two more first cohorts of Lusitanians but these bear distinguishing titles on their first appearance in the records. cf. cohors III Lusitanorum (No.84/85) for a possibility concerning the early station of this unit.
3. Auxilia p.59.
4. Mattingley, Coins of the Roman Empire in the British Museum Nos. 2100-2107.
5. Gesellschaft und Romanisation in der römischen Provinz Moesia Superior (Amsterdam 1970) p.56.
6. Not. dig. or. 41, 27 and 35.
7. "Forschungen am obermösischen Limes", Schriften der Balkankommission 10 (1939) pp.34/8 and map.
8. "Recherches Récentes sur le Limes Danubien en Serbie", V Congr. Internat. Limitis Romani (Zagreb 1963) 183ff.
9. cf. IIS 7178.

81. Cohors I Lusitanorum.

The evidence for the existence of this cohort comes almost solely from diplomata. It is named in no fewer than eleven certainly, and probably in one other. The records go from July 2, 60 (81.1) to May 5, 167 (81.10), and throughout that period the cohort was in the Pannonian area, first at Illyricum in A.D.60, then from A.D.84 to 98 in undivided Pannonia (81.2-81.4) and probably continuing on the army list of the governor of that province through the period of the Dacian wars. It was allocated to the Lower province on its creation, probably in 106, for it appears on the diploma for July 110 (81.5). Thereafter, as far as we know, it remained in Pannonia inferior.

The date of the earliest diploma suggests that the men receiving it had been enlisted at latest in the latter part of the reign of Tiberius. It seems probable that the cohort existed through from the early principate, being regularised if not raised by Augustus.

There is no indication of the station of the cohort through inscriptions, but in their examination of "The Distribution of troops in Pannonia Inferior during the second century A.D."<sup>1)</sup> A. Radnóti and L. Barkóczi concluded that the topographical listing of the diplomata supported a site in the southern sector of the limes, along the Danube. They were aided by the fact that the diploma for 85 (81.3) was issued to a pedes of the cohort, Fronto, son of Scenus, of the Iasi. The Iasi were a tribe of Pannonia living around the middle Drave. Radnóti and Barkóczi suggest that men recruited from this area would be drafted into units near the mouth of the Drave. From this they infer that

the cohort was at Kolkod(Altinum) where a Roman fort is known to have existed, although excavation has not yet taken place. They also use the exceptional command of Q. Attius Priscus to support this idea. Priscus commanded cohortes I Hispanorum, I Montanorum and I Lusitanorum (81.12 = 25.2). They argue that these three cohorts should have come from the same area and were "marched under a joint commander to take part in the war waged in Pannonia's northern section, transferred from a part of the lines that was quiet at the time".<sup>2)</sup> A similar argument is used to place cohortes I Montanorum not far from the Drave, but they admit to a degree of uncertainty about cohortes I Hispanorum. As we have seen, an alternative explanation for the command of Priscus is that he led a task force drawn from three neighbouring provinces.<sup>3)</sup> Although the idea put forward by Radnóti and Barkóczy is extremely interesting, and offers possibilities for analogous studies of diplemata in other provinces, their detailed analysis must be treated with more reserve than that displayed by J. Fitz<sup>4)</sup> who accepts the siting at Altinum as a fact. Fitz considers (again on slender evidence) that cohortes I Alpinorum equitata moved from Lussonium to Altinum early in the third century. He makes no suggestion concerning what then happened (or had happened) to cohortes I Lusitanorum.

Apart from (possibly) Attius Priscus, the only known prefect was the Italian C. Cissius Honoratus, of the Stellatina, in September 85 (81.3).<sup>5)</sup>

## Footnotes

1. Acta Arch. Hung. 1 (1951) pp.191ff.
2. op. cit. p.214 col.2.
3. See cohors I Hispanorum unassigned No.25.
4. Acta Arch. Hung. 14 (1962) pp.65 and 75.
5. The order of listing of cohorts adopted for the diploma of 160, CIL XVI 112/113, differs from that given by Nesselhauf. It corresponds to that suggested by T. Nagy, "The military Diploma of Albertfalva", Acta Arch. Hung. 7 (1956) p.69 since, as he points out, in the preceding and succeeding diplomata (CIL XVI 180 and 123) cohors I Lusitanorum is listed between cohors VII Breucorum and cohors II Augusta Thracum and cohors III Lusitanorum (q.v.) precedes cohors II Asturum et Callaecorum.

82. Cohors I Lusitanorum Cyrenaica equitata.

The first extant record of this cohort places it in Moesia inferior in 99. It is given the honorary epithet Cyrenaica in full (82.1). As Wagner pointed out,<sup>1)</sup> this should mean that the cohort had previously been stationed in Cyrenaica and had taken part in some action there. He followed Ritterling<sup>2)</sup> in ascribing the action to the measures taken by L. Valerius Catullus Messalinus (consul in 73) against the Jewish sicarii.<sup>3)</sup> If Josephus is to be believed, Catullus exaggerated the affair, but he is obviously biassed against the governor. Since Vespasian would have accepted the word of his governor (or so it might be thought), Josephus' doubts would not have affected the grant of battle honours to the unit involved. The account given in the Bellum Iudaicum makes it reasonably clear that the 'body of horse and foot' would best fit a single unit, that is a cohors equitata. The cohort was readily available. It had not been specially raised for the purpose of quelling the revolt. How long had it been in the province ?

Wagner follows Romanelli<sup>4)</sup> in suggesting since the time of Tiberius, but it could have been there from the Augustan period. The hostilities against the Marmaridae and Garamantes may have been successfully concluded in the reign of Augustus but it is doubtful if the province would have been left totally without troops (cf. cohors I Hispanorum No.22). The withdrawal of the cohort from Cyrenaica, perhaps prompted by the seeming peacefulness of the province, may have been connected with Domitian's Dacian Wars. The tombstone of a veteran, Quintus Allidius Celer, from Tomi in Moesia inferior (82.7), should be late first century at latest, for although

the years of service are indicated by militavit annis, abbreviations are minimal, names are in the nominative, and Dis Manibus is absent.

Although there is no indication of the participation of the cohort in Trajan's Dacian Wars, its presence in Moesia inferior in the relevant period (82.1 and 82.2) makes this appear very likely; at the very least, it might be acting in a rear echelon capacity. The diplomata for August 99 and May 105 could certainly bear the interpretation of preparation of units for battle by the weeding out of the unfit.

After the Dacian Wars the cohort remained in Moesia inferior. The diploma for 145/156 (82.4), in which the title Cyrenaica is still used, confirms Nesselhauf's restoration of this, rather than another Lusitanian cohort, in the fourth place in the cohort lists of that for 138 (82.3).

Although the tombstones of veterans are not a reliable indicator of the station of a cohort, it may seem significant that, apart from that already mentioned, two others of second century provenance were found in the Dobrudja region of Moesia inferior. A veteran ex-decurion, Artorius Saturninus from Siscia in Pannonia, was buried at Tropaeum Traiani (82.6). He had served for 25 years and was only 45 when he died, which should mean that he did not long survive his discharge. Perhaps, particularly in view of his place of burial, he was given honesta missio immediately after the end of the Dacian Wars. This would fit the epigraphic indications of the stone,<sup>5)</sup> and account for his origin, since a great deal of flexibility may be assumed in times of

war. He may have been promoted from a cohort normally garrisoned in Pannonia.

Another veteran ex-pedite? (or ex-decurione if the stone has been misread) was buried at Hassarlik (= Cius)(82.5) in the reign of Hadrian or Pius. He was 80 when he died but his nomen indicates a Trajanic date of discharge after 28 years' service. His name was M. Ulpius Domitius; both Wagner and Kraft agree that Anthio must refer to his origo. Kraft queries whether Anthius may not be in Greece. If so, this is an example of a senatorial province supplying recruits to an imperial counterpart. Wagner wished to place the cohort in a fort at Cius on the strength of this stone, and it is not impossible that it was there, or somewhere nearby, in the first part of the second century at least. Certainly by the third century it lay a good distance southwest of Cius, although still in the Dobrudja. 82.8 is a dedicatory inscription set up in the reign of Maximinus Thrax (235-8) (the name of the cohort has had the honorific Maximiniana restored). The precise nature of the building is unclear; it would appear that the cohort contributed from its own funds for the structure, but it was part of a castellum. According to the editors of Tabula Imperii Romani for this area (L.35), the site was known as Nigrinianis at this time and only later became Candidiana. Not. dig. or. 40,24 places the milites primi Moesiaci at Candidiana. Probably our cohort was affected by the successive waves of invasions of the Carpi into Moesia inferior during the third century but, as yet, there is no means of telling if it was lost during this period.

## Footnotes

1. Dislokation pp.163ff.
2. JRS 19 (1929) pp.28ff.
3. Josephus, Bell. Iud. 7,11,1 (437-454).
4. CAH 11 p.669.
5. cf. Kraft, Rekrutierung No.1591 p.180.

83. Cohors II Lusitanorum equitata.

Two very early altars from Portugal (83.1 and 83.2) were erected by a signifer of cohors II Lusitanorum. Toncius son of Toncetamus was a Lusitanian of the civitas Igaeditani, where the stones were set up. Since this was his domus too much significance may not be attached to the stones. Trebaruna is thought to have been a native goddess (perhaps the equivalent of Victoria in terms of the interpretatio Romana).<sup>1)</sup> His vow to Victoria was actually erected by Ardunnus son of Cominus, which may mean that he had commissioned the stone while away on active service, perhaps a thank offering on his promotion to signifer. It would be rash to infer, on the basis of these two inscriptions, that the cohort was stationed in Spain for any length of time. There is, however, a tombstone of a miles of cohors Lusitanorum from Collipo in Lusitania (83.5). The stone should belong at earliest to the late first century, since the names of the deceased man, C. Sulpicius Pelius, are in the dative, and he possessed citizenship (although we cannot tell if he had served long enough to merit this in the normal way). It would be unusual for a cohort to continue to draw recruits from its homeland once it had moved away, so that even if this was a cenotaphium erected in the home town of Pelius (which might explain the wording of line five) it would still suggest that a Lusitanian cohort was stationed somewhere in western Spain at that period. The lack of a numeral prevents positive identification, but on the evidence so far in our possession the second cohort seems the likeliest candidate.

An inscription from Egypt, dated to 109, reveals the

possibility of a cohors II Lusitanorum stationed in that province. There are difficulties. The script was cursive and difficult to read (83.4). The version in CIL indicates that the numeral preceding the name of the cohort is larger than I, but in view of the possible presence of the fourth cohort in Egypt, and the known inscriptions of the first cohort at Talmis, from whence this came, some reserve is necessary. The presumed militēs possess colonia which suggest an Egyptian origin (Pamphilus, Didimus, and perhaps the tiro Numisianus to whom the stone may be dedicated), so that if this is a second cohort, some length of stay prior to 109 must be inferred for local recruits to have entered the unit (cf. cohors IIII Lusitanorum No.86 for another opinion of this inscription).

A further complication arises from the (admittedly very slender) possibility of the existence of two cohortes III Lusitanorum.<sup>2)</sup> In this case we should consider looking for two second cohorts. This point is made because there is no real certainty concerning the province in which P. Bennius Sabinus served his sole militia as prefect of cohors II Lusitanorum equitata. His career is recorded at his home town of Salona in Dalmatia where he had been magistrate, augur and priest of the colonia before entering the equestrian service. The stone could be late first century or early second century.

One possibility is that there were three cohorts raised as infantry, and three (part of a total series of seven) part-mounted cohorts of Lusitanians. All this must remain extremely conjectural for want of conclusive evidence.

## Footnotes

1. PWRE 6, A.2. 2250 (Fritz Heichelheim).
2. See cohors III Lusitanorum equitata (No.84/85),  
where this point is discussed more fully.

84/85. Cohors III Lusitanorum equitata.

In a footnote to his account of cohors III Lusitanorum in Germania inferior, G. Alföldy<sup>1)</sup> makes the point that CIL II 432 (85.1) probably refers to a different cohort. He does not enlarge upon his reasons for this judgement. One may be that this inscription relates to a cohors equitata and the evidence for the German (and later Pannonian) cohort of the same name and number nowhere designates it as part-mounted. It might be held that 84.1 supports an assertion that it was definitely not so, since cohors Ubiorum is given the epithet equitata which is omitted for the Lusitanian cohort. However, 84.2, which Alföldy considers belongs to the same early period as 84.1 and probably relates to the same commander, refers to cohors III Lusitanorum and cohors I Asturum, and in the latter case, if it has been correctly identified, the cohort was equitata.<sup>2)</sup> There is no certainty that full titles of units always appear on tombstones or altars.

Another factor which requires some explanation is the date at which Tiberius Claudius Sancius was erecting an altar to the gods and goddesses of Conimbriga. Alföldy attributed Tiberius Iulius Pancius (84.3), whose tombstone was found at Novaesium, to cohors III Lusitanorum although the number of the cohort was omitted from the inscription. If this is correct (and the restoration of 84.4, which follows from it), it may be argued that the cohort was in Germania early in the principate, for Pancius presumably owed his citizenship to Tiberius, although he died whilst still serving. Alföldy also considered it a probability that Pancius was Spanish. He had served 28 years, so if it

is assumed that recruitment from Spain ended after the cohort left that province as would normally be the case, the arrival of the cohort in Germania could be placed between 14/13 B.C. and A.D.39/40 at the extreme limits.

Alföldy found confirmation for the presence of the cohort in Germania in Tiberian times in the tombstone (from Aquileia) of Tiberius Iulius Viator who was subpraefectus of the cohort and then prefect of cohors Ubiorum (84.1). From Aquileia too comes an altar to Belinus (84.2) which Alföldy ascribed to the same man. Whoever he was, he commanded cohors III Lusitanorum and was curator pro praefecto of cohors I Asturum. Cohors Ubiorum was certainly in the Rhineland in the Iulio-Claudian period, so too, probably, cohors I Asturum.<sup>3)</sup> Viator was the son of a freedman of Augustus, and died during the lifetime of his father who erected his tombstone. His command should fall in the reign of Tiberius (unless great longevity is assumed for his father) and, arguing from propinquity, somewhere in the Rhineland.

Tiberius Claudius Sancius, on the other hand, owed his citizenship almost certainly to Claudius. There is no doubt that he was Lusitanian. Civitas Aravorum must have been his home town, and the altar may well have been commissioned by him as a thank offering (perhaps for the grant of citizenship) in absentia. Could he have belonged to the cohort in Germania? Since we know that auxiliary soldiers had very long terms of service in the Iulio-Claudian period (Alföldy listed 22 soldiers with 30 or more years of service, 14 of whom had citizenship, from inscriptions of this period<sup>4)</sup>), it would have been perfectly possible for him to have enlisted

in Lusitania as early as the latter part of the reign of Augustus and moved with the cohort to the Rhineland, although a slightly later date is more probable.

In summary, although there is a slight chance that there were two cohortes III Lusitanorum, one wholly infantry, the other part-mounted, against this must be weighed the extreme paucity of the evidence for the latter unit, and the fact that we should then have to postulate two second cohorts of the same titles, again with very little testimony.

Because of the two stones from Novaesium Alföldy thought the cohort was stationed there, or nearby, as part of the auxilia attached to legio XVI. There is one proviso that should be made. There were probably several cohortes Lusitanorum in the Rhineland before A.D.69. Caecina certainly had Lusitanians at his command in the army of Upper Germany.<sup>5)</sup> These could have been represented by the sixth cohort, which later appeared in Raetia, but there is no real reason why this unit should not have been in Lower Germany at an earlier date. We have no direct verification for the fifth cohort, but the raising of a sixth and seventh of the series argues for its existence. One way of accounting for the lack of evidence is to suppose it may have been among cohorts which were annihilated in the Rhineland in 69/70. Even more cogent is the argument that lack of a numeral in the title of an auxiliary cohort often denotes that the first of a series is in question. A possible candidate for the unit at Novaesium might be the cohors I Lusitanorum, which appeared in Moesia in the reign of Vespasian. Thus although the third cohort was very probably in Germania inferior in the Julio-Claudian period, there can be no certainty about

its exact position.

After 70 the cohort was not too far from Köln for one of its milites was buried there (84.5). Mansuetus son of Arragenus originated from the Marsaci, a tribe of Thrace, and is an example of the policy of stiffening Rhineland troops with Thracians after the events of 69/70. His tombstone came from a Köln workshop, thought to have flourished between 80 and 100.<sup>6)</sup> The cohort lacks the title p.f. which was received by the army of Lower Germany after 89, and although on a tombstone this may not be too significant it may place it prior to this.

By 110 the cohort, with the honorary epithet pia fidelis,<sup>7)</sup> was in Pannonia inferior (84.6). The most likely time for the move, as Alföldy points out, was when legio X Gemina left Noviomagus in 104. Probably the cohort took part in the second of Trajan's Dacian Wars. Instead of returning to the Rhineland on cessation of hostilities it was allocated to the newly organised province of Pannonia inferior in 106.

It remained in this province at least until May 167 on the evidence of diplomas (84.6-84.12). In the last four of these diplomas the units are listed in topographical order, and Radnóti and Barkóczi used this fact together with a fragmentary tombstone from Vardomb (84.14) to site the cohort here on the Danubian limes.<sup>8)</sup> They suggest that the soldier of the cohort, who is described as son of Venimantus, came from Vellaunodunum which lay in the territory of the Carnutes in Gallia Lugdunensis. It seems probable that he was conscripted into the cohort whilst it still lay in Germania, which would place his tombstone (or

at least his service) within the reign of Hadrian at latest. Vardomb (Ad Statusas) is known to have had a fort, but it has not yet been excavated. In his article on the military history of Pannonia, J. Fitz suggests that the cohort remained at Ad Statusas at least until 184.<sup>9)</sup> Fitz rightly points out that, regardless of any changes made during the Marcomannic Wars, the peace treaties of Commodus resulted in a need for new dispositions along the frontier of Pannonia inferior in particular. On the basis of inscriptions bearing the name of Commodus with the title Britannicus, he dates some of the new work between 184 and the onset of a new Sarmatian War, which he places in 185. The later history of the cohort must wait upon verification or modification of these theories through scientific excavation.

The tombstone of two brothers from Virunum (84.13) has already been discussed<sup>10)</sup> and shows that a soldier (Atuco), originating from that town in Noricum, had served in Pannonia before retiring to his home some time in the first half of the second century. It seems possible that his recruitment to the army of another province might relate either to some special skill or to special circumstances, for example Trajan's Dacian Wars.

## Footnotes

1. Hilfstruppen pp.65/66 n.373
2. cf. cohors I Asturum equitata No.51.
3. To an extent the evidence for cohors I Asturum equitata and cohors III Lusitanorum(equitata), in Germania (inferior), in the Julio-Claudian period is mutually supportive and there is some danger of a circular argument.
4. Historia, 17 pp.222/3.
5. Tacitus, Hist. 1,70.
6. Alföldy, Hilfstruppen pp.170/1 and p.209 No. 142.
7. See footnote to 84.6. This is the sole instance of the cohort bearing the honorific pia fidelis.
8. Acta Arch. Hung. 1 (1951) p.213.
9. Acta Arch. Hung. 14 (1962) pp.25ff.
10. cf. cohors I Asturum (equitata?) No.50.

86. Cohors IIII Lusitanorum.

Gaius Iulius Germanus, of the century of Iulianus, visited Talmis in Egypt, during the reign of Trajan and erected an altar to Mandoulis. He was a serving miles of a Lusitanian cohort. Unfortunately there is some difficulty over the precise number of that cohort. Lesquier,<sup>1)</sup> because of the presence of several similar dedications at Talmis of cohors I Lusitanorum, preferred to read the Greek letter denoting the numeral as alpha. Preisigke<sup>A</sup> saw it as delta.<sup>2)</sup> There is another inscription (nearer a graffito in style) from Talmis, also of Trajanic date, which was placed there by soldiers of a Lusitanian cohort, with a numeral higher than I, which Sayce read as II.<sup>3)</sup> The deciphering of this is particularly difficult, and it could be, as easily, IV. The following possibilities must be considered:

1. In the Trajanic period Talmis was visited by soldiers of cohortes I (Augusta), II and IV Lusitanorum. The first named cohort is clearly listed on three diplomas and has produced many other signs of its long sojourn in Egypt. For the other two cohorts there is no other testimony outside Talmis.
2. All the evidence from Talmis really appertains to the first cohort. The space after the numeral I in the cursive script of CIL III 13582 was filled by the abbreviation Aug., and Lesquier was correct in his interpretation of the numeral on Germanus' stone. In this case the second and fourth cohorts cannot be sited with certainty in any province.
3. Both the cursive script and Germanus' altar relate to the fourth cohort, which was in Egypt for an unknown

period at the beginning of the second century.  
I am inclined to elect for the second option, but the others should be left open to await possible confirmation by new evidence.

## Footnotes

1. Appendix I No.40.
2. SB 1 4608.
3. viz. cohors II Lusitanorum equitata 83.4.

87. Cohors VI Lusitanorum (equitata ?).

Tacitus writes of Caecina as sending cohorts of Gauls, Lusitanians and Britons, among others, to strengthen the position of ala Siliana in the Po Valley. Caecina had brought the Lusitanian unit or units with him from Upper Germany. Cohors VI Lusitanorum may thus have been in the army of the Upper Rhineland prior to A.D.69.<sup>1)</sup> Its initial levy should belong to the early principate since the seventh cohort of the series seems fairly certain to have existed in that period. It may have been allocated to Raetia in the reorganisation made by Vespasian some time after A.D.70.

Its first appearance on the army lists of Raetia is somewhat controversial. At the end of the diploma for 107 of that province is cohors VII Lusitanorum (87.1). It follows a fifth cohort of Bracaraugustani and the order of listing is numerical. There is no other record of the seventh cohort in Raetia, and of the 10 other Raetian diplomata in which a Lusitanian cohort has been listed or restored, 4 clearly indicate the numeral as VI, and IIS 8866 (87.12) unequivocally states the sixth cohort was in Raetia. Cagnat<sup>2)</sup> accepted the verity of the diploma for 107, as it stood. He proposed that the seventh cohort, which was in Africa in the first century, went to Raetia at the end of that period and returned to Africa in the second half of the second century. All this seems unnecessarily complicated and it is simpler to suppose with Radnóti and H-J. Kellner<sup>4)</sup> that the number in the diploma was a scribal error. If that is accepted, the sixth cohort appears in diplomas of Raetia from 107 to 166 (87.1-87.11). Radnóti<sup>5)</sup> discussed the probable situation of the units listed in 107.

His allocation is based upon the forts that made up the line of the Swabian Alb. Opinion still varies about the foundation date of that line. H. Schönberger points out that it could have taken place after 73/4 or as late as 90. "At any rate the advance of the Danube forts cannot be demonstrated satisfactorily by archaeological means."<sup>6)</sup> This view is not entirely shared by Kellner,<sup>7)</sup> who thinks that Burladingen, Gomadingen, Donnstetten and Urspring probably belong to the early years of the reign of Domitian. At all events, our cohort should probably be sought somewhere along the Raetian limes of that period. Where there was no definite epigraphic record to support his sitings Radnóti attempted to assign units to forts on their size. On this basis he suggested that Urspring, at 1.79 ha., would accommodate cohors VI Lusitanorum, which he assumed to be composed wholly of infantry. In the advance of the limes, under Pius, he thought the cohort moved north to Unterböbingen. (Much the same sort of directly linear move is postulated for the Oldenwald-Neckar to the Miltenberg-Welzheim lines, in the Rhineland, cf. cohors I Asturum equitata.<sup>8)</sup> Unterböbingen is 2.02 ha., just a little larger than Urspring.

One difficulty arises over Radnóti's allocations. His assumption that the cohort was peditata may be mistaken. Whether or not there were two series of cohortes Lusitanorum<sup>9)</sup>, one peditata and the other equitata, the last recorded cohort of the series, the seventh, was definitely part-mounted. It is arguable that the Roman military mind was sufficiently stereotyped to produce uniform series of units. If four of seven certified cohorts may be shown to

be equitata, the others might be expected to be so.

Another factor to be borne in mind is the known expertise of the Lusitanians as cavalrymen.<sup>10)</sup> The oddity of the fact that there are no known Lusitanian alae in the auxilia has already been remarked upon. Their skills in this field may have been used in the cohortes equitatae.

If the cohort was equitata, it may be that other forts along the successive Raetian limites should be considered as possible stations.

Its history after 166 is obscure. It may have continued in occupation of the forward line until the withdrawal to the Danube, which Schönberger believes could have been as late as 259/60.<sup>11)</sup> We have the name of only one commander, Lucius Domitius Proculus, who first commanded our cohort in Raetia, then cohors I Cugernorum in Britain, before serving as tribune in two legions successively, legio II Augusta in Britain and legio VII in Spain. The details of his career come from his tombstone set up at Prusias ad Hypium in Bithynia, which may be presumed to be his home town. The style of the inscription, the details given and the absence of the honorifics earned by cohors I Cugernorum between 103 and 117<sup>12)</sup> argue for a date early in the second century, but lack of full titles is not always significant in private inscriptions of this kind.

## Footnotes

1. Hist. 1 70. cf., however, proviso under cohors III Lusitanorum equitata No.84/85.
2. L'Armée romaine d'Afrique (Paris 1913) p.204.
3. Germania 39 (1961) pp.103ff.
4. BVbl. 33 (1968) pp.92ff. especially Beilage I.
5. op. cit. pp.110/113.
6. JRS 59 (1969) p.162.
7. Die Römer in Bayern (Munich 1971) p.47.
8. No.51.
9. cf. cohors III Lusitanorum No.84/85.
10. Appian's account of the war with Viriathus makes this very clear: 6,11,61/75.
11. op. cit. p.177.
12. E. Birley, RBRA p.24.

88/89. Cohors VII Lusitanorum equitata.

Calpurnius Fabatus has been identified as the grandfather of the wife of Pliny the younger (88.1). His patronage of Comum is mentioned by Pliny<sup>1)</sup>, which makes the identification complete. He died shortly before Pliny himself, possibly in 112.<sup>2)</sup> He was disgraced under Nero for alleged complicity in the magical practices of Iunia Lepida, aunt of Silanus,<sup>3)</sup> in 66.<sup>4)</sup> His equestrian career must have taken place before his escape from punishment by Nero, and the post of prefect of cohors VII Lusitanorum, following a double legionary tribunate, should have been held in the early 60's at latest. He should have been 25 before embarking on a municipal career<sup>5)</sup> so that we may assume he was over 30 when holding his military posts and in his eighties when he died. The juxtaposition of his post as prefect of the cohort et nation. Gaetulicar. sex quae sunt in Numidia affirms what the other inscriptions of the cohort suggest, namely the presence of the cohort in Numidia at an early date.

When did the cohort arrive in Numidia? Possibly early in the principate. A tombstone from Mila of Optatus, decurion of a Lusitanian cohort, should be Julio-Claudian by its style (89.2). His length of service is not given but he was 55 years old when he died, and he originated from Sardinia. From Sardinia itself comes another tombstone, of Ubasus Niclinus, ex tubicen of a Lusitanian cohort (89.1). He was 50 years old when he died and had served 31 years before discharge (so must have been less than 19 when recruited), but was still peregrine. This argues for a very early date, at latest in the first half

of the first century. One of his heirs was a man named Optatus. It would perhaps be stretching the arm of coincidence too far to assume that the two Optati are identical, but what may be indicated is recruitment from senatorial Sardinia, in an early period, for service in Numidia nearby. (Although Numidia was technically senatorial, its treatment was akin to that of an imperial province from the military point of view, a fact recognised and regularised under Gaius.)

It cannot be stated positively that the Lusitanian cohort of Mila is that later attested as the VIIth in Numidia. Because of lack of evidence for the Vth cohort, and the paucity of that for the IInd and IVth, these inscriptions could well belong to one of these, or even to a first cohort in an early station. However, until further finds affirm or negate this conclusion, it seems likely that cohors VII Lusitanorum was in Africa Nova in the Augustan period (or soon after). Mila lies in the extreme west of Numidia adjoining Mauretania, the kingdom of Juba II until circa A.D.23. It may have been in that position to supply support to the king in the Augustan and early Tiberian periods.

Later in the first century it is found at Ain Zui (cf. cohors II Hispanorum equitata No.28) where a centurion, M. Licinius Valens, erected an altar to Mars Augustus (88.4). Other evidence suggests that it remained in the general area of Lambaesis for the rest of its stay in Numidia.

Two tombstones actually came from Lambaesis (where perhaps there was a military cemetery). One is that of an eques C. Iulius Fidus (88.3), who had lived only 25 years.

This indicates that he had not served long enough to qualify for citizenship in the normal way, and so supports a date in the latter part of the second century, when citizens were more common in the auxilia. The status of the unit as equitata is underlined and makes an identification with the cohort at Mila more feasible.

The other is a joint tombstone to Q. Domitius Sardonicus and his father, erected by his sisters. Sardonicus, like his father, was ex castris, although the father had been born in Alexandria, and had probably served at Lambaesis where our soldier was born. (Rather surprisingly, the former military status of the father is not given.) The details of names, tribe and origo argue against a third century date, but again the possession of citizenship by a serving auxiliary soldier suggests the second half of the second century. (Sardonicus had enlisted young; he was only 18 when he died.)

At the time when these tombstones were erected the unit may have been stationed at Mascula (Khenchela) for it is recorded as restoring a building there under an unknown governor who is noted as co(n)s(ul) desig(natus) (88.5).

Cagnat described Khenchela:<sup>6)</sup> "La position militaire de Khenchela est capitale: elle garde le chemin direct du Souf dans le Tell par la vallée de l'Oued-el-Arak; aussi, à toutes les périodes de la conquête, nos généraux n'ont-ils eu garde de la négliger et y avons-nous installé un centre de commandement". He went on to remark that, although no trace of a Roman military installation had been found, inscriptions make the presence of a detachment of legio III, and Lusitanian and Thracian cohorts, probable.

Later evidence is lacking. We have the name of an Italian prefect of the cohort, Q. Sulpicius Celsus, of the Quirina, from an incomplete inscription of Laurentina (88.6). Because of the apparent order of posts Dobson placed it "seemingly post-69",<sup>7)</sup> but the style suggests not later than the first half of the second century.

## Footnotes

1. Letters 5,11. cf. 4,1; 5,14; 6,12; 6,30; 7,11; 7,16; 8,20 and PIR<sup>2</sup>C.263.
2. Letters 10,120; 10,121.
3. Tacitus, Annals 16,8.
4. cf. R. Syme, Tacitus (Oxford 1958) p.302.
5. IIS 6089,54.
6. L'Armée romaine d'Afrique pp.589/90.
7. Praefectus Fabrum p.75,n.52.

90. Cohors Lusitanorum (unassigned).

L. Pomponius Lup<sup>us</sup> (90.3) may be placed with certainty in the pre-Flavian period, because of the mention of legio IV Macedonica. It is more than likely that he was tribune in that legion before it left Spain circa 39, as his other post belonged to a similar area. His second military office involved the overseeing of the Balearic Islands for which task he was given command of two cohorts: a) cohors Macedonum equitata, otherwise unknown, but probably to be equated with cohors I Macedonica equitata which has produced an inscription from Tarraco;<sup>1)</sup> b) cohors Lusitanorum.

The Lusitanian cohort may not be identified with certainty.

On grounds of propinquity there are two main candidates:

1. cohors VII Lusitanorum equitata, at a very early stage of its existence (perhaps Augustan);
2. cohors II Lusitanorum equitata which has produced evidence from Lusitania itself.

Since no numeral is included in the title of the cohort, however, it could be one of the first cohorts at an early stage of its existence cf. Nos. 79, 80, 81 and perhaps 82.

A very fragmentary stone from Geneva records an ...arutius Celer, who was prefect of cohors Lusitanorum; perhaps again a first cohort is indicated (90.2).

The tombstone of Flavius Severus, miles of a cohors Lusitanorum, from Stratonicea in Caria, falls into a different category (90.1). It should belong to the second century and may represent a Lusitanian cohort involved in an Eastern expedition, in which case one of those situated in the Danubian area might be considered most likely (Nos. 80, 81 and 82). Alternatively it may relate to the un-attested fifth cohort.

## Footnotes

1. CIL II 4232.

Chapter VII

Irregular and other units

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91. Cohors Baetica.

Our knowledge of the existence of this cohort depends upon a bronze tablet from Bergomum (in Italy). This contains an honorary decree issued by an unknown colonia for M. Sempronius Fuscus, recorded, in honour of one of its leading citizens, by the ordo of Bergomum.

The decree itself was issued on the occasion of the replacement of Fuscus by his successor and indicates that the cohort was permanently stationed in the neighbourhood of the colonia concerned.<sup>1)</sup> Baetica was a senatorial province and no regular army is known there. Either this cohort had duties connected with the guarding of the state from banditry and piracy,<sup>2)</sup> or it may have been associated with the procurator dealing with the mineral wealth of the province.

The cohort has the name of the province rather than that of a colonia and, by inference, its status would have been higher than that of the town militia revealed by the charter of Urso.<sup>3)</sup> Nevertheless it was probably not part of the regular auxiliary army but under the control of the proconsul of Baetica.<sup>4)</sup>

The inscription is thought to belong to the reign of Hadrian or Pius. It is unlikely that this post would count as a militia prima in an equestrian career.

## Footnotes

1. Cichorius, PWRE 4,249.
2. Similar perhaps in function to the units under the praefectus orae maritimae of Tarraconensis.
3. CIL II 5439 Chapter 103.
4. E. Ritterling suggested that cohors Baetica "may have been a popular designation of the corps as the standing garrison of the province of Hispania Ulterior", JRS 19 (1929) pp.28ff.

92/93. Cohortes Maritima and Tironum.

Commenting upon the post of praefectus orae maritimae, R. Knox McElderry said: "The earliest record of this office belongs to the reign of Augustus, but it was a special appointment due to the war with Antony (CIL XI 623, praef. orae marit. Hispan. Citerioris bello Actiensi), and it probably lapsed when the danger was past. There is reason to suppose that Vespasian revived the office and made it permanent, partly perhaps as a precaution against wreckers and raiders, and partly for the protection of the revenue" ..... "Of seven praefecti traceable at Tarraco, none, so far as we can date the records, served before 70, while two or three can be assigned with much probability to Vespasian's reign".<sup>1)</sup>

One of these prefects was L. Antonius Silo (92.1), whom McElderry identified with the officer who served with distinction in the Jewish Wars.<sup>2)</sup> Silo may have been one of the first (McElderry suggests the very first) prefects in charge of cohors nova tironum. What is interesting to observe is that, apart from Silo, the officers who command either cohors nova tironum or, what McElderry presumed to be, its successors cohortes I et II tironum, had not served in a normal military post. L. Caecina Severus (92.3, 92.5 and 92.6) had been praefectus fabrum but P. Licinius Laevinus and L. Cornelius Celsus went straight from municipal office (and, in the former case, a priesthood) to the post. These commands provided the means for local men of ability to serve the Empire without embarking on the rigours of an equestrian career.<sup>3)</sup> Tarraco seems to have been the headquarters of this force of coastguards, although

they presumably functioned over a wide area of the eastern seaboard of Spain.

Normally the honorary inscription (on the base of an equestrian statue) of L. Iulius Gallus Mummianus would not be regarded as territorially significant for the station of the unit he commanded. In this case, however, he was tribunus militum of a cohors Maritima and if this unit is regarded as parallel in function to the cohortes tironum of Tarraco, it should have been commanded by a man living in the province. Mummianus was clearly a citizen of colonia Patricia (Corduba) in Baetica. Further, this cohort is distinguishable from the cohorts, under the command of the praefectus orae maritimae at Tarraco, in being milliary, if the title of its commander may be held to be significant. McElderry cited a letter of the Younger Pliny<sup>4)</sup> to Cornelius Minicianus. This letter gives an account of Pliny's prosecution of Caecilius Classicus, governor of Baetica in the reign of Domitian. One of the lesser officials also prosecuted was Stilonius Priscus who is cited as having served under Classicus as tribunus cohortis. As Baetica was a senatorial province, and there is no evidence for an auxiliary garrison (although there may be a cohors Baetica q.v.), it seems likely that this would be the milliary cohort involved. McElderry thought that all the towns of Baetica would have had a militia for local defence on the lines of that attested at Urso,<sup>5)</sup> but everything suggests that these were more akin to police than regular army units. Mummianus, like the majority of the praefecti orae maritimae, lacked any other post in an equestrian cursus which points up the purely local

implications. All the prefects belong to the Galerian tribe, another indication of their Spanish background. Since Baetica was particularly rich, there would be need to provide protection for the revenue, and the name implies a marine corps, of a similar nature to that at Tarraco, for the south-east coast.

## Footnotes

1. JRS 8 (1918) p.60.
2. op. cit. quoting Josephus, BJ,3,486.
3. It is interesting to note that two out of four of these prefects had begun as praefecti fabrum. As Dobson pointed out, by the Flavian-Hadrianic period the military importance of these posts had lessened (Praefectus fabrum pp.61ff.). Military service would not be a pre-requisite of a semi-police post but favour of a governor (or other important person) might well be.
4. Ep.3,9,18.
5. ILS 6087,103.

94. Symmachiarii Astures and other Spanish units.

It is perhaps fitting that work which has begun with an attempt to trace the origin of the regularisation of the auxilia should end with an emphasis on the fact that irregulars had always existed and, as resources and manpower dwindled in the Roman world, would become increasingly prominent. CAH 11<sup>1)</sup> recorded the view of E. Albertini: "The soldier's life kept its charm longest for the more backward peoples such as the Asturians and Cantabrians, among whom Trajan raised for his Dacian War not cohorts or alae, but a new type of corps known as symmachiarii, the non-Roman type described by the Pseudo-Hyginus as nationes and appearing later in the second century under the name of numeri." Albertini is almost certainly wrong in equating the symmachiarii with numeri. If the point made in Alae and cohortes milliariae<sup>2)</sup> by E. Birley is accepted, the tract de munitionibus castrorum was written "in the seventies of the second century and not .... in the time of Trajan". There is then no need to assume that symmachiarii must have existed as early as Trajan's Dacian Wars, although they may have done. In a discussion of the inscription of G. Sulpicius Ursulus (94.1), B. Dobson remarks that "it does not suggest the period of Trajan".<sup>3)</sup> One of the points made in support of this statement is that "omission of filiation and tribe for a man who had risen to praefectus legionis<sup>4)</sup> would be noteworthy at the beginning of the second century" but the type of career would best fit a pre-Severan date.

Dobson advances the possibility that the Dacian war referred to in the inscription was that of Commodus and that Ursulus began his military service with the symmachiarii

because as a native of Ujo, in Asturia, he would be able to use their language. This is an important consideration because Hyginus informs us that their native tongue was used for the passwords, and therefore probably for the language of command. The Asturian "allies" were not the only irregular troops in the field army described by Hyginus. 800 Pannonian light cavalry, 600 Moorish cavalry, 500 Palmyrenians, 900 Gaetulians, 700 Dacians, 500 Brittons, and 700 Cantabrians are listed as nationes accompanying the standard Roman military units.<sup>5)</sup> Their numbers alone tell us that they were not organised in regular fashion, although the inscription of Ursulus makes it clear that their commanders could be given the title of praefectus. He was not embarking upon an equestrian career (as his later commission into the legionary centurionate shows) and this underlines the fact that the term praefectus was occasionally used for men who commanded atypical units. This is an important point to be taken into account in reading historians of the late Republic and early principate.

In Acta of the Fifth Epigraphic Congress (Cambridge 1967)<sup>6)</sup> A. Popa and I. Berciu discussed the evidence for numerus M. Hisp. in Dacia. Three inscriptions found in the vicinity of Apulum and Ampelum refer to such a unit (94.2-94.4); a new stone from Ampelum was dedicated to Fortuna Redux and the genius of the numerus by Aurelius Redux praefectus N.M.H. The style of the inscriptions and the names of the dedicators of the stones (two of whom are Aurelii), together with the honorific Antoniniani attached to one of them, place them in the early third century. Popa and Berciu consider that the numerus was sited near

Ampelum partly because of the mineral resources nearby. They express some doubt concerning the expansion of the letter M, pointing out that numerus m(ilitum) Hisp(anorum) is an instance of tautology since "toute unité militaire est formée de milites". They then suggest the correct expansion may be M(aurorum), in other words the numerus consisted of Moors who had previously been stationed over a long period in Spain. This is an ingenious idea, and could be right. Another solution would be to consider that militum was intended to distinguish this numerus from those designated equitum.

A further "irregular" unit which may be assigned to a similar period is the recently revealed (cohortis) Hispanorum tironum<sup>7)</sup> which, since it was commanded by a tribune, should have been milliary (95.1). An unknown equestrian, who may have originated from Cagliari in Sardinia, was honoured there by a number of people whom Degrassi identified as liberti of an emperor, either Marcus Aurelius or Caracalla. The unusual type of formation is matched by the irregularity of the career for, having served as prefect of two cohorts, the commander became tribune and then went straight to the post of prefect of a milliary ala, a promotion usually reserved for men who had held the command of a quingenary ala, and proved to have exceptional merit. This career must relate to a time of abnormal pressures, when there was urgent need of new formations, and able men might bypass normal routes of promotion. The period of the Marcomannic Wars would provide such an emergency, but Caracalla also needed troops on the Danubian front. As there is no other evidence of cohortis Hispanorum

tironum, we cannot tell if it was designed as a permanent formation, or a temporary unit whose members might later be absorbed into other regiments.

## Footnotes

1. p.497.
2. p.57.
3. Ep. St. 8 (Düsseldorf 1969) pp.122ff.
4. The use of the term praefectus legionis in itself is a clue for a date later in the second century.
5. Liber de munitionibus castrorum 29 and 30.
6. pp.357ff.
7. Acta of the Fifth Epigraphic Congress (Cambridge 1967) pp.241ff.

Chapter VIII

General observations

General observations.

1. Some figures concerning the regiments.

The auxilia raised in the Iberian peninsula account for circa 20% of the total of recorded regiments in the Imperial Roman auxiliary army.

In 1966 E. Birley<sup>1)</sup> calculated that the total auxilia in the middle of the second century amounted to 100 alae and 310-320 cohorts. Of these, 10 alae and 40-50 cohorts were milliary. The Iberian contribution was 15 alae and circa 64 cohorts<sup>2)</sup> (although, from their numbering, probably one further ala and seven more cohorts may be inferred to have existed). As far as may be reckoned, none of the alae were milliary and only five cohorts had that status. It is notable that all the Iberian cohorts which were (or are suggested as having been) milliary were part-mounted. Because of the size of the fraction involved it is probable that general observations made concerning the Iberian auxilia may have a wider application.

Caution must be exercised in interpreting the scarcity of early Julio-Claudian inscriptions. Nevertheless a case has been made for considering that not all of the attested Spanish units were raised (or regularised) in the reign of the first princeps. It is possible that Gaius or Claudius or perhaps even Nero may have been responsible for making levies for projected or actual campaigns. Ten or more Iberian units have had their origins tentatively placed in this period, other provinces may be able to provide parallels. On the other hand it may be possible that Cheesman's division<sup>3)</sup> of regiments into those raised before and after 70 is not as valid as it has been held to be.

The use of Flavia in the title of a regiment does not necessarily indicate that it was first raised by Vespasian or his sons, with the possible exception of those which are revealed through their ethnic labels to have originated in one of the provinces which initially supported Vespasian.<sup>4)</sup>

On his arrival in Rome, Vespasian was confronted with a situation in which extra troops had been levied by the other contestants for the purple. Far from adding to their ranks, he would have been mainly concerned with tidying up the remnants of the defeated armies<sup>5)</sup> (cf. the reorganisation of the Rhineland legions after 70). Even allowing for losses in battle he must have been left with a considerably larger army than was safe for a world recovering from civil war. Only four Spanish regiments bear the additional title Flavia, and in each case some reservations have been expressed concerning an origin in the Flavian period; they may have won honorifics for supporting the Flavian cause. If one of the Flavians did supplement auxiliary strength, it is most likely to have been Domitian, raising troops for his Dacian Wars.<sup>6)</sup> Some units may have owed an Imperial title to a levy of this emperor, although there is no evidence that any of the Spanish units were formed in his reign. Similarly the use of Ulpia does not always mean that the regiment concerned had been raised by Trajan, although he must have enlarged the auxiliary army for his Dacian and Parthian campaigns. Two Spanish regiments bear this title, and in one case (No.21) the addition of Flavia makes it clear that it had been an existing cohort honoured by Trajan for meritorious service.

There is no authority for connecting the award of an

honorific of this nature with any material benefit to members of the unit. The grant of civium Romanorum, however, carried a definite improvement in status, and Trajan, in particular, seems to have used this means of expressing approbation. Of the 13 regiments in the Spanish lists which have corporate citizenship, 9 show this first in inscriptions of his reign. Although it is possible that the awards may have been won earlier, the epigraphic testimony for 8 of these suggests they were engaged in battles in the Trajanic era and so had the opportunity to merit the grant.<sup>7)</sup>

Ala Hispanorum Vettonum was probably the first regiment of the auxiliary army to be so honoured. It was almost certainly decorated by Claudius for the part it played in the conquest of south-west Britain. Ala II Flavia Hispanorum had corporate citizenship in Flavian times, the circumstances under which it acquired the grant are not yet clear. Ala Sulpicia was decorated in the Flavian period on any interpretation. Cohors I fida Vardullorum had civium Romanorum before 98 - the award is probably to be assigned to the Flavian period. Cohors I Asturum et Callaecorum need not have acquired its honour until the Mauretanian War under Pius.

G. Alföldy pointed to the dangers of connecting the honorary epithet pia fidelis, borne by some corps, to the events of 89.<sup>8)</sup> Six units bear this title in the Spanish auxilia. Three in all probability (Nos. 20, 53 and 73) and perhaps one other (No.32) were at that time in the Lower Rhineland and may have been connected with Domitian's gesture to loyal troops. Ala III Asturum (No.47) perhaps was honoured in Trajan's reign, cohors II<sup>I</sup> Asturum (No.54) in that of Pius.

When the grant of additional titles is set out in

tabular form, Trajan emerges as the most generous ~~emperor~~ of the first two centuries of our era in his recognition of meritorious service by the Spanish auxilia:-

Emperor	Imperial title	p.f.	c.R.
Claudius	-	-	1
The Flavians	4	4	3
Trajan	2	1	8
Pius	1 ?	1	1

(The possible award of a title derived from an Imperial name placed under Pius refers to cohors I Aelia Hispanorum & eq. No.14-17, which may belong to his reign or that of Hadrian.)

Of all the units covered in this study only 5 of the 15 alae and 10 of the 64 cohorts were noted under similar titles in the Notitia dignitatum. For convenience they are listed below:

Ala No.	Descriptive entry.	Province.	Not. Dig.
45	Praefectus alae primae Ast[u]rum, Conderco	Britannia	Oc.40,35
46	Praefectus alae secundae Ast[u]rum, Cilurno	Britannia	Oc.40,38
04	ala Auriana, Dascusa	Armenia	Or.38,22
07	ala secunda Hispanorum Poisarietemidos	Thebaid	Or.31,43
39	ala sexta Hispanorum, Gomoha (Probably a converted cohort)	Arabia	Or.37,26
Cohors			
50	Tribunus cohortis Austuris	Pannonia prima	Oc.34,45

Cohors	Descriptive entry.	Province.	Not. Dig.
51	Tribunus cohortis primae Ast[urum], Aesica	Britannia	Oc.40,42
52	cohors secunda Astarum, Busiris	Aegyptus	Or.28,36
54	Tribunus cohortis tertiae Ast[urum], Tabernas	Tingitana	Oc.26,19
66	cohors tertia Valeria Bacarum, Drasdea	Moesia secunda, Thracia	Or.40,49
13	Tribunus cohortis Celtiber[rae] Brigantiae, nunc Iuliobriga	[Hispaniae] Callaecia	Oc.42,32
17	Tribunus cohortis primae Hispanorum, Axeloduno	Britannia	Oc.40,49
26	Tribunus cohortis secundae Hispanorum, Duga	Tingitana	Oc.26,14
75	Tribunus cohortis Lu[c]ensis, Luco	[Hispaniae] Callaecia	Oc.42,29
79	cohors prima I[usitanorum], Theraco	Thebaid	Or.31,58

Seven cohorts are recorded as having been commanded by a tribune. Of these, only two were probably milliary in the earlier records (Nos. 17 and 26). By the time that the lists on which the Notitia was based were compiled, the chain of command had certainly altered and the cohorts concerned need not have been doubled in size; but how much resemblance remained between their internal organisation and that of the original regiments it is difficult to say.

The epigraphic evidence of the Iberian regiments reflects trends in the military history of the Roman empire in several ways.

Of the 79 firmly attested units:

15 are listed in the Notitia dignitatum;

21 more are recorded in the third century up to 260;

31 have so far not been traceable after the end of the second century;

9 are not heard of after the first century;

3 are known only through single inscriptions.

A consideration of individual inscriptions<sup>9)</sup> - referring to prefects and serving soldiers and veterans of all ranks, but excluding diplomata - shows that:

23% lie in the first century;

51% lie in the second century;

and 26% lie in the third century.

Both analyses reflect the relatively stable conditions of the imperial frontiers from the period of the conquest of Dacia up to the beginning of the last third of the second century. With the increasing pressure of barbarian attacks in the third century, and the need for mobility, the records begin to decrease. But for the Notitia dignitatum there would be less than a handful of inscriptions testifying to the continued existence of the regiments of this study. An interesting sidelight is cast by the fact that circa 40% of the third century records come from the 7 regiments which formed part of the garrison of Britain.

The scantiness of early evidence for the Spanish auxilia is true for the Roman auxiliary army as a whole. It may be attributed to several causes:

a) the possibility that the build up of the auxiliary army was a gradual process in the Julio-Claudian period has already been discussed. It may account for the lack of

- Augustan and Tiberian inscriptions for some regiments;
- b) in some cases the evidence may have once existed but has been lost through the re-use of stone in later periods;
  - c) lack of scientific excavation of many military sites, coupled with the fact that a number lie beneath industrial complexes, has cut down further the amount of early epigraphic material recovered;
  - d) it is probable that in the early principate 'regularisation' of sections of the auxilia had not yet produced sufficient conformity for Roman burial customs to be strictly observed and tombstones inscribed in all cases. Certainly at this time auxiliary regiments would not be erecting stone forts, and turf and timber structures would be less likely to possess stone building inscriptions (cf. RIB 1935, the oaken inscription from High House Turf-Wall milecastle).

An important result of this enquiry has been to establish the large number of cohorts which were part-mounted. Of the 64 attested cohorts 36 were definitely equitatae. A further 13 of the remainder were likely to have been similarly organised since they belonged to numbered series in which others were equitatae. This means that between 56% and 76% of the Iberian cohorts were part-mounted.

The reason given by Cheesman for the continued use of cohortes equitatae probably applies also to the high proportion of such formations revealed in this case: "the necessity of having detachments of mounted men at as many frontier stations as possible". Hadrian's speech at Lambaesis<sup>11)</sup> makes it clear that the mounted men of such

cohorts were trained to fight as cavalry, albeit without the skill and speed of their comrades in alae. Their main task may have been connected with patrolling duties but, of necessity, they had to be able to manoeuvre and defend themselves against unexpected attack. They would be called upon to play a larger and larger part in the frontier zones as these became increasingly restless, but if the Iberian figures reflect a general trend they were already present in greater numbers than may have been postulated hitherto.

## Footnotes

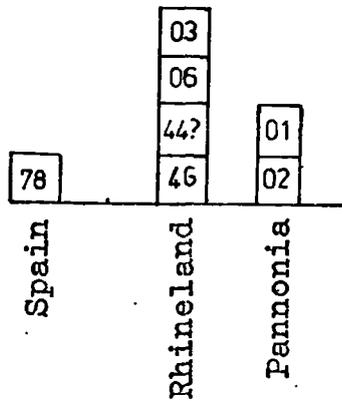
1. Alae and cohortes milliariae p.57 and p.61.
2. These figures are partly conjectural. In them is assumed, for example, the conflation of cohors III Hispanorum with cohors I Ligurum et Hispanorum, the existence of a third cohors III Bracaraugustanorum, and ala Sulpicia is counted as Spanish.
3. Auxilia pp.61/2.
4. Tacitus, Hist. 2,82, reveals that Vespasian held levies in the Eastern provinces.
5. Vitellius was similarly concerned: Tacitus op. cit. 2,69. cf. ala II Ulpia Auriana (No.04) for an interpretation of Vespasian's possible actions.
6. Agricola 28 hints at this probability.
7. Ala III Asturum (No.47), cohors III Asturum eq. (No.54), cohors I Celtiberorum eq. (No.13), cohors I Flavia Ulpia Hispanorum milliaria eq. (No.21), cohors II Hispanorum eq. (No.26), cohors I Lemavorum (No.71), cohors II Vasconum eq. (No.42), cohors II Hispana Vasconum (No.43).
8. Hilfstruppen p.8.
9. No claim for complete accuracy may be made as some of the dating is a matter for personal judgement.
10. Auxilia p.29.
11. ILS 2487 and 9133-35.

2. The distribution and movements of the Iberian auxilia.

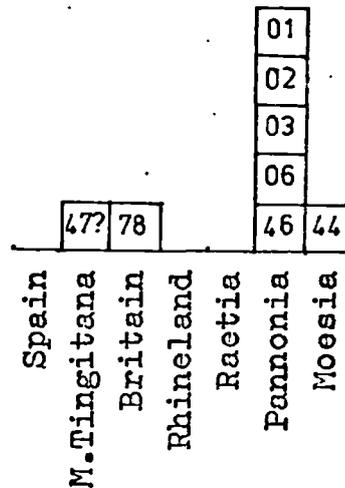
A summary of the movements of the Iberian auxilia has been set out in Table VII. Drawing together the information from that table the facts may be represented schematically. In the charts that follow the regiments may be identified by the numbers given to them throughout this study.

A. The alae.

a) The Augustan/Tiberian period.



b) The Claudio/Neronian period.



c) A.D.70-100.

			45				
			46			01	06
08	47	78	09	03	02	44	
Spain	M.Tingitana	Britain	Rhineland	Raetia	Pannonia	Moesia inf.	

d) In the second century.

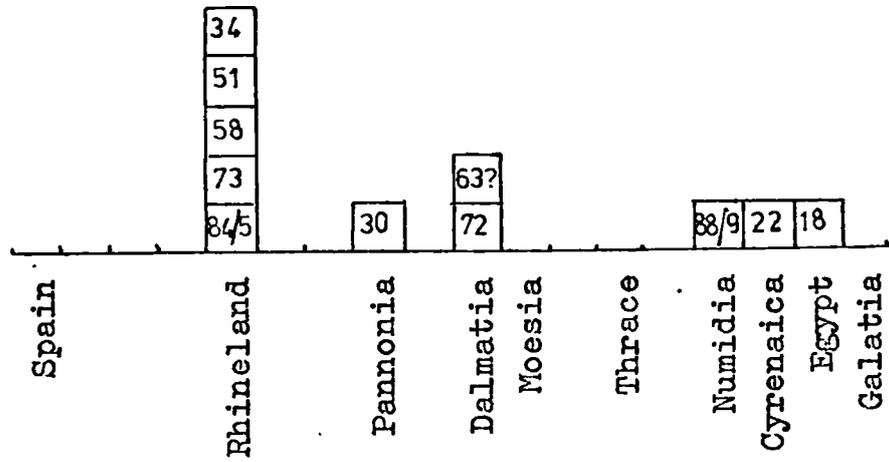
			45						
			46				06		
08	47	78	09	03	01	02	44	05	04
Spain	M.Tingitana	Britain	Germania inf.	Raetia	Pannonia sup.	Moesia inf.	Dacia inf.	Dacia sup.	Cappadocia

e) In the third century and later.

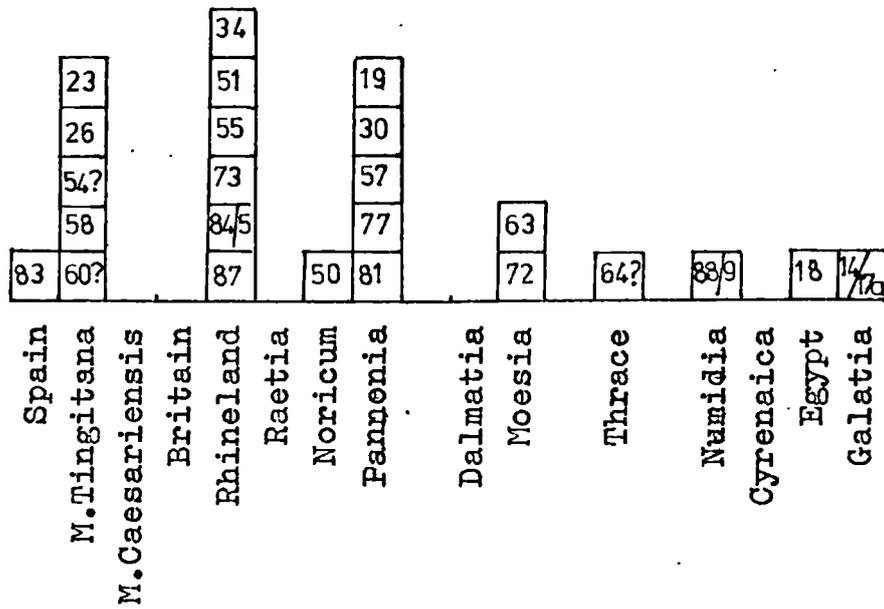
			45				05	
			46				06	
47	78	09	03	02	44	07	04	
M.Tingitana	Britain	Germania inf.	Raetia	Moesia inf.	Tres Daciae	EGYPT	Armenia	

B. The cohorts.

a) The Augustan/Tiberian period.



b) The Claudio/Neronian period.



c) A.D. 70-100.

83	71	24	42	45	68	87?	50	81	69	82	80	64	40	88	89	29?	31?	76	79
	60		12	73	51			77		74	37					18		67	70
	58			56	35			59		63	30								
	54?			53	32					19	21								
	26			20															
Spain	M. Tingitana	M. Caesariensis	Britain	Germania inf.	Germania sup.	Raetia	Noricum	Pannonia	(Moesia)	Moesia inf.	Moesia sup.	Thrace	Macedonia	Numidia	Cyrenaica	Egypt	Galatia	Syria	Iudaea

d) In the second century.

13	71	24	65	73	51	87	50	84	77	82	80	62	36	30	74	88	89	86?	76	67		
	58		53	20	35	68		81		66a	37	19		21	64			83?	31	18		
	54		42		32	66		59		63								79				
	43		41																			
	27		12																			
	26		12																			
Spain	M. Tingitana	M. Caesariensis	Britain	Germania inf.	Germania sup.	Raetia	Noricum	Pannonia inf.	Pannonia sup.	Moesia inf.	Moesia sup.	Dacia inf.	Dacia sup.	Dacia For.	Thrace	Macedonia	Numidia	Cyrenaica	Egypt	Galatia	Syria	Syria Pal.



There is evidence for only eleven cohorts in the early principate, five of them lay in the Rhineland, three in Pannonia/Dalmatia, one each in Numidia, Cyrenaica and Egypt. By the Claudio-Neronian period, although the number of corps in the Rhineland had been augmented by one, there were seven altogether in Pannonia and Moesia and one more in Noricum, bringing the contingent stationed on or near the Danube to eight cohorts. Thrace may have acquired a cohort of Spanish origin soon after its final absorption into the Empire in 46, Numidia and Egypt retained the units there in the earlier period, and one Spanish cohort was certainly in Galatia. One may still have been in its homeland (Lusitania); four, possibly five, cohorts were now in Mauretania Tingitana. The close link between Tingitana and Spain is reflected, from the time of its conquest, in the high proportion (9 of 22 known there altogether, see Table III, Appendix 1) of Spanish regiments in its garrison. Britain has not, so far, produced evidence for Spanish cohorts at this time, but there is a general shortage of military epigraphic material for this period in the province, and one or two units may have been there from the time of the Claudian landing.

In the Flavian period the number of regiments attested had grown to eleven *alae* and forty-four cohorts. The *alae* were spread over seven provinces with Britain accounting for three, and the provinces of the Upper and Lower Danube taking five. Two newly attested Spanish *alae* appeared in Spain and the Rhineland. The distribution of Spanish cohorts now covered nineteen provinces, and, if it truly reflects the general trend, shows the areas in which Flavian

military resources were being concentrated. The two Germanies (provinces by the late reign of Domitian) absorbed nine cohorts, the Lower Danubian area had twelve, the Upper Danube perhaps two, and Thrace and Macedonia one each. Five Spanish cohorts appeared for the first time in Syria and Iudaea in the reign of Domitian, but how long they had been there it is difficult to say. Britain now clearly had three Spanish cohorts in its garrison, Mauretania Caesariensis one.

In the second century the spread of *alae* was fairly even with one such unit in each of eight provinces, only Britain still possessing three and the *Dacias* between them taking another three. The basic pattern remains similar for the third century although there is a decrease in the amount of evidence. In the corresponding era there were, at first, 49 known Spanish cohorts. Fourteen of these were in the Lower Danubian provinces, five in the two Germanies, and now Britain had seven. The Eastern contingent remained roughly the same although there was some reshuffling. What the charts do not show are the expeditions of the second century. There is proof that Spanish regiments took part in various campaigns and the apparent peaceful stability of the auxilia on the frontiers was enlivened at intervals (which shortened as the century progressed) by vexillations and whole regiments being marched off for active service elsewhere. The number of cohorts attested in the third century (and later) falls sharply to 24.

It is noticeable for both *alae* and cohorts that they are relatively poorly represented in the Eastern provinces. This may be due to the present lack of knowledge concerning the full strength of the garrisons of these areas, but

probably too, in the first instance, distance from their country of origin played some part in reducing the number of Spanish regiments based there. As regiments were transferred East in campaigns and remained there, the title would soon be all that was left of their Iberian origin. They would be composed of Eastern tribesmen acclimatised to the conditions in which they had to serve.

### 3. The officers and men.

Figures abstracted concerning the officers and men of the Iberian auxilia add little to the existing body of knowledge concerning their origins and "Rangordnung".

As nearly as may be established the following table shows the pattern for the equestrian commanders of alae and cohortes:

Origin	1st C.	2nd C.	late 2nd/3rd C.
Italy	14	38	13
Spain	9	3	--
Africa	--	15	4
Eastern provinces	--	11	2
Gaul/Germany	1	3	3
Sardinia	--	1	--
Sicily	--	1	--
Dalmatia	2	--	--
Pannonia	--	1	--
Totals	<u>26</u>	<u>73</u>	<u>22</u>

It is doubtful if the size of the sample, and the nature of the evidence, allow us to draw any firm conclusions from this table. It may be said that in each period indicated Italians form over 50% of the equestrian commanders recorded, but this figure is probably exaggerated by the fact that many of the commands are revealed through honorary inscriptions set up in the home town of the man concerned. Italy has probably preserved (or unearthed) a larger number of these inscriptions than outlying provinces where the excavation of Roman remains has been more limited. Apart from this it is of interest to note that Spain provided 9 equestrian commanders, and of these 7 may be assigned to the late first century, and perhaps reflect the Flavian interest in Spain. The only other

large contributors to the equestrian commands of the Iberian regiments were Africa and the Eastern provinces in the second century.

Where origins may be demonstrated for the N.C.O's of the units, these too provide few surprises. The majority of those for whom a reasonably certain derivation can be supplied were local to the province in which their regiment was stationed. In a few instances principales came from neighbouring provinces and in the latter part of the second century a hint of difficulty in obtaining the right calibre of officer material solely through local recruitment is offered by the presence of two Dalmatian N.C.O's in a cohort of Asturians at Mainhardt in Germania superior.

Matters affecting the recruitment of men have been discussed in the opening chapter of this study. Again the sample is small but the average age of recruitment to Spanish units, taken from 33 tombstones of principales, milites and equites, was between 20 and 21 years of age. The youngest recorded recruit was an equus alae of 17, the oldest a miles cohortis of 29 years.